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**The Role of Translation in the Production of International Print News.
Three Case Studies in the Language Direction Spanish to English.**

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Abstract

Translation has become a key, albeit hidden factor in the success of international news as a marketable commodity and one that is not overtly recognised by journalists. However, despite the important socio-political role played by translation in the global circulation of news, general principles governing processes of translation in its production have received scant attention from both Media and Translation Studies researchers

The core to this study is to explore the complex set of processes that occur in the translation of political news, and to discover what exactly happens at various points in regard to who translates, what is translated, where it is translated and by whom it is translated. A further goal is to ascertain the extent to which trained competent translators are involved, as opposed to linguistically competent journalists, or, if that is not the case, whether indeed the former should be involved in processes of news translation.

From a translation perspective the study explores the practice of newswriters complying with common journalistic strategies such as simplification and reframing to suit the needs of their readership for the maintenance of dominant political or cultural ideologies. It also examines the extent to which disregard for, and removal from, original context, as well as over- or under-emphasis of particular terms or phrases actually happens in translated news texts in the Spanish-English context, and the effect that this may have at the point of reception by the new readership.

By comparing three sub-corpora of journalistic source and target texts through critical discourse analysis, and by taking into account translation processes through ethnographic research in international news outlets, the ultimate goal is to identify the causes that can trigger textual manipulation. Using three case studies comprising political news events that were originally reported in Spanish at the source of the events, and which were subsequently reported in UK and US national newspapers, the study investigates the extent to which transformations occur through translation in the representation of political news events, *how* they might occur, *who* is involved in the process and *what* effect any transformations might have on readers.

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1. Introduction

Language, in the absence of translation, comprises a barrier to a worldwide community of debate and opinion. Thus translation has become key to achieving international impact and reach in media organisations, both mainstream and new (Gutiérrez 2006, 30).

Translation has become a key, albeit hidden factor in the success of international news as a marketable commodity. News is traded between a wide range of wholesale and retail media outlets and within the worldwide gathering and dissemination process translation is common practice. However, in contrast to other textual material, general principles governing processes of translation that take place in the production of international news have until the first decade of the new millennium received only scant attention from the discipline of Translation Studies. A possible explanation for this is that researchers have felt that such processes may not align with conventional translation theories. Since the late 1990s, though, the focus of researchers has been changing, with a number of contemporary Translation Studies scholars turning their interests to the role of translation in media contexts, and more specifically to the origin of translation difficulties and the effect these difficulties can have on the production and subsequent reception of international news.¹

In terms of translation *per se*, processes that occur in the production of international news are not overtly recognised by media practitioners as being translation as it is traditionally known. In this regard, Susan Bassnett points out that

[s]ince news translation is not strictly a matter of interlingual transfer of text A into text B, but also necessitates the radical rewriting and synthesizing of text A to accommodate a completely different set of audience expectations, criteria applicable to the analysis of the translation of print documents, whether technical or literary, no longer serve the same purpose (2006, 6).

News translation, filled with connotations and often unknown perspectives, involves a lot more than the layperson's perspective of "a process of replacing words and expressions in one language by their corresponding words and expressions in another language" (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010, 10). Seen within a modern approach to translation and Translation Studies, this is of course true for any translation. Yet, one might say that news translation also goes beyond even more modern, for example, functionalist interpretations that see translation as the *skopos*-driven production of a target text based on a source text.² Whilst recent researchers continue to provide definitions of translation *per se*, they do not cover all the key

¹ See Fox (1993), Kelly (1998), Schäffner (2000, 2004), Hursti (2001), Warwick University's 2004 to 2007 project "Translation in Global News", Bielsa (2005, 2007), Tsai (2005), Vidal (2005), Austerlühl (2007), Baker (2007), Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) and Schäffner and Bassnett (2010).

² In chapter 2.1, I will offer a more nuanced discussion of a number of different concepts of translation where I will also draw parallels between these and news translation.

elements of translation processes that take place in the production of international news.³ Frank Austermühl, for example, defines translation as "the independent production of a text in one language based on a number of sources of information, one of these being the source text written in another language" (personal communication, November 2011). However, in my opinion, even this broad view of the profession does not encompass the way in which journalists, who are not necessarily trained in translation but are competent in their own and (an)other language(s), commonly write news reports in the target language, i.e. the language of text production, often having drawn on a variety of spoken, written and visual sources from a different language. Thereafter, local media organisations (national or regional newspapers, for example) transform these globally circulated reports to cater for their own readership.

In terms of complexity, the phenomenon of simultaneously rendering, or processing both spoken and written source language texts, and at the same time maintaining neutrality in dealing with difficulties created by factors such as connotation, perspective and ideology that are often associated with news production, makes the process of international newswriting arguably more complex than more conventional practices of translating and interpreting. Such complexity leads to the need to focus more specifically on the processes of translation that occur in the production of reports of international news.

In regard to the labelling of these processes, Schäffner and Bassnett point out that "[s]uch practices raise the question as to whether the label translation is actually applicable in the case of news translation, since what happens does not fit established models" (2010, 9). In terms of practices, Schäffner and Bassnett are referring to the fact that "interviews undertaken locally in one language may then be edited down, summarized, passed on via another language, edited down again, transferred into the news agency language, adapted to the house style of a particular publication, shortened to conform to space limits" (ibid). In terms of the processes involved, Bielsa and Bassnett point out that "the only traceable source is an event, and not any identifiable textual account of that event" (2009, 123). This difficulty in sourcing arises because translation, or whichever other term might be employed to describe the processes of interlingual and intercultural transfer that take place in the production of international news (see chapter 2.3.2 for alternative labels) can occur at various points and in various guises wherever linguistic, cultural and national boundaries are crossed.

³ See chapter 2.1.5 for my own definition of news translation.

Translation theories traditionally operate well under the assumption that source to target text transfer is undertaken by trained translators. However, for a discipline that sees processes, products and producers of translation as its core objects of study, Translation Studies has not yet fully explored the specific area of translation in the production of international news, where, as I will show in chapter four, conventional assumptions of translational practices do not hold true. Until publication of the aforementioned studies, debates about the reporting and representation of political events in the media rarely included the role of translation, despite the fact that it plays an important socio-political role in the global circulation of international news. Many would argue that this could be considered a weakness on the part of Translation Studies, given that on a daily basis international print news which is sourced from any number of languages around the world reaches a much larger readership than any other published material.⁴

The result of transformation of information through processes of translation means that we do not all read about original events in the same way, via the same narrative (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 72). What we read are different *versions* of the same events. Discussing the effects of translation in the reporting of political news, Austermühl concludes that these “become part of a global political discourse that plays such an important role in the creation of representations of both individuals and nations alike, such representations being so central to the creation, affirmation or contestation of national identities in a globalized world” (2008, 86-87). In other words, texts which report significant events can shape readers’ knowledge and images of other cultures in general, and that of political institutions in part. Processes of translation that necessarily occur in the production of these texts can further reshape knowledge, either through intentional or unintentional misrepresentation of political ideologies, or the omission or exclusion of important background information relating to cultural, religious or socio-historical aspects of the reported topic. With respect to the link between politics, media and translation, Schäffner and Bassnett stress that “[media] reports about political events are always forms of recontextualisation, and any recontextualisation involves transformations” (2010, 2). Reshaping, therefore, through processes of translation can be one of the characteristics of the complex course of events that occurs in the gathering

⁴ In March 2008 the printed copy of *The New York Times* alone had a daily distribution rate of 1,077,256 (Blumer 2008). Despite a decrease to 950,000 by April 2010, probably due to an increase in on-line readership, distribution rates still remain high (Plambeck 2010). Reuters weekday production rate of international news stories of which 35 percent cover politics, diplomacy and war, and 30 percent business and markets is 400 – 500 and 50 – 150 at weekends (Reuters 2008 – 2009).

and dissemination of international news, one that has been criticised for being responsible for adverse discursive effects.⁵ These discursive effects are often characterised by such features as the imposition of dominant ideologies and the negative portrayal of the Other in mediated news. By the Other, I refer to those who, through negative representation, tend to be identified as belonging to an ‘out-of-power’ group.

1.1 *Aims, Rationale and Relevance of this Study*

From within the context of the transfer of political news from Spanish to English, my core aim in this study is to explore “the highly complex set of processes that underpin the interlingual transfer of news items, processes that raise important questions about the boundaries and indeed definition of translation itself” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 1). In so doing I aim to discover what exactly happens at various points in regard to *what* is translated, *how* it is translated, *where* it is translated and *by whom* it is translated. This is because it is fundamental to the understanding of the nature of news gathering and dissemination and its resultant problems to recognise the fact that “[i]f news translation has traditionally been neglected by Translation Studies it is because it is usually in the hands of journalists rather than translators” (Bielsa 2007, 135). A further goal of this study is thus to ascertain the extent to which competent, trained translators as opposed to just linguistically competent journalists are involved, or if not, whether indeed the former should be involved in processes of translation that occur in the production of international news.⁶

In order to achieve my core aim, from a translation perspective I explore and question the appropriateness of a number of much criticised, yet hitherto, only peripherally researched journalistic processes and practices. Among these is whether newswriters comply with the strategies such as simplification and reframing which they may be obliged to implement to suit the cultural needs of their readers, or to maintain the dominant political ideologies of the publications for which they write. I choose such journalistic practices because it is probably safe to say that most readers remain unaware that in the production of international news, processes of translation comprise a significant part, and therefore account for an equally significant part in media representations of politically-significant international events. Whilst reports of international news must be written in such a way that they are appealing and

⁵ See Schäffner (2004), Warwick University’s 2004 to 2007 project “Translation in Global News”, Christie (2006), Austermühl (2008) and Schäffner and Bassnett (2010).

⁶ The exploratory nature of my study will, almost inevitably, mean that it will include a large number of research variables.

comprehensible, the lay-reader, as consumer, is entitled to be aware of the strategies employed in the reporting of such events.

In terms of representation, in recent case studies which feature different language combinations researchers are finding varying degrees of *misrepresentation* in international newswriting, particularly in regard to the intercultural transfer of political discourse. By the term “intercultural transfer”, I refer to the explanation and communication of events from one cultural and political sphere to another (Brownlie 2010, 32).⁷ For this reason, I will also explore reasons for journalism’s disregard for certain information or for its removal from original context, and over- or under-emphasis of particular terms or phrases which can result in such misrepresentation. Here, from a critical discourse perspective I will consider the potential effect that transformations can have at the new point of reception, where the new readership, usually in a different locale, consumes news of those events in English.

Following the sometimes harsh criticism by contemporary Translation Studies researchers of journalistic processes,⁸ it would seem timely for Translation Studies to further examine in greater detail the specific role that intercultural transfer plays in the global dissemination of news in its transfer from a major world language to a global language. To this end, I will explore the extent to which these criticised practices are actually happening within the context of the production of international news which reports politically significant events that emanate specifically from three socio-culturally different areas of the Spanish-speaking world and which are reported in English. The status of English as a global language is of crucial significance because news reports written in English often represent source texts for translation into other less-translated languages. Global news agencies supply news reports written in English which their clients then translate into their local language (see Bielsa 2007 and 2008 for a more detailed discussion of translation in news agencies).

Different from the aforementioned studies that have been carried out over the last twelve years, this longitudinal study is unique in that it combines ethnographic field research with critical discourse and text analysis of the content of English language news reports whose production involved processes of translation from written and spoken Spanish language sources. Whilst those studies carried out by Kristian Hursti, Cristina Schäffner and

⁷ In regard to positive or negative definitions of issues in international political news reporting, Siobhan Brownlie, in her investigation of how French politicians and political situations in the 2007 Presidential elections in France were transferred into a British context, illustrates how “such reporting is multi-functional and involves translation not only in the interlingual sense but in the sense of explaining and communicating events from one cultural and political sphere to another” (2010, 32).

⁸ See Schäffner (2004), Austermühl (2008), as well as Schäffner and Bassnett (2010).

the research team at Warwick University did involve extensive observation and contact with journalists, they did not combine this with analysis of news reports. In my study I will compare the content of English language news reports with those written in Spanish which were produced at the source of the reported events. The aim of this exercise is to evaluate the translation skills of those who produce reports of international news, and to identify the strategies used. By examining the discursive aspects of reports of international news whose production has knowingly involved processes of translation, I will also attempt to identify the potential causes that might, if at all, trigger textual manipulation. To this end I will carry out interviews with journalists responsible for both the wholesale and retail production of news. The purpose of the interviews is to attempt to identify and explain the underlying causes of what I expect to find in my analysis of a corpus of news reports to be inadequate translation solutions.

My choice of the term “translation solution” refers to the outcome of those “processes by which information is transferred via translation to another culture; and the structure and function of equally valid texts in their respective cultures” (Schäffner 2004, 121). First, I consider a solution inadequate if the discursive effect intended by the original writer or speaker is changed through translation. Different categories of inadequate translation solutions exist. They may be characterised for example, by instances of negative stereotyping, the negative portrayal of the Other or the omission of key information. Second, the notion of inadequate translation solutions relates more to terminological transfer and might be characterised by inaccuracy or inconsistency in the use of political terminology, in itself potential evidence of a lack of terminological or cultural competence. A third category, which is concerned with transfer competence,⁹ is evident through inaccurate rendering of source language concepts.

The study builds on those mentioned earlier and can be seen as a continuation of previous research, principally Warwick University’s 2004 to 2007 landmark project “Translation in Global News”, which investigates *who* translates in the processes of international news production, and *where*, *why*, and *how* such translation takes place. My ultimate goal is to identify the extent to which inadequate translation solutions systematically occur in processes of translation that take place in the production of international print news

⁹ By “transfer competence”, I refer to the ability of the different agents involved in newswriting “to understand the source text and competently re-express it in the target language” (PACTE 2000, 101), that is, general and specific subject and cultural knowledge, outside of language, which “can be activated according to the needs of each translation situation” (ibid).

that is destined for an English-speaking readership. Achievement of this goal will, I hope, also lead to recommendations for future research, thereby laying the way forward for replicable scholarly research between different languages that are translated into English.

Arguably, studies similar to this one could be carried out between any language pair in either direction as challenges that arise in regard to the adequacy of translation solutions are not unique to translation into English. However, it is the specific nature of the production of print news in English that highlights its difference from the production of print news in other languages. As I mentioned in the introductory chapter, reports of international news which are written for an English speaking readership are produced in English from a multiplicity of multi-media sources in (an)other language(s). Whilst in the reporting of major international news events the same practice *may* happen between other major languages, it is more common for original language news reports to be translated at news agencies, often from an identifiable source text, into other languages.¹⁰

1.2 Methodological Framework

This is an exploratory study, geared first at generating broadly-based research questions and then at further exploring and refining them. My research questions are firstly informed by a review of literature relating to the place of translation in the gathering and dissemination of international news. They derive initially from my preview of some of the hypotheses proposed in the Warwick project, thereby responding to calls from other researchers in the field who have identified inadequacy in translation solutions as being characteristic of the production of international print news.¹¹ Secondly, following examination of the discursive content of the corpus of English language news reports, and through my subsequent comparison of this with the discursive content of Spanish language versions of the same news reports that were published at the source of the events, my research questions are also informed through consideration of the use of these features and the subsequent role such usage can play in shaping the world in terms of power, identity and political ideology.¹²

My thesis aims to contribute to the study of translation in the media by identifying the significant role it plays in the production and dissemination of international news. Only by

¹⁰ See Hursti (2001), Gutiérrez (2006), Ali (2009), Caimotto (2010), Federici (2010), Gumul (2010) and Loupaki (2010).

¹¹ See Schäffner (2004), Warwick University's 2004 to 2007 project "Translation in Global News" and Austerlühl (2008).

¹² See chapter 2.4 for an overview of the phenomenon of ideology in the discourse of news.

“first contextualising the processes [through] which international news is formed can we understand what has actually been transferred and why” (Hursti 2001). To this end, I will carry out three longitudinal case studies. These comprise analysis of the content of a 125,000 word corpus of politically significant English language news reports. I will compare these with a corpus of texts which cover the same events, but which are written in Spanish and which emanate from Honduran, Argentine and Spanish news sources. Each case study represents a different political aspect, namely governmental, economic and social. The English language news reports were mainly published in the *Guardian* and the *New York Times* over a twelve-month period from 28 June 2009 to 30 June 2010. Some were also published in the *Financial Times*, *Independent*, *Times* and *Telegraph*, over the same period.

The first case study represents a governmental aspect in the reporting of political news. It follows the course of events resulting from the deposition of Honduran president Manuel Zelaya on 28 June 2009 to the presidential elections in Honduras on 29 November 2009. Whilst the political situation in Honduras may be considered by some as being of minor importance on a global scale, it is nonetheless politically significant in that it represented the first threat to democratic processes in Latin America in nearly thirty years. What is important in the context of this study is my assumption that the way in which these events were reported in the English-speaking world is probably representative of the reporting of other political events that may be deemed more internationally significant.

The second case study represents economic and nationalistic aspects in the reporting of political news. It focuses on Argentina’s 2010 reclaim to sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas* in light of Britain’s proposal to prospect for oil within the disputed territorial waters.

The third case study examines the discourse of socio-economic events reported during Spain’s presidency of the European Union from 1 January 2010 to 30 June 2010, and focuses particularly on the reporting of Spain’s economic situation within the wider context of the financial crisis in the Euro Zone countries.

The study as a whole will focus in particular on the possible changes in discursive effect that can occur through translation in the production of international news, and will question the aforementioned practice of adaptation of source texts to suit new audiences. Analysis of the corpus of texts used in the three case studies will serve two additional purposes. Firstly, it will provide a means of identifying degrees of transfer competence and secondly, it will provide a springboard for discussion with professional journalists during semi-structured, face-to-face interviews that will form the fieldwork component to my

research.¹³ I will take a deductive approach and by means of translation criticism, translation oriented text analysis and critical discourse analysis, attempt to identify patterns of inadequate translation solutions. This is in order to be able to further refine my research questions, which I will then explore through the interviews with professional journalists at Reuters, the world's leading news agency, and the internationally respectable and respected *New York Times* and *Guardian* newspapers.¹⁴

The purpose of the interviews is threefold: firstly they should serve to establish the extent to which translators as journalists, or journalists as translators (from now on often jointly referred to as “newswriters”),¹⁵ might be responsible for the occurrence of inadequate translation solutions, and for the subsequent effect these might have on published reports of international news. Here I specifically intend to establish the extent to which discursive misrepresentation is really happening in the production of international news that emanates specifically from the Spanish-speaking world, and to investigate *whether* inadequate transformations in the form of discursive misrepresentation of political news events do systematically occur. I also aim to discover *how* and *why* such misrepresentation might occur and *who* might be involved in the translation process.

Secondly, the interviews will hopefully reveal those mechanisms in the world of media dissemination that obscure the phenomena of invisibility and transparency in translation. My goal here is to identify the extent to which we can compare traditional translation processes with those that occur in the production of international news.

1.3 Research Questions

As the core focus of the study is to identify whether inadequate translation solutions occur, and if so, where, why and how they occur in rewritten news texts, I consider it appropriate that my four research questions and the tentative hypotheses they might generate, be concerned with, and based around the three related areas of i) translation and the transfer competence of those agents involved therein, ii) discursive practice and iii) media practices. In their design my research questions fulfil criteria stipulated by Alan Bryman (2004, 33) in

¹³ Where it is not possible to conduct face-to-face interviews, I will conduct telephone interviews and set up email exchanges to gain information. Reference to interviews and email communication will be quoted as “personal communication”.

¹⁴ Approval was granted by The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC) on 28 October 2009 (ref 2009-464) to carry out field research in the form of unstructured interviews with journalists. In order to maintain anonymity and confidentiality in any sensitive issues that might arise, and at the request of the interviewees, the interviews were not recorded, hence the absence of transcripts.

¹⁵ See chapter 2.2.2

that they are researchable, are linked to each other, and in order to fit the scope of this study, are neither too broad nor too narrow. My research questions connect with established theory and research and therefore have the potential to make a contribution to knowledge. In terms of the evaluation of research quality, they comply with notions of reliability, replicability and validity.¹⁶

Drawing on my review of the literature relating to processes of international news gathering and dissemination, my first research question specifically concerns theoretical and methodological issues concerned with processes of translation that take place in the production of international news: *Can we compare traditional translation processes with those that occur in the production of international news?* The question derives from identification by recent Translation Studies researchers¹⁷ of the hidden and oftentimes negated role of translation in the production of international news. Here processes differ somewhat from more conventional ones which are typified by source to target text transfer of linguistic and cultural content. I describe these differences in more detail in the next chapter but for now it is sufficient to say that translation in the production of international news appears to be commonly recognised by those agents involved as being a ‘virtual’ process of transfer of spoken and written information which is *sourced*, rather than *translated*, from another language.

If we recognise news translation’s ‘difference’, another key factor to reconsider in relation to traditional processes and products thereof, is the assessment of translation quality.

¹⁶ The notion of reliability is concerned with whether or not the study can be successfully repeated, producing the same results. If it can, it is said to be *replicable*, therefore *replicability* becomes a test of *reliability* through subsequent reproduction of the same results. *Validity* refers to “the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research” (Trochim 2001, 162-3). Guba and Lincoln propose the four criteria of *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*, as being necessary to judge validity in qualitative research (ibid). *Credibility* is established from analysis of the results from the perspective of the researcher, who can legitimately judge the credibility of results. In this regard, validity is internal. *Transferability* equates to Bryman’s notion of *credibility* as it refers to the degree to which the results can be generalised or transferred (2004, 33). The advantage here is that any researcher could benefit from the results of this study by building on and replicating research methods that have already been carried out. *Dependability* is concerned with measurement of the same phenomenon more than once, and equates to Bryman’s notion of *replicability* (ibid) where research can be carried out in a different context, for example between different language pairs. Within the context of this study, a key goal is to lay the way forward for analysis of different text types between any combination of languages. The study can therefore be said to be both, *credible* or *transferable* and *dependable* or *replicable* as different situational, political and topical contexts can be considered. Finally, Guba and Lincoln’s *confirmability* (Trochim 2001, 162-3) relates to the assumption that each researcher brings a unique perspective to the study, which can be confirmed or rejected by others. In this study that unique perspective is confirmed through a combination of text analysis and interviews with professional journalists.

¹⁷ See Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) and Schäffner and Bassnett (2010).

We can no longer use the same competence-based benchmarks¹⁸ as we would in conventional translational processes to decide whether a translation solution is adequate. This does not mean, however, that when investigating the potential causes of an inadequate translation solution, consideration of notions of competence do not remain valid for both traditional processes and those that take place in the production of international news. Here I refer specifically to transfer competence, that is, the translator's ability to understand the source text and competently re-express it in the target language (PACTE 2000, 100).¹⁹

From my analysis of the corpus of texts used in this study, it would seem evident that in some cases levels of transfer competence are ignored.²⁰ This may be because editors, in their refusal to recognise the role of translation in the production of international news, may not consider the fact that a potential lack of transfer competence could lead to what we as Translation Studies researchers see as inadequate translation solutions. To the lay-reader these might simply manifest themselves as poor English usage or factual inaccuracy.

When considering notions of quality in any practical field, it is important also to consider aspects of training. Analysis of inaccuracies in English language usage in texts belonging to the third case study in particular leads me to assume that those newswriters who are involved in the production of international news might need some specialist training in translation. If theoretical and methodological aspects of translation are not included in journalism training, (which is most likely the case because journalism does not generally recognise translation *per se* as being part of international news production), it is unlikely that specific benchmarks exist in regard to levels of transfer competence among those involved in the production of international print news. This leads to my second research question which derives from my analysis of the corpus of texts that forms Chapter four: *Should theoretical and methodological aspects of translation form part of journalism training?*

In more conventional fields of professional translation, an effective way of ensuring accuracy and consistency in the use of terminology, and of avoiding random choices which can result in inconsistencies in the adequacy of translation solutions, is the use of resources such as specialist dictionaries, glossaries, style guides and terminology databases. In the production of international news, given the seemingly random use of political terminology that I highlight in the first case study, the same degree of importance does not appear to be

¹⁸ See chapter 2.3.5.

¹⁹ The same degree of consideration applies to tri- or multi-lingual agents involved in the production of international news.

²⁰ See chapter 4.3 for examples of inaccurate English usage in published news reports.

laid upon the use of such tools as it is in other fields of translation. My third research question in this regard, therefore, is: *Do specific quality control guidelines exist for the use or re-use of translated material prior to the publication of international news reports?*

My final research question relates to the discursive properties of mediated reports of international news. It is informed by the interest in discursive features that has become the focus of research of a number of Translation Studies scholars in the new millennium.²¹ Many of these scholars criticise the proliferation of ideologically laden reports of politically significant international news events, in whose production translation has played a part. Schäffner, for example, asserts that

[t]ranslators as mediators in the process of globalisation, should just try to reflect existing cultural and political types and stereotypes, thus helping to define them. Instead, we often contribute to creating such types and stereotypes, thus serving – however unintentionally – the purpose of (controlled) media and propaganda to promote them for their own dubious political purposes (2000, 68).

However, while certain overriding media practices may account for inadequate translation solutions in political news reports,²² for reasons that I will describe in chapter four, I find it unlikely that international newswriters consciously impregnate texts with their own ideological values. This is contrary to Schäffner and Bassnett's view that "the traditional conception of the translator as an invisible transporter of meanings has been replaced by that of visible interventionist" (2010, 11). Furthermore, without evidence to suggest that such practices consciously take place, I posit that international newswriters do not, through 'clever' use of language, predominate and thereby reproduce and maintain dominant power relations that continually work for or against those in power. Their agenda is not to reproduce or enact social power abuse, dominance and inequality in the social and political context. Therefore it would seem unlikely that international newswriters have the habit of intentional misrepresentation of the Other. This notion falls in line with Associated Press's (AP) 16 February 2006 *Statement of News Values and Principles*, where Melville Stone, general manager of Associated Press in 1914 is quoted as saying: "I have no thought of saying The Associated Press is perfect. The frailties of human nature attach to it...the thing it is striving for is a truthful, unbiased report of the world's happenings...ethical in the highest degree" (Associated Press 2006).

I base my final research question upon Schäffner's and Stone's quotations (above) and upon the basis that there is no direct evidence that journalists "use language for the exercise of socio-political control" (Widdowson 2004, 89): *To what extent is discursive*

²¹ The most recent of these are published in Schäffner and Bassnett (2010).

²² See chapter 2.3.3.

misrepresentation really happening in the production of international news that emanates from the Spanish-speaking world? If newswriters do impose their own ideologies, it is also of interest to discover how this might happen. Finally, in response to widespread critical discourse analysis of newspaper reporting, it is also of interest to ascertain the extent to which newswriters are concerned with discursive effects such as imbalance of power relations that can occur in the transfer of information from Spanish-language sources for consumption by an English-language readership.

The research questions above, which in a dialectical way have been both informed and refined through content analysis of my corpus of texts and have guided said analysis, also form the basis of semi-structured interviews with newspaper and agency journalists. They are expanded as interview questions (see appendix 1) and in this way will guide the interviews. The interview questions are categorised in such a way that they encompass Jenny Williams and Andrew Chesterman's following six context variables that are likely to affect the content of translated material:

- source-text variables (such as style, format, structural and semantic aspects, text type, the source language itself: all these form part of the linguistic context in which the translation itself is done, they affect the form of the translation)
- target-language variables (language-specific structural and rhetorical constraints; comparable non-translated texts in the target language)
- task variables (production factors such as the purpose and type of the translation, deadline, reference material available, computer programs used, relations with the client)
- translator variables (e.g. degree of professional experience, emotional attitude to the task, male or female, translating into or out of mother tongue)
- socio-cultural variables (norms, cultural values, ideologies, status of the languages concerned)
- reception variables (client's reactions, critics' reviews, readers' responses, quality assessments). (2002, 85-6)

In short, Williams and Chesterman's context variables relate to "anything in the spatial or temporal environment of the translation that could be relevant to it" (2002, 85). As all aspects of these exist to a greater or lesser extent in processes of translation that take place in the production of international news, I will examine the relationship between them and textual content in order to identify possible practices which might lead to inadequate translation solutions in the production of international news reports.

1.4 Chapter Outline

Chapter two constitutes my literature review. In order to accommodate the inter-disciplinary nature of this study, and because it is essential to appropriately contextualise those areas outlined in the present introduction which surround the role of translation in the production of

international news, I will present a review of the literature belonging to the three related disciplinary areas of i) translation, ii) media practices and iii) discourse analysis.

I will start by situating the place of translation in the production of international news within the broader discipline of Translation Studies. This is in order to propose a theoretical framework within which such processes can be placed and is important because processes of translation that occur in the production of international news appear to belong to a separate paradigm within the discipline as a whole. Following this, situating media dissemination and its related translational activity within the phenomenon of globalisation, I will describe the role of news agencies as agents of globalisation. This serves as a prelude to the consideration of two important dichotomies: transparency vs. invisibility in translation and homogeneity vs. diversity in news production, as key factors in my identification of the problems encountered in translation in the production of international news.

From the joint perspectives of the disciplines of Media Studies and Translation Studies, I will describe the role of translation as it exists in processes of international news gathering and dissemination, and discuss some of the methodological considerations which set such processes apart from other areas of the translation profession. I will also outline regulatory procedures in regard to the processes involved, and give consideration to both the status of those who translate and to notions of translation competence, with the view to identifying factors that might be responsible for the occurrence of inadequate translation solutions in the production of international news. The final section of my literature review will be dedicated to the discourse of news. Here I will describe the phenomenon of news as a social construct, and examine notions of objectivity in journalism. I will also explore the existence of political ideologies that are represented through particular discourses, and the role these play in shaping the world in terms of identity and power.

Chapter three will cover the methodological framework within which my study operates. First I will outline the research type that I will use in the study, the research models followed for the collection of data, analysis of that data, and ethnographic fieldwork. Then will come an overview of translation orientated approaches to text and discourse analysis as a justification for the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a suitable methodological tool to analyse the discourse of the corpus of texts that forms chapter four.

Analysis of my data within the framework of the three aforementioned case studies comprises the content of chapter four. Here, from the three distinct, but ultimately interrelated perspectives of translation, critical discourse analysis and media practices, I will include my analysis of the corpora of international news reports and refer to information gleaned during

field research in order to offer possible explanations as to the occurrence of inadequate translation solutions in reports of international news. From a translation perspective, I will base my critique on the four Translation Studies paradigms that form the basis of the theoretical framework to my research as outlined in chapter 2.1. Then, from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, I will describe the effect that so-called inadequate translation solutions might have on the resultant discourse, and subsequently therefore, on the portrayal of the Other. From the perspective of media practices, my aim is to explain why inadequate translation solutions resulting in the use of what may be considered ideologically-laden or negatively-framed discourse, might have come about. The chapter will conclude with findings from my analysis.

In the final chapter I will draw conclusions from my study as a whole. Here I expect to be able to offer specific reasons as to the occurrence of inadequate translation solutions that can appear in reports of international news. I expect these to be related more to the norms of media practices that dominate in the production on international news, rather than to translational practices. The chapter will conclude with an overview of the limitations encountered in the course of my research, an evaluation the usefulness of CDA as an analytical tool and recommendations for future research.

2.1 News Translation in Translation Studies – a Theoretical Framework

Translation [S]tudies today is a cluster of overlapping perspectives. There is no unified way of approaching the study of translation (Neubert & Shreve 1992, 6).

If this study is to be of significance by providing a springboard for future research, it is necessary to appropriately situate news translation within the greater sphere of the discipline as a whole. In accordance with Theo Hermans' conviction that "there should be a continual interplay between theoretical models and practical case studies" (1985, 10), such positioning will serve as a prelude to providing a clear definition that more closely aligns with processes of translation that are involved in the production of international news, as opposed to those that pertain to more conventional processes of professional translation.

Current notions of the nature of translation no longer see translation simply as a matter of source to target language rendering of one written text to another, a view that is nonetheless quite prevalent among non-translators. In this regard, I will first give an overview of the four established Translation Studies' paradigms which I consider to be most relevant to this study. The first of these is Functionalism because of the relevance of its target oriented approach in the production of international news. I will then go on to describe the relevance of approaches that were developed as part of the Cultural Turn in Translation Studies (Lefevere and Bassnett 1990, 1-13). Here I will include aspects of post-colonial approaches before leading on to André Lefevere's Theory of Rewriting (1992) and the notions of patronage associated with this. Both the Cultural Turn and Lefevere's Theory of Rewriting are relevant because they came to be seen to function under the influence of power and ideology, phenomena which were imposed by groups such as politicians, publishers and the media. It is the latter that is of particular significance to this study. Finally, I will consider the product-oriented, function-oriented and process-oriented characteristics of Descriptive Translation Studies (Toury 1995) and its associated notions of agency and stake-holding that are also common to media practices. My rationale for choosing these four paradigms is that they encompass the influence of the cultural environment in which translation takes place, and see the translator as an agent who is influenced by his or her surrounding cultural environment.

In order to provide a fully contextualised framework, I will complement the theoretical approaches mentioned above with a number of studies which relate in some way to my own. The first is that carried out by Dorothy Kelly (1998), who, from a critical discourse analysis perspective, investigates a corpus of texts relating to the portrayal of Spain

in the British press. Her study shows the way in which translation decisions regarding culture-bound institutional terms influence the portrayal of the target culture and thus the target readers' perception of those institutions referred to. Kelly also analyses "how decisions taken in translation solutions can introduce ideological elements, in particular positive self — and negative Other— representation, which can reproduce and reinforce myths or stereotypes" (1998, 57) regarding the source culture that already exist in the target culture. Secondly, in regard to discourse, I will consider Schäffner's 2000 study which discusses the use of discourse analysis in translation training and her 2004 study in which she analyses political discourse from a Translation Studies perspective.

I will also draw on Hursti's 2001 study which, within the context of the language direction English–Finnish, describes processes of transformation and transfer in international news, and proposes hypotheses as to how and why news reports in English influence their Finnish counterparts. Useful here is Hursti's analysis of textual transformation in which she looks at the operations that journalists use for altering, retaining or borrowing certain source text information in the target text. Useful also is her description of the transfer decisions that are exercised by individual journalists and the way in which these are in turn "governed by various situational factors that their organisation and surrounding culture impose upon them" (Hursti 2001).

Other related studies are Esperança Bielsa's accounts of translation within globalisation and translation within global news agencies (2005, 2007); Claire Tsai's (2005) observation of processes of translation that occur in a Taiwanese television newsroom; José Manuel Vidal's (2005) account of translation in Spanish media contexts; Mona Baker's (2006) study on the reframing of news in situations of conflict and Frank Austermühl's (2008) identification of weaknesses in the translation of political news events.

A more recent study is that undertaken by Bielsa and Bassnett (2009), which, based on Warwick University's 2004 to 2007 project "Translation in Global News", describes from within the fields of both Translation Studies and Globalisation Studies, how global news agencies conceive processes of translation that take place in the international transmission of news. As part of their study, the authors raise interesting questions about the definition of translation in that setting.

The most recent studies on which I will draw are outlined in the following five synopses which deal with the overlap between political discourse, media and translational practices at a variety of European political and media institutions. More specifically they examine "what exactly happens in processes of recontextualisation across linguistic, cultural

and ideological boundaries” (Schäffner and Bassnet 2010, 21), in a variety of European language contexts.

Within the context of how French political situations are portrayed by journalists in a British context in such a way that they are comprehensible to a British public, Siobhan Brownlie (2010) investigates and identifies a number of strategies commonly used in relation to the positioning²³ of individual newspapers. Her study highlights the important role of newswriters as intercultural mediators in the representation of foreign news.

Based on the analysis of Greek translations of English news articles, Elpida Loupaki’s 2010 study is concerned with investigating how translators deal with ideological conflict in news articles. The analysis of her studies shows that different translation strategies such as omission, addition and explicitation can reproduce, delete or introduce ideological loading in mediated texts. Like Bielsa and Bassnett (2009), she queries whether the term “translator” is appropriate to the production of international news.

Using the label “translating-reporting”, Maria Cristina Caimotto (2010) illustrates different practices used by Italian newspapers in their reporting of foreign political news and focuses particularly on how the Italian media can completely reframe messages in target texts in order that they fit comfortably within the framework of pre-existing narratives.

On the basis of translations into Polish of English-language news reports, Ewa Gumul investigates the practice of explicitation²⁴ in translation, and how it can be used as a tool for linguistic manipulation, resulting in the portrayal of different points of view to those intended at the English-language source of the reporting of politically significant events.

The last study on which I will draw is that conducted by Federico Federici (2010), which analyses the way in which the Italian press approach the translation of a US military report from Iraq and, in particular, the way in which newspapers selectively manipulated certain passages, thereby reframing original discourse in their quest to “legitimise” translation.

I will conclude this chapter with an overview of the most recent definitions of translation in order to offer a justification for the positioning of processes of translation that occur in the production of international news as a separate paradigm. This is because I

²³ By positioning I refer to “genre, journalists, addressees, [the] socio-historical situation of the target culture, intercultural and transcultural relations and attitudes” (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010, 22).

²⁴ By explicitation, Gumul refers to the practice of using discourse features such as metaphor, transitivity, modality, lexical choice and cohesion as a means of altering the message of a source text, thereby effecting changes in intended meaning in the target text.

believe that an amalgam of approaches pertains to such processes and therefore see ‘news translation’ as a cross-paradigm. Having considered more recent definitions, I will provide a working definition that I consider most aptly represents those processes. This is necessary because in my review of the literature relating to this specific area, I noticed a distinct absence of a clear definition of what is hitherto commonly referred to by the researchers whose studies I have drawn upon, as “news translation”.

2.1.1 *Functionalist Approaches*

Functionalist approaches of the 1970s and 1980s which emerged as a reaction to linguistically oriented approaches that were prevalent up to the 1970s (Palumbo 2009, 50), see translation as not only involving linguistic transfer, but also the transfer of social and cultural elements. As both are relevant to processes of translations that occur in the production of international news, functionalist approaches must in part provide a valid theoretical framework to this study for two main reasons: firstly, news texts are produced and received with a specific purpose in mind, and secondly, transfer of culture is an essential element in processes of translation that occur in the production of international news.

By culture I refer to David Katan’s definition which, taken from an anthropological perspective is “a system of congruent and interrelated beliefs, values, strategies and cognitive environments which guide the shared basis of behaviour” (2004, 26). In the processes involved in international news gathering, part of the journalist’s role is that of cultural mediator, the person “who facilitates communication, understanding, and action between persons or groups who differ with respect to language and culture” (Taft 1981, 53). Taft, also from an anthropological perspective, sees translating as being one of the skills of a cultural mediator. From a translation perspective, Basil Hatim and Ian Mason who define translation as “a dynamic process of communication” (1990, 223) identify two specific ways in which a translator is a mediator, both of which hold true in the context of international news gathering and dissemination. They describe a translator as having

bi-cultural vision [where] the translator is uniquely placed to identify and resolve the disparity between sign and value across cultures [and as] critical reader [where] the translator is a ‘privileged reader’ of the SL text. S/he will have the opportunity to read the text carefully before translating, and therefore is in a position to help the target reader by producing as clear a text as the context would warrant (1990, 223-4).

As long ago as 1978, long before the current surge of interest from Translation Studies researchers in processes of translation that occur in the production of international

news, initiator of *Skopos* Theory,²⁵ Hans Vermeer described the translator as “bi-cultural”, to which Mary Snell-Hornby in 1992 added “cross-cultural specialist” (Katan 2004, 14).

In regard to the transfer of cultural content, with reference to the work of Katherina Reiss and Hans Vermeer (1991), Schäffner also reminds us that “[s]ince language and culture are interdependent, translation is transfer between cultures, a specific kind of culture-determined text production” (2004, 134).²⁶ In other words, linguistic and cultural features exist in equal measure in all aspects of translation, making it a “purposeful, transcultural activity” (Schäffner 2009, 115).

In further regard to culture, Justa Holz-Männätäri’s purpose-driven model of translational action from a source text is also relevant to international news production as it involves intercultural transfer and views translation as “not about translating words, sentences or texts but is in every case about guiding the intended co-operation over cultural barriers enabling functionally oriented communication” (Holz-Männätäri 1984 [translated], quoted in Munday, 2001, 77). Holz-Männätäri’s model, which is considered relevant for all types of translation, involves a series of different players. These include the source text producer, the target text producer, the target text user and the target text receiver, all of whom play a significant part in the production and reception of international news. Examples of Holz-Männätäri’s “cultural barriers” (ibid) pertinent to this study, which I will explore in greater detail in chapter four, are: the clarification of different electoral processes in Honduras as opposed to those that are understood in Britain and the United States; the historical and political background to Argentina’s latest claim to sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas* and contributory factors to Spain’s 2010 economic crisis.

Functionalist approaches see translation *per se* to be a purposeful activity (Nord 1997), which demand that a target text be structured to the specific purpose described in an initial brief. Translation Studies recognises that texts are always written and consumed with a particular *skopos*, or purpose, in mind. *Skopos* Theory, which holds that the purpose of translation decides how textual content will be rendered in target texts, is widely used and accepted in non-literary translation. According to its main function, its use is equally valid in processes of translation that take place in the production of international news.²⁷ In this

²⁵ *Skopos* Theory derives from the Greek word *skopós*, which means purpose, aim, goal, objective (Schäffner 2004, 133).

²⁶ On the basis of Schäffner’s assertion, all references I will make to translation or language transfer implicitly include both linguistic and cultural elements.

²⁷ Other media-related studies of the application of *Skopos* theory include Zhao Ning’s 2008 study into the translation of soft news, Wang Baorong’s 2009 study relating to the translation of publicity texts,

regard, it is the second of Reiss and Vermeer's rules relating to *Skopos* Theory that is most relevant: "A TT is an offer of information (*Informationsangebot*) in a target culture and TL concerning an offer of information in a source culture and SL" (Reiss and Vermeer quoted in Munday, 2001, 79), where the source text and target text relate to their function in both linguistic and cultural contexts. *Skopos* Theory is useful in international newswriting because it "allows the possibility of the same text being translated in different ways according to the purpose of the TT" (Munday 2001, 80). More recently, Bielsa and Bassnett also point out that as a starting point for a discussion as to where news translation lies, "*skopos* Theory is one of the most useful approaches, because it is premised on the notion of equivalent effect, not on any notion of exact textual equivalence" (2009, 117).

In regard to the translation brief, as I will describe in more detail in chapter 2.3, because conventional processes of source text to target text transfer do not commonly take place in the processes of translation that occur in the production of international news, no such specific translation brief exists. What exists instead is the standard brief which is determined by media conventions. This pertains to the accurate and objective reporting of events.

From interviews with journalists in the field research component of this study, I have ascertained that the reason for the absence of a translation brief is that translation *per se* does not generally appear to be seen as an overt part of international news production, a view largely endorsed by Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) in their extensive account of the place of translation in the production of global news. Interestingly, however, as in other translational processes of source text to target text transfer, a parallel situation does exist within media practices. The starting point of the journalist's brief is not the linguistic and cultural content of the source, but the needs of the target readership. So although there is no specific translation brief as such in processes of translation that occur in international news production, as in other areas of non-literary translation the fact still remains that the starting point is not the linguistic content of the source (text), but the purpose of the target text (Nord 1997).

As reception by the target readership is central to acceptance of media texts, *Skopos* Theory is a legitimate paradigm for newswriters to work within. This view is in line with the underlying principles of functionalist approaches; whether the *skopos* of the source or target

Ghadya Ali's study of How Arab Journalists Translate English-Language Newspaper Headlines and Sarah Love's 2009 study of the translation of Argentine economic terminology from Spanish into English.

text is the same or different, both documentary and instrumental types of translation, elements of which commonly feature in the media context, are equally valid (Schäffner 2004, 133).

Both documentary and instrumental methods are valid approaches in processes of translation that take place in the production of international news. Documentary translation, the function of which is to document source-culture communicative interaction for understanding by the target-culture readership, is relevant to the translation of spoken or written quotations in news reports. Instrumental translation, whose function is to serve as an instrument for target-culture communicative interaction modelled according to source-culture communicative interaction, but which, by focusing on the communicative purpose of the target text, functions independently from the source text, whose communicative purpose might have been different, is also valid because of its role in adaptation to target-culture norms.

The importance of consideration of both documentary and instrumental translation lies in the fact that through both methods, the content of news reports can be made accessible to the new readership. Under instrumental approaches to translation, texts are usually adapted to target-culture norms whereupon readers are not necessarily aware that what they are reading is in fact a translation at all (Nord 1997, 48-52). Whilst I argue that translation in the conventional sense of source to target text transfer does not generally occur in the production of international news, consideration of aspects of instrumental translation is still valid because the content of news reports has to be made accessible to the new readership (see chapter 2.3). Indeed, in terms of the position of a translation in a recipient culture, Toury (1995, 12) advocates that this represents a strong governing factor in the make-up of the new text. In the media context, translated material is covertly²⁸ used by international newswriters, who are competent in other languages, to meet the needs of a new readership. These newswriters operate according to the needs and culture of their target readership and assign importance, as necessary, to elements of cultural content, such as explanation to the background of political events often with the result that there is “a very real cultural distance from the original text” (House 2009, 17) where processes of translation are hidden from the original text.

²⁸ Juliane House (2009, 16) proposes that “a covert translation enjoys the status of an original text in the receiving culture” and goes on to clarify that “[t]he translation is covert because it is not marked pragmatically as a translation at all, but may, conceivably, have been created in its own right” (ibid, 17).

To conclude my overview of the role of functionalist approaches in processes of translation that take place in the production of international news, it is worth noting that limitations in the sole use of functionalist approaches arise when we consider the ideological constraints which result in different presentations of textual features of the same story by different newspapers. This is because consideration of ideology does not form part of functionalism in Translation Studies.

2.1.2 *The Cultural Turn in Translation Studies*

The Cultural Turn in Translation Studies was an attempt in the early 1990s at moving the study of translation away from more formalist approaches, which were characterised by a focus on the grammatical and syntactical features of literary texts, to having a greater focus on extra-textual factors related to cultural context, history and convention (Palumbo 2009, 30). That is, viewing translation as culture and politics as opposed to merely translation as text (Munday 2001, 127). This shift necessitated inclusion of a focus on the institutions such as publishing houses, of which newspapers and international news agencies can be considered a part, which were (and still are) party to processes of translation.

Taking an approach influenced by Cultural Studies, anthropology and poststructuralist, postmodernist and postcolonial theories, Lefevere and Bassnett describe the Cultural Turn as the point at which translation as a socio-political practice was recognised to be “a major shaping force in the development of world culture” (1990, 12). This is because it came to be seen to function under the influence of power and ideology which were imposed by groups such as politicians, publishers and the media. The Cultural Turn in Translation Studies “ensured that translation would henceforth be seen not as an isolated activity, taking place in a kind of vacuum, but as an act directly linked to the world in which translators work” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 9), which in the context of this study, is the world of international news production. As in functionalist approaches, the Cultural Turn in Translation Studies allowed translators to become liberated from linguistic and semantic aspects of source texts. The notion of liberation from source texts is also a salient feature of processes of translation that take place in international news production because source texts are not generally used in this translational context in the same way in which they are used in conventional contexts.

According to Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler, the Cultural Turn has become a “power turn” in Translation Studies with “questions of power brought to the fore in discussions of both translation history and strategies for translation” (2002, xvi). Thus, it is

important to consider the translational contexts in which institutions such as global news agencies and newspapers operate because both can serve as conduits of power in their dissemination of international news. Important also is consideration of the resulting impact of translation on the receiving cultures. Here, Gentzler's perspective, which is drawn from poststructural, feminist and postcolonial theories, is that translators are becoming increasingly liberated in that they can "[interject] their own worldviews and politics into their work" (2002, 197). Gentzler goes on to qualify his assertion, pointing out its somewhat controversial nature by saying that

translators invariably conform to certain standards and differ from others. What might be socially or politically progressive in one time and place may be the reverse in other situations. Often translators adopt different linguistic and political strategies depending on the type of text they are translating and the type of audience they have in mind, thus making translation analysis increasingly difficult (ibid).

In the same regard, but with reference specifically to literary translation, Bassnett and Lefevere state that "[translation] is never innocent. There is always a context in which translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed" (Álvarez and África-Vidal 1996, 7). Within the focus of this study, newswriters who operate as translators in their role as producers of reports of international news should consider both source and target cultures because the same notion of translation's innocence applies. Whether it be the context of the source, the context of the process of translation, or the context of reception, all three are highly significant and should thus be taken into account in the production of international news.

In regard to culture, ideology and the enforcement of power relations, I would argue that processes of translation in the production of international news can in part also be approached from the perspective of post-colonial approaches to Translation Studies. Jeremy Munday explores the dichotomy of cultural constraints on translation and translational constraints on culture where there is a "move from translation as text to translation as culture and politics" (2001, 127). Despite the fact that processes involved in international news production are not included in Munday's study, they are nonetheless applicable. He identifies power-relations as being at the crossroads of Translation Studies and Postcolonial Theory. This position is supported by other scholars of post-colonial theory of the 1990s. Tejaswani Niranjana (1992) and Maria Tymoczko (1999) have 'outed' the translator as a visible interventionist, active in the shaping of meaning rather than the previously perceived invisible provider thereof. In the context of international news production, shaping of meaning which can cause people to act upon the meanings they draw from culturally mediated texts, has, in many cases, involved the concept of power. Still to be fully

substantiated, however, is the extent to which translation plays a deliberate or intentional role as a contributory factor to this phenomenon, and remains the object of future study.

The most recently published research into the role that translation plays in the transfer of political discourse also tends to support the aforementioned postmodernist theories in regard to the change in perception of “the translator as an invisible transporter of meanings” (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010, 11) to “visible interventionist” (ibid). The authors go on to say that the focus of Translation Studies today is on “social, cultural, and communicative practices, on the cultural and ideological significance of translating and of translations, on the external politics of translation, on the relationship between translation behaviour and socio-cultural factors” (ibid). However, in particular regard to the practices of translators as journalists or journalists as translators, and without considerable substantiation of the facts, I feel we must be careful not to paint the same negative picture as Gentzler and Tymoczko in their preface to “Translation and Power” where, from a postmodernist viewpoint within the context of postcolonial translation theory, and with a particular focus on power relations, they so strongly assert that translation “is not simply an act of faithful reproduction but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration and fabrication – and even, in some cases of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes” (2002, xxi).

Application of Gentzler’s dichotomy has the result of facing translators with “the choice of either taking the reader back to the text [foreignisation] or bringing that text across to the readers [domestication or acculturation]” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 9). The authors point out that when foreignising occurs, “features of the source text and its context are reproduced with the result that the final product might seem strange and unfamiliar... deliberately [foregrounding] the cultural other, so that the translated text can never be presumed to have originated in the target language” (ibid). Whilst this might be a desirable effect in literary translation, the complexity that might thereby be created in news reports does not constitute a valid news value, and is therefore deemed inappropriate in processes of translation that occur in the production of international news where techniques of domestication or acculturation are demanded by the newspapers’ patrons to be the norm (see chapter 2.3.5).

In regard to a different perception of reality, Schäffner describes translations as representing “glimpses into other worlds where reality is perceived differently” (2004, 135). Like Lawrence Venuti, she supports respect for, and representation of ‘otherness’ in translation. In terms of news translation ‘otherness’ refers to the common practice of

journalistic strategies of favouring local political and commercial interests over those of ‘the Other’. These are the people who will often be ridiculed through media misrepresentation as a result of inadequate translation decisions, as happened in the case of Bolivian President, Evo Morales (see Austermühl 2008) and of ex-Honduran President Manuel Zelaya (see chapter 4.1 of this thesis).

2.1.3 Lefevere’s Theory of Rewriting

Whilst the concept of purpose is central to functionalism, the determining forces of patronage that are central to Lefevere’s Theory of Rewriting are also typical of media processes. By the term patronage, Lefevere means “the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature” (1992, 15) and whose “efforts are directed at maintaining the stability of the system” (Munday 2001, 127). Lefevere identifies three components to patronage: *The ideological component* “which constrains the choice of subject and the form of its presentation but which is not restricted to political definitions of the term” (Lefevere 1992, 15); *the economic component* which concerns the payment of writers and rewriters, for example, royalties and translator’s fees and indirect funding from patrons such as newspaper publishers and *the status component* which includes membership and support of the actions of certain groups, for example, the Beat poets using *City Lights* bookshop in San Francisco as a meeting point in the 1950s (Lefevere 1992, 16; Munday 2008, 126).

According to Dimitris Asimakoulas (2009, 242), all three components of patronage interact in complex ways. They had not been explored in their entirety until Lefevere’s study of ideology and poetics in literature which relates to “the dominant concept of what literature should (be allowed to) be– its poetics– and of what society should (be allowed to) be– ideology” (1992, 14), introduced the term “rewriting” to replace the hitherto usage of the term “translation” for all aspects of the discipline. It is the influence of ideology on the translation process that is of most interest to the context of international news production where ideology may, for example, manifest itself in omissions or additions of different kinds, examples of which I discuss in the case studies which form chapter four.

Lefevere sees patronage as being ideologically focused which means that translators’ ideologies or those imposed upon them can either consciously or subconsciously determine their translation strategies. Although Lefevere’s literature-based study would appear to be of little relevance to translation in media contexts, it is nonetheless significant because of the prominence of the dual notions of ideology and patronage in newswriting (see chapter 2.4 for a description of these from a media perspective).

In regard to the usefulness and re-application of Lefevere's Theory of Rewriting beyond the literary context, Asimakoulas stresses that

[t]he appeal of Lefevere's model lies in the fact that it identifies important contextual factors that impinge on translation, irrespective of how well it weaves these factors into a coherent model. The way in which these factors operate, and the promotion of political and other interests through translation, are not restricted to the area of literature (2009, 242).

Therefore, with its three-way focus on ideology, patronage and context, Lefevere's theory of rewriting is useful for the analysis of processes of translation that take place in the production of international news.

With the advent of globalisation, the discipline of Translation Studies of the new millennium has moved far beyond the 30-year-long debate about examination of the extent to which a translation has been "faithful" to a source text (Schäffner 2004, 136). This is thanks to the emergence of the Cultural Turn in translation studies and the advent of post-structuralism where much greater attention began to be paid to the *how, where, when, why* and *who* of translation (Bassnett 2002, 1-10). Cronin points out that "in this reflexive move in the discipline, texts are no longer treated as free-floating objects of linguistic scrutiny, but are related to discussion of the dominant cultural practices and politically ideological significance of translating and of translations in target-language cultures" (2003, 109-10). This move led to a change of focus. Now, the external politics of translation and the relationship between translational behaviour and socio-cultural factors resulting from this behaviour are of considerable interest. In this regard, Bassnett and Lefevere, in their observation of the development of Cultural Studies research, argue that "translations are the performative aspect of intercultural communication" (quoted in Gentzler 2001, 194). This significant shift in Translation Studies research, with its foundations in Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) which I will describe later, indicates that the discipline is now concerned with human as well as linguistic activity in its move towards aspects of the so-called sociological turn in Translation Studies which focuses on "the human agent in translation, the translator as a member of a sociological community called upon to interact with and within the community's structuring and structural dimensions [...] and as an agent of intercultural negotiations" (Merkle 2008, 175).

Working originally from within the concept of "system" which was first introduced by the Russian Formalists for the study of literature, Lefevere sees translation as "a rewriting of an original text" (Munday 2008, preface). This is because whatever their intended function, translated texts reflect a certain ideology and in so doing can manipulate society to function in a particular way, with the potential of abusing, asserting or disestablishing

elements of power. Austermühl (2008, 70-5) gives an interesting example of this phenomenon in his description of the publication and subsequent withdrawal of the mainland-China edition of Hilary Clinton's biography in Chinese because of disagreement between the American and Chinese publishers over changes and deletions in the Chinese version. These included differences in descriptions of Hilary Clinton's own visits to China; of her husband's meetings with Chinese leaders and of her criticisms of Communist Party social controls and human rights policies, all of which were deemed offensive by Beijing.

Despite the fact that Lefevere's study is based on literary translation, and that he bases his ideas on traditional translational practices of source to target text transfer that do not necessarily occur in the production of international print news, his view of translation as rewriting is one that can equally be applied to media contexts. This is because, like literary translation, the success of a newspaper is also determined largely by its patrons. The reception or rejection of texts on the basis of patronage is very much akin to the way in which news reports come into being in the first place. In the media, patronage is represented not only by the newspaper's readership, but also by its editorial staff, other media organisations, publishing houses, political institutions and governments, all of whom, through ideological and economic pressures, can influence the content of international news (see chapter 2.2).

In regard to variables in translation strategies, Bassnett points out that, "translation always takes place in a continuum, never in a void, and there are all kinds of textual and extra-textual constraints upon the translator" (1999, 123). In this regard, and in line with Lefevere's theory of translation as rewriting and ideology, it is important to consider the fact that international journalists, who are sufficiently competent in another language, write news reports in their own language which are to be read by a new audience in that same language. This involves a complex process of translation and adaptation to meet not only the needs of the new readership but also those of the newsmakers themselves. As previously mentioned, in terms of translation *per se*, the process is complex because it does not always correspond to conventional notions of source text to target text transfer. Instead, according to the Reuters and *New York Times* staff whom I interviewed in the course of field research, multilingual journalists commonly write reports in the target language of text production, often having drawn on a variety of spoken or written sources in a different language. The result of this rewriting and adaptation of content to meet the needs and expectations of the new readership is the production of a new text, where the lexical, cultural, political and ideological content may often be significantly different from that intended at its various sources. Thus, through textual transformations, which may simply feature as elimination of unnecessary information

or the inclusion of additional background information, the discursive effect of a report in whose production translation has played a part can change (see chapter 4.2 for examples). The public at large, however, is not generally conscious of the fact that possible cultural, ideological and political biases that can be unwittingly introduced through such transformation may either negatively or positively influence the content of news reports.

Lefevere sees patronage as being ideologically focused which means that the translators' ideologies or those imposed upon them, either consciously or subconsciously, determine their translation strategies. However, in their defence, he is careful to point out that "most rewriters of literature are usually meticulous, hard-working, well-read, and as honest as is humanely possible [seeing] what they are doing as obvious, the only way" (1992, 13). Lefevere goes on to remind us that translators have to, without choice and without knowing it, be traitors "as long as they remain within the boundaries of the culture that is theirs by birth or adoption" (ibid). In the context of international news gathering and dissemination, if journalists or their editors feel that a source is not ideologically suitable for a particular market, it may not be accepted in its original form. This original form could represent a perfectly accurate rendering of a news event written in another language for a different readership, until its content, for ideological reasons, becomes distorted (through rewriting by other patrons within the media system) for reception by a different readership.

The three aforementioned components to patronage, (the ideological component, the economic component and the status component) which all include membership and support of the actions of certain groups, are all relevant to international news production. All three components interact in complex ways. However, it is the influence of ideology on the translation process that is of most interest to news translation where ideology may, for example, manifest itself in omissions or additions of different kinds (see chapter 2.4.2). Although rewriting is considered "an attempt to make the target text function in the target culture the way the source text functioned in the source culture" (Lefevere and Bassnett 1990, 8), in media translation, because of the presence of cultural, ideological and economic constraints relating to patronage and the unique nature of international newswriting, it is impossible, and indeed oftentimes undesirable, to create that same effect.

2.1.4 *Descriptive Translation Studies*

The emergence of the paradigm of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), as distinct from Theoretical Translation Studies and Applied Translation Studies, brought with it a focus on

the product, function and process of translation, to date missing from the discipline (Schäffner 2004, 134). This was important because

[t]hrough comparative descriptions of translations of the same source text, either in one single language or in various languages, it could be shown how social and historical conditions, primarily in the recipient socio-culture, had influenced the translational behaviour. Translational behaviour is contextualised as social behaviour, with the act of translation, i.e. the cognitive aspects of translation as a decision-making process, embedded in a translation event, i.e. the social, historical, cultural, ideological context (ibid).

All of the above points are significant in the context of this study because of the importance of translator training, translation aids and translation criticism, all of which deserve consideration in the identification of inadequate translation solutions and offer reasons as to why these might occur in mediated texts. It is important to consider, for example, the physical environment in which news reporting takes place, the speed with which international breaking news must be disseminated and the ideological context of the publication of that news.

The value of the product-oriented, function-oriented and process-oriented characteristics of DTS has been recognised as significant to the practice of translating and to new perspectives such as translational behaviour. Although predominantly concerned with the translation of cultural and literary texts, DTS's inclusion of socio-cultural factors has a lot to offer news translation in regard to its product, function and process characteristics. All are pivotal in the production of international print news, as I will illustrate in chapter 2.3.

Firstly, in regard to product-orientation in news reporting is consideration of the position that is assumed by translated material in a new context, as opposed to the original context of the reported event. That new position is determined by a series of norms. By norms I refer to the ideas, behaviours, and beliefs that are accepted within a particular group. As a large part of DTS concerns itself with the existence of norms, it sees translation of literature as a norm-governed activity. However, translation that occurs in the production of international news is no different. Because of its interface with journalism it is also a norm-governed activity, one that is determined by the norms of journalism rather than those belonging to translation. This is because it is journalism norms rather than translation norms that determine the content of international news reports. In his analysis of translation as a product, Toury (1995, 174) emphasises that norm-governed procedures serve as a means to identifying the translator's decision-making process. This is significant because it can potentially reveal the source of inadequate translation solutions that might appear in international news reports.

In regard to the relationship between source and target texts, with reference to the translation of literary texts Toury asserts that there are a “multitude of candidates for a source text” (1995, 74). It is this phenomenon that also typifies translation in the media where a news text is commonly compiled from a variety of both spoken and written sources, but not necessarily *source texts* (see chapter 2.3.2).

In further regard to its product-orientation, DTS regards translations as facts of the target culture (Toury 1995, 26-8). Newspaper readers do not normally consider what they read in the press to be anything other than a fact of their culture, and therefore factors such as the reliability of sources remain unquestioned. What is read is perceived as being real, therefore a cultural fact.

Secondly, in regard to function, as in any area of translation context is also central to news translation. However, where news items are assigned importance by the source culture, they may not be assigned the same importance in the receiving culture. As in functionalist approaches, it is also important to consider the position that a news report is designed to occupy when it first comes into being, that is, before it crosses any linguistic or cultural divide. Is it, for example, destined only for a domestic market with no intention of starting a journey along an international newswire or is it destined for a specifically targeted international market? DTS suggests that translation as a text-generating activity means that texts can occupy a different and potentially unknown position in the recipient culture. This is indeed the case in the production of international news but depending on the point at which news is gathered, translated and disseminated, the journalist who translates as he or she writes a report may have no way of knowing its particular destination. Indeed, if the source is not obvious or is even unidentifiable, the journalist who translates in the course of his or her work may not even know its beginning, with the result that key discursive features that are present in those sources may not manifest themselves in translation in the same way as they were intended in their original context.

Finally, in regard to process, it is important to remember that translation frequently takes place at different stages in the production of international news, where translation norms as opposed to journalism norms may also determine the part of the process where translation is involved. Here I refer to contexts where information is translated by professional translators, as opposed to translated by journalists in preparation for use as raw material to be later used in the writing of an international news report. Whether it be translation as we traditionally know it, carried out by professional translators, or translation by journalists, consideration of cognitive aspects such as decision-making is relevant, as these

may determine a more considered choice of, for example, lexis and style, both of which are significant in international news writing.

As in any literary or cultural translation, consideration of the process, the producer, the product and the function are necessary in news gathering and dissemination, simply because they are all interwoven and are therefore interdependent. All four determine each other because of the influence they have on each other; are embedded in a translation event and relate to the social, historical, cultural and ideological context in which the journalist as translator is working. In the media context, whether translation is involved or not, whichever strategies govern news production from original sources, in DTS as in functionalist approaches, it is the subsequent position and function of a news report that determine its textual-linguistic make-up. That position and function will ultimately be determined by the ethos of the news organisation that is responsible for publishing the finished report.

Toury (1995, 12) advocates that the position of a translation in a recipient culture represents a strong governing factor in the make-up of the new text. In the media context, as I mentioned in the introduction, translated material, as opposed to texts that are translated in the conventional sense is also designed to meet the needs of a new readership. This is where international newswriters who are sufficiently competent in a second language operate according to the needs and culture of the readership of their first language. They do this by assigning importance, as necessary, to certain elements of cultural content, such as explanation of the background of political events.

As the aim of this section is to situate news translation within the discipline of Translation Studies as a whole, to conclude this overview of recent developments in Translation Studies I will consider more closely in which paradigm it most aptly sits. Mary Snell-Hornby argues that globalisation has put new demands on the discipline of Translation Studies (Schäffner 2000, 47), demands that have made it an “interdiscipline” (ibid) with influences from Psycholinguistics, Sociolinguistics, Communication Studies, Anthropology and Cultural Studies. From an interdisciplinary perspective therefore, processes of translation that occur in the production of international news most obviously situate themselves under the paradigm of DTS. However, they arguably also straddle the paradigms of Functionalism, the Cultural Turn in Translation Studies and Lefevere’s Theory of Rewriting.

The defining principles of translation in media contexts lie in Functionalism because international news reports are produced and received with a specific purpose in mind. However, limitations arise when we consider aspects such as different presentations of textual features of the same story by different newspapers. These differences might come

about through the ideological constraints under which different newspapers function. Here, Lefevere's Theory of Rewriting comes to the fore as it is the approach that has most allowed translators to become liberated from source text linguistic and semantic aspects which, as I will describe in greater detail in chapter 2.3, are perhaps the most salient feature of the production of international news. As already discussed, notions of ideology and patronage that are also key to media practices are the cornerstone of Lefevere's Theory of Rewriting. Indeed, the very nature of the term "rewriting" as opposed to "translation" most closely resembles the practices that occur in international news production (see chapter 2.3.2). It is for this reason that I use the term "rewriting" interchangeably with "processes of translation in news production" to describe the function of those who produce international news for consumption in a language different to that which belongs to the originally reported event.

In conclusion to this section, the last word on the place of translation in international news production goes to Michael Cronin, who in specific regard to translation in media contexts, asserts that "it is precisely because news is so time-sensitive, dependent on new information technologies, and the product of a particular language and culture in a particular time and place, that the insights from all the different branches of translation must be brought to bear on the study of the phenomenon" (2003, 109). International news production, which necessitates the synthesis of spoken and written texts from another language in the rendering of a report, must therefore, by its very nature, be an amalgam of processes common to both translating and interpreting, hence my classification of "news translation" as a "cross-paradigm". Following Cronin's view, and given that no existing approach to Translation Studies specifically encompasses all aspects of translation that occur in the production of international news, I propose the need to position the phenomenon of 'news translation' as a separate paradigm within the discipline as a whole. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of media practices, I believe that an amalgam of Functionalism, the Cultural Turn in Translation Studies, Lefevere's Theory of Rewriting and DTS encompasses what takes place in the process of international newswriting, thereby constituting a cross-paradigm within which I will base my analysis of the texts which comprises the content of chapter four.

2.1.5 *Defining 'News Translation'*

For centuries, reflection on translation was largely a consideration of texts themselves and the particular problems involved in their movement from one language to another. Over the last 50 or so years, since Roman Jakobson defined interlingual translation as "an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language" (2000, 114), approaches and paradigms have

moved from source to target-oriented processes, where the target readership now influences the rendering of a translation. I can only suggest that this move most likely came about because of the discipline's inconclusive 'circularity' of the definitions of the term "equivalence" between source and target texts (Munday 2001, 49). Indeed, the very notion of equivalence that was born out of linguistic theories of translation came to serve as "an obstacle to progress in Translation Studies" (Baker 1997, 77). In regard to linguistic theories, Lefevere and Bassnett reject "painstaking comparisons between originals and translations" (1990, 4) because consideration of text in its cultural environment is omitted. What was also lacking in the discipline according to Gideon Toury (1995, 10), who in 1980 defined translation as "any target language text which is presented or regarded as such within the target system itself, on whatever grounds"²⁹ (Tymoczko 2007, 80), was a systematic descriptive approach that would replace hitherto existing isolated studies:

What is missing is not isolated attempts reflecting excellent intuitions and supplying fine insights (which many existing studies certainly do), but a systematic branch proceeding from clear assumptions and armed with a methodology and research techniques made as explicit as possible and justified within translation studies itself. Only a branch of this kind can ensure that the findings of individual studies will be intersubjectively testable and comparable, and the studies themselves replicable (Toury 1995, 3).

Diverse theoretical principles have since been postulated, and these have begun to form "the basis for the description, observation, and teaching of translation" (2004, 132). All are to a greater or lesser degree relevant to this study and for this reason, in part, inform the research questions that I posed in chapter 1.3.

Academic interest in the establishment of theoretical principles coincided with the development of Translation Studies from the field of Applied Linguistics and Comparative Literature, and led to Translation Studies becoming an academic discipline in its own right. However, despite the fact that Margherita Ulrych and Rosa Maria Bollettieri Bosinelli conclude in their overview of the state of the art in Translation Studies that there exists "a variegated and consolidated core of translation scholars working within a variety of approaches and with a variety of methodologies but all focusing on the common goal of furthering their knowledge and understanding of translation as a phenomenon per se" (1999, 238), Schäffner is of the opinion that a "unified theory and ... general agreement on central concepts of the discipline" is still lacking (2004, 132). She describes the current position of Translation Studies as having "a multiplicity of approaches, each of which focuses on

²⁹ Toury's definition would in some respects fit processes of translation that occur in the production of international news. It is however, rather arbitrary and fails to include mention of the agents involved.

specific aspects, looks at the product or the process of translation from a specific angle, and/or analyses the socio-political causes and effects of translations” (ibid).

I aim to address Schäffner’s criticism of the current state of research in the discipline by further raising awareness of media translation’s ‘difference’ from general translation, prior to providing a definition which more closely aligns with the processes involved in the production of international news. As a starting point I return to Bassnett’s views on processes of translation that occur in the production of international news as “not strictly [being] a matter of interlingual transfer of text A into text B, but also [necessitating] the radical rewriting and synthesizing of text A to accommodate a completely different set of audience expectations” (2006, 6). In other words, different aspects to translation are involved in the international news gathering and dissemination process. These concern the environment and process within which the reporting of news events occurs where such factors as i) who undertakes translation, ii) in what context and under what physical circumstances translation is undertaken and iii) for what purposes a text is translated. It is only through consideration of a combination of all aspects, that the extent to which one impacts upon the other becomes significant (Palmer 2009, 186).

Bassnett also observes that “news reporting appears to sit somewhere between translation as we have understood the term and interpreting, and the ways in which interlingual news reporters work would seem to bear this out” (2005, 125). Original news events may also be reported orally in one language, transmitted by telephone and then rewritten by a journalist at an agency in another language, before being sold on to other industry stakeholders. In other words, texts are not translated in the traditional sense, that is, wholly within the paradigms already mentioned. Instead, a different set of textual transformations takes place, namely those pertaining to “transediting” which are paraphrase, summary and addition or deletion of background information, reshaping that is necessary in order to bring sense to the target text reader (see chapter 2.3.3). These are not just translational strategies of target text acculturation, but key strategies which are also commonly employed in the interpreting process.

Multilingual newswriters, whether they consider themselves to be journalists or translators, still work within a system that encompasses both source and target languages. However, what they produce is very different from the traditional perception of a translation as being “a text in one language which is produced on the basis of a text in another language for a particular purpose” (Williams and Chesterman 2002, 1). Direct transfer between source and target languages is not generally seen as a key feature of the production of international

news that is written for an English-speaking readership. It is this that sets media translation apart from other branches of the translation profession and, from a non-expert rather than from an academic research perspective, is likely to account for the principle reason why many multi-lingual journalists do not immediately consider translation *per se* to be part of their professional role. This phenomenon alone provides a further reason for the processes of translation that take place in international news production to be seen as a separate paradigm within the discipline as a whole.

Before I conclude this chapter with my own definition of ‘news translation’, it is important to acknowledge other more recent scholarly definitions of translation *per se*. It is fair to say that translation is now considered to involve a change of language where meaning is transferred from one to the other, taking into consideration the notion of variation in sourcing (Bielsa and Bassnett 2008, 123) that includes textuality, genre, text type, culture and communicative function.

Schäffner points out that “modern Translation Studies is no longer concerned with examining whether a translation has been “faithful” to a source text [and that] the notion of “equivalence” is almost a “dirty” word now” (2004, 136). She goes on to explain that “the focus [now] is on social, cultural, and communicative practices, on the cultural and ideological significance of translating and of translations, on the external politics of translation, on the relationship between translation behaviour and socio-cultural factors” (ibid). In short, quoting Witte (2000, 26), Schäffner concludes that “the object of research of Translation Studies is thus not language(s), as traditionally seen, but human activity in different cultural contexts (2004, 136).

In this regard, Tymoczko agrees that “translation involves a constant cross-cultural juxtaposition of text types, communication patterns, and values as well as decision strategies by individuals” (2007, 103). She also refers to the Oxford English Dictionary’s definition of translation as “the action or process of turning from one language into another; also, the product of this; a version in a different language” (2007, 56), where interestingly, there is no mention of text, thereby aligning with processes of translation that occur in the production of international news.

Tymoczko also advocates that in order to help understand what exactly translation is, the discipline of Translation Studies move away from western suppositions of the concept which are limited by western etymology (2007, 61), proposing instead, consideration of, among others, the concept of translation in the Nigerian language Igbo where the words for translation are *tapia* and *kowa*. *Tapia* comes from the roots *ta*, “tell, narrate” and *pia*,

“destruction, break up” giving the overall sense of ‘deconstruct it and tell it in a different form (2007, 71), a definition which also aligns with processes of translation that occur in the production of international news. Tymoczko concludes that these words illustrate distinct conceptualisations and practices of translation that go beyond Western understandings. They stand for many alternative views of the processes and products of translation and have radical implications for theorizing translation as a cross-linguistic, cross temporal and cross cultural concept that is so relevant to news translation, suggesting that “the international concept of translation must be reconceived to encompass a wider range of examples and more diverse practices across time and space throughout the world” (ibid 2007, 77).

Defining ‘news translation’ is not an easy task. This is largely because it falls into the category of “open” or “reshaping” translation which is loosely understood as any verbal, visual or auditory text in another language that is adapted to a new readership explicitly according to ideological reasons mediated by editors (Maria González Davies, personal correspondence March 2012). In short, ‘news translation’ is different, largely because of the invisibility of both the texts and the agents involved.

Another such area of “open” or “reshaping” translation is medical translation where debate has risen as to whether linguistically orientated medical professionals or medically knowledgeable translators should translate medical texts (O’Neill 1998, 69-8). However, in the specific field of medical translation, despite the fact that, similar to this study, questions relating to the agents involved in translation have been raised, the focus in medical translation is still on the transfer of the written word from source to target text and is therefore of less relevance than it might at first appear.

In the translation of children's literature, an area of the profession that on the surface is far removed from ‘news translation’ but which also comes under the same umbrella of “open” or “reshaping” translation, processes exist that align themselves quite closely with ‘news translation’. By these I refer to practices of abridgment and adaptation where textual models of a source system are transferred, often in complex ways, to a different target system (Shavit 1986, 111). Zohar Shavit herself defines translation as “any text, verbal or visual, that is related to a source text” (ibid). Whilst this practice might be true in the case of the translation of children’s literature, like Austerlühl’s earlier cited definition (see introductory chapter) with its focus on “text” and failure to mention the agents involved, it does not encompass these two key elements of ‘news translation’.

Bassnett observes that translation is “a set of textual practices with which the writer and reader collude” (1998, 39). This is an invisible notion that underpins processes of news

production and reception (see chapter 2.4.1). Likewise, as a socio-political practice, Venuti (1995) defines translation as a form of regulated transformation. In the context of the production of international news, this is where a report “that originates in one cultural context ends up in another” (Bassnett 2005, 124).

In contrast to Venuti’s definition, Mariano García-Landa talks of translation as a series of language games or speech acts which consist of saying in a given language what has been said in previous speech acts in another language (2006, 435-44). García-Landa’s definition, without mention of “text” but with reference to speech acts instead, more closely resembles the processes of translation that take place in the production of international news (see chapter 2.3.2), particularly those pertaining to interpreting but not necessarily translation of the written word. Whilst similarities between translating and interpreting practices in the production of international news provide an interesting avenue of research, the topic does not form part of the remit of this thesis.

It would be tempting to say that approaches within the relatively new paradigms of plurilingualism and intercultural competence that have risen to the fore with globalisation equate to processes of translation that take place in the production of international news, particularly in regard to code-switching. Here, I refer specifically to ‘translanguaging’,³⁰ an approximate form of translation product, which falls midway between source and target with various degrees of approximation to either language (Al-Hassnawi 2010). However, translanguaging, defined as “the use of two (or more) languages of instruction at some point in a student’s school career” (Cummins 2008), is concerned with bilingualism in primary and secondary mainstream education rather than fields of professional translation. Whilst this might be an interesting area in regard to second language acquisition, I do not feel that it is entirely relevant to the focus of this study.

In terms of labelling, it will not have gone unnoticed that rather than employing the collocation “news translation” and its associated cognates that are most commonly used in recent studies such as those carried out by Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) and Schäffner and Bassnett (2010), my preference is for *processes of translation that occur in the production of international news*. This re-labelling more accurately encompasses the process of synthesis of source material and its transfer across languages, to be adjusted stylistically in accordance with target culture norms (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 123).

³⁰ My thanks go to Maria González Davies for bringing this interesting concept to my attention.

Contrary to the findings of Bielsa and Bassnett (2009), who assert that “news agencies are effectively vast translating organisations with the technology and skills required for the production of fast and accurate translations” (2009, 34), and who later go on to say in relation to the multiplicity of languages with which they work, that news translation “is undertaken by the news agencies themselves” (2009, 57), evidence from my own research suggests that neither news agencies nor newspapers see themselves as translation organisations in the sense that continues to be used by some current researchers in the discipline of Translation Studies. Journalists who work for both news agencies and newspapers do not to translate news in a way that aligns entirely with either the established or more recent definitions of the term “translation” that I have described in this chapter.³¹ On this basis, I conclude with a definition that I consider most aptly represents the cross-paradigm hitherto commonly referred to as ‘news translation’: *the gathering, modifying and synthesising of information from numerous spoken, written and visual sources from one language, to then be used by journalists in the production of news reports in another language*. In short, it is consideration of the agents involved and the numerous sources, many non-written, which sets ‘news translation’ apart from other branches of the profession where journalists as opposed to professional translators are involved in the production of international news.

³¹ The closest parallel is Reiss and Vermeer’s concept of *Informationsangebot*, or offer of information (see chapter 2.1.1).

2.2 Globalisation and the Media

Globalisation juxtaposes elements from distant cultures abstracted from the social contexts in which they have emerged, thus creating a fragmented and discontinuous experience. In this experience of simultaneity of the world's geography a key social relation that is obscured is translation, which necessarily mediates between different linguistic communities (Bielsa 2005, 138).

It is now widely recognised that globalisation and the global dominance of English have led to an increase in the demand for translation. Bielsa, in her 2005 working paper "Globalisation as Translation: An Approximation to the Key but Invisible Role of Translation in Globalisation", which provides a critical examination of the role of translation in globalisation, points out that if globalisation is considered a form of cultural and economic colonialism, then translation, as part of globalisation, must therefore also play a pivotal role in the circulation of news. However, despite the fact that the globalisation of media has become an area of academic interest, until recently the key role of translation within global news flows has received little attention. It is for this reason that I will describe the significance of the powerful position occupied by the three largest global media organisations, Associated Press (AP), Reuters and Agence France Presse (AFP), as a prelude to examination of the significant role that translation plays in the processes of news gathering and dissemination that exist within these organisations.³² I will consider the existence of two dichotomies in terms of where translation occurs and of who translates. The first of these is transparency, where direct acknowledgement of translated sources makes the process of translation overt, as opposed to invisibility, where through the omission of sourcing there is no evidence of the process of translation having ever taken place. The second dichotomy is homogeneity of style in the content of news, where reports are written in such a way that they are made culturally, politically and comprehensibly accessible to the target readership. This is contrasted with diversity, which is concerned with the coverage and circulation of news by different players.

2.2.1 News Agencies as Agents of Globalisation

Globalisation of news began with the emergence of the first international news agency, Agence Havas in 1835, which later became AFP. It was founded by Parisian translator and advertising agent, Charles-Louis Havas. Agence Havas' original *raison d'être* was to provide the French media and business community with translations of international press reports

³² AP and Reuters tend to have an Anglo-American focus, whereas AFP is more European focused.

(Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 56). Within the context of this and earlier studies, an interesting parallel to draw is that the first news agency might also be viewed as the first global translation agency. Therefore news reports can be considered to be among the earliest inter-lingual textual products to be globally standardised in terms of form, structure, codes of practice and operational norms. In other words, news is perhaps the first global information product to have been distributed in various languages and more or less at the same time.

Since 1835 news as a commodity has continued to be characterised by the reformulation of information. This information is gathered and disseminated for the three main purposes of the existence of news: political communication, trade and pleasure (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen 1998, 1). Within all of these, national identities have been constructed, so in this regard it is fair to say that the political, economic and cultural dimensions of globalisation have been further enhanced by the existence and operation of news agencies.

The role of the modern-day news agency has continued to be central to the news gathering and dissemination process. Nowadays, news agencies, whose basic function has changed little over the years, operate as large global organisations responsible for the dissemination of media products. Their purpose is essentially to gather news and to sell it on to retail media organisations, e.g. national newspapers, TV broadcasters and on-line suppliers of news around the world, thus enabling fast public access to a wide range of news events on a variety of topics. Through discreetly, even invisibly incorporating elements of translation, global news agencies are the initial source of breaking news. They have, since their inception, produced news in five leading European languages: English, French, Spanish, Portuguese and German. The latest addition to these is Arabic, in which Reuters has been producing news since 1954 and AFP since 1969 (Bielsa 2007, 136).

News agencies are autonomous organisations and as such are politically and financially independent. AP is an independent co-operative of daily US newspapers. AFP is jointly directed by the French state, media and journalists, and together with Bloomberg supplies economic news outside the USA. Reuters, the largest of the three,³³ is publicly owned. Whilst some shareholders may be more influential than others, company regulation prohibits ownership of 30 percent or more by any one interest group (Boyd-Barrett 1997, 135).

³³ Reuters has 2700 staff journalists in 200 bureaux around the world providing news coverage via text, video and photography. Through 2.5 million news stories each year, Reuters journalists report news in 20 languages, reaching over one billion people per day (Reuters -The Facts 2008 - 2009).

Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Terhi Rantanen suggest that their degree of autonomy, in accordance with Western news values, portrays news agencies as being more credible, more impartial and more objective than news providers that are wholly politically controlled. From the outset, news agencies have been perceived to be both respected and respectable organisations, because they produce wholesale resource material that “has to be worked upon, smelted, reconfigured, for conversion into a news report that is suitable for consumption by ordinary readers” (Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen 1998, 6).

News agencies have a history of identifying with the world’s advanced nations. They have linked to national media organisations and power elites, credibly securing access to world markets. Their privileged position has helped emerging economies to incorporate with global economies, providing both with access to information held by influential networks. Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (ibid) claim that it has suited news agencies to be presented in a positive way as they need to appear to their network of retail clients, who represent a variety of political views, to be decent, credible, professional organisations. In this regard, in his comprehensive account of the management structures of global news agencies, Boyd-Barrett acknowledges that the ‘big three’, Reuters, AFP and AP, have constitutions that require impartiality and objectivity (1998, 23-5). This restricts the range of activities in which they can become engaged.

News agencies are full of paradoxes; some are driven by profit, others by ethics of service (Boyd-Barrett 1997, 142). Western in origin, they are committed to professional ideologies of accuracy, independence and objectivity. However, underneath their pristine image lie powerful organisations which, as potential conduits of propaganda, have the capacity to shape cultural identities and influence political beliefs. As agents of globalisation that control the global news system, they have the power to strengthen and weaken, or build and destroy national economies. An example of this phenomenon is the reporting of the US government in its manipulation of *The United Fruit Company*, which resulted in the reshaping of the economies of Central American states in the mid-twentieth century (Chapman 2008, 68-9). News agencies incorporate the global with the local and the local with the global in the two-way exchange of news. They provide the data to enable the world to think globally, and in so doing have the capacity to reinforce and promote economic, political and cultural aspects of globalisation.

A key implication of globalisation in the circulation of news is the centralisation of power. Power is wielded by specific agents in society that dominate public choices and beliefs (Held 2004, 10). In relation to the circulation of news, these agents of power are

global news agencies. With ever increasing output, they are the key players in the production and dissemination of news.

News agencies can influence public choices and beliefs through the style of news reports, the content of which is determined by the ideological persuasions of those responsible for their production. As agents of global connection, news agencies operate as mediators between states, public institutions and private individuals. In 2006, between 50 and 85 per cent of international news coverage in on-line news sources alone came from Reuters, AP and AFP (Paterson 2006, 1-24). This means that in one way or another, the world at large is affected by the existence of global news agencies.

2.2.2 *Transparency versus Invisibility*

If globalisation in the news arena is to be fully understood, it is necessary to look at the pivotal role translation plays in the process of international news circulation. This role is characterised by the dichotomy of transparency and invisibility (Venuti 1995, 1-42). Transparency occurs through direct acknowledgement of translated sources, thereby making the process of translation overt. Invisibility, on the other hand, can be achieved by the omission of any reference to sources thereby removing evidence of the process of translation having ever taken place, the result being seamless reproduction of text. In news production, it is important to note that the practice of naming, let alone mentioning the translator or the fact that information has come from a different language source is, for reasons that I will explain in chapter 2.3, all but non-existent.

In regard to globalisation, Bielsa observes that the “conception of instantaneous communication [as part of globalisation], of the unimpeded transmission of information flows, implies translation’s invisibility and, at the same time, places new demands on translation” (2005, 140). One such demand is for translation to remain a medium of international transfer of information whilst also meeting the time-sensitive demands of the globalised age.

It is probably safe to say that the assumption of the average consumer of English language reports is that news circulates unaltered across different linguistic communities. It is this that makes the role played by translation and the translator in the production and circulation of international news not only invisible, but also irrelevant to the reader.³⁴ Under

³⁴ In a Greek context, Elpida Loupaki hypothesises that lack of referencing to the translator in articles that are knowingly translated from the *New York Times*, *Herald Tribune*, *Guardian*, *Economist*, *Le Monde*

globalisation, the instantaneous nature of communication characterised by the unimpeded transmission of news, which is made possible through sophisticated processes of news production by international news agencies, helps to further compound this phenomenon of invisibility.

Thus the success of newsmaking depends on factors such as the locale and the native or working languages of the agents responsible at the source of events as well as on the competence of the journalist whose name appears on a published news report. In regard to notions of success, in a post-symposium discussion between academics and practitioners in the fields of journalism and translation, Cronin makes the point that it is the very success of translation in newsmaking that makes the phenomenon invisible, and that it is only instances of mistranslation that start to make it visible (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 142).

It is not by coincidence that I choose the term *dichotomy* to talk about transparency and invisibility. In contrast to invisibility and in regard to the phenomenon of power as an inherent feature of globalisation, Cronin advocates the translator's transparency when he asserts that "it is by revealing, not disguising, their identity as translators that translators can make a legitimate bid to make more central interventions in culture, society and politics" (2003, 67). Bielsa supports this view asserting that it is "only by challenging its invisibility and transparency, which obscure the social conditions under which translation is performed as well as its role in mediating between cultures, will the mechanisms of cultural globalisation be more fully understood" (2005, 139). It is in accordance with Bielsa's assertion that one of the core aims of this study is to identify those mechanisms in the world of media dissemination that can blur the dichotomy of invisibility and transparency of translation, in order that the way can be laid forward for future researchers to challenge them. Indeed, David Held believes that under globalisation there may be scope for individuals to influence major organisations and even challenge centralised power by forming alliances (2004, 10), as happened in France in 1997, when a small group of TV journalists formed an alliance, the purpose of which was to break the journalistic code of submission to those in power.³⁵

Diplomatique and *Le Monde*, is by no means accidental and conveniently creates the impression of exactitude. Loupaki goes on to confirm that more sceptical Greek readers believe that translated versions are more impartial than those originally written in Greek (2010, 58-9). The influence here of patronage on the translation process is an interesting and relevant example of the way in which the role of translation in the production of international news sits comfortably within the paradigm of Lefevere's Theory of Rewriting (see chapter 2.1).

³⁵ See Halimi, 1997.

In the particular media dissemination processes that are of interest to this study, these individuals are jointly represented by journalists who operate as translators. This dual functionality has led contemporary researchers to coin the term “newswriters”. Cronin supports Held’s view in his conception of translators as executive decision makers rather than executors of decisions, where he argues that “globalisation entails the need for groups of (double) agents who can self-reflexively mediate information flows between languages and cultures” (2003, 66-7). This is an important facet of international newswriting, where information may need to be rearranged for a variety of reasons. These include the requirement for information to be made culturally accessible to the consumer and from an ethical perspective, the requirement to bring an accurate version of an event to the consumer rather than an edited version thereof, which might have been influenced by different ideological perspectives. In short, rather than remaining invisible, it is Cronin’s “groups of (double) agents” (ibid) and their actions that must be made transparent.

2.2.3 *Homogeneity and Diversity in the Circulation of News*

From a translation perspective, questions of ethics fall in line with Christiane Nord’s notion of *Function plus Loyalty* (1997, 123-8) where the author advocates that translators have an ethical responsibility not to deceive their readers. The purpose of the target text, therefore, should be compatible with that intended by the original author (ibid, 125). In certain circumstances, however, where the environment of the source text is far more complex than the target text recipient could ever appreciate, the desired notion of “Function plus Loyalty” can be nigh on impossible to achieve. In this situation Nord (1997, 126) advocates the implementation of “documentary translation” as a viable solution. This is where the aim in the translation process is to produce in the target language, the kind of document in which aspects of the source-culture remain. The notion of loyalty takes into account the three-way partnership comprising source text producer, translator and target text consumer. If there is conflict between the source text producer and target text consumer, it is the translator’s function to mediate between the two (Nord 1997, 128). An example of this occurrence is discussed in the findings of the first case study (see chapter 4.1).

With a worldwide increase over the years in the number of *national* news agencies (Paterson 2006, 1-24), and an increase in the amount of news that is being sourced through these agencies rather than directly by foreign correspondents associated to particular newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Guardian*, we can assume that diversity in news coverage has increased. However, with only three significant *global* players remaining,

the actual number of producers has remained limited. The overall outcome of this phenomenon has been a decrease in diversity of news coverage (Bielsa 2005, 11).

Thus, if size equates to power, we can say that the role played by these producers has increased in significance. This, combined with the effects of Anglo-American and European domination on the mediation process of global news flows has led to greater homogeneity in the production and dissemination of global news. Homogeneity is characterised by news texts being made culturally, politically and comprehensibly accessible to the consumer with the idea that ‘one size fits all’, or, from a Translation Studies perspective, “[t]ranslation is the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text with a text that will be intelligible to the target-language reader” (Venuti 1995, 18).

In their studies of translated literature, Post-colonial Translation Studies scholars such as Niranjana (1992) and Tymoczko (1999) have been highly critical of the practice of homogeneity. Interestingly, the very same practice also necessarily takes place in processes of translation that take place in the production of international news where homogeneity occurs through the subtle process of hybridisation, that is, the stylising of news to meet the needs of a global readership. Whilst readers might be happy with the content of what they consume in their daily newspapers, they may remain unaware that through processes of hybridisation and possibly inadequate translation solutions too, important detail might be missing due to a streamlining of facts. From the perspective of critical discourse analysis, these can ultimately cause elements of discursive distortion. I will describe an example of this occurrence in my second case study (see chapter 4.2).

In regard to cultural mediation, that is the way in which cultural aspects are portrayed in international news, Schäffner questions the convergence of cultural terms resulting from an increasing convergence of political systems. She notes that globalisation of discursive practices, which she defines as “the international dissemination of genres and discourses, ... the spread of particular ways of using language ... across national, cultural and linguistic boundaries” (2000, 4), means that traditional boundaries of culture and language are no longer there. She refers to Barat and Fairclough (1997), who describe “discursive change [as] a dimension of cultural change” (quoted in Schäffner 2000, 4). Because language and culture are closely linked, it is fair to assume that “discursive changes must have an effect on the status of a culture” (ibid). This being the case, globalisation homogenises discursive practice and such homogenisation will “have profound social and cultural implications because discourse embodies and transmits assumptions about social relations, identities and values” (ibid). The implication here in regard to the place of translation is that

particular ways of using language in the reporting of international news will spread across linguistic and therefore cultural boundaries. With language comes discourse, so through translation, discursive effect will also be prone to change.

If translation is a necessary mediating factor which shapes the production of news in news agencies and in other media organisations that subscribe to these agencies, it must also play a central role in negotiating cultural difference. Bielsa also notes that “[t]he nature of translation as a process which necessarily mediates between cultures is ignored” (Bielsa 2005, 135). The (negative) effect of homogenisation of discursive practice on the social and cultural implications referred to by Schäffner above can easily be compounded by translation, particularly if we take into consideration the possible existence of differing levels of translation competence among those who contribute to the news gathering and dissemination process. The effect of translation as a cultural mediation process must, therefore, cease to be ignored, and it is for this reason that I question the homogenous style of reporting such as that which I identify in the analysis of the first corpus of texts in this study (see chapter 4.1).

In further relation to homogenisation, Schäffner reminds us that events that reach any audience in a globalised way must be filtered, and are, therefore, interpreted or localised in a particular way. This is because globalised events are shared knowledge. According to sociologist Karl Otto Hondrich, “shared knowledge of an event is always supplemented by culture-specific background knowledge, presuppositions, and prejudices” (quoted in Schäffner 2000, 4-5). Schäffner goes on to suggest that this phenomenon means that globalisation of discursive practices may be felt to result in loss rather than gain. However, the counter-argument here from a media perspective is that in processes of translation that take place in the production of international news, it is important to consider loss and gain in a broader perspective. Whilst there is a potential for loss in terms of the portrayal of source text culture, it can be argued that homogenisation, as a result of globalisation, leads to gain in the eyes of the target text consumer, and from a political or ideological perspective, in those of the particular news disseminator. In regard to gain by the consumer it is worth noting the view of the *Guardian’s* multilingual business reporter, Elena Moya, in regard to sourcing: “Since globalisation, national sourcing of reports no longer exists. I frequently phone colleagues in Germany or Italy for example, before I can confidently write a report in English” (personal communication, June 2010). However homogenised the report may be, through geographical and linguistic diversity of sourcing, the reader gets a global rather than a national perspective and this can therefore be considered gain.

In this chapter I have considered the powerful position occupied by global media organisations and their contribution as mediators between states, public institutions and private individuals. From within the context of what started out as ‘global translation agencies’, nowadays recognised as respected and respectable global news agencies, I have contrasted the dichotomies of transparency and invisibility of the translation process, and homogeneity and diversity of the translation itself. I have also considered the powerful impact of cultural mediation in the news.

Having outlined the significant role of translation in the media and situated it within the overall framework of globalisation, in the following chapter I will provide an overview of global media practices and look more specifically at the place of translation within these practices with a view to considering key issues outlined in the research questions that guide this study.

2.3 Translation in the Production of International News

[T]he translations of terms published in the press are not usually carried out by professional translators, but by journalists. In the course of their work, they receive news bulletins in their own language from news agencies, news in the source language from the local media, local fellow journalists, or even news in other languages from other sources, from which they write their articles (Kelly 1998, 58-59).

In this chapter I will describe common universal media practices which underlie reporting strategies, and consider the resultant role that translation can play in the transfer and representation of content during the course of international news production. From the joint perspectives of the disciplines of Media and Translation Studies, I will support and substantiate Bielsa and Bassnett's stance in

rejecting the naive view that translations are often improvised by people who do not have the necessary training, [and] that the news editor has the specific skills required for the elaboration of such translations, and that the organization of the news agency has been conceived in order to facilitate communication flows between different linguistic communities so as to reach global publics with maximum speed and efficiency (2009, 56).

I will also describe regulatory procedures in regard to those processes involved in textual transformation, and give consideration to both the status of the news 'translator' and to notions of translation competence, with the view to identifying *who* or *what* might be responsible for the existence of inadequate translation solutions in the production of international news reports. I will conclude by giving an overview of the methodological considerations which set processes of translation in the production of international news apart from other fields of the translation profession.

From a translation perspective, I will give an extensive overview of global media practices and show how news is "the end product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories" (Hall et al. 1978, 53). Above all, I will describe the role that translation plays, and offer a number of insights as to why and how, what appear to be factual and discursive inaccuracies can occur in the production of international news.

In addition to the published material cited herein, the main sources of information I will draw upon come from ethnographic fieldwork which I carried out in June and October 2010 at Reuters regional headquarters in Mexico City and the headquarters of the *New York Times* in New York City, where I observed the ongoing work of those involved in the dissemination of international news. Other sources of information come from telephone interviews which I conducted with *Guardian* journalists in London and, following completion of a questionnaire, an ongoing exchange of information via email with the *Guardian's* Latin

American correspondent, Rory Carroll. In total, four face-to-face interviews, three telephone interviews and one series of email exchanges took place.

2.3.1 *The News Gathering and Dissemination Process*

Whether it be a report of breaking news, an article relating to an ongoing event or an editorial feature that we read in the international press, news is composed from an intricate web of factors that influence and determine the end product, the piece of text that we read either online or in hard copy in newspapers. These factors are bound up in the tangled relationship between journalism and the social ideas and institutions that surround processes involved in the production of international news. By these I refer to the opinions and actions of powerful social and political institutions that influence the sourcing and construct of international news (see chapter 2.2.1). As in the rendering of a translation, it is impossible to compose a news story without consideration of a target audience. Unlike conventional processes of translation, however, where one source text is always given, to then be rendered into a target text according to a specific brief, in news production it is a variety of both spoken and written sources that constitute the make-up of an international news report. In newswriting, it is the requirements of the news organisation for which the report is being produced that constitutes the brief.

Events that occur throughout the world do not constitute news *per se*. Only when journalists give an account of an event does it start to become news. It only results in a fully-fledged report when those institutions that control the communications world deem it sufficiently newsworthy for publication. According to Allan Bell (1998, 74), newsworthiness, as determined by Western news values, is typified by elements of negativity, immediacy, proximity, lack of ambiguity, novelty, personalisation and the elite status of the news actors themselves. Reports must attract the lay reader and be written in such a way that they will sustain his or her attention. However, be it Argentina's claim to sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*, the cause of a military coup in Honduras or Spain's economic difficulties, few know or consider the details of the event in a way other than as depicted in the media. Whether or not we as readers believe what we read, we are still subjected to or influenced by what is printed in the press. The intricate combination of factors inherent to the news gathering and dissemination process, which includes elements of translation, can lead the international press to produce stories which can range from accurate reports of events in a far off land, to over-simplified snapshots or over-exaggerated and ideologically laden reports. These can result in biased or inaccurate accounts of international news events, thus it is the

narrative of the media and the discourse embedded therein that defines what we as readers believe or disbelieve.

The success of the international news gathering and dissemination process depends on a number of factors which must be considered from different perspectives.³⁶ These factors include i) the physical environment in which reporting takes place, ii) time pressures, iii) commercial targets and iv) the need to appeal to and be understood by a wide audience. In order to identify exactly how inadequate translation solutions might occur, it is necessary to look at the whole process of international news gathering and dissemination, from the occurrence of an event in one country, to its publication in another language in the national press of a different country. A synopsis of the process as described in the epigraph to this chapter gives insight into the place where intervention by translation first occurs, how and why it occurs, what allows it to occur and the extent to which translation or the translator may or may not be held responsible for potential inaccuracies in reporting.

Those responsible for accessing an original news event are foreign correspondents who typically spend a short period of time in a particular location or a team of foreign correspondents who may cover events relating to a particular region. Prior to arrival they will usually have arranged for back-copies of local or national newspapers to be made available. This is so they can quickly orientate themselves to the background of the event on which they have come to report (Reuters, personal communication, June 2010). Another common scenario in agency reporting as opposed to direct reporting for retail news organisations is for journalists to be embedded for a longer period of time in a certain place, with the purpose of allowing them to gain a broader perspective of events as they report on them. Kieran Murray, Reuters' Editor of Political and General News, points out that this is typical when reporting longer lasting events such as wars (personal communication, June 2010).

Where language barriers prevent understanding of written or spoken texts or where direct communication with those who can provide relevant sources of information is not possible, some form of translation and/or interpretation takes place. Reporters also work with printed or televised local news reports and government press releases. If they are sufficiently competent in the language, they render the content of these themselves. If not, they have them translated either as summaries, or in full. They may also summarise, or have summarised other information pertaining to the event that is embedded in any other verbal and written

³⁶ These different perspectives which form the basis of my analysis of the corpus of international news reports are translation, critical discourse analysis and media practices (see chapter four).

sources, such as radio broadcasts, local newspaper reports and interviews with members of the general public, thereby including the opinions of the local population.

In war zones, translating or interpreting may also be carried out by ‘fixers’, local personnel whose role may consist of advising journalists about the content of local media, and interpreting interviews that can provide relevant sources of information. The fixer may then provide a summary of the interview, from which the foreign correspondent will write a report. Useful as their role may be, in a gate-keeping capacity the fixer has the power and control over journalists to both select and deselect sources of information. Of significance here is that the fixer’s summary can act as the translator’s source text, the danger being that fixers can give journalists the gist of what others say, rather than being obliged to closely translate or interpret their utterances (Palmer 2007, 19). However, there are no guarantees that the information provided by fixers is accurate. This is because, through possible exaggeration or omission of important detail, there is the potential for them to consciously or unconsciously put a particular slant on their account, thereby portraying their own ideologies in their spoken or written account of events. This phenomenon can further heighten the notion of invisibility in the fixer’s important position as chronicler of war. His or her position is important because, whereas journalists may come and go after relatively short periods of time spent in war zones, local fixers remain and provide the continuity of narration that ultimately makes it possible for others to chronicle events that define a particular war, the narration of which may hardly ever be acknowledged by its original interlocutors (Baker 2010, 213).

A further potential problem in regard to the accuracy of content is that the level of competence of those available to translate or interpret may be unquantifiable. In the absence of a source text there is no recourse to checking the accuracy of reported events. Jerry Palmer, in his 2007 study of war reporting in Iraq, observes that fixers sometimes have no more than a basic command of the target language, having taken up translation and interpreting work out of desperation because it is relatively well paid. However, they still do not meet the standards and professional competence of trained interpreters and translators, thus raising questions about the reliability and accuracy of mediated information.

What remains without a doubt is the fact that reporters often rely on translating or interpreting to ascertain background knowledge and other information relating to cultural content that might be crucial to the subsequent understanding of an event. Of significance to this study is Ulf Hannerz’ somewhat controversial conclusion of journalistic tendency, that “news people do not seem much given to deciphering foreign meanings at all. The working

assumption, apparently, is that understanding is not a problem, things are what they seem to be” (1996, 120).

Hannerz’ viewpoint, which comes from an anthropological perspective is, however, contradicted by the *Guardian’s* business correspondent, Elena Moya, who, adamant that she does not report facts that she does not fully understand, says “If in doubt, out” (personal communication, June, 2010). Despite the fact that Hannerz questions the difficulties faced by correspondents in regard to problems of cultural translation, he fails to expand upon them. Nevertheless, the overriding consequence of his observation is that what is eventually reported may indeed be an inaccurately mediated version of a news event, not only because it may have arrived as a pre-formulated piece of either spoken or written information for which no specific corresponding source text exists, but also because the correspondent, in his or her quest to compete for space in the target publication, has to choose whether to, in the words of AP journalist, Mort Rosenblum, “threaten, benefit, titillate, amuse or outrage the reader” (quoted in Hannerz 1996, 114-5). Thus, the circumstance, place and time of translation as well as the professional requirement of the correspondent may be significant in identifying how and why factual or connotational inaccuracies, for example, might occur in internationally mediated news reports.

Some of the reports used in this study will have appeared in retail news rooms (headquarters of national or local newspapers, for example, where media is accessed directly by the public), as fully fledged articles in their own right, having been produced by Reuters’ journalists in Mexico City or AP’s journalists in New York City. In line with the ethos of those agencies, the style, content and perspective of news reports are characterised by global objectivity. Reports are not written with a specific local readership in mind. Therefore, once in the hands of a retail news organisation, they may need to be edited to the requirements of the readership of that particular organisation. Of significance here in terms not only of volume but also of the position of the wholesale news agency, is the fact that often, more news coverage emanates from these centres than it does from the news locale itself. This being the case, it can be logically assumed that news coverage will produce different versions of reports of the same events. That is to say, information relating to the 2009 coup in Honduras, for example, could, because of the differing political interests of the readership of different newspapers, be different in the *Guardian* to that published in the *New York Times*, even though the original information might have emanated from the same global news agency. In regard to this same phenomenon within the context of this study, is the difference in focus given by the *Guardian* and *New York Times* to the US government’s reaction to the

coup in Honduras. Despite the fact that the source of both reports is AP, the *Guardian* reports on the issue from a Honduran, and therefore international perspective, whilst the *New York Times* focuses on the same issue from a domestic i.e. American perspective.³⁷

I have already established that the composition of a news item which reports a politically significant international event will often be based upon a number of spoken and written sources in another language. These may have been summarised and amalgamated with texts from other sources, also in a different language, or different languages. As well as using information provided by fixers, it is common for journalists to draw from other sources, typically agency reports and possibly unedited reports from other reporters. Although not immediately obvious, these can be translations so again, the journalist's source text can be somebody else's target text, rather than a source text in its own right. In this case it may be impossible to ascertain the exact content of the original source. In a worst case scenario it is possible that the original translator could have rendered, for example, metaphorical usage, without due consideration of underlying conceptual meanings of a particular metaphor, as in the example provided by Austermühl (2008, 81), where misquotation of a statement made by Paul Wolfowitz, the then U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defence, arose through the use of already translated material as a source text.³⁸ An equally valid, albeit less obscure and arguably more common problem could be the often cited example of the use of "freedom fighter" as opposed to "terrorist", which potentially introduces all manner of ideological interference.

From a political discourse perspective, Schäffner highlights an interesting and serious implication of the translation process where she points out that "politicians, or political analysts, usually do not go back to the original text, neither do they request a detailed comparative analysis of the original text and the translation. Once produced, translations as texts lead a life of their own, and are the basis on which people acquire information and knowledge" (2004, 125). Therefore, what is translated is what is reported and once in the hands of politicians and other readers has the potential to be regarded as the 'truth', when it may be a mediated version thereof.

³⁷ See "Costa Rican President to Mediate Honduras Crisis, Says Clinton" (AP, *Guardian*, 7 July 2009) and "Honduras' Interim Govt Sends Lobbying Team to US" (AP, *New York Times*, 21 July 2009).

³⁸ Wolfowitz' is quoted by the *Guardian's* George Wright on 4 June 2003 as having said, "Let's look at it simply. The most important difference between North Korea and Iraq is that economically, we just had no choice in Iraq. The country swims on a sea of oil", which is a literal translation of a quotation taken from a report by a German journalist reporting for the German daily *Die Welt*. What he originally said was, "[L]ook, the primary difference – to put it a little too simply – between North Korea and Iraq is that we had virtually no economic options with Iraq because the country floats on a sea of oil". (US Department of Defense, "Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz Q&A following IISS Asia Security Conference", quoted in Austermühl, 2008, 84-5).

This same practice, substantiated through my interviews with journalists belonging to both wholesale and retail news organisations, commonly occurs with international news reports when they reach the news desk of retail news disseminators. Once out on the newswire, there is no control over how the content of the story will appear in later reports. This phenomenon has serious implications in regard to the factual accuracy of the content of news reports, an example of which, and its resultant consequences I describe in the first case study in chapter 4.1.

Returning to Schäffner's aforementioned point, it is of course not just the practices of politicians and political analysts that are of interest, but also those of the general public. Where readers have the choice of buying one newspaper or another precisely because of its political 'colour', the average consumer of news does not consciously consider whether, in a move aimed at influencing public opinion, the original content or particular representation of events in an international political news report may have been altered through translation. Adaptation might be characterised by omission or addition of information, but will still be considered by the reader to be the work of the original author. The original point of enunciation will also be perceived to remain unchanged.

In regard to the key objective of this study, which is to identify where and how differences in content between reports in different languages of the same events may occur, Michael Parenti (1993) gives a comprehensive account of characteristics of the US media. He points out that critics are all too ready to blame journalists for poor reporting, rather than the editors who control the journalists, or those in the journalism hierarchy who control the editors. Although Parenti does not specifically mention the place of translation in international journalism, he concedes that these criticisms are often true, but "place too much blame on the weakest, lowest link in the news manufacturing chain: the reporter" (Parenti 1993, 7), whose news items are often typified by over-dependence on officialdom, poor research or an over-indulgence in "personal predilections and prejudices" (Laqueur 1983; Parenti 1993, 7). If critics are in the business of apportioning blame on poor reporting strategies, then the role of translation as part of the news gathering process must arguably also be opened to scrutiny.

In further regard to media conventions, Jaap van Ginneken (1998, 73) suggests that journalists belong not only to a culture but to a profession that operates within its own ideological and cultural framework. Therefore they share similar practices and view things from a common angle. Like Parenti, van Ginneken does not specifically mention translation. However, as translation is part of journalism, the question still remains as to whether it is the

journalist in the retail newsroom, the editorial team of a global news agency or the foreign correspondent that took on the role of translator at the beginning of the news gathering process, who can be held responsible not only for possible differences in content between source and target material, but also for any ideological loading therein that might originally derive from difficulties in translation that occurred earlier in the news gathering process.

2.3.2 *Translation and the Translator in News Gathering and Dissemination*

Tight deadlines are a common feature of translation in general but aspects of time, space, the agents involved and local circumstances at the point of reporting are what set processes of translation that occur in the production of international news apart from other areas of the profession. Speed and efficiency have become ever more crucial factors in the gathering and dissemination of news. In this regard, Alberto Orengo observes that in all cases, “translators [or journalists who translate] ultimately have to produce texts that will be transmitted in real time shortly after having been translated, since the translated text is not a goal but a means either to the construction of another text, or to the distribution of another product” (2005, 173). To this Bielsa adds that “the main objective of news translation is the fast transmission of information in a clear way so that it can be communicated effectively to readers” (2007, 141). In regard to deadlines in newsrooms of retail news organisations, the *Guardian’s* Katie Allen also confirms the time pressures involved when she describes fifteen minute turnaround times for the production of a news story, one that might also necessitate some degree of translation (personal communication, May 2010).

Of significance also is the quality and reliability of sources. When discussing the extent to which the style, content, format and text type of the source affect the published content of news reports, the *Guardian’s* Latin America foreign correspondent, Rory Carroll concedes that, “[a] government press release has greater authority, for example, than a blog on a state-backed website. Quotes in a local newspaper are less reliable than comments you can pick up from TV or radio” (personal communication, April 2010). This view is supported by Reuters’ Kieran Murray, who explains that written sources can be made up, whereas spoken sources, even though the information contained therein may be have been passed on, are received first-hand. However, it is spoken as opposed to written sources that are potentially more complex to work with in case of difficulty in comprehension. They are heard only once and unless audio-recorded, there is no record to revert back to in the same way as there is when drawing on a written source. The environment of the spoken source may also affect intelligibility. A noisy street corner, a demonstration, gunshot or a crackly radio

broadcast will often be contributory factors to poor intelligibility, and therefore a potential reason for the reception, and later production of inaccurate information (personal communication, June 2010).

According to Murray, when reporting breaking news from areas of crisis, it is not uncommon for foreign correspondents to work within a thirty-minute time frame which might be imposed by the arrival and departure of a helicopter in which journalists are transported. During this time the reporter will ascertain and assimilate information in a different language with which he or she may or may not be familiar. Unfamiliarity with the language will necessitate enlisting the services of an 'interpreter' or 'translator', whose language competence may or may not be sufficient for the task, or who may for ideological reasons be unwilling to interpret accurate facts of the event. Decisions have to be made quickly as to whether information is being accurately supplied. When exact detail is unclear, journalists will employ the common journalistic strategy of 'writing around' the detail. That is, for example, describing a particular event as happening in "the early hours of the morning", rather than hazarding a guess and writing 03.00. It is only after overcoming all these potential hurdles that the correspondent can report on the event. The story itself will be written quickly and as soon as possible be sent to the news desk of the news organisation concerned, to be turned into a report that will shortly appear in on-line versions of newspapers or on agency websites (personal communication, May 2010).

Speed is of the essence as twenty-first century global consumers demand and expect twenty-four hour, succinct, brief, up-to-the-minute news reporting rather than delayed and extended accounts of news events. However, what is at stake in this situation is potential inaccuracy of the published report because tight time frames in the news gathering process do not allow for thorough checking and subsequently for any necessary revisions to be made.

In terms of gauging the factual accuracy of the reported event, it is only by comparing the original context in which the text was produced against the representation of facts which appear in the target environment, that processes of translation or interpreting might be identified. However, the fact that a source text may not exist, constitutes an ongoing obstacle when ascertaining whether or not a text has in fact been translated. As already discussed, what is considered to be a translation in the target language may turn out to have no corresponding source text. Unless it is acknowledged as such, there is no way of knowing. Acknowledgement of sources is usually common practice in the case of agency news feeds. At the *New York Times* it is also a requirement for journalists to quote sources of information in the body of the text. Although these sources may not be directly referred to by name, they

are nonetheless at least acknowledged by entity. However, in other retail news dissemination, a concrete source may never be located or even exist. Instead, it is a variety of anonymous sources (e.g. information ascertained from fixers), that may account for the production of a report which speeds along the global newswire, to be read by consumers on the other side of the world, in the form of a news report.

At the dissemination end of the ‘wholesale’ media process, where reports are transferred between different news organisations, translation may be undertaken either at the output or reception stages. Many news agencies produce output material both in the national language of the country to which the agency belongs, and in an international language, most commonly English. At Reuters, Latin American news, for example, which is destined for the English-speaking world, is written in English rather than in Spanish. However, it is important to note here that the fact that news is written in English for the English-speaking world, translation is still present as it will almost certainly have taken place earlier in the news gathering process, most likely at the source of the reported event. Major agencies also translate their own material or a selection of it, and this is commonly acknowledged as being translated material. While Bielsa highlights the fact that because of linguistic diversity in news production, translation is an important part of news agency work, this does not mean that translators are employed “because translation is not conceived as separate from other journalistic tasks of writing up and editing, and is mainly assumed by the news editor, who usually works as part of a desk, where news reports are edited and translated and sent to a specific newswire” (Bielsa 2007, 136). Hence, newswriters do not immediately think of their product as a translation, a view confirmed through my own research at Reuters.

With knowledge of journalistic processes, it is understandable that a number of researchers in the field have renamed the title “news translator” to better describe the role of those involved in the news gathering and dissemination process. Rather than “translator”, Roberto Valdeón uses the term “media writer” when describing the dual function of the news translator – that of “producers of texts that provide their readers with information about a news event, and also as translators who carry out interlingual transformative acts of different kinds” (2007, 100). Brownlie (2010, 44) introduces the terms “intercultural journalist” and “bilingual mediator” in her description of their role as purveyors of foreign culture, and with a focus on the process involved, Caimotto (2010, 79) employs the term “translation-reporting”.

As early as 1995, Frank Austerlühl and Joachim Kornelius developed a skills profile for future translators. Included in that profile they saw the future roles of translators as

“mediators, cultural consultants, information broker[s], multilingual knowledge specialists, technical writers, foreign language abstractors, or multilingual journalists” (Austermühl 2007, 39). With reference to the role of the translator in journalism, ‘multilingual journalist’ would seem the most apt of all these terms as it suits the changing role and reality of translation in a world dominated by political globalisation. Localisation of translated news influences and controls not only the content of source and target texts, but also the translation process and the practices of translators themselves in their role as intercultural communicators and authors and interpreters of meaning. This renaming of their job title raises the question not only as to whether “media writers”, “transeditors”, “intercultural journalists”, “bilingual mediators”, “translator-reporters” or “multilingual journalists” are journalists or translators, but also whether they can successfully undertake both roles in a competent manner. The notion of competence remains crucial to this study and is further explored through interviews with media and wholesale journalists, the results of which I will further discuss in the case studies that form chapter four.

Although translation is not overtly recognised as one of the functions of news agencies and, according to my own research, even less so of retail media outlets, processes of translating are so deeply embedded in the daily routine of international journalists that many, albeit usually those who only use English in their work, dismiss the idea outright that translation is part of the process involved in international news production. This is hardly surprising because variation in textual content in published news reports is limitless and, often without trace of a source text, the processes involved in international newswriting often do not resemble translation. To a journalist, the source is the *event* rather than any textual account of the event, thus “[t]he fact that there may not even be an original calls the very idea of translation into question. If translating involves the transfer of a text produced in one language into another, then frequently what happens in news reporting cannot be defined as translation in this way” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 132). In this regard, the *Times*’ business and economics writers, Ian King, with reference to his and Carl Mortishead’s 5 May 2010 article “Shares catch a cold as Spain shrugs off Greek infection”, which makes overt reference to sources in Spanish, says, “I don’t use translated material at all...any data that has been sourced from overseas, unless it comes from our stringers in a particular location, always has to come from a reputable service such as Reuters, AFX or Dow Jones Newswires. Anything else I am very wary of” (personal communication, June 2010). Here, without recourse to further correspondence with King, my assumption is that he respects the quality of news supplied by agencies, whilst still negating any recognition of processes of translation

that might have occurred in the production of that piece of international news. Bielsa also notes that although multilingual journalists do not have any translation training, they are able to produce, with ease, good translations for use in news reports (2007, 137). This is most likely because of the many similarities in practices that exist in both professions. These I will discuss in chapter 2.3.5 in more detail.

Where translation actually takes place depends on the structure and practices of individual agencies. With changes in the functions of distribution networks, these have changed over the years. Networks have been established to house core groups of foreign correspondents who produce news in the language of their agency, i.e. English in the case of Reuters and AP, and French in the case of AFP. Other local journalists, who are also employed by news agencies which produce news in the local language, translate from other news wires to make news available to the local market. It is this dual structure in journalism that avoids the need for translation to be rendered outside the agency itself (Bielsa 2007, 138).

At Reuters bureau in Mexico City, the situation where native Spanish speakers write news for the Spanish-speaking readership, and where native English speakers do the same for the English-speaking readership, works particularly well. According to journalists involved in the process, for the news organisation as a whole, it is a logical, effective and efficient way to go about international newswriting. This is largely because of the close physical working environment and the language competence of those journalists who write reports, in different languages, of the same events which are destined for different readerships. Although some linguistic transfer takes place here, the result is “the creation of completely new texts, which resist the definition of translation” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 132). It is therefore, not by coincidence that the native English-speaking or Spanish-speaking newswriters who produce reports in their mother tongue, work opposite, and within one metre of each other. Such proximity allows them to quickly and easily check with each other issues of accuracy where linguistic ambiguity may be a problem. During my fieldwork I was able to observe that this process of checking formed a constant part of the daily routine of Reuters senior correspondents Catherine Bremer and Pablo Garíbian, confirming Bielsa and Bassnett’s observation that “this typical dual structure hugely reduces the need for translation, effectively minimizing the time it takes to circulate news worldwide in different languages to different markets” (2009, 59).

Boyd-Barrett (1980, 58) points out that where a global news agency carries out its own translation, there is a greater chance of a competent translation being rendered because

complexities in language are dealt with without loss of nuance. On the other hand, though, the practice does not take into account textual changes necessary to meet the cultural requirements of the new audience. In some circumstances a dual structure avoids the need for translation or even hides the fact that translation has taken place at all.

The structure of news production also maximises the efficiency of the dissemination process. Foreign correspondents translate quotations and make decisions about what other content should be translated, and ultimately how it is translated. Information gleaned from interviews with journalists at Reuters, the *Guardian* and *New York Times* strongly indicates that on the whole, translation solutions go unquestioned. It is only in the case of ambiguity that the original author may be consulted for clarification, but even this will depend on time factors. This arrangement empowers the journalist “as executive decision maker” as opposed to “executor of decisions” (Cronin 2003, 66).³⁹

However or wherever international news is produced, translation must logically be part of the process for it to cross linguistic and cultural boundaries. Although processes of translation in international news production are what one would imagine set editorial processes apart from those of domestic news and, as already discussed, a phenomenon which, according to both retail and wholesale media journalists, is not generally considered, in some agencies translators figure as part of the core structure of the organisation. At Inter Press Services (IPS)⁴⁰ for example, the head of Translating Services is part of the Editors Group, the core editorial team that coordinates IPS’s global coverage. In terms of investment in languages IPS claims that this runs parallel to its investment in internet growth (Gutiérrez 2006, 32). If internet growth is taken as a significant benchmark, this would indicate that the role of translation is a highly respected one at IPS.

In further regard to respect for foreign language competence, since the 1980s Reuters has offered graduate training programmes to modern-languages graduates in order to re-channel their language skills, thereby training already competent linguists to be journalists. At the *New York Times*, foreign correspondents are ‘farmed out’ from the head office and if necessary are given intensive language training before being posted in the field. This training,

³⁹ See chapter 2.2.2.

⁴⁰ Inter Press Service (IPS) is the world’s leading news agency on issues such as development, environment, human rights and civil society whose goal is to fill the information gap between Europe and Latin America. It is an Argentine founded non-profit international cooperative of journalists. In operation since 1964, it provides a daily news service in English and Spanish (<http://www.ips.org/institutional/get-to-know-us-2/our-history/>).

however, is not specific to the skills requirements of the job. Therefore elements relating to translation or interpreting are not specifically taught, thus further reinforcing journalism's lack of overt recognition of the phenomena and consequently the skills involved therein.

The fact still remains that translation in the production of English language international news is undertaken by personnel employed by agencies as journalists, rather than by professional translators with journalism training. Despite the respect that it is accorded, evidence from field and other research points to the fact that translation is not generally perceived as being a separate part of the task of journalists, since they have to deal with linguistic diversity in their key role, the international communication and dissemination of news. The integration of translation in the production of news is seen by news agencies as more efficient than outsourcing material to be translated. An explanation for this is Bielsa's proposal that "news organisations employ journalists rather than translators because only the former have the specific skills needed for the job: an experience of journalistic work and a precise knowledge of journalistic genres and style" (2007, 136). Thus, it can be argued that the significant role of translation is invisibly encompassed rather than overtly negated in the production of news stories. This is evidenced by the fact that, whilst it is common for journalists to enter the profession with modern languages degrees, there is no evidence from interviews with retail and wholesale journalism personnel that any form of professional translation training takes place, or indeed is perceived as a necessary part of journalism training. One requirement however, as part of selection procedures, is for journalists to be able to write a news report from a written source in another language, the result thus serving as a measure of language/translation competence on entry to the profession (Reuters, personal communication, June 2010).

News is a marketable commodity and therefore has to make money. Mort Rosenblum, in his criticism of the decline in foreign news coverage in the American media, reminds us that the news-gathering process is no public service: "The news business sells a product that is blended and packaged, and the competition is cutthroat. When the product doesn't sell, its marketers tinker with the mix", (1993, 8; quoted in Hannerz, 1996, 114). Foreign news *per se* may be regarded as uninteresting to domestic readers, so international news will naturally be subject to summary, abbreviation and editorial selection to meet the interests and expectations of the target readership. Related to these features of foreign news is the long-standing traditional use of "personalisation" as a news value (Galtung and Ruge 1973), that is, "reference to people and their actions [,] rather than to concepts, processes, issues and social structures (Brownlie 2010, 41). If overseas news is not high on the agenda

of British readers, the personal lives, appearance and relationships of prominent political figures can serve to arouse more interest than the event being reported upon.

It cannot be ignored that the financial situation underpinning the whole phenomenon of news reception is at least in part responsible for rewriting, resulting in “translated versions of texts such as official speeches, interviews, witnesses’ accounts of facts [being] systematically disassembled bit by bit and re-used, through the process described as ‘embedding’, as raw material for the construction of news stories” (Orengo 2005, 173). Thus, translation strategies in news gathering and dissemination are characterised by a mixture of summary, contextualizing commentary and translation. Kelly, in her study of the translation into English of Spanish cultural terms, quoting Bell (1991) reminds us that this characteristic of embedding

should be considered in combination with another: that of the editorial processes most media texts, and certainly all news texts, go through, eliminating to a great extent the concept of a single author. Articles may go through as many as five or six different pairs of hands before final publication, and each of those may change terms, order of elements, etc. (1998, 58-9).

Of significance here is that the concept of multi-authorship makes it virtually impossible to track down the precise agent responsible for the translation or interpretation of non-English language source material.

2.3.3 *The Processes Involved in Textual Transformation*

Wholesale media reports (transnational agency reports accessed directly by related industry stakeholders) usually contain only information pertaining to the event being reported. This information is later incorporated into reports published by the agencies’ various client organizations when additional background information may be included. Wholesale media reports are written objectively, typically using neutral terminology as client organizations may have very different cultural or political affiliations.⁴¹ Textual transformation occurs in order to comply with the demands of the target readership. In the following paragraphs, I will give some examples of how reshaping of content can occur when translation is an integral part of newswriting.

In 1989, Karen Stetting coined the neologism “transediting” (1989, 371) to liken the work of the news translator to that of editor, whose task is to improve clarity and relevance, and to ensure adherence to the conventions of the textual type. In so doing, fine details are

⁴¹ The editorial policies of government-owned agencies or activist organizations commonly reflect the policies of controlling organizations and, whether translated or not, this is apparent in the language used in their reports (Palmer 2009, 188).

honed to the requirements of the target audience. In regard to these requirements, it is also important to consider differing stylistic expectations from readers in different locales. A standard convention of British print journalism, for example, is the use of direct speech in news reports. This is to convey a sense of authenticity. Irony and understatement are also employed, and enigmatic openings to articles with strong summative conclusions are preferred (Bassnett 2005, 124). In order to meet these expectations, degrees of textual reshaping described as transediting must take place because the result of conventional processes of translation, where the emphasis is on loyalty to the source text, would not necessarily be stylistically acceptable to the target readership. Stetting sees the main features of transediting as transformation through *deletion*, *addition*, *substitution* and *reorganisation* (1989, 371-82), and of translation as “that part of the news production process which involves translating into another language those parts of the original message that are considered newsworthy in the receiving cultural environment” (quoted in Hursti, 2001). Of interest here is the fact that in regard to translation, there is no mention of the term ‘source text’.

Writing a news report is far from simple. Bearing this in mind, it is worth examining the abovementioned strategies which are used when transediting a text and looking at the effect these have on the on the rewritten text.

Deletion can range from omission of individual lexical items to deletion of clauses, sentences or even complete paragraphs. Information deemed unnecessary is eliminated. It can become redundant either because it is already known by the target readers or because it becomes too detailed and too specific for a reader who is geographically and culturally removed from the events described. It therefore becomes irrelevant. However, whilst deletion may be desirable to meet the cultural needs or stylistic expectations of the target readership, there is the danger that important information can also be deleted, thus prejudicing the accuracy of the intended message and potentially altering its discursive effect. Examples of this occurrence are highlighted in my second case study in chapter 4.2.

Addition, as opposed to explicitation⁴² will sometimes be necessary when the target readership changes. It may be necessary to add background information that might not be known in the new context in order to clarify other background information relating to important cultural aspects that the new target readership cannot be expected or assumed to

⁴² Explicitation, also known as explication is the phenomenon of making the propositions implied in the source text clearly visible to in its target language version, to the extent that such propositions can project different ideologies to those intended at the source of the reporting through the use of metaphor, transitivity, modality lexical choice and cohesion (Gumul 2010, 94-6).

know. The concept of “paramilitary forces” in a Latin American context, for example, could be potentially unfamiliar to those outside the region and therefore may require some explanation if the full impact of the message is to be achieved.⁴³ More specific to the context of this study, the background to the Honduran elections needs to be explained to an English language readership outside Honduras in a way that it does not need to be explained in Spanish to a domestic readership.

Substitution relates to a variety of different procedures: figures and quantities may be rounded up or down, or expressed differently. For example, in Spanish, the population figures for a large city usually include just the numbers for the city itself without the surrounding suburbs, whereas in English the entire figure for the whole conurbation is usually given; depersonalisation may occur through the substitution of names with professional positions; summaries rather than more extensive detailed accounts of sub-events may be given; titles and leads (informative subtitles) are often substituted for new ones in order to remove source language connotations so as to provide a means whereby the target reader will better understand the content of the report.

Reorganisation involves restructuring the text, but by moving information around to meet the stylistic requirements of the target audience, meaning may be refocused in such a way that the importance of specific detail is either strengthened or weakened, by either foregrounding or backgrounding. Foregrounding is the placing of information which is important to the text producer, and which places the text producer in a good light, in a prominent position within the text. Backgrounding is the process whereby information negative to the text producer is placed in a less prominent position. Examples of both occur in the texts analysed in chapter 4.1. Reorganisation in the form of summary may occur to meet certain requirements, for example, the house style or space available in the new publication.

The overriding result of these “transedited” textual features makes the new text appear more like a source text rather than a target text, largely because it follows the textual conventions and cultural needs of a different audience. Schäffner (2004, 130) points out that the journalist’s source text can be somebody else’s target text, rather than a source text in its own right. This being the case, many would argue that in processes of translation that take place in the production of international news, the role of translator as rewriter is no different to that of journalist. In regard to the crossover between translation and journalism in the production of a “transedited” text, Bielsa and Bassnett stress that “journalists who write

⁴³ In the UK, for example, theoretically no such force exists (Robertson 2004, 366).

original news reports are not any different from those that translate them” (2009, 65). However, one major difference between the two roles concerns notions of faithfulness. Loyalty to both the source text and target audience no longer applies as an overriding consideration. In news production, the new text “does not require that its form and content are preserved without significant alterations in translation” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 65). Instead, notions of faithfulness apply to the accuracy of the narrated events. Whereas faithfulness to the source text is central to say, literary translation, ideals of accuracy and objectivity are central to the process of news translation. In this regard, Anthony Pym (2004, 55) posits an interesting view when he asserts that news texts serve a completely new purpose devoid of traditional notions of equivalence. This necessarily happens because a change of news angle is introduced to meet the needs of the target audience. It is arguable then that the result of this textual juxtaposition is not translation. However, the converse is true if we consider its effect in translation terms: without rearrangement it would not serve its intended purpose in the target text environment, and as such would not be considered an appropriate translation, thereby flouting all notion of “Function plus Loyalty” (Nord 1997, 123-8).

Despite the fact that the typical practices in the news gathering and dissemination process that are described in this chapter are alien to conventional notions of translation, a considerable amount of translation, albeit invisibly, does happen. Much of it takes place early on in the news gathering process, and its importance cannot be ignored. After all, it is only through translation that international news can flow.

2.3.4 Regulatory Processes in the Dissemination of International News

Common to most international news organisations is the practice of a number of journalists being involved in the production of a story before it is finally checked by an editor prior to publication. However, different types of organisation operate under different regulatory systems, depending upon the ethos of the particular organisation. These are, according to Reuters’ editor Kieran Murray, either “reporter led” or “editorial led” (personal communication, June 2010).

From my discussions with personnel belonging to different news organisations, it would seem that as a general rule, where reporting is carried out directly by a journalist working for a retail media organisation, and where it is common for contextualising material to be incorporated at the moment of original composition, news organisations are “reporter led”. News reports are received from foreign correspondents, the content of which is generally not changed. Here the role of the editorial team is one of little more than proof

reading for correct spelling and punctuation. In this regard, *Guardian* business reporter, Katie Allen, confirms that once a story arrives at the news desk, the content of that story is not usually changed unless it is incomprehensible or needs adaptation to better suit the needs of the specific readership. Any editorial changes at this point should not therefore affect the original meaning of the reported event. Where editorial changes do occur though, Allen concedes that there is the possibility that unless the edited version is re-checked by the original reporter, which is not always the case, change in meaning could occur (personal communication, May 2010). However, this view is contradicted by the *Guardian's* Latin American correspondent, Rory Carroll, who confirms that in cases of ambiguity, his editors will usually contact him for clarification, the only exception being when time constraints do not allow for this (personal communication, May 2010). Without recourse to concrete evidence, I can only assume that different editorial desks within the same news organisations adopt different practices. It might even be the case that because of the less culturally sensitive content of business and economic news, this is not classified as foreign news in the same way as is, for example, the reporting of a military coup, and therefore the notion of translation becomes even more remote.

At the *New York Times* the editorial situation is different. Elisabeth Malkin, the newspaper's Mexico City-based Latin American correspondent reports that any editorial changes only take place after consultation with the reporter concerned (personal communication, June 2010). This being the case, we can surmise that in comparison with the *Guardian's* editorial practices, those of the *New York Times* are more likely to ensure a higher degree of quality control in terms of the accuracy of translated content. Indeed, Greg Winter, *New York Times* Latin America Editor, confirms the existence of tight regulatory processes:

Our correspondents in Latin America speak Spanish, so we rely principally on them to do the translation in the course of writing and reporting for the article. The correspondents carry out the interviews themselves and also translate quotes [sic] from local news sources, when needed. But our policies require them to make it clear to us and to the reader when direct quotes came from local news reports, not their own interviews.

If there is a discrepancy in a translation that we can detect from other news sources, we go over it with the correspondent to understand the difference. We sometimes see slight variations in word choice from one source to the next, but the meaning tends to be highly consistent.

There are [sic] also a number of editors and reporters here in New York who speak a number of languages, so in a pinch we can rely on them as well.

In parts of the world where reporters don't speak the language, they use translators, who are often local journalists themselves, to help them with reporting and interpreting. These are usually people we have worked with for quite some time, in order to establish their trustworthiness. Again, these translations, especially of quotes that come from officials and therefore appear elsewhere, particularly on the news wires, are checked for consistency (personal communication, August 2010).

What is also interesting here is that Winter confirms the fact that journalists also operate as translators and that assurances of quality are built on trust.

At wholesale news organisations which tend to be “editorial led”, the situation is quite different. At Reuters for example, incoming news reports may be edited by up to four different pairs of eyes. Editorial changes are made as a matter of course and then sent back to the reporter for approval. From a translation perspective this is important because such practice ensures that nuance of meaning, for example, in the source language, is not inadvertently ‘edited out’ to the extent that inadequate translation solutions arise. The practice stems from *A Handbook of Reuters Journalism* which states that “everyone who touches a story is responsible and accountable for its contents” (Bielsa 2007, 148). The editor then assumes co-responsibility for both content (sources, accuracy, background) and style. The same system applies to translated dispatches and this is evidenced in signatures of journalists, editors and, where applicable, translators who check translations (ibid).⁴⁴

Strict rules which are determined by the news organisation’s style book also apply. Essential elements here are simplicity, clarity and conciseness, a combination of which ensures maximum informative content. Manuals include useful information on correct usage and, in some cases, full guidelines addressing potentially problematic words as well as specific genres. They advocate, for example, that sentences be short, active rather than passive verb forms be used and the use of adjectives be limited. These stylistic rules allow for adherence to traditional news values of objectivity and neutrality. What is more, they ensure convenient marketability to a range of media organisations. In regard to translation, style guides have a facilitating effect on translation as the translator can work within strictly established norms. However, not all agency style manuals include full sections on the translation of news; rather they include a few remarks specifically dealing with translation. This further reinforces the extent to which translation has been integrated with other news production processes rather than having its importance negated. Indeed, Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, 70) quote page 71 of AFP’s manual of the Spanish service as identifying translation as one of the main tasks of its news desk, placing it in second place, after the task of selecting

⁴⁴ At Reuters in Santiago, Chile where, because of the volume of work, the services of professional translators are also employed to translate incoming news reports from English to Spanish, a further check is made by editors, thus ensuring greater reliability of professional practice. According to Pablo Garfiban, this is because problems of contextualisation that seem to occur in texts rendered by those trained as translators do not tend to occur with those trained as journalists (personal communication, June 2010). Although this is of interest in terms of the role of translation in the production of global news, it does not form part of the focus of my study which focuses only on the language direction Spanish to English.

and sending texts to the newswire. This is in sharp contrast to *A Handbook of Reuters Journalism* which, the authors observe “omits any reference of this kind, and does not mention translation as one of the functions of the desk” (ibid). This then implies that translation is not seen as a stand-alone facet in the news production process, but one that is wholly integrated. Interestingly, however, in regard to how news reports should be written, *A Handbook of Reuters Journalism* states that “[T]he basic spot news story is the mainstay of the Reuters file” (quoted in Bielsa, 2007, 149), and advises journalists to “write it quickly, clearly and simply. Say what happened and why we are reporting it, *in language that is easy to translate*” (ibid).

Given the overlap between journalism and translation in news agencies, contrary to what might be expected, different agencies do regulate specific cases and situations which explicitly involve translation. This regulation happens according to the following principles taken from AFP and Reuters style guides, as summarised by Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, 71-72):

Translation must never delay the circulation of important information.

When news pieces can be written ahead of anticipated or set events (“curtain raisers”), the reporter must file them with the time required by the linguistic services in order to translate them.

Embargoed material (which cannot be either transmitted or published until the time designated for its official release) needs to be sent to the appropriate desks so that it can also be translated into other languages in advance.

The transmission of a Reuters’ video script should never be delayed by the translation or transcription of a quote, and it is possible to send the full script when it is complete after the images have already reached the clients.

In news agency work it is fundamentally important to quote sources whenever possible and preference is given to direct sources. AFP news desks can even ask a reporter or producer to obtain original quotes when they are in a different language to that of the report (Bielsa 2007, 149). *A Handbook of Reuters Journalism* also gives specific instructions for the translation of quotations:

[W]hen translating quotes from one language into another, we should do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. Care must be taken to ensure that the tone of the translation is equivalent to the tone of the original. Beware of translating quotes in newspaper pickups back into the original language of the source. If a French politician gives an interview to an American newspaper, it is almost certain that the translation back into French will be wrong and in some cases the quote could be very different. In such cases, the fewer quotes and the more reported speech, the better (quoted in Bielsa, 2007, 149).

Bielsa notes that Reuters and AFP lay particular importance on the translation of official statements and documents where both organisations stress the necessity to indicate the language of the original and the source of the translation (2007, 150). However, at the retail end of the news production chain the situation is quite different: Bielsa observes that subscribing news organisations can produce “elaborate pieces of ready to print news reports,

analysis and comment, which subscribing news organizations can freely reproduce, fully or in part, introducing any alterations or rewriting they consider necessary, without even acknowledging the source” (2008, 349). In this regard, Brownlie points out that, according to Pierre Bourdieu (1994) this lack of care with regard to acknowledging sources stems from the fact that journalists are not self-critical about practices in their field (2010, 39). The implication here is that beyond normal editorial controls, there is no overt mechanism in place to check the authenticity, and therefore accuracy of reported events. Indeed, Kelly, in her study of the translation of Spanish cultural terms into English, confirms in regard to British retail media practices that “some of the terms [journalists] use to identify source culture institutions and other concepts will be established terms in their paper and often published with other stylistic rules or recommendations in the form of a style book, others will come from one of the sources they have available, others they will coin themselves” (1998, 59). In terms of quality control, Kelly goes on to add that “[t]he quality and effect of this process, like so many others, depend to a great extent on the knowledge the journalist has of the source culture, on her image of her ideal reader and that reader’s knowledge of the source culture (Hall et al. 1978), on her intuitive ability as an intercultural mediator” (ibid).

In short, quality control measures in place in “reporter led” journalism would appear to be at least scant, and at most quite variable. Indeed, at the editorial end of news production this view is evidenced by Harriet Sherwood, Head of the *Guardian* Foreign Desk, when, in reply to a request for information on editorial processes in regard to translated text, she says:

I’m not sure this is something we can help you with. We have a staff correspondent based in Caracas plus a handful of stringers in other parts of Latin America, plus a full-time correspondent in Madrid. In addition we have two Spanish speakers on the foreign desk in London. We don’t use any formal translation services, but rely on the above (personal communication, April 2010).

In the light of Sherwood’s comments on the news dissemination process, one could assume that the editorial team at the *Guardian’s* foreign desk affords low status to the place of translation. But it is not only at the dissemination end of the news making process that the status of the translator as multi-lingual newswriter has been noted.

Despite the fact that it is often the foreign correspondent or stringer⁴⁵ who enjoys prestige in his or her role, the significant role played by the translator or interpreter or fixer, who may also possess journalist skills, remains largely invisible, and may be seen to be equivalent in prestige only to that of a driver or media assistant. Bassnett perceives that “translation carries associations of some form of inferior, more derivative practice” (2005,

⁴⁵ A freelance journalist is commonly referred to as a stringer.

124), to which Bielsa also adds: “the local translator can be considered the most humble and invisible among those directly involved in the production of global news” (2007, 139). This significant factor contributes to the fact that the role of the translator or interpreter of original news events is largely invisible.

Another contributory factor in regard to invisibility is the absence of names. Depending on the policy of individual news organisations, there may be no requirement to make reference to the source, or even to the fact that the article may be a translation. Therefore it is often impossible to ascertain whether a particular news article includes elements of translated material. The only reliable method to establish whether, in the production of international news reports, processes of translation have been undertaken is through reference to source texts. However, this is only possible if referencing is required, and if indeed a source text exists at all. This being the case, and the journalistic practices described above point to the fact that it commonly is, degrees of overt translator intervention remain variable.

2.3.5 Translation and Translator Competence in Media Contexts

From my description of the processes of news gathering and dissemination, I have argued that compared to other products such as books, translation in the production of international news involves far more complex processes. News is disseminated from a global network of institutions (news agencies) to an infinite number of local contexts (newspapers). The shift from *source* to *target* rather than *source text* to *target text* is only one segment of a much longer line in the process. Orengo (2005, 170) reminds us that within the passage from the occurrence of a global event to its reporting in a local newspaper, translation is part of a complex process that is not easy to define. The global extent of news distribution and the peculiarity of processes of translation that take place in the production of international news naturally lead to a blurring in the processes involved in the transfer from spoken and written sources, which later become published news reports. In other words, translation as we traditionally know it stops and something else takes over. In this regard, it is of interest to attempt to discover what that “something else” is by considering notions of competence required by those engaged in translational processes that take place in the production of international news.

Translation of any text type can be demanding, not least because of tight time frames that characterise the process. As I have already noted, in the media context this is also a highly significant characteristic of the profession. It is probably safe to say that tight

timeframes in international newswriting are more significant than in any other area of the translation profession, and may well be a contributory source of the occurrence of inadequate translation solutions. Of interest to this study is the measure of such inadequacies, and this is where notions of competence come into play. In view of the inadequate translation solutions in news reports that have been described by contemporary Translation Studies researchers such as Kelly (1998), Schäffner (2000; 2004), Austermühl (2008) and most recently those contributors to Schäffner and Bassnett (2010), questions of translation and translator competence naturally arise.

As information about world events needs to be tailored to specific audiences, translation as rewriting is responsible for the production of different local versions of international news events. In the first instance, language-competent foreign correspondents are responsible for the reporting of events. Processes of reporting may involve competence in both translation and interpreting before reports are disseminated to global news agencies.

I have already discussed the fact that perhaps the single most significant factor pertaining to processes of translation in international news production is that translation is invisible, not “just because of the need to adopt a domesticating strategy that values fluency and hides its very intervention, but also because of the fact that translation has been successfully integrated within journalism” (Bielsa 2007, 151). As actors in the process of news production, journalists as translators, or translators as journalists, must have the competence to fulfil the important task of producing news reports in order to make them accessible in a variety of linguistic and cultural contexts. They acculturate reports, rendering them more intelligible, therefore more accessible, to their target audience. Important consideration thus lies in the question as to whether translators have also been incorporated in news organisations as editors, or whether they retain a distinctive role as translators. According to my own research at Reuters, the *New York Times* and *Guardian*, and Bielsa’s earlier research, the person who works in the newsroom is considered to be first and foremost a journalist, not a translator. This is evidenced by the fact that, rather than adhering to a specific set of norms of its own, news translation operates under the norms that regulate news production under the expertise of journalists, not of translators. Thus for many journalists, the phenomenon of translation is not even considered.

Since the start of the new millennium, a number of scholars have developed an interest in the measure of competence in the skills necessary to meet the requirements of the job (see PACTE 2000, Kiraly 2000; 2003, Pym 2004 and Sofer 2004). Of these, the analyses

carried out by PACTE and Kiraly, with translator training at their core, provide the most useful definitions of competence in the context of this study.

PACTE defines translation competence as “the underlying system of knowledge and skills needed to be able to translate” (2000, 100). This is a vast area which is broken down further into i) the components of translation competence, ii) the nature of translation competence, and iii) the acquisition of translation competence. The measure of translation competence in this case study relates to PACTE’s sub-component of “transfer competence” from source to target text. That is, the ability to understand the source text and competently re-express it in the target language. Sub-components of “transfer competence” are comprehension competence, the ability to deverbilise⁴⁶ to maintain source language and target language in separate compartments in order to control interference; re-expression competence which is textual organisation and creativity in the target language, and competence in carrying out the translation project, that is, choosing the most appropriate method or, in the words of Pym when describing his “minimalist” approach, “[t]he ability to select only one viable TT from this series [of viable target texts], quickly and with justified confidence” (2003, 489).

Of particular relevance to the job of the international newswriter is PACTE’s notion of extra-linguistic sub-competence, which concerns general and specific knowledge outside of language, which “can be activated according to the needs of each translation situation” (PACTE 2000, 101). Here the authors refer to specific subject and cultural knowledge, both of which are an important aspect of accurate newswriting. Another important aspect concerns instrumental competence, that is employing skills related to research such as the use of dictionaries and terminology databases in order to be able to develop strategies and techniques to solve linguistic problems effectively and efficiently during the rewriting process, in order that adequate translation solutions may be achieved.

By translation and translator competence in general, I refer to more than just the linguistic skills of translators. Don Kiraly, in his concise account of changes in the profession over the last 20 years, usefully separates the notions of translation and translator competence into two distinct skills areas. In his description of what it now takes to produce an adequate and acceptable target text he defines translation competence as “the ability to comprehend a

⁴⁶ Deverbalisation is “immediate and deliberate discarding of the wording and retention of the mental representation of the message” (Seleskovitch 1978, 8) and works in such a way that a translator or interpreter should move away from the surface structure to avoid formal interference of the source language, thereby more easily arriving at the intended meaning.

text written in one language and produce an ‘adequate’ target text for speakers of a different language on the basis of that original text” (2000, 10). He further defines an “adequate” text as “one that could be accepted by the text recipient and the commissioner of the job as an adequate translingual rendering of the source text message” (ibid). Whilst not negating the requirement for resourcefulness in sourcing necessary background information, he concludes that, in short, 20 years ago there were very few technical aids to assist the translators in their work, their task being largely limited to the actual craft of translation (2000, 10-11).

Now, however, things are different as elements of *translator* competence rather than *translation* competence alone, have come into play. The former include dealing with: instantaneous electronic receipt and delivery of commissions with the result that turnaround times are drastically reduced; the completion of large translation projects by a team of translators and subject experts who might be located in different parts of the world, resulting in the necessity for greater liaison among the various agents involved in the production of target texts to achieve consistency in formatting, style and the use of particular terminology; collaboration with others if the translator’s job is to become easier and quality maintained; accessibility to and competence in the use of the latest PC hardware and software; competence in using spread sheets, databases, graphics programmes etc; the ability to learn quickly how to use new software; effective and efficient background research and resulting terminology management and the ability to work with a variety of different text types.

Whilst high degrees of translation competence are undoubtedly still essential, nowadays it is not just these that are needed if adequate translation solutions are to be achieved. More specifically, and relevant to media contexts, notions of competence also involve the effective communication and time management skills that are needed in the simultaneous restructuring of both spoken and written language. In this regard, it is necessary to determine some relevant concepts of translation competence before considering the specific competencies required by news translators.

In terms of assessment of competence in translator training, Kelly (2005, 32-3) lists the following seven sub-areas of competence:

Communicative and textual competence in at least two languages and cultures. This area covers both active and passive skills in the two languages involved, together with awareness of textuality and discourse, and textual discourse conventions in the cultures involved.

Subject area competence. Basic knowledge of the subject areas the future translator will/may work in, to a degree sufficient to allow comprehension of source texts and access to specialised documentation to solve translation problems.

Professional and instrumental competence. Use of documentary resources of all kinds, terminological research, information management for these purposes; use of IT tools for professional

practice (word-processing, desktop publishing, data-bases, internet, email etc.) together with more traditional tools such as fax, dictaphone, etc. This competence also includes basic notions for managing professional activity: contracts, budgets, billing, tax, ethics, professional associations.

Psycho-physiological or attitudinal competence. Self-concept, self-confidence, attention and concentration, memory, initiative.

Interpersonal competence. Ability to work with other professionals involved translation process (translators, revisers, documentary researchers, terminologists, project managers, layout specialists, and other actors (clients, initiators, authors, users, subject area experts). Team work, Negotiation Skills. Leadership skills.

Strategic competence. Organisational and planning skills. Problem identification and problem-solving. Monitoring, self-assessment and revision.

Cultural and intercultural competence. Culture here refers not only to encyclopaedic knowledge of history, geography, institutions and so on of the cultures involved (including the translator's or student's own), but also and more particularly, values, myths, perceptions, beliefs, behaviours and textual representations of these. Awareness of issues of intercultural communication and translation as a special form thereof is also included here.

The above areas also encompass Kiraly's (2000; 2003) notion of translator competence but, however comprehensive they might be, there are still key elements missing that do not take account of the skills set required of those multilingual journalists who produce reports of international news. This is because there are two main characteristics which pertain specifically to processes of translation in the production of news, which do not normally exist in other areas of translation.

Firstly, the journalist's main objective is to transmit information to a mass audience in language that is clear and direct. Those who write international news reports do so for a specific geographical, temporal and cultural context. Their job is conditioned by the medium in which they work and by important limitations of time and space. In the course of their work, they can be expected to operate as "backtranslators" and proofreaders. Secondly, the nature of journalism demands versatility, therefore those who produce international news reports need to be able to work with a number of different topics which will in turn entail working within the norms of different genres (Bielsa 2007, 142).

In short, the job of 'news translator' is very closely linked to that of a journalist. In the previous paragraph, the terms "journalist" and "translator" could be used interchangeably and still accurately describe that person's professional function. Those who have had formal training probably do have all the competencies required of international newswriters but, because of the structure of the media, are not necessarily involved professionally in the process either as translators or journalists.

International news production is largely characterised by the need to rewrite from a source, or a source text (if indeed a source text exists), thereby formulating a target text that

is suited to the needs of the target readership. Creating suitability may entail considerable change because “a small number of original translations give rise to a large number of quoted reports” (Palmer 2009, 189). This supports Orengo’s view in his suggestion that “translated texts are dismembered, used as raw material and not viewed as target texts, since the journalist’s real goal is the production of a news story (i.e. a totally new text) and not the presentation of a target text in its own right” (2005, 170). This being the case, we can largely surmise that in terms of traditional processes of translation, it is only the removal of direct source to target text transfer that sets the two professions apart. However, if we consider more modern approaches to translation, there is, arguably, little difference in the skills set required of both professions. Here, I refer particularly to the requirements of flexibility, speed, skills of analysis and synthesis and management of declarative and procedural knowledge⁴⁷ related to translation and intercultural competence.

Both journalists and translators are commonly known to have diverse working histories and therefore diverse sets of skills, among them, as confirmed by Reuters, *New York Times* and *Guardian* journalists, a background in modern languages. In journalism, one underlying principal is recognition of what the target audience expects and can tolerate. Thus, in regard to translation for journalism, competence in text and discourse analysis must surely also be a requirement to be able to produce a new text that complies with the norms of professional news dissemination. Interestingly, however, this is not a view that was generally given importance by those interviewed, largely because most see translation as a successfully and discreetly integrated part of their daily routine.

Since the main purpose of news production is to transmit information across countries, cultures, media and languages, newsmakers rewrite, rather than translate source texts. They do this in order to make international news more accessible to the target readership, and also to meet the norms of that same group. In the absence of a tangible source text, often the point at which translation as we commonly understand it, occurs, is obscured and replaced by the work of multilingual newswriters who draw on both their source and target language resources. As I outlined in chapter 2.3.3, the most frequent modifications in news rewriting include change of news title, deletion of unnecessary or sensitive or inappropriate information, addition of important background information, and paraphrasing of sources (Bassnett and Bielsa 2009, 64). This being the case, notions of equivalent effect

⁴⁷ Declarative knowledge relates to conceptual, sociocultural, historical, geographical and economic knowledge whereas procedural knowledge relates to problem spotting and solving (Pacte 2011, 319).

between source and target texts cannot be used alone as a criterion to assess the quality of translation solutions within media contexts, further highlighting the need for recognition by the discipline of Translation Studies to accord processes of translation that take place in the production of international news, the status of a separate paradigm.

In the production of international news, translation scholars have noted that practices more akin to interpreting than to translation are often employed. Claire Tsai (2005, 145-53) describes the mental gymnastics which occur and stresses that the notion of deverbalisation commonly occurs. Whilst Tsai describes translation practices in the television newsroom involving both spoken and written text, it is interesting to draw parallels between different media environments where news gathering and dissemination take place. In regard to spoken sources, Reuters' Kieran Murray points out that it is very often these that prevail in the reporting of events in situations of crisis (personal communication, June 2010), as occurred in the Honduran context pertaining to the first case study. This is because events happen so quickly that written sources simply do not yet exist within the time frame demanded by the modern-day requirement to produce almost instantaneous reports of breaking news.

In regard to the practice of a news report starting its life as a text in one culture and ending up in a metamorphosised form in another, Bassnett questions the concept of a "true translation" (2005, 130). As noted earlier, she is of the view that translation in news reporting belongs to a different paradigm and advocates the need for a new term to describe the process (ibid). Like Tsai, she draws parallels with processes of interpreting because of the move away from the notion of the existence of a source text and the emphasis on the destination of the new report.

As for what it takes to be a multi-lingual newswriter, Bassnet identifies constraints of time as being more crucial to translation in the media than in other areas of the profession. She reminds us that "twenty-four hour breaking news is now a global expectation, and the succinct, brief item of news rather than an extended account is what twenty-first century consumers demand" (2006, 6). Here the question remains as to whether it is competence in translation or journalism that is needed to meet this global expectation.

Eric Wishart, editor-in-chief of AFP explains in simple terms his own practice of taking a French story as rough notes, then writing an English version of it. In his view, professional translators, as opposed to journalists, produced texts that read awkwardly and which sometimes contained bad translations. Therefore his preference is for journalists to write their own story based on a text originally in another language, thus enabling them to avoid such pitfalls (Bassnett 2005, 124). This view was endorsed by Reuters editorial staff in

Mexico City and underpins the definition of ‘news translation’ that I proposed in chapter 2.1.5.

Yves Gambier emphasizes the convergence between different media when translating. He alludes to the hidden agendas of news organisations when using non-professional translators, and proposes “the need to train journalists and translators in a more common syllabus” (2006, 15), as both have a socio-cultural responsibility which goes beyond the production of news texts. In terms of “hidden agendas” Gambier does not elaborate. However, in terms of the use of non-professional translators, he is proposing an ideal situation, but one that cannot always be achieved. One would be hard-pressed to find well-trained professional translators or interpreters in war-torn regions of Congo, for example, who are able to switch competently between French, English and any number of local languages, only through which essential information can be ascertained.

In terms of the need to train journalists and translators in a more common syllabus, Gambier’s assertion is surprising because closer consideration of both PACTE’s skills profile and Kelly’s synthesis of translator competence shows the many common practices in the respective job roles of international journalists and translators. The only major difference is that journalists work with both spoken and written texts, whereas translators will normally only work with written texts, leaving transfer of the spoken language to interpreters.

In regard to the crossover between translation and journalism, it is worth noting that those who reach the position of editor, having worked as correspondents for a number of years, are not necessarily competent in another language. This appears to be the case particularly in English-speaking environments, and may account for the acceptance of looser editing practices, whereby the potential to create an inadequate translation solution exists by altering content without due regard for the meaning conveyed in the original non-English source. In non English-speaking environments the situation is different. At Reuters in Mexico City, for example, tight editing processes are very much more language orientated and involve constant checking between native Spanish and native English speakers, for exact nuances of meaning. However, at Reuters offices in English-speaking countries, practices are not necessarily the same (Kieran Murray, personal communication, June 2010).

Newswriting strategies differ according to the ethos, position and purpose of a news organisation (wholesale or retail), its internal structure, its clientele and its editorial practices. The key element to this discussion is that any given item of reported information has been translated at some point in the news gathering and dissemination process. Because of the impact it has on the reader at the end of its journey when news is disseminated, translation’s

most pivotal role is played at the beginning of the process. Translation solutions may differ considerably, but what they have in common is that they are influenced by a variety of factors, and this phenomenon leads to the existence of differently mediated versions of news events which are derived from the same sources.

If the purpose for generation of a news report is the only governing factor in decisions made in the course of its production, it is the new position of a text that governs its linguistic and textual content. Often that position will only be determined once the text is in the hands of a global news agency or those of a retail client. Here the phenomenon of translation may be forgotten as target language rewriting and editing to the needs of the target readership take over. Indeed, information gained by Bassnett and Bielsa from both academics and international figures from AFP, Reuters and IPS confirms the fact that those engaged in interlingual news writing are, rather than purely translators, international journalists. The authors summarise that

[t]he process of bringing information out of one cultural context into another may involve an element of interlingual transfer, but the focus is not on linguistic transferral; rather it is on the transposition of information in a format aimed at meeting the demands of the target readership. All kinds of additional textual processes beyond the interlingual are involved, regardless of whether there is an existing original text or whether the journalist is compiling a report from a variety of sources.

The fact that there may not even be an original calls the very idea of translation into question. If translating involves the transfer of a text produced in one language into another, then frequently what happens in reporting cannot be defined as translation in this way. Yet arguably there is a translation dimension when a story that begins in one context is told, then retold for other readers in another language somewhere else (2009, 132).

These features, compounded by the fact that the source content of news reports may be unidentifiable, allow for the potential portrayal of inaccurate information. Through extensive processes of rewriting, consumers of international news reports might find themselves unwittingly reading less than accurate accounts of international events. Without due consideration of the level of competence of those involved in international newswriting, this phenomenon will remain. Taking news translation as a specific branch of translation in general, definitions of competence might be reconsidered, whereupon notions of translation and journalism competence can sit happily side by side.

2.4 The Discourse of News

Media maintain both global and culturally specific orientations – such as by casting far-away events in frameworks that render these events comprehensible, appealing and relevant to domestic audiences; and second, by constructing the meanings of these events in ways that are compatible with the culture and the dominant ideology of societies they serve (Gurevitch et al. 1991, 206, quoted in Clausen 2004, 28).

In this chapter, I will describe the media's idealistic views with reference to commonly used discourses and the role they can play in shaping the world in terms of power, identity and political ideology. In so doing, I support Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's (1976) sociological view that knowledge is a "social construction of reality" (quoted in Fowler, 1999, 57), which shows how "forms of language encode a socially constructed representation of the world" (Fowler 1999, 37), and how language can be impregnated with social, institutional or political ideology.

Critical discourse analysts Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak, whose writing I will review in chapter three, advocate that in order to quantify the appropriateness of rewriting and adaptation of content to suit a new readership, examination of the content of media texts would benefit from a more concerted focus on its discursive properties, and in particular on its analysis of discourses "which are 'distorted' by power and ideology" (Wodak 1996, 17). According to critical discourse analysis, underlying messages, ideologies and assertions of power are intentionally or unintentionally hidden in news texts, and such profile features may have effects on readers, or on the wider cultures to which they belong. As discourse constitutes society and culture, it shapes national, political and cultural identities and therefore represents ideology. In this regard, Wodak asserts that "[i]deologies are particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation" (1996, 18), thus power relations are also discursive. They are expressed in a certain way, one that can result in such factors as negative stereotyping, which has the potential effect of portraying or hiding dominant ideologies.

I have already discussed why, in the production of international news, processes of translation are not always visible or even apparent in the end product. On the one hand, this may be an inherent and potentially inexplicable result of the rewriting process. On the other hand, from a critical discourse perspective, it may be an intentional, and therefore avoidable move on the part of the different agents involved in the rewriting process to promote certain political or ideological views, thereby introducing an element of 'discursive distortion'.

2.4.1 *News as a Social Construct*

Until challenged to the contrary, media organisations would have it that current news events are reported as fact, that is, as unbiased recordings of events exactly as they happened. But because media organisations exist within a particular social, political or economic environment, either through private ownership or under government control, news is constructed within the confines of that particular environment. These confines are determined by political, social or economic perspectives and each conforms to its own ideology. Regardless of region or source language, governments for example, may want to contain or marginalise certain sectors. This ideological perspective will be reflected in the discourse of reported news events. I will illustrate an example of this point in my first case study (see chapter 4.1).

It is all too easy to attribute misrepresentation in news texts to newswriters *per se*. However, the finished product —the published news text— is ultimately the domain of the editor, either at agency level or at the end of the intertextual chain, the retail news outlet. In this regard Bell states: “The news story is controlled by new values. It is not a neutral vehicle, nor is news production a neutral process” (1991, 51-2). In other words, the marketing of international news is not a natural phenomenon, but one which is governed by cultural, political and economic factors. It is the product of an industry shaped by a dominant bureaucratic and economic structure which is determined by its relationship with governments and social institutions. It reflects and, in turn, shapes prevailing values and norms of a particular society at a particular time, and through its marriage to politics, acts as an agent of power which “produces and imposes on the public a very particular vision of the political field, a vision that is grounded in the very structure of the journalistic field and in journalists’ specific interests produced in and by that field” (Bourdieu 1998, 2).

Parenti calculates that in the 1980s, for the majority, newspapers were second only to television for providing a window on the world (1993, 26-32). Nowadays, both the immediacy of news dissemination and the wider-spread availability of international news that has come with the electronic age mean that the number of channels of news dissemination has increased considerably.

Newspapers are commercial enterprises whose political affiliation is crucial to their financial success. They cannot survive unless they toe a political line, which they do by reproducing established ideas. In the context of this study, for example, the reporting of certain events in Honduran dailies was censored in order to comply with the stance of the interim government in Honduras. In this way, ideas were perpetrated by those who owned

and who controlled media networks. This phenomenon posed an interesting challenge to international newswriters, the potential effect of which I will describe more fully in the first case study (see chapter 4.1).

It is evident that a close relationship exists between discourse, ideology and politics. The etymology itself of the word “ideology” signifies the discourse of ideas. These ideas then become concepts, convictions and opinions that are transmitted through political discourse to the extent that they become doctrines that are accepted by large societal groups. The pervasive ideological power of a newspaper stems from its ability to quietly reinforce the same information to millions of people from a particular perspective. This perspective can then constitute a particular world view. Existing views can be reinforced and these can become the dominant ideology. The views of the powerful are expressed in a discourse which can silently and invisibly shape their ideas and discreetly mould them into established beliefs. Thus, the discourse of a reported news event may be brought in line with official government discourse. In this regard, from a translation/narrative perspective, Baker (2006) reminds us of the workings of press releases. Like news agencies, these are usually associated with groups that are considered legitimate or who wish to express themselves as such, and therefore portray a narrative of authority. This narrative of authority is in turn reproduced in mediated news reports in the same or a different language.

News events are not communicated neutrally. They will always be reported from a particular angle. Therefore total impartiality is an impossible phenomenon to achieve. In the form of reports, news events are transmitted through a multiplicity of channels, each of which, either knowingly or unknowingly, can add its own perspective to suit the particular stance which is determined and demanded by the target readership. As such, news is not the value-free representation of reported facts that media organisations, as perpetrators of the value-free ideal, would have us believe it to be. It is, therefore, a social construct, but one that must still appear to operate within the parameters of accuracy and objectivity.

A challenge that newswriters have to always bear in mind when dealing with, for example, contemporary political issues, is to aim for the maximum possible objectivity by leaving out their own political persuasions. When reporting speech in the news, that speech needs to be that of the speaker, not that of the journalist, leaving the voice of journalists unheard, their signatures illegible; in short, avoidance of any ambiguity and the promotion of objectivity. In contrast, objectivity in journalism should involve the contesting of arguments. For example, a claim such as “Country X’s national welfare system is the best in the world”, needs to be contested by a different viewpoint from a different source.

In terms of accuracy of reporting, it is important to consider both the accuracy of the event and the accuracy of what was said about the event. These may not necessarily be the same thing, even less so when translation occurs. This is because at the point of reporting it is the responsibility of journalists to write in a way that is both appealing and comprehensible to the target readership, and complementary to the political, ideological or stylistic stance of a particular news publication. The journalist has to make a decision to report the event as it happened, or to report the event as those in power would have it reported, thus allowing a report to serve as a possible conduit of propaganda. However, this could be considered a contradiction to the Code of Conduct of the British National Union of Journalists which states that journalists “shall at all times defend the principle of the freedom of the press and other media”, striving “to eliminate distortion, news suppression and censorship” (NUJ Code of Conduct, 2006). In regard to the accuracy of who said what, Brownlie (2010, 39), from a translation perspective discusses and gives examples of the use of quotation marks, and whether their use simply signals the English version of words originally spoken in French by French politicians, or written in French by French journalists, or whether quotation marks are used for other purposes such as the inclusion of ‘scare quotes’ or sarcasm.⁴⁸

Media awareness requires an understanding of the non-transparency of media, and of the moral implications of that non-transparency. Non-critical readers do not generally stop to consider whether journalists, in their quest to make the text appealing, ensure a particular story carries a faithful portrayal of events. Neither do they stop to consider where translation may have taken place, and whether the quality of that translation, or the conditions under which it was undertaken, might affect the end product. However, in their role as both consumer and watchdog, readers are entitled to be aware of the strategies used by reporters which lead to success in the reception of their work. News is a product and as in the manufacture of any product, consumers have a right to know how their product is made. In terms of journalism this right is equally valid because readers should be allowed to know *how* what they are reading has been produced. The ability to read news produced from within different political cultures and frames of meaning actually helps to revitalise the news and render its construction more obvious (Sreberny and Paterson 2004, 13), thereby calling to account newsmakers and hopefully the processes of translation that are incorporated therein.

⁴⁸ Bell (1991, 207-9) enumerates three functions of direct quotes in news reporting: (i) to present an incontrovertible fact because it is the newsmaker’s own words; (ii) to add to the story the flavour of the newsmaker’s own words; (iii) to distance and disown: to absolve the journalist and news outlet from endorsement of what the source said; this category is similar to “scare quotes” (quoted in Brownlie, 2010, 39).

The discipline of Media Studies has provided evidence that newspapers have strong political affiliations and that these affiliations can be exposed in biased discourse. Different strategies and manoeuvres are employed by journalists in the production of this discourse. These can manifest themselves in both obvious and discreet ways and can only be revealed first through the analysis of news discourse, and second through information ascertained from newswriters themselves. It is now the job of Translation Studies to provide evidence of the extent to which discourse is appropriately rendered in reports of internationally mediated political news events, where translation is involved. It is for this reason that I will include content analysis of a corpus of news reports in the focus of this study with the aim of ascertaining the degree to which the fundamental professional requirement of accuracy in reporting is achieved, when working from sources where processes of translation have occurred.

2.4.2 *Ideologies in the Discourse of News Reports*

Language *per se* moulds the way in which we see the world. Roger Fowler describes it as “not a clear window, but a refracting, structuring medium” (1999, 10), one that shapes our understanding of the world. Social ideas that are gathered from the reception of language inform the way we further use and interpret language. Semiotic codes govern language. They operate as a system of values and beliefs that are imposed upon the discourse of a text to represent intended meaning and to convey intended messages. Michael Halliday describes language as a social semiotic where “[p]art of the communicative ability of speakers is the facility to recognize linguistic forms as appropriate to certain circumstances”(quoted in Fowler, 1999, 37). In regard to register, Fowler goes on to describe the way in which Halliday (1978, 111) reformulated his ideas in the 1970s:

Initially, registers were regarded as contextually determined variations in linguistic form: differences of vocabulary, syntax and often pronunciation in different circumstances of use ... so, forms of expression within a language answer, not just to social and economic circumstances, characteristics of speech, situations, etc., but to the (meanings) a culture assigns to itself and its components. This is what Halliday means by his title (*Language as Social Semiotic*): the forms of language encode a socially constructed representation of the world (Fowler 1999, 37).

Halliday believes that language lends structure to a speaker’s or a writer’s experience, and helps to establish his or her way of determining events. In other words, forms of language encode a socially constructed representation of the world. We believe or disbelieve what we read and our belief systems are based on those representations. Discourse, therefore, can be seen as language in use as a form of social practice. Analysis of that discourse is analysis of how texts work within socio-cultural practice (Fairclough 1995b, 7). Of relevance here is that

newswriters, through specific discourse, can help determine what we believe. When the effects of translation influence that discourse, belief systems in different parts of the world can be altered.

Meaning is tied to a context to which the reader assigns sense and reference. All discourse analysis is therefore bound up in context. There are no rules to discourse. Rather it is the context and the linguistic formulae applied therein that will reinforce a dominant discourse. Mistakes in application of the formula can cause misunderstanding or misinterpretation (Fowler 1999, 173-8). For this reason, it is essential that newswriters write objectively, avoiding, during the process of textual mediation through translation, all discursive loading that has the potential to sway their readers' beliefs. Examples of this phenomenon are highlighted in the analysis of the corpus of texts in this study (see chapter 4.2).

Fowler (1999, 173-8) elaborates on Halliday's beliefs by pointing out that when or where text producers have access to more than one semantic setting, they are able to discriminate in their use of devices such as paraphrase, circumlocution, neologism and translation. Synonyms are used, as are roundabout expressions, or words are borrowed from other languages. In short, writers allow their readers to view concepts from a different linguistic perspective. This is a natural occurrence in communication between individuals *per se*, therefore it must also naturally occur in other means of communication such as those employed by the media.

In terms of the international nature of construction of meaning, Lisbeth Clausen concludes that "the mediation of international discourse is a dynamic process of meaning construction, which is influenced by multiple factors at the international as well as local level" (2004, 28). In this regard, Michael Gurevitch (1991), who bases his study of news on production, audience reception and content analysis, further states that, "in order to be judged newsworthy, an event must be anchored in a narrative framework that is already familiar to and recognizable by newsmen as well as by audiences" (ibid). Within the field of global communication, both global and culturally specific orientation is maintained by the framing of events to facilitate the target audience's comprehension. Those events from far-away lands are rendered appealing and relevant to domestic audiences by constructing meanings that are compatible with the culture and the dominant ideology of particular societies (Clausen 2004, 28). In other words, news becomes hybridised with the result that important detail can be misrepresented. To many this will make perfect sense as there is little point in writing news that is, for whatever reason, incomprehensible to the target readership. To critical discourse

analysts however, such hybridisation rings of ideological loading, and in the view of those analysts who have an interest in processes of translation that take place in the production of international news, newswriters should be aware of this phenomenon as they transfer information from one language to another.

News reports influence and form a core part of social identity. They control what people think and say, or what they do not think or do not say. Through clever control of the lexical and semantic content of discourse, news reports are structured to encompass the viewpoints and values of the intended readership. They are compiled from information drawn from speeches, statements, replies to questions, interviews, conferences and publications belonging to professional organisations. Close analysis of the discourse contained in news reports is a prerequisite for establishing the presence of ideologies. In this regard, identification of sources of information and why and how particular events have been reported, contextualised and reproduced is important. Critical analysis of these should pay particular attention to *how* which people say *what* in their original setting, and *how* what they say is transformed through the various processes of translation that occur in the reporting of international news.

Media discourse contributes to the character of societies and in so doing can reveal issues of power and identity. In order to discover these issues, sound discourse analysis is essential. Only once a story is dissected to find out its content, can we establish what is missing through exploration of ambiguities and discrepancies, In other words, only through analysis of the discourse at the source of an event can we find out what actually happened, as opposed to a mediated version of what happened, one that can potentially be written from a new ideological perspective in a different language. Elements of ideological conflict reported at the source of the event should be reproduced in translation. However, new perspectives can come about through either erasing or introducing new elements of ideological conflict, as described in a Greek context by Loupaki (2010, 55-75), where reports of international news are commonly translated from French and English into Greek. Loupaki hypothesises that this phenomenon exists because some Greek readers prefer to read translated articles “as they believe that [these] are more impartial than others originally written in Greek” (2010, 59).

There is nothing new about the existence of the concept of ideological loading. Since the inception of news media, the press has always played a crucial role in the construction of public opinion, thus forging cultural stereotypes. This equates to an intentional move on the part of institutions of power to raise support for the cause, whatever the cause happens to be, in any particular situation, at any particular time. But it is not only the media that creates and

promotes ideology: dominated groups also need ideologies. Paulo Freire, in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) for example, proposes an ideology of non-oppression. The neutral concept of ideology, a set of beliefs or ideas, is in itself therefore, neither right nor wrong, nor good nor bad. There are however, other Marxist inspired definitions that “present ideology as the expression of antagonism between social classes (Eagleton 1991, 101, quoted in Loupaki, 2010, 56). Although not overt, the latter perspective implies conflicts of power and domination.

Apropos of the different concepts of ideology, I categorise below, according to their positive and negative connotations, some useful definitions thereof:⁴⁹

Positive Definitions of “ideology”

- “the set of factual and evaluative beliefs – that is the knowledge and the opinions - of a group [...] In other words, a bit like the axioms of a formal system, ideologies consist of those general and abstract social beliefs and opinions (attitudes) of a group” (van Dijk 1998, 48-9).
- “the set of ideas, values and beliefs that govern a community by virtue of being regarded as the norm” (Calzada-Pérez 1997, 35).

Negative Definitions of “ideology”

- “a belief or set of ideas, especially the political beliefs on which people, parties, or countries base their actions” (Collins Cobuild s.v.).
- “taken as a system of wrong, false, distorted or otherwise misguided beliefs” (van Dijk 1998, 2).
- “Ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interest of a ruling group or class by distortion or dissimulation” (reproduced by Eagleton 1991, 30).

Ideology can also be expressed in terms of conflict, through various linguistic means, such as through the use of positively or negatively charged emotive lexis, euphemism, syntax and modality (Loupaki 2010, 56). It has its place in promoting the interests of a particular group as in the case of Freire. These interests may originate from the management of conflict derived from the (mis)establishment of power relations. Here, belief systems that are considered bad or destructive, are opposed or conquered. In any written text the notion of repression is often carried out at the subconscious level by those in positions of power, for example, writers, teachers, politicians and clergy. These groups are so far-ensconced in their societal roles that they are often not aware of their own class, racial, political, or other social biases and prejudices. Van Dijk proposes that “ideologies reflect the basic criteria that constitute the social identity and define the interests of a group” (1998, 25). These may manifest themselves as biased views towards minority groups in areas such as immigration, religion, education, employment and social class, in such a way that they come to represent the attitudes of the dominant group.

⁴⁹ See Calzada Pérez 2003, 3-5.

So where exactly do ideologies spring from? According to Fowler, “linguistically constructed representation is by no means a deliberate process, entirely under the control of the newspaper” (1999, 41). This view is confirmed by those interviewed at Reuters and at the *New York Times* as part of the field research in this study. Fowler goes on to assert that newspapers do not “select events to be reported and then consciously wrap them up in value-laden language which the reader passively absorbs, ideology and all” (ibid), and reminds us that “[ideological] values are in the language already” (ibid), independent of any journalistic intervention or reader processing. In other words, they are already there through existing social and discursive practices. Journalists have little control over the values and beliefs therein because they belong to the very institution that builds those ideologies. In this regard, Gunther Kress (1983, quoted in Fowler, 1999, 42) points out that social institutions articulate meaning in systematic ways, i.e. in specific discourses which are used to describe, define and delimit a particular topic. Thus, descriptions, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social actions are provided within the economic, political or social framework of an institution, e.g. a particular newspaper. These then become the norm to the reader. They only cease to be the norm when the reader reads outside his or her ideological sphere. For example, discourse employed in the *Sun* is only considered ideologically laden by the *Guardian* reader (and vice-versa) because their respective discourses from the perspective of both reader and journalist belong to, and represent, different social institutions and different social strata.⁵⁰ This notion of ‘normal style’ has been identified by media analysts as central to ideological practice in newspapers (Fowler 1999, 25-45).

Ideologies generally manifest themselves as implicit assumptions, and certain properties of texts are seen as ideological, for example the use of vocabulary, metaphor, grammatical structure, presupposition, implicature and style. Van Dijk (1998, 33) describes how the use of polarisation is a common clue to the presence of ideology. A common occurrence in political discourses is the way in which journalists work with the lexis of binary opposites such as good/evil, strong/weak, west/east, self/other, us/them, male/female, good/bad, middle-class/working-class, black/white, Jew/Muslim, employed/unemployed, where one term devalues the other and there is no equality between the two. In short, “[o]urs is the Truth, Theirs is the Ideology” (van Dijk 1998, 2). In news reports the use of polarity

⁵⁰ The *Guardian* and *Sun* newspapers lie at opposing ends of the British socio-political spectrum. The *Guardian*, whose readership lies generally on the mainstream left of British political opinion identifies with centre-left liberalism, whereas the *Sun* is a daily national tabloid newspaper.

has the potential to not only enhance the vividness of descriptions or the credibility of accounts, but also to create social identities within both positive and negative frameworks.

It is not only monolingual journalists who are to be blamed for the continued promotion of ideological positioning or manipulation. Those international newswriters who are competent in other languages, and who use them in the course of their work, also have the power to reposition a text to make it conform with desired cultural, ideological and literary norms, or even ‘appropriate’ degrees of power relations. In other words, they have become empowered, albeit subconsciously, to interject their own political and cultural views and values in their work because they “translate according to the ideological settings in which they learn and perform their tasks” (Calzada Pérez 2003, 7). This assertion of power, according to post-colonial theory, has become an integral facet of Translation Studies and has significant impact on particular cultures and on the readership of new texts in their new environment. In order to explore specific situations where institutions of power have had an impact on translation, it is essential to consider the social context in which both the source and target texts were written. Argentine writer and translator, Jorge Luís Borges asserts that “every original work can be viewed as a recreation of a recreation” (quoted in Gentzler, 2002, 197). Following Borges’ view, a logical starting point to text analysis, when the goal is to identify different ideologies, is assessment of the role and position of the author. Is the author the source text producer or rewriter/translator of the source text? It is important to identify authorship, because texts which report significant events shape readers’ knowledge of other cultures and of political institutions. Processes of translation that have taken place in the production of these texts can further reshape knowledge through misrepresentation of political ideologies, or the omission or exclusion of important background information relating to cultural, religious or socio-historical aspects of the reported topic.

Tymoczko asserts that a firm cognitive and theoretical foundation is necessary to make pronouncements on ideological interference. She describes ideology of translation as a complex issue determined partially by the content of the source text: “[T]he ideology of a translation resides not simply in the text translated, but in the voicing and stance of the translator, and in its relevance to the stance of the receiving audience” (2003, 183). Tymoczko goes on to point out that the voicing and stance of the translator are affected by geographical and temporal placing and can determine cultural and ideological affiliations (ibid). Brownlie expands at length upon this point in her account of the way journalists structure their reports for the British readership by operating within the seven positionings of genre, journalists, addressees, the socio-historical situation of the target culture and inter- and

trans-cultural relations and attitudes (2010, 32-54). It is with these positioning in mind that one of the aims of this study is to identify the extent to which, and reasons why, multilingual newswriters might consciously or unconsciously impregnate rewritten texts with their own ideological viewpoints.

In regard to degrees of conscious or unconscious impregnation of ideology, it is useful to consider the variety of decisions that journalists as translators might make in the newswriting process. Betina Rösler (2008, 10) breaks these down into conscious and unconscious decisions, illustrating the choices available. Taking first the concept of textual manipulation, the journalist's first choice in the process of transferring information from another language into the target language of text production, is whether to manipulate it or not. On the one hand, journalists can consciously create an unbiased report, thereby minimising or excluding completely personal ideological affiliations. On the other hand, they may consciously attempt to convey a particular message, making a choice whether to inform readers of ideological affiliations or to hide them. The third option is to manipulate by mistake, thereby unintentionally and unknowingly introducing diverse or specific ideological affiliations in accordance with the orientation of their particular news organisation.

Tymoczko's view on the voicing and stance of the translator derives from post-structuralist views of the 1970s where the author's intended meaning is secondary in importance to the meaning that the recipient perceives. This is because post-structuralism rejects the idea of a text having a single purpose or a single meaning. Instead, it supports the idea that every individual reader creates a new and individual purpose, meaning and existence for any given text. Whilst this post-structuralist view is based on literary texts, it is interesting to consider its application to news reports. Jacques Derrida, for example, in sharp contrast to Borges' view of original work, does not distinguish between original writing and translation. He stresses the effects of power on the individual, and focuses not on what is in the language, but what is not there. In a news report, it is often what is absent from the language used that can highlight the presence of particular ideologies. I will take up this notion later in my evaluation of Critical Discourse Analysis as a suitable methodological tool for the analysis of the corpus of texts used in this study (see chapter 5.2).

Jane Christie points out that depending on a journalist's position, whether he or she self-identifies with the Other or not, communicating and reinforcing the norms of a dominant society can be extremely difficult to avoid (2006, 29). In regard to the notion of deliberate misrepresentation, embedded discourse, which may belong to a different historical era or a different culture, reflecting a different ideology, may prevent newswriters from being

conscious of the discursive effects that can occur as a result of the (re)production of texts for a new readership in a different language in a different culture. Embedding may have the effect of what Fairclough refers to as an “intertextual chain” (1992, 130-3), that is, the intertextual relationship in which texts are generated and circulated. Christie points out that “[in] the media context, this intertextual chain may effectively remove an embedded word, sentence or passage so far away from its original source that there may be no way of tracing the original text” (2006, 28), whereupon it becomes virtually impossible for any one actor in the news gathering and dissemination process to be held accountable for misrepresentation of the original event. From a translation perspective, Austermühl proposes that “intertextual chains, characteristic of our contemporary global multilingual political news environment, are highly vulnerable to manipulative translations” (2008, 86). Contexts which may include historical or intertextual links, for example references to Argentina’s previous claims to sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas* (see case study two), may need to be clarified in rewriting and may also have to be taken into consideration when analysing news texts as part of the process of rewriting. This is because the discourse of Spanish language reports may be embedded in a different historical era or a different culture, reflecting a different ideology. In other words, discourses may be connected to other discourses which are produced either earlier or simultaneously.

The interplay between translation and cultural domination is nothing new. It has been a historical phenomenon since before the outset of colonisation as we commonly understand it. Widely believed by post-colonial translation theorists to have been first evident in Spain’s colonisation of modern day Mexico, and later in New Zealand’s decolonisation process with the *Treaty of Waitangi*, Wendy-Llyn Zaza, in her article “From Empire-Building to Globalisation: The Translator’s Role in Western History” (2001, 49), makes a case for the earliest use of translation to have been used as a political tool in the year 782 in the making of Saxony a Frankish province. In all three cases, conquered cultures either knowingly accepted mistranslation or rejected it in order to adopt and promote a certain political stance within a receiving culture. Interestingly, in the globalised world, little has changed.

Baker, writing from the perspective of narrative theory, asserts that “translation is central to the ability of all parties to legitimize their version of events” (2006, 1). Narratives are recurring stories that we hear every day and which eventually we tell ourselves. Constant reinforcement of those stories forces subconscious belief in what we hear. Accounts of events are normalised and as such “constitute crucial means of generating, sustaining, mediating, and representing conflict at all levels of social organisation” (Briggs 1996, 3, quoted in

Baker, 2006, 3). Over time, narratives are perceived as being non-controversial and therefore remain non-contestable, but they are in reality cleverly fabricated social constructs. No mediated account is going to represent the absolute accuracy of an event, because that degree of accuracy can only exist in real time, rather than in a mediated version of an event. In international news mediation it is the duty of the newswriter to research the accuracy of the event and report upon that, despite the fact that he or she may unsettle or even disestablish hegemonic world views which are hitherto conveniently adhered to. The phenomenon of translation is particularly prone to doing this: every time a narrative is retold or rewritten in another language it will be influenced by narratives from the different sources that contribute to that translation. Narratives cannot cross linguistic boundaries without the intervention of translation, but where the translator is not familiar with a particular narrative or possibly not committed to it either because he or she subscribes to other values, the potential for inaccurate portrayal of meaning through inclusion of the translator's narrative arises. Dominant ideologies may or may not be accurately conveyed in interlingual news reports, an example of which is shown in the Honduran case in this study (see chapter 4.1).

According to Gentzler (2001, 153), who writes from a deconstructionist perspective, repressed meanings can resurface in translation. This sometimes happens by accident when examination of the discourse of translated texts allows the analyst to notice, through textual transformation, subtle acts of repression. It is often only thanks to the translator that the subtlety of meaning is exposed, and whether intentional or not, this exposure can lead to yet another level in the power dynamic.

3 Research Methodology

The research question and the research design chosen to answer it are the core of a research project and are the glue that holds it together. (Halverson 2009, 87) [It is] a framework for collection and analysis of data (Bryman 2004, 27, quoted *ibid*).

This is a qualitative study in which I take an interdisciplinary approach to my choice of research methods. This is because Translation Studies is by its very nature interdisciplinary, finding itself at a “crossroads of processes, products, functions, and agents” (Schäffner 2004, 136). As I have illustrated in my literature review, this study straddles both Translation and Media Studies. Schäffner supports this interdisciplinary approach in her assertion that “insights and methods from various other disciplines are of relevance for studying all aspects of translation as product and process” (*ibid*). In regard to research designs, Ian Mason also argues that “provided [they] are clear, consistent and internally coherent, there will be no need to force individual studies into a common mould” (2009, 1). Given my interest in this ‘organic’ approach I also take into consideration William Trochim’s view on qualitative methods:

For some qualitative researchers, the best way to understand what’s going on is to become immersed in it. Move into the culture or organization you are studying and experience what it is like to be part of it. Be flexible in your enquiry of people in context. Rather than approach measurement with the idea of constructing a fixed instrument or set of questions, allow the question to emerge and change as you become familiar with what you are studying (2001, 158).

In line with Schäffner’s, Mason’s and Trochim’s views, an inter-methodological approach to research is, I feel, a valid one to take.

Taking as a starting point Williams’ and Chesterman’s definition of Translation Studies as “the field of study devoted to describing, analysing and theorising the processes, contexts and products of the act of translation as well as the (roles of the) agents involved” (2002, 1), in this chapter I will describe and justify the type of research that I carry out, my research model and the methods I will use to gather and analyse the data employed in my study. To this end, I draw on the work of recent Translation Studies researchers to validate my methodological approach. These are: Sandra Halverson, who focuses on the delimitation of research questions, the choice of research design for empirical studies and the evaluation of research quality (2009, 81), which I will describe in relation to this study as they represent key issues at the centre of any empirical research project; Josep Marco, whose research model relates to the processes and practices involved in translation in media contexts (2009, 13-35) and Sebnem Susam-Sarajeva, who discusses the use and outcomes of case-study research within Translation Studies, and justifies the use of these “as a consequence of the strong influence of descriptive translation studies – which encourages researchers to delve

into real-life translation solutions and products while avoiding normative judgements on them” (2009, 37).

3.1 *Research Type*

The scope of my empirical study calls for it to come under the qualitative umbrella, where its main goal “is to collect data about the context in which events take place, that is to say, to discover the significant subjective aspects of the particular situation under study and to determine what the participants think” (Borja et al. 2009, 64). I use qualitative methods because they are exploratory in nature, and cater for a variety of approaches which are determined by both the topic area and my imagination as researcher. Qualitative methods also allow for the achievement of a deeper understanding of issues concerned with the rewriting of international news and, more specifically, the way in which translation connects global and local news markets, and the discursive impact that the role of translation has in the production of international news in a global context. Moreover, it is my belief that good qualitative research can play a major role in theory development. Qualitative methods would therefore also seem appropriate, because they offer the possibility of generating new theories and hypotheses (Trochim 2001, 152). Whilst it is not my goal in this exploratory study to generate new theories, one possible and potential outcome is recognition by Translation Studies of the need for the development of specific guidelines for processes of translation that take place in the production of international news, thereby creating a separate paradigm within the discipline as a whole.

Williams and Chesterman (2002, 57) advocate that, as in other disciplines, both conceptual and empirical research methods are necessary in Translation Studies: conceptual methods because they aim to define and clarify concepts, and empirical methods because they are concerned with the discovery of new information which can be used to test different hypotheses, and which allow for replication of particular studies.

Because of the way in which international newswriters negotiate cultural tensions between global issues and matters of local importance in the production of their reports, there is likely to be a certain degree of generalisation rather than specific detail in the results of this study. This is due to the fact that there are likely to be variables which will depend on a number of factors such as the immediacy of the reporting, the type of event being reported and the global impact of that event. Also variable is the way in which reported events relate to existing social and cultural structures, and to the values of news journalism. To this end, whilst Trochim in his comparison between quantitative and qualitative methods asserts that

“[q]ualitative research excels at generating detailed information” (2001, 152), both he and Williams and Chesterman (2002, 64) point out that qualitative approaches still allow for this degree of generalisation, thereby validating such approaches in a study of this type. According to Trochim (2001, 164), qualitative research is unobtrusive. He proposes that such methods are useful because they do not require the researcher to intrude directly into the research context. In regard to this study, I will unobtrusively analyse the content of three corpora of news texts to identify inadequate translation solutions in the various processes that take place in the production of international news.

3.2 *Research Models*

In keeping with other Translation Studies research, this study attempts to “*add to the sum of knowledge*” (Williams and Chesterman 2002, 3) and increase understanding of the practices involved in processes of translation that occur in the production of international news. In order to achieve this goal, my research questions (see chapter 1.3) are initially guided by the framework provided by Chesterman’s (2000) causal model which helps to explain “*why the translation looks the way it does, or what effects it causes*” (Williams and Chesterman 2002, 53). This is important because, as Chesterman points out,

[i]f we can demonstrate specific links between causal conditions, translation profile features, and observed effects, this should lead to a greater understanding of how to produce translations that have more desired effects and fewer unwanted ones. And this in turn might highlight the importance of the circumstances under which translators have to work. If we want high quality, let us establish empirically (and make publically known!) what the appropriate conditions are (2000, 26-7).

In other words, Chesterman’s model aims to illustrate how, by linking translations as products to their social contexts, the causes and effects of inadequate translation solutions can be discovered (Schäffner 2004, 117-150). In the context of this particular study, the term “translation” is substituted with “the news report”, as “translation” in its traditional sense would imply the result of transfer from one source text which becomes ‘the target text’. As I have already established in the literature review, this is not common practice in the production of international news reports that are written for an English-speaking readership.

The phenomenon of causality is a complex one. Based on Toury’s (1995, 249) analysis of the makeup of the translating event, Chesterman and Williams (2002, 54) break causality down into three distinct levels. Firstly, there is the “translator’s cognition”, which relates to what goes on inside the translator’s head. In the case of newswriting, this could relate to the newswriter’s knowledge of an event and his/her attitude towards it. Secondly, there is the “translation task”, which, in the context of news production, could incorporate the

various constraints described in chapter 2.3 that are laid down by the newspaper, news agency or editor. These might include deadlines, availability or allocation of space and reader expectations. Thirdly, there is the “socio-cultural” dimension. Influential factors in the news context are concerned with the various factors that may affect the choice of particular sources that are used in the production of a report of international news. These factors may include their availability, authenticity, reliability or ideological content. In short, causal models are useful, because they allow for the formation of general research questions concerning reasons *why* a news report appears as it does, *what* variable conditions cause it to appear in a certain way, and *the extent to which* translation has an impact upon the end product. These questions inform the goal of this study in its quest to identify reasons as to *where*, *why*, *how* and *the extent to which* inadequate translation solutions in rewritten news reports might occur.

In line with Chesterman’s 1998 causal model, Schäffner illustrates below how, by “linking translations as products to their social contexts, causes and effects can be discovered” (2004, 137). She poses the following series of questions:

What causal conditions (seem to) give rise to particular kinds of translations and translation profile features? What effects do given profile features (seem to) have, on readers, clients, cultures? (How) can we explain effects that we find by relating them to profile features and to causal conditions? Which translation strategies produce which results and which effects? Which particular socio-cultural and ideological constraints influence the translation policy in general and the target text production in particular? (ibid).

Although in their present form the above questions are not entirely suitable in that some are ‘untestable’ and therefore do not fall in line with traditional models of exploratory research, all are nonetheless useful as they form the basis of the design of the research questions that I pose in this study.

A large part of international news production revolves around the notions of cause and effect. Politicians, for example, may be seen as a cause, by actively using a particular discourse to achieve a particular effect. In news production, translation can represent both causes and effects. Through particular wording, the effect of the translation of an event can also be the cause of another effect on the behaviour or reactions of a new audience. A particular discourse could, for example, serve as the basis for the development of new social belief systems (see chapter 2.4.3).

Key features of this study encompass DTS’s qualities of process, product and function. Whether we consider processes of translation that occur in the production of international news as belonging to Lefevere’s Theory of Rewriting, or to the paradigm of DTS as discussed in chapter 2.1, I find it useful to also draw on Josep Marco’s (2009, 13-35) four-part classification of Chesterman’s causal model, because it relates to the processes and

practices involved in translation in media contexts. It is also useful to my study because of its interdisciplinary nature, in that it draws on the related disciplines of Discourse Analysis and Cultural Studies. Marco's classification, which I describe below, comprises a *textual-descriptive* model, a *cognitively-oriented* model, a *culturalist* model and a *sociological* model. Within the context of doctoral research training, the overall aim of the classification is to identify "research models in Translation Studies by providing examples of best practice within them" (Marco 2009, 16), that is, research that is both effective and efficient and which matches theory, objectives and methodology.

Marco's *textual-descriptive* model focuses on the conceptual tools of *technique*, *constraint* and *norm* which, when applied through analysis of data, lead to evidence of particular tendencies and generalisations. Marco defines *technique* in terms of the procedures that are visible in the achievement of an adequate translation solution. These concern the relationship between source and target text, textual micro-units, discursive, contextual and functional elements (Marco 2009, 16), all of which relate in some way to the *who*, *what*, *where*, *why* and *how* of the processes of translation that take place in the production of international news reports.

Marco defines *constraint* as those "relevant features of the context in which a translation is carried out that can affect it, conditioning or even determining translation solutions" (2009, 17) and draws parallels with Nord's 1991 model of translation orientated text analysis (see chapter 3.7). Within the context of this study, *constraints* could belong to the physical conditions in which translation takes place and the less tangible influences of patronage that might be subtly imposed by the various stakeholders, such as a newspaper's readership or the media organisation from which news emanates (cf. Lefevere's Theory of Rewriting in chapter 2.1.3). By *norm* Marco refers to the role of Toury's (1995) *preliminary*, *operational* and *initial* norms, whose relevance to this study lie in consideration of the norms of journalism within which translation takes place.

Marco's *cognitively-orientated* model focuses on the process and not just the product of translating. He points out that the model's distinguishing feature is the frequent use of experimental methods (2009, 22) such as *think-aloud protocol*, where translators are encouraged to verbalise their translation processes in order for later analysis to be made of the strategies that are employed to turn translation problems into translation solutions. This ties in with the notions of translation competence already outlined in chapter 2.3.5, which also inform an important part of the field research component to this study.

Marco's *culturalist* model focuses on the cultural and ideological forces which shape translation, and is closely linked to the Cultural Turn in Translation Studies which, as I described in chapter 2.1.2, focuses on the social, political, historical and ideological factors that can affect or influence translation. Of relevance to this study is an examination as to whether multilingual newswriters take into account cultural and ideological forces in the production of their reports of international news.

Finally, Marco's still emerging *sociological* model focuses on the sociology of professions surrounding translation and, because of the nature of this study, is arguably the most significant of the four-part classification. In the same way as he describes research methods in the context of translation in legal settings (2009, 31-2), I incorporate similar sociological and ethnographical aspects in this study with the aim of identifying potential reasons for the existence of inadequate translation solutions in reports of international news.

3.3 Data Collection

The data I will use for my analysis is the textual content of a corpus of original news texts. These report i) the deposition of Honduran president Manuel Zelaya on 28 June 2009 and the subsequent course of events until the 29 November 2009 Honduran presidential elections; ii) Argentina's renewed (2010) claim to sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*, and iii) Spain's economic position in relation to the Euro Zone financial crisis during Spain's Presidency of the European Union from January to June 2010. In the form of three case studies, I will compare reports written in Spanish from Honduran, Argentine and Spanish news sources, respectively, with those reporting the same events but published in English in the *Guardian*, the *Financial Times* and the *New York Times*. Although these publications do not fully correspond to each other in terms of their political allegiance and therefore their ideological stance, I have chosen them because they all have a high circulation and are characterised as quality news sources. I consider this a valid choice because, in regard to ideology in quality news sources, Loupaki maintains that "it can be argued that their ideological stance is mostly in favour of the maintenance of the actual status quo" (2010, 63).⁵¹

In line with Williams and Chesterman's (2002, 65) validation of the use of case studies in empirical research, this multiple case study is *exploratory*, in that it seeks to

⁵¹ Loupaki bases her hypothesis on the Fairclough's opinion that "in the British media, the balance of sources and perspectives and ideology is overwhelmingly in favour of existing power-holders" (1989, 51).

identify any inadequate translation solutions in the content of news articles, *descriptive*, in that it describes the nature of these potential inadequate translation solutions and *explanatory*, in that it leads to an explanation to the reason for the choice of particular translation solutions in rewritten news texts.

There will, of course, be variables which are determined by the context of particular articles in the corpus. Williams and Chesterman (2002, 85-6) provide a useful list which encourages the empirical researcher to consider the dialectical, or two-way relationship between text and context variables. These are, in turn, likely to affect the content of the rewritten news text. They compare a) *source text variables*, where style, format and text type may affect the target text; b) *target text variables*, where structural and rhetorical constraints of English do not lend themselves to accurate translation solutions; c) *task variables*, where production factors such as deadlines or availability of reference material affect the end product; d) *translator variables*, where degrees of translation or journalistic competence, or attitude to the task may vary; e) *socio-cultural variables*, such as journalistic norms, cultural values and ideologies; f) *reception variables*, such as the editor's acceptance of content, or reader expectations. It is this list of variables that I will use as a basis for the semi-structured interviewing of journalism professionals as part of the ethnographic field research that I incorporate as a major part of the study. The aim of examining the relationship between these variables is to identify any possible patterns which lead to regularities or irregularities of a translational nature in the production of international news reports.

Because, as previously discussed, it is a common phenomenon in journalism that international news reports are not directly translated from a source language to a target language, but compiled from a variety of sources, sometimes already in the target language, I use parallel corpora (translated texts and their originals) and comparable corpora (both translated and non-translated texts with a similar function and subject area in the target language). Williams and Chesterman (2002, 66) advocate this approach as legitimate for investigation into the relationship between source texts and their translations. Both scenarios are useful in the context of this study. The corpus will behave as a tool to provide the *means* of answering research questions rather than the answer itself (Williams and Chesterman 2002, 67). Its use will provide an interesting and valid way of testing future hypotheses, as I seek to not only to replicate other case studies such as those carried out by Schäffner (2004), Austerlühl (2008) and some of those in Schäffner and Bassnett (2010), but also to provide further insight into the possible causes of inadequate translation solutions, which will, in turn, lead to the validation of my proposal of the need for the discipline of Translation Studies to

further research the phenomenon of the occurrence of inadequate translation solutions in the production of international news.

3.4 Case Study as a Research Tool

In an exploratory study such as this one, Case Study is an obvious research tool because of the wide variety of generalisable outcomes it can produce. I base my rationale on Bill Gillam's definition of a case study as "a unit of human activity embedded in the real world; which can only be studied or understood in context; which exists in the here and now; that merges in with its context so that precise boundaries are difficult to draw" (2000, 1). Features of this study fall entirely within this definition. The unit of human activity is international newswriting, which I will study within the context of field visits to news organisations. Research is current, and the boundaries of where translation stops and journalism starts are blurred. Gillam (2000, 1) points out that a case study can be based on anything from an individual to an institution or a community, all of which, with their conceptual and methodological links to ethnography, participant observation, fieldwork and qualitative research that Martyn Hammersley and Roger Gomm (2000, 1) advocate, also feature as relevant components to this study.

In further regard to the nature of my research questions, *how* and *why* questions are critical to this investigation, as they offer insight into the origins of inadequate translation solutions. My approach falls in line with Susam-Sarajeva's citation of Robert Yin's (1994) definition of case study as being "the preferred strategy when 'how' and 'why' questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context" (2009, 39).

In regard to the scope of case studies, I will analyse three different types of political news articles in this project. These are electoral processes, a socio-historical event and a financial/economic event, all emanating from a variety of news sources. Gillham (2000, 49) advocates the use of different kinds of data, different methods and different kinds of evidence relating to the same theme, as being key features of research that use case studies. Susam-Sarajeva (2009, 44) describes her preference for multiple-case studies over single-case studies, because of the degree of rigour of the conclusions that can be drawn from each type.

As generalisation can form an acceptable part of the results of case studies,⁵² it is more valid to generalise from multiple samples than from a single sample, where results could easily be criticised for being invalid. In accordance with Gillham's and Susam-Sarajeva's views, and because "every case should serve a specific purpose within the overall scope of inquiry" (Susam-Sarajeva 2009, 50), the author concludes that "an exemplary case study must be significant and of general public interest" (2009, 54). The content of the three case studies used in this study fulfil this criterion in the respective locales of their intended reception.

Finally, in regard to *transferability*, that is, the degree to which results can be generalised or transferred to other contexts, case studies lend themselves to the key goal of this study which is to lay the way forward for analysis of texts between any combination of languages. This approach follows Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba's (2000) argument that "researchers should provide substantial contextual information and enough detail on the unit of analysis, so that other researchers may judge the degree of fit and whether the study of the case and context in hand offers any knowledge which can be transferred to the study of other cases and contexts" (quoted in Susam-Sarajeva, 2009, 47).

3.5 *Field Research*

Key components to this study are the semi-structured, face-to-face interviews that I will conduct with personnel associated with the world of news gathering and dissemination, in their place of work. The need for interviews derives from Bielsa's proposal in the conclusion to her account of the workings of news agencies, for further research into who the agents of news translation are, and into the normative context in which they work. She calls for "[e]thnographic accounts of varying practices in different types of news organisation ... to evaluate the role of news translators in the production of news" (2007, 152). In conjunction with this, critical discourse analyst Ruth Wodak advocates the incorporation of fieldwork and ethnography as a precondition to the use of CDA when analysing discourse (Wodak and Meyer 2001, 24). Therefore, in order to achieve a deeper and more accurate understanding of issues leading to inadequate translation solutions in the production of international news, it is logical to carry out interviews with key personnel (journalists and editors) at the world's largest global news agency, Reuters, and at the offices of the two newspapers whose articles I predominantly use in my analysis of mediated reports of international news. Anabel Borja et

⁵² Hammersley and Gomm argue that it is possible to use case studies "to draw, or to provide a basis for drawing conclusions about some general type of phenomenon or about members of a wider population of cases" (2000, 5).

al. (2009, 64) view interviews to be among the most significant of qualitative research methods. The use of interviews and observation in field research are also advocated by Yin (1994) and Gillman (2000) as being valid sub-methods within the methodology of case-study research, ones that can also be easily replicated (Susam-Sarajeva 2009, 38).

Journalists must be considered and recognised as belonging to part of a dominant cultural elite who can contribute unwittingly to the expression of international power structures (van Dijk 1998, 23), thus subtly legitimising these through discursive means, an example of which I will illustrate in the second case study in chapter 4.2. Given that translation is an integral part of international journalism, translators as journalists must also be considered and recognised as part of that same cultural elite. Their practices might firstly be identified by means of critical analysis of the discourse of published news reports, and secondly by making contact with the very journalists who have written these reports. It is therefore logical that they should be interviewed as a means of probing their ideas about the role of translation in the production of international news, with the aim of identifying the translation policy, if indeed any exists, of individual news organisations. To this end, I will carry out an investigation into *who* produces translations of extracts from, for example, political speeches, political documents and press briefings, which then become part of the make-up of news reports, before going on to consider for whom the translations of these texts are made available i.e. the target readership. This is to identify how original data might be transformed in the process of re-contextualisation from its Spanish language original to its publication in English, in British and American newspapers.

Because this area of research concerns the studying of particular professional groups, i.e. journalists and translators, I will take an ethnographic approach. Face-to-face interviews with members of those groups allow for familiarity with the practices of their working culture. Interviewing will be semi-structured. This is in order to be free to move the conversation in any direction at any time according to valid information that might naturally occur. Bearing in mind that “[o]ne of the secrets of research is learning how to ask good questions” (Williams and Chesterman 2002, 69), this ‘organic’ method will allow for broader exploration of the topic. Clarification of detail, as and when necessary, will also be possible.

Such field research will allow for observation of the phenomenon of news translation in its natural environment. By gathering data from interviews and linking this with the content analysis of a corpus of texts, a grounded theory (Trochim 2001, 160) through which key theoretical concepts can be identified, will be developed. The results of this grounded theory should generate hypotheses relating to possible causes of inadequate translation

solutions in reports of international news, such as the misrepresentation of political ideologies or the exclusion of important background information relating to cultural, religious or socio-historical aspects of the reported topic that have come about through translation. Despite the fact that my study, because of its exploratory nature, lends itself to hypothesis generating rather than testing, I feel that it is nonetheless valid in that it is substantiated by the view of Susam-Sarajeva who finds that robust, multiple-case studies such as this one lend themselves well to both hypothesis generating and hypothesis testing in case study research (2009, 47-8).

I list the questions and what each question aims to establish below in *Table 1*. I will use these to guide the interviews with journalism professionals. They are designed to elicit both general information about the journalism/translation process and more specific information about the effects of rewriting, in an initial attempt to guide the research questions that I posed in the introductory chapter. The questions centre around the five variables (Williams and Chesterman 2002, 85-6) described in chapter 3.3 which are likely to affect the content of rewritten news texts. My aim here is to examine the relationship between these variables and textual content in order to identify possible patterns which lead to inadequate translation solutions in reports of international news.

Table 1

Questions

What the question aims to establish

Translator variables

Where degrees of translation or journalistic competence, or attitude to the task may vary

To what extent is translation seen as an integral or separate part of journalism?

The newswriter's attitude to translation

To what extent do different degrees of translation competence affect the content of a news report?

Attitudes to translation competence as being a contributory factor to inadequate translation solutions

What quality control measures are in place in regard to translated text?

Awareness of quality control measures

How is a journalist's foreign language competence measured?

Consideration of the importance of foreign language competence

How does a newspaper ensure journalists have the necessary specialist knowledge to work with non-English sources?

Consideration of the importance of translator competence

What are the professional backgrounds of those who translate? Are professional translators used in the translation of political news texts? If so are they also trained as journalists?

Who translates

To what extent do you consider translation training or knowledge of theoretical aspects of translation could be helpful to journalists?

Whether the notion of translation considered to be a problem

Source and target language variables

To what extent does the style, content, format and text type of the source affect the published content of news reports?

Task variables

How do inaccuracies in published reports arise?

To what extent are journalists/editors aware that they may be working with material that has already been translated?

If it is known that a source (text) has been translated/interpreted, what guidelines/quality control measures (if any) are in place in regard to the accuracy of that translation?

What do journalists typically do when faced with an incoherent or incomprehensible source?

What do journalists typically do when they are not *au fait* with the topic area, e.g. political processes?

To what extent are glossaries/terminology databases available and used as an aid to consistency in the use of correct terminology?

Have translators been incorporated in news organisations as editors or do they retain a distinctive role as translators?

Could inadequate translation solutions arise from post-editing where the reviser may not know the source language?

Socio-cultural variables

What media practices, journalistic norms, cultural or ideological values affect the content of a news report?

Reception variables

To what extent does the editor's attitude towards the item's newsworthiness affect the content of a report?

To what extent does reader expectation influence the content of news reports?

How are items manipulated to cater for reader expectations?

Where the style, format and text type of sources may affect the target text, or structural and rhetorical constraints of English don't lend themselves to accurate translation solutions

Whether it is considered that the use of different text types causes particular difficulties

Where production factors such as deadlines or availability of reference material affect the end product

Ideas about what can go wrong

How might the use of translated material affect the writing of a news report?

Knowledge and implementation of quality control measures

How newswriters react to language difficulties

How newswriters react to cultural difficulties

Whether or not glossaries/terminology databases are used

Perceptions of the status of translators

Who is responsible for inadequate translation solutions

Where journalistic norms, cultural values and ideologies come into play

Where discursive loading might occur in the news gathering and dissemination process

Where the editor's acceptance of content, or reader expectations may affect the published text

Whether it is possible that editorial processes lie at the source of inaccuracies of published reports

Whether the content of reports is consciously determined by consideration of the readership

What procedures are consciously carried out in the writing of a report that cater for reader expectations

3.6 *Data Analysis*

The continuation of this chapter is concerned with the exploration of the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodological tool for successful analysis of English language reports of international news events which were originally reported at their source in another language. Analysis is important because, as “[t]he primary goal of translation is to enable an audience in a target language (TL) to understand a text/discourse which was not intended for them, [and] [t]he primary goal of text analysis is to further the understanding of phenomena inside one language” (Barbe 1992, 3), it is appropriate that both goals are adequately achieved. Inadequate translation solutions in the reporting of international news can only be identified through more thorough text and discourse analysis than has hitherto been provided by Translation Studies. However, existing models of translation criticism alone do not cater for consideration of discursive effect and are therefore not enough to identify inadequate translation solutions of a discursive nature.

No review of the literature pertaining to CDA goes without mention of the work of one of its leading scholars, Norman Fairclough. For this reason, exploration of the usefulness of CDA in the analysis of data in this study comes in response to Fairclough’s suggestion that “[a] great deal more work is needed on the development of socially relevant models of text analysis” (1995b, 5). In the following sections, in response to Fairclough’s suggestion, and in order to fully situate the need for CDA, first I will give a brief chronological overview of translation-orientated approaches to text and discourse analysis, followed by consideration of the resultant role that translation plays in the transfer of ideological representation in international news reports during the course of their production. I will conclude the chapter with an overview of the CDA model that is used for analysis of the three corpora which form the basis of the case studies in this thesis.

3.7 *Translation-Orientated Approaches to Text and Discourse Analysis*

With the emergence of Translation Studies as a discipline within its own right in the 1970s, various proposals were put forward as to how text analysis might be carried out, and how translation problems might be dealt with. This came at a time when translator training created a demand for analytical tools that could be used to generate translation strategies and, to offer solutions to translation problems in the classroom. Studies tended to come from the related disciplines of literary studies, linguistics and language teaching, following the work of Michael Halliday in 1964, Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler in 1981, and Gillian Brown and George Yule in 1987.

With a growing realisation that different purposes in text linguistics required more than just examination of the macro and micro structure of the text, the top down approach of “macro-states coming *from outside* the text and supplying GLOBAL hypotheses about what is going on in the textual world ...” (de Beaugrande 1980, 163), a number of translation scholars began to consider text analysis and the central role it played specifically in translation.

In 1971, taking equivalence-based theory as her starting point and based on the hypothesis that the decisive factor in translation is the dominant communicative function of the source text, Katherina Reiss pioneered a model of objective translation criticism based on translation-related text-typology where text type is presented as a “literary category of translation critique” (Reiss 1971, 52f, quoted in Snell-Hornby, 1995, 30). Her aim was to derive “strictly objective criteria for assessing the quality of translations” (Snell-Hornby 1995, 29). Reiss herself argues that the ‘functionally equivalent’ translation needs to be based on a “detailed semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic analysis’ of the foreign text” (quoted in Venuti, 2000, 122). She makes a distinction between different text types, which are classified according to their informative, expressive, or operative function. However, although useful as prescriptive generalisations, these distinctions become less useful when dealing with hybridised texts such as news reports, which are characterised by stylising to meet the needs of either a local or global readership. As a result, by the end of the decade Reiss’s classification of textual function was criticised for being too rigid for practical use.

In 1974, Werner Koller, one of Reiss’s main critics, carried out research into translation quality assessment that was based on three main stages: i) source text criticism with a view to transferability into the target language; ii) translation comparison where particular methods used in translation are described and iii) evaluation of the translation in terms of adequacy according to the text-specific features derived in i). Although theoretically valid, no operational model was established (House 1977, 22). Furthermore, no link was made to translation in media contexts.

In 1984, Reiss presented her idea of correlating text type and translation method. She claimed that identification of particular text types helps the translator “specify the appropriate hierarchy of equivalence levels needed for a particular translation *skopos*” (Reiss and Vermeer 1984, 156, quoted in Nord, 1997, 37). However, Snell-Hornby’s 1995 study concurs with Koller’s views on the rigidity of Reiss’s text-typology and, as part of her integrated approach, replaces it with a “prototypology” (Snell-Hornby 1995, 31), on the basis that Reiss’s text typology “aims at separation and sharp delimitation [whereas] the prototypology

aims at focussing and subtle differentiation” (ibid), where relevant criteria for translation are listed, from text type, through non-linguistic aspects, to the prosodic features of a text. Snell-Hornby essentially criticises Reiss’s grid-based model for being too prescriptive, thus giving the illusion of scientific objectivity in translation.

Whilst the contributions from Reiss, Koller and Snell-Hornby provide useful analytical distinctions, they serve little purpose in aiding the translation process beyond familiarisation with text type and general consideration of conventional features of specific text types. This is because they do not suggest any systematically practical translational strategies such as how to deal with the translation of political discourse. As their models applied to traditional processes of source text to target text transfer, they cannot be applied to processes of translation that take place in the production of international news where distinct source to target text transfer does not generally exist.

With the move towards functionalism⁵³ came further work on text analysis, with contributions by House (1977), Vermeer (1978), Koller (1979), Hervey and Higgins (1992), Nord (1991), Snell-Hornby (1995), Hatim (1997), Reiss (2000), Trosborg (2000) and Newmark (2003). Most important of these was Nord’s contribution, according to whom, the “functional translation process should start on the pragmatic level by deciding on the intended function of the translation (documentary vs. instrumental)” (1997, 68). On the basis of this, a decision is made as to which functional elements of the source text can be reproduced as such, and which will need adaptation to the target text culture. Nord’s model presents a language-independent and text type-independent method of text analysis in translation. It is designed

not only [to] ensure full comprehension and correct interpretation of the text or explain its linguistic and textual structures and their relationship with the system and norms of the source language (SL), but it should also provide a reliable foundation for each and every decision which the translator has to make in a particular translation process. For this purpose, it must be integrated into a global concept of translation that will serve as a permanent frame of reference for the translator (Nord 1991, 1).

Nord’s model identifies the function-relevant elements in both the source and target texts, and is based on the belief that translators should make a comprehensive analysis of the source text. In devising the model, she presents a holistic strategy for the solving of potential difficulties before translation of any text begins. This is essential, because “the source text provides the offer of information that forms the starting point for the offer of information formulated in the target text” (Nord 1997, 62) and analysis enables the translator to establish

⁵³ Functionalism, or functional equivalence is the means whereby, through natural usage, the language used in the translation performs the same function as it does in the source text. The meaning conveyed in the target text is as close as possible to that conveyed in the source text and is of equal communicative value.

the function and content of the source text. The model is based on the examination of extratextual and intratextual factors of the source text by following the so-called “new rhetoric formula” (Nord 1991, 36), which involves asking the following series of ‘wh’ questions enquiring about the following extratextual features:

- 1) the author or sender of the text - who wrote it?
- 2) his/her intention - what does the writer intend?
- 3) the recipient of the text - who is going to read it?
- 4) the medium of communication - how does the author communicate?
- 5) the place of text production and reception - where was it written?
- 6) the time of text production and reception - when was it written?
- 7) the motive for communication - why was it written?

Analysis of intratextual features is then carried out to bring to the text expectations gathered from extratextual analysis, and provides a foundation for establishing the content of the text. It is carried out by enquiring about the following features:

- 1) the subject matter presented within the text - what is the text about?
- 2) the content - what is in the text?
- 3) knowledge presuppositions made by the author - what is not explicit?
- 4) the composition of the text - in what order is the information presented?
- 5) paralinguistic or non-verbal elements of the text - what content is there other than words?
- 6) lexical characteristics - what type of words?
- 7) syntactic structures - what kind of sentences?
- 8) suprasegmental features - what is the tone of the text?
- 9) the effect the text has on the reader - how does the text make the reader feel?

The interplay between extratextual and intratextual features will identify in a holistic way how the text will be translated. It will give guidance as to the extent to which elements may need to be adapted, and which will need to be preserved if functional equivalence is to be achieved.

In 2003, nearly twenty years after Reiss first wrote about text analysis in translation, in *A Textbook of Translation* Peter Newmark writes from a practical viewpoint from which he advocates the analysis of source texts by reading them from a translator’s point of view, rather than from that of a linguist or a literary critic. He advocates checking any item that does not make sense in the context within which it is found, before focusing on the

readership. He suggests studying “the text not for itself but as something that may have to be reconstituted for a different readership in a different culture” (2003, 18).

It is with systematic text analysis in mind that Sándor Hervej and Ian Higgins describe the notion of ‘textual relevance’, as “a qualitative measure of the degree to which, in the translator’s judgement, particular properties of the text are held responsible for the overall impact carried in and by the text” (1992, 242). In other words, “features that make the text what it is”. They go on to advocate developing a speedy translation strategy that involves the assessment of textual relevance in a source text through application of a “schema of textual filters” (1992, 246, Figure 20.1), as a means of identifying features that will need special consideration in the formulation of a functionally equivalent target text. In order for their system to be effective, they advocate the need for a checklist which includes the features of a specific text type which the translator can rapidly scan as part of the pre-translation process. Interestingly, only Hervej and Higgins have followed Nord in the production of a practical model of translation-orientated text analysis.

In 1997, Basil Hatim looked at the process of translation from the viewpoint of contrastive linguistics when he described his “contrastive-discourse model” (1997, 1-12), where the global process of text analysis starts with pre-reading for clues within the content of the text. These clues will inform translational decisions in terms of style, before looking at the syntactic and semantic details of the text on a more local level. This approach to translation works within the wider contextual frameworks of world knowledge, culture and ideology that are so much part of the news gathering and dissemination process and that have given rise to the production of a particular text in the first place.

The removal of source text linguistic and semantic aspects dominating the translation process has led to circumspection regarding other factors inherent in the translator’s decision-making process, to the extent that it has become the impetus behind research into ideological interference and the inadequacy of translation solutions in media texts by scholars such as Schäffner (2004), Baker (2006), the research team at Warwick University (2006) and Austermühl (2008). These researchers assert that it is essential to ensure that translators maintain an ethical responsibility towards not only the society and culture of the source text, but also to those of the target text recipient. This ethical stance suggests not only the need for a translation ethos that precedes the translating task itself, but also for examination of these other influencing factors and the extent to which they might be ideologically motivated. Even with successful models of translation-oriented text analysis, such as Nord’s (1991), these are not sufficient on their own to shed light on the relationship between discourses and socio-

political practice in media translation. This is because existing models are designed around more conventional notions of source text to target text transfer which, for the reasons already discussed, do not obviously take into account influencing factors which might be ideologically motivated in the multiplicity of spoken and written sources that are drawn upon in the production of international news. It is possibly because of this multiplicity of variables in the processes of translation that take place in the production of international news, that it has hitherto been unviable for the discipline of Translation Studies to propose an approach to text analysis which is designed to avoid the occurrence of inadequate translation solutions in international news reports. Therefore, contemporary Translation Studies scholars such as Austermühl, Baker and Schäffner are, because of its interdisciplinary nature, proposing CDA as a means of identifying the origins of such inadequacies.

3.8 *What is Critical Discourse Analysis?*

As a starting point to identifying what exactly CDA is and how it works, it is useful to make brief mention of the difference between text and discourse analysis. Munday points out that “while text analysis normally concentrates on describing the way in which texts are organised (sentence structure, cohesion, etc.), discourse analysis looks at the way language communicates meaning and social and power relations” (2001, 89). Text analysis then concerns the semantic make up of the text, i.e. aspects of vocabulary, time and tense, whereas discourse analysis is generally viewed as the study of language in context and analysis of how language is organised and works above and beyond clause and sentence level (Widdowson 2004, 1), within socio-cultural practice (Fairclough 1995b, 7). Discourse analysis entails the detailed scrutiny of the structure of texts. Different from text analysis, it is more concerned with hidden meanings that are portrayed in spoken and written texts through the use of language by means of, for example, the use of modality. Here one may also refer to the relationship between speakers or writers and notions of status, equality or social class that can serve to shape our understanding of the world.

More complex than both text and discourse analysis, CDA is an interdisciplinary paradigm which stems from Applied Linguistics, and which propounds the existence of close links between all tangible communicative devices (words, grammar, images) and more importantly the institutional and ideological setting in which communication takes place (Calzada Pérez 2007, 16). David Goulding points out that “it concerns itself not only with the empirical analysis of texts but also with the perception that interpretations of texts are often structured by political dominance, and that the discourses they embody often serve to

dominate” (2010, 81). Thus, CDA’s value as a functional theory of language lies in its ability to integrate techniques for analysing specific texts, the process of their production, consumption and distribution, and socio-cultural analysis of the discursive event. It “routinely asserts what authors were about when they produced the text” (Widdowson 2004, 128). Its aim is not only “to expose the ideological forces that underlie communicative exchanges” (Calzada Perez 2003, 2), but also to provide a way of understanding the relationship between discourse and socio-political phenomena. Jane Sunderland describes CDA as a means of “seeing the world, often with reference to relations of power” (2004, 6) where discourses act as a form of social control by determining the ways in which people without linguistic or social power might view the world and therefore act within it (Goulding 2010, 77). In this regard, Henry Widdowson describes CDA as being “quite explicitly directed at revealing how language is used for the exercise of socio-political control” (2004, 89), “to educate people more broadly in the abuse of power by linguistic means, to reveal how language is used for deception and distortion and the fostering of prejudice (ibid., viii). He quotes van Dijk’s (2001, 352) definition as

a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality (ibid).

John Richardson (2007, 1) defines CDA as “a theory and method of analysing the way that individuals and institutions use language”. This use of language is from the perspective of those who are most affected, for example Honduran ex-President Manuel Zelaya, in the context of this study, and is in line with van Dijk’s view that Critical Discourse Analysts should focus on “social problems, and especially the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (2001, 96). The essence of CDA, then, is the study of language in its relation to power, ideology and identity, where there is the belief that “no linguistic expression is ideologically neutral. All transformations suppress and distort, all language is loaded, ‘ideologically saturated’, as Kress puts it” (quoted in Widdowson 2004, 102-3). In this regard, Richardson also suggests that Critical Discourse Analysts

offer interpretations of the meanings of texts rather than just quantifying textual features and deriving meanings from this; situate what is written or said in the context in which it occurs, rather than just summarising patterns or regularities in texts; and argue that textual meaning is constructed through an interaction between producer, text and consumer rather than simply being ‘read off’ the page by all readers in exactly the same way (2007, 15).

CDA is the link between linguistic analysis and social analysis. It investigates the “relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power-relations”

(Wodak 1996, 17-20). This notion of relationship includes absence of relationship. Therefore it is important to consider that in CDA, meaning is derived not just from what is in a text, but also from what is absent from the text.

As a form of social practice, one of discourse's inherent properties is its dialectical relationship. Discursive events are ideologically shaped by situations, institutions and social structures. As a dialectical process, they in turn shape social practice. In this regard, Schäffner, quoting Fairclough and Wodak (1997, 258) calls for greater visibility in the "ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power which underlie them" (2004, 132). In CDA, this is usually done on the basis of discourse in one language and one culture. However, in translation, despite the serious theoretical objections that I will describe in chapter 3.10, interlingual discourse analysis must by necessity still take place. Because the language embedded in the discourse of a mediated report of international news can carry deeper meaning than would at first appear, it would seem appropriate for newswriters to question the discourses and ideologies which underlie particular subjects that appear in their sources. If we believe that discourse and language use is ideological, then translation must, by default, be considered a melting pot of ideological encounters.

From a sociological viewpoint, as previously mentioned, Hondrich (1999) asserts that "shared knowledge of an event is always supplemented by culture-specific background knowledge, presuppositions, and prejudices" (quoted in Schäffner, 2000, 5), resulting in different interpretations. So, central to CDA is the notion of power and the dialectical relationship it has with social practices. It helps show how those in power are able, through clever use of language, to predominate and thereby continually reproduce and maintain dominant power relations that continually work *for* them, or *against* those who are not in power.

Although sometimes difficult to disentangle, the interrelationship between journalism and social institutions undeniably exists. In line with the framework provided by causal models such as Williams and Chesterman's that I describe in chapter 3.2, which help to explain "*why* the translation looks the way it does, or what effects it causes" (2002, 53), it is the job of Critical Discourse Analysts to question the discursive process through which discourse, in this case in reports of international news, is produced and consumed, with the aim of establishing such factors as what makes a news article biased, and why the discourse used to communicate an event can frame the story and the image of political actors within that story in a particular way.

We have already seen that a large part of news production revolves around the notions of cause and effect, where the use of political discourse is aimed at a particular effect which it often achieves. Through critically analysing discourse we can distinguish between the two, and establish the point at which effects become causes and causes become effects. This is necessary because “too much discourse analysis of journalism is ignorant of the structural and functional properties of the news gathering and reporting process” (Verschueren 1999, vii). This being the case it is useful to consider how CDA works.

Under the influence of Systemic Functional Linguistics, CDA considers that within social situations, the language of a text possesses three main functions: the *ideational function*, the *interpersonal function* and the *textual function* (Halliday and Hassan 1990, 26-7). All three help to define meaning.

i) *The ideational function* relates to use of language to encode the writer’s experience of the world and realises the field of the text, i.e. what its content represents or what it is about, i.e. its topic. It is concerned with the taxonomy of the text, nominalisation, participants’ roles and transitivity (who does what and to whom), frames and chains evolving from the text, collocation, the way of arranging the message by means of rhetorical strategies, presuppositions, culture-specific elements and intertextuality (reference to previous textual material) (Trosborg 2000, 192).

ii) *The interpersonal function* relates to identities and social relations or the writer’s attitude to the topic and his/her role relationship with his/her reader. It is concerned with features such as the communicative functions of a text, or what the linguistic content of speech acts (illocutionary acts) in the text is being used, for example, to request, to stipulate, to ban, to assert, to announce, to declare, to refute, to persuade or to warn; it also looks at degrees of formality in its examination of relationship between reader and writer (Trosborg 2000, 195).

Category labels also tell us a lot about ideologies represented in newspapers. Therefore precise knowledge of context is highly important in the analysis of the discourse of discrimination. Categorisation is a discursive basis for discrimination. Gender is encoded in English, in language that is used, for example, about and by women (Fowler 1999, 96). Different vocabularies are used separately by men and women. Women can be expressed in terms of family relationship whereas men may not necessarily be expressed in the same way. The latter may, for example, be referred to in professional rather than domestic terms. Those who are discriminated against are associated with low-status or pejorative verbs and adjectives. Use of an abbreviated form of a first name only, for example, *Mel* instead of

Manuel Zelaya in the context of this study can imply disrespect as the use of abbreviated forms can degrade and trivialise.

iii) *The textual function* examines the text for what is present and what is not present by examination of its linguistic organisation. This is looking at specific language in the text to so as to provide insight into particular interpretation of meaning, for example, interactional control, the relationship between speakers/actors; ethos, how identities are constructed through language; metaphorical usage; lexis and grammar. It is concerned with cohesion, referencing, collocation, thematic structure, the theme/rheme organisation of different text types such as narrative, descriptive, argumentative, and genre (Trosborg 2000, 199). It is in the *textual function* that elements of vocabulary, semantics and grammar are of particular interest to CDA, as these are the key to the *ideational* and *interpersonal* functions of the text.

Readers decode texts according to their own specific agendas and perspectives. These may differ radically from the encoded meaning of a text; therefore it is easy for the reader to misunderstand or not notice that encoded meaning. This is particularly significant when, in their professional capacity, recipients of spoken and written texts which are delivered in their own or another language rewrite texts to become reports of international news. Distortions are bound to arise unless there is symmetry between the codes of meaning of the original text producer, the journalist who has compiled the report and the reader of the report. It is the job of CDA to unravel these codes of meaning in order to reveal the underlying meanings that may have been distorted through the translation or rewriting process.

CDA operates within a three dimensional framework of text, discursive practice and socio-cultural practice. Therefore, analysts need also to take into account the historical conditions within which a text is generated. Bell (1998, 67-9) describes a typical news report as covering these three essential areas in terms of i) background to the event being reported to help provide context ii) commentary by the journalist in the form not of narrative but in assessment of events and third party reaction to them, and iii) follow-up which might include verbal reaction from other parties on future consequences arising from the story. His “event analysis” (1998, 81-93) of a story uncovers what the story says in terms of specifying events, what it says about the news actors themselves, and the location and time of events. Bell advocates that only by carrying out event analysis can the analyst find out what the story does not say and discover how accurately the events are portrayed. However, useful as this may be for narrative reports, I find that its value in the analysis of political news reports remains questionable because these do not belong to the genre of narrative.

To fully understand what discourse is and how it works, analysis needs to draw out the form and function of the text; that is, the way the text relates to how it is produced and consumed and the relationship this has in the wider society in which production and consumption take place. According to Fairclough,

analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discursive practices within which texts are embedded [...] there is still a need to bring close textual analysis together with social analysis of organisational routines for producing and consuming texts, and with analysis of specifically discursive processes within the processes of production and consumption, such as the analysis of how news articles are transformed in the process of their production (1995a, 9).

Discourse therefore, can be seen as language in use as a form of social practice and analysis of that discourse is analysis of how texts work within socio-cultural practice (Fairclough 1995b, 7). When analysing a news text, account needs to be taken of both the production and reception processes of that text. Analysis of text production cannot be separated from analysis of text reception. This is because, according to Richard Jackson,

discourses both contribute to the shaping of social structures and are also shaped by them; [...] Of even greater import, critical discourse analysis assumes that discursive practices are never neutral, but rather they contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups; discourses are an exercise in power. Thus a central aim of critical discourse analysis lies in revealing the means by which language is deployed to maintain power; what makes critical discourse analysis 'critical' is its normative commitment to positive social change (2005, 24-25).

By discourse analysis, Jackson means the analysis of "a particular way of talking about and understanding the world that involves a limited number of statements and words" (2005, 18). In order to further clarify his meaning, he quotes Jorgensen and Phillips' (2002) definition as "a way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective" (ibid) or "the kind of language used within a specific field" (ibid), such as politics, culture, education and the media. Each of these fields has its own specific way of expressing ideas and it is this use of language within a particular field that constitutes discourse. Language is crucial to the notion of discourse, but discourse encompasses a much broader field than language alone (ibid, 19). In the media context, for example, this broader field includes institutional practices such as editing, translating and interpreting, the layout of a printed news report including accompanying visuals and working to tight deadlines. These extra components are known as *discursive practices* (Hodgson 2000, 62).

If in Media Studies it is important to examine the relationship between discursive practice and social practice, where ideological, political and social consequences are identified, it must also be important to do the same in reports of international news in whose production translation has played a part. If the same discourses are reproduced in translation, there is no social change. If discourses are transformed, and this could be the case with inadequate translation solutions, there is room for and the possibility of social change.

If news is “the end product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories” (Hall et al. 1978, 53), critical discourse analysts must also consider discursive practice, i.e. the processes involved in the production and consumption of texts; how authors draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a new text and what changes occur during the process. Discursive practice can challenge, conceal or strengthen power relations in society. In regard to power, political discourses are constructed to create, maintain and extend it. Power subtly manifests itself as the inability of individuals to control the way in which texts are produced and distributed; therefore political discourses can become dominant hegemonic powers in themselves. That is, they represent the final word or the final truth, drowning out all other discourses. Jackson, in his description of the way discourses work, points out in relation to the discourse of ‘the war on terrorism’ that,

discourses are not simply transmitted from speaker to listener in an uninterrupted fashion; it is not like pouring water (words) into an empty receptacle. Rather, there is a continual process of producing, reproducing, interpreting and retransmitting the language from speaker to listener to other speakers; every individual interprets what they hear and read in their own unique way, as does every group or institution (2005, 20).

One such group or institution is the media, which “interprets the language of politicians, fashions it into a familiar media frame and then transmits it to the wider public” (ibid). This being the case, with difficulties in reporting which can result in potentially inadequate translation solutions, there is therefore, the potential for discourses to wrongly manifest themselves as changes in social practice in the new environment in which mediated news reports are received.

Jackson also describes hegemonic political discourse as one “where the public debate uses mainly the language, terms, ideas and ‘knowledge’ of the dominant discourse, and where alternative words and meanings are rarely found and dissenting voices are almost never heard” (2005, 19). Evidence of both phenomena can be found in the analysis of the news reports belonging to the first case study in this thesis (see chapter 4.1).

I have already discussed the way in which discourses stem from and belong to institutions, for example, political discourse belongs to government and news discourse stems from news agencies. Central to Fairclough’s CDA model, (1998, 161-2) is intertextuality, the notion that texts cannot be studied in isolation, that they all relate to some other text in terms of production and reception. Texts can only be fully understood in a media context through consideration of both internal and external intertextuality. External intertextuality refers to, for example, run-on stories (continuation of a sequence of events, for example, reporting on a

political campaign or a judicial trial). Internal intertextuality refers to texts which are composed from fragments of other texts as in news reporting, where the actions and opinions of others are reproduced as mediated news reports. The relationship between intertextuality and hegemony⁵⁴ is an important one in CDA. Analysis shows how texts can be transformed, thus generating new hegemonies as a result. An example of this phenomenon occurred in the reporting of the Honduran coup where negative information relating to President Zelaya was propounded by opposition sources and used in international news reports (see chapter 4.1).

Mediatized political discourse involves a complex mix of other discourses and is drawn from a number of different genres such as spoken and written news reports, debates, press releases, phone-ins, chat-shows, interviews and news conferences. It is therefore a hybrid of discourses and comes about as different agents articulate discourses differently.

Acting both as protagonists and antagonists, agents in mass media are professional politicians, journalists, political analysts, academic political scientists, subject experts, representatives of new or alternative political and social movements such as ecologists, animal rights activists, employers, trade unionists and ordinary people who, through journalists, may have their opinions expressed in newspapers. Fairclough 1992 (187-213), calls this an “intertextual chain”, where information is derived from private and public debate, drafts and edited versions of documents, news conferences and political interviews. In the context of translation in the media, examination of the intertextual chain is important. A journalist’s emphasis, for example, in the reporting of a political speech can be different from that of the original speech. It is thus important to consider the relationship between the reporting verb and the original version of spoken or written language. The greater the gap between the original (direct speech) and the reporting verb, the greater the likelihood of distortion of the original message. For this reason, it is of particular importance in this study to analyse the linguistic content and source of the Spanish language sources of quotations that are reported in English (see chapter 4.2).

Re-contextualisation through translation adds a third dimension to the intertextual chain. Here it is useful for the critical discourse analyst to follow the intertextual chain in order to discover where the same content can be found in a range of different sources. In translation this will include different language versions. Only by doing this can we see how structure and content are transformed, thereby we are able to form hypotheses about different

⁵⁴ The process whereby a ruling class forces all other classes to accept its rule and their subordination, or the consenting to unequal class relations and therefore unequal power relations.

types of production conditions (Fairclough 1995b, 77ff). It would appear, then, that effective critical discourse analysis involving translated texts needs to include some degree of consideration of intertextuality.

3.9 *Theoretical Objections to the Use of CDA in Translated Texts*

Without considering the audience, it is impossible for newspaper editors to select what is newsworthy. This is why the content of reports in the *Guardian* and *Sun* newspapers, for example, is different. In translation, consideration of the audience determines the tone, content and style of presentation. In journalism these same elements apply, but consideration of the newspaper's own ideology is also added. In critical analysis of the discourse of media texts, if a key aspect is the relationship between text production and text consumption, consideration of the readership must relate to the role it plays, i.e. that of victim or watch dog, consumer or commodity.

In order to effectively evaluate the usefulness of CDA in texts in whose production translation has played a part, it is first necessary to consider the methodology of CDA, or in simple terms, "not what CDA is about, but how it goes about it" (Seidlhofer 2003, 130).

It is fair to say that CDA's most damaging feature is its huge ambition, when compared with other forms of discourse analysis, to achieve the task it sets itself. Here I refer to its claim to offer an understanding of discursive processes, what is wrong with them and how they can be changed. In contrast to its claims, though, what it fails to offer is a sound methodological base from which to identify these problems. One reason for this is the subjective nature of CDA. An example of this from the corpus of texts analysed in the first case study is the fact that ardent critical discourse analysts might argue that the extensive reporting of Honduran President Manuel Zelaya flying to Costa Rica, still wearing his pyjamas, is pejorative, whereas newswriters would argue that this detail provides important news value (see chapter 2.3) to their reports.

A number of scholars have serious and well-founded objections to the use of CDA *per se*.⁵⁵ However, only Fairclough, and van Dijk albeit less formally⁵⁶ than Fairclough, have voiced their objections to the use of CDA in the analysis of translated texts. Fairclough does not consider the role of translation as part of discursive practice and expresses serious

⁵⁵ See Seidlhofer (2003), Haig (2004), Widdowson (2004).

⁵⁶ Van Dijk expressed this idea in personal communication rather than in a published work.

theoretical objections to trying to analyse corpora of translated data as if it were ‘original-language’ discourse. He advocates that

[o]ne source of difficulty for textual analysis is the use of translated data [...] To include textual analysis of translated data as part of the analysis of a discursive event... strikes me as a procedure which is open to serious objections [...] In my opinion, discourse analysis papers should reproduce and analyse textual examples in the original language, despite the added difficulty for readers (1992, 196).

This is surprising because his three-dimensional CDA model includes three different areas of the text that need to be analysed in order to identify the way in which texts i) construct particular versions of reality, ii) portray social identities and iii) describe social relations. He advocates that fully rounded CDA should include analysis of the text’s “socio-cultural practice”, the events around which the text has been produced. If everything about the text is subject to critical analysis i.e. its source, its production and its reception, then “there are some instances in which objective attempts of applying CDA to translations bring profitable observations” (Federici 2010, 136). One of these instances is analysis of the Calipari case in the Italian press.⁵⁷ Indeed, because of the predominance of overt translation and resultant inadequate translation solutions that appear in the Italian press in the form of ideological loading, CDA would appear to be a prerequisite in studies involving texts destined for the Italian readership.⁵⁸

In relation to the enormity of the number discursive structures, van Dijk says that “[c]omplete discourse analysis of a large corpus of text or talk is therefore totally out of the question” (2001, 99). In the same regard, Barbara Seidlhofer points out that CDA’s over-ambition “encourages the presentation of what can only be speculations as if they were well-grounded knowledge” (2003, 131). Structuralist/functionalist linguist and one of CDA’s major critics, Henry Widdowson, has “serious reservations about the way it does its work” (2004, ix) and points out that different readers derive different discourses from the same text, depending upon the degree of the activation of their own schemata; that is, what they bring to the text from their own world experience. He goes on to point out that readers will

insist on the primacy of their own ideological position, and so derive from the text the discourse which fits their preconceived ideological commitment [...]. [CDA] presents a partial interpretation of text from a particular point of view [...] it is partial in that it selects those features of a text which support its preferred interpretation (Widdowson 1994, quoted in Seidlhofer, 2003, 142).

According to Widdowson, what is actually revealed through CDA is the particular discursive perspective of the interpreter, the critical discourse analyst who selects only those texts which will confirm his or her beliefs, thereby ignoring the distinction between the interpretation of

⁵⁷ Italian security agent Nicola Calipari was killed by US soldiers in March 2005 whilst escorting a newly-released journalist to Baghdad International Airport.

⁵⁸ See Federici (2010, 116-41) and Caimotto (2010, 77-93).

the analyst and that of the lay reader. Therefore, rather than complete analysis, it is merely partial interpretation. Full CDA would include a multiplicity of alternative interpretations, rather than the single interpretation that is usually offered by so-called analysts according to their ideologically biased beliefs where they read meaning *into*, rather than *out of* texts. In short, CDA is not analysis in support of theory, but merely interpretation in support of belief (Haig 2004, 142).⁵⁹

Yet the theoretical authority of CDA is impressive and its findings appealing. Inspirational insights are offered about possible meanings, which, to the lay reader, would otherwise go unnoticed. This appeal leads to an obvious desire to replicate the procedures of practitioners such as Fairclough, van Dijk and Wodak to name but a few, in order to carry out our own critical analysis of the discourse of our chosen texts. However, the difficulty in doing this lies in following explicit procedures, simply because, as confirmed by van Dijk, “there are no adequate ready-made methods for complete text analyses” (personal communication, June 2009). There is no comprehensive methodological guide to carrying out CDA.

Wodak talks about methodology. However, she offers little more than the checklist quoted in chapter 3.10 of this study. Whilst we might know that context, for example, is crucial, we need to know why, to what or to whom it is crucial. We might know that we need to focus on certain textual features, but there is little way of knowing upon which textual features we should focus, or why. In this regard, Widdowson concludes that in CDA, “[t]he need for explicit and workable procedures for analysis has not gone unnoticed” (2004, 166-7) and quotes Fowler (1996, 8-9) on the matter: “[W]e need to be more formal about method, both in order to improve the analytic technique, and to increase the population of competent practitioners” (quoted in Widdowson, *ibid*). Therefore, novice critical discourse analysts need to be provided with “a set of explicit and replicable analytic procedures for them to apply not only in producing their own analyses but in evaluating the analysis of others that are presented to them as exemplars” (Widdowson 2004, 173). Without such procedures, critical discourse analysts have no methodologically-grounded means of questioning their interpretations, and therefore care must be taken in the analysis of discourse by those who attempt such a task.

⁵⁹ Edward Haig draws on Widdowson 1995a; 1995b; 1996; 1997; 1998; 2000a; 2000b; 2001a; 2001b who has kept up a sustained argument against critical approaches to discourse analysis, particularly those pertaining to Fairclough’s work.

Full analysis should include political and ethical critique; it should challenge the features that lead to inequalities in power relations and the ideologies, which by their nature are contestable, that underlie these relations. Whilst Fairclough does not elaborate upon his objections to trying to analyse corpora of translated data as if it were ‘original-language’ discourse, one can only surmise that this is because he bases his knowledge of translation on a traditional view of translation as a process of source text to target text transfer, rather than the drawing on of a multiplicity of sources, as is common practice in the production of international news reports.

Van Dijk is also of the opinion that critical discourse analysis is not applicable to translated material. Furthermore, in response to my request for a practical model of CDA, he says that “for those subtle (usually lexical) structures that appear to lose much in translation from Spanish to English ... you do not need discourse analysis, which deals mostly with larger structures, like local and global coherence, narrative or argumentative structures, little affected by translation” (personal communication, June 2009). It is because of both Fairclough’s and van Dijk’s objections that in chapter 5.2 of this study I will evaluate the effectiveness of CDA as a methodological tool for the analysis of texts whose composition has involved translation and/or interpreting.

By way of contradiction to Fairclough’s view, Schäffner points out that in the realm of political discourse, due to their very nature, translations are “target texts operating in a new socio-cultural context and based on a source text which functioned in its original socio-cultural context” (2004, 138). She goes on to explain that translations

have their own profiles which came about by decisions that were taken by a translator who was working in specific conditions [...]. We cannot tacitly assume that the target text is an exact copy of the source text, or that the source text fulfilled the same function. The translator may have used strategies to make the text correspond to the genre conventions that apply in the target culture, or to compensate for different background knowledge or sensibilities of the new addressees (ibid).

Because of this notion of intertextuality, texts cannot be studied in isolation. They all relate to some other text in terms of production and reception and can only be fully understood in the complete context that occurs in the news gathering and dissemination process. Translation must thus be viewed as an integral part of discursive practice. This is because translation is the only bridge that spans interlingual discourses. Indeed, as already mentioned in the introduction, Austerlühl points out that “translations become part of a global political discourse that plays such an important role in the creation of representations of both individuals and nations alike, such representations being so central to the creation, affirmation or contestation of national identities in a globalized world” (2008, 86-7).

For these reasons, it would seem plausible that examination of the effects of translation on mediated discourse might override Fairclough's objections. The significance of translation from a CDA perspective must first lie in consideration of whether translation has taken place. If translation has taken place, it is important to consider the place where the source text was translated, when it was translated and by whom it was translated. Therefore, contrary to Fairclough's objections, it would seem that texts whose composition includes translated material can only benefit from the concerted analysis that CDA affords, as such analysis may provide a firm foundation for an investigation of the role that translation plays in identifying discursive distortion in the production of reports of international news.

The reception of the message of a text depends upon the context supplied by the situation and that received by the reader. In news production, it is the newswriter who is the real arbiter of the message. Herein lies a major difference between national and international reception of news. The reader of a nationally mediated news text is reliant upon the local journalist. When that text reports an international news event, the reader is also reliant upon the decisions of the journalist as translator, and that may also mean being subject to possible inadequate translation solutions. For the majority, without having access to either the original text or the source language of that text, the receiver can do nothing but decode the message in his or her own terms according to his or her cultural sphere. Because part of CDA is to consider the place, time and origin of text production, analysis represents a vital skill that must, to some degree, be taken into account in international newswriting. If faithful reporting of events in the same language is problematic, it must be even more problematic when translation is inserted as a further link in the intertextual chain.

3.10 The Application of CDA in this Study

To conclude this chapter I will give an overview of CDA and describe how it can work in the analysis of reports of international news in whose production translation has played a part. I will list principles that form the methodological basis for my data analysis and describe strategies that I will take from the work of contemporary critical discourse analysts, which I will subsequently employ in my analysis of the corpora of texts that forms the content of chapter four.

I plan to use CDA as a methodological tool for text and discourse analysis because its wider interdisciplinary perspective would appear to offer greater opportunity for success in establishing ideological content of international news reports, whose production has involved translation, than existing models of translation criticism have been able to hitherto give. CDA

would also appear to provide a means whereby the degree of faithfulness of the rendering of international news events with regard to discourses and socio-political practices (when information is transferred from one language to another for consumption by a different audience by international news writers and editors), can be checked.

I have already given an overview of the work of the many critical discourse analysts who have written extensively on the subject. However, the principles identified below in Wodak's (1996) discursal-historical model, which allows analysis to be intertextually connected to other related discourse, best relate to the place of CDA when we consider the role of translation in the production of international news.

In her discursal-historical model, Wodak, like other critical discourse analysts, sees CDA as interdisciplinary. It is used in Cultural Studies, Anthropology, Gender Studies, Media Studies and Political Science. CDA offers a methodology that is deemed appropriate to examine political discourse and as such should work as a tool to qualify translation solutions offered in international news that reports politically significant events. In so doing, it should identify the role translation as a process plays in reframing discourse and the subsequent social effects of that reframing. Because power relations are also discursive, it is of interest to this study to see the way in which power relations are expressed and identified, and therefore how they can be given due consideration in the production of international news reports.

Discourse constitutes society and culture and this is how news shapes national, political and cultural identities. As we have already seen in the review of literature relating to the discourse of news, the marketing of news is governed by cultural, political and economic factors. This is why newswriters need to be aware of the extent to which identities are shaped, and how that shaping appears, for example, as negative stereotyping in reports which are rewritten for a different readership. Taking Wodak's definition of ideologies being "particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation" (1996, 18), and because discourse does ideological work, newswriters need to be aware of the capacity of news reports to portray or hide dominant ideologies.

Discourse is historical and as such it may be embedded in a different historical era, as well as in a different culture or different ideology. Discourses are always connected to other earlier or simultaneous discourses and newswriters must be aware of this. As in any field of translation, contexts which include historical links may need to be clarified and may have to

be taken into consideration when analysing source texts prior to their rewriting for the purpose of international news production.

Because discourse links text and society, a news report is mediated between the social context of its source audience and that of its target audience. Therefore, newswriters need to be aware of their moral and ethical obligation to appropriately and accurately compensate for any cultural lacunae of the new readership. As analysis of that same discourse is interpretive and explanatory, it is only by interpreting the content of a source or target text that an explanation can be found to any inconsistencies or inaccuracies contained therein. Significant here might be journalistic practices of over- or under-emphasis of particular lexis. Newswriters need to read critically and to thoroughly investigate context. The heterogeneity and vagueness of a text can only become apparent through careful analysis of that text when it is deconstructed. Embedded in it may be social conditions linked to ideologies and power relationships.

Discourse is a form of social action. Wodak states that “[c]ritical linguists have had some success in changing discourse and power patterns in organisations [...]. The critical analysis of such patterns led to the establishment of guidelines for different behaviour patterns” (1996, 20). Applied to newswriting, this social action can lead to an awareness of professional journalistic practices, one of the ultimate aims of this study. Finally, one of CDA’s primary aims is “to expose the ideological forces that underlie communicative exchanges” (Calzada Pérez 2003, 2). Thus, by focusing on CDA’s conceptual tool of the textual/contextual link (in Translation Studies terms, extratextual and intratextual aspects), the textual features of rewritten news material can be linked to the social and ideological contexts of its production.

It is the aforementioned principles that derive from Wodak’s discursal-historical model that provide a firm basis for my use of CDA as an analytical tool in this study. Used in conjunction with the work of Blackledge, van Dijk, Fairclough, Jackson, Jäger, and Trosborg, I will apply them through the following series of questions and points for consideration in regard to textual content, so as to critically analyse the discourse of the corpora of texts which form the body of chapter four. In chapter 5.2, I will consider the effectiveness of these tools in regard to their measure of the quality of translation solutions.

Fairclough (1998, 161-2) proposes that the following questions are crucial to the critical analysis of the discourse of texts:

What does the text say about the society or environment in which it was produced? What does it say about the target readership of the source text? What impact could or should it have on social practices? Will the text help to break down or provide further impetus for negative social practices? Who are the

political agents involved, and what genres, discourses and ethos are drawn upon? How are genres, discourses and ethos articulated together? How is the articulation of genres, discourses and ethos realized in the forms and meanings of the text? How are the resources of the order of discourse drawn upon in the management of interaction? What particular direction does this type of discursive event give to the articulation of the political order of discourse? What wider social and cultural processes shape and are shaped by the way this discursive event articulates genres, discourses and ethos?

Jackson (2005, 25) also proposes a question-based approach directed at both the text itself and at the wider social and cultural context to achieve successful application of CDA:

What assumptions, beliefs and values underlie the language in the text? How does the grammar, syntax and sentence construction reinforce the meanings and effects of the discursive constructions contained in the text? What are the histories and embedded meanings of the important words in the text? What meanings are implied by the context of the text, and in turn, how does the context alter the meaning of the words? What patterns can be observed in the language, and how do different parts of the text relate to each other? How stable and internally consistent are the discursive constructions within the text? How is the language in the text reinforced or affected by discursive actions? What knowledge or practices are normalised by the language in the text? What are the political or power functions of the discursive constructions? How does the language create, reinforce or challenge power relations in society?

Siegfried Jäger (2001, 54-6) provides a practical toolbox for conducting critical discourse analysis based on four main aspects: context, text surface, rhetorical structure and ideological content. Under *context* he advocates precisely locating the investigation or the topic to be investigated (which newspaper and where in the newspaper the article appears).⁶⁰ This is important because it can give clues, for example, to political or economic repercussions of reported events. Next he suggests listing the articles relevant to the theme, deciding what type of journalistic text it is, deciding why it was written and whether there are any peculiarities, a clue to which could be the section of the newspaper in which the article appears. The latter is important as it may give additional clues to the line of ideological discourse, which is understood as being “much clearer when the journalist is producing commentary and evaluation [as in editorial sections] rather than purely descriptive reporting” (Brownlie 2010, 36), thus showing how a theme is disseminated to the masses.

In regard to *text surface* it is important to consider the significance of the text layout and the use of graphics, the content of the headlines, headings and sub-headings, the structure of the article in units of meaning, who the actors are and what presuppositions are present.

Consideration of *rhetorical structure* is necessary to identify the kind of argumentation strategies that are in the article; what implications or insinuations there are;

⁶⁰ Caimotto (2010, 82) provides an example. (see, Munchau, Wolfgang. 2006. “Prodi’s Lamentable Poll is Bad News for the Euro.” *Financial Times*, 17 April 2006, and *Corriere* “Fouri dall’Euro? Analisi Malevola e Forzata”, 18 April 2006), where an article based on one that had been published in *The Financial Times* reporting the consequences of Italy’s proposed withdrawal from the Euro zone, was published in the politics section rather than the economics and finance section of the website of Italy’s right-leaning *Corriere Della Sera* at the time of the 2006 election campaign.

whether there is any collective symbolism, for example, figurative use of language, metaphor, idioms, clichés, and other peculiarities in language or style. Important also is the way in which the players are referred to and whether there are any particular references to sources of knowledge. Finally, in terms of *ideological content* it is useful to see what contribution is made by the language of the newspaper article to the promotion of a certain ideology.

Van Dijk (1998, 40-4) applies a number of strategies, employing polarisations of *us/them*, *our/their*, which help to determine the presence of different ideologies through examination of the use of specific semantic structures and lexis. Features such as the use of particular lexis to describe the Other, sometimes in a particular order; the application of specific clause and sentence structure and macro and microstructures of textual content can also give clues to dominant or opposing ideologies.

In terms of volume, the amount that is said about an event determines its ideological loading. A lot is said about *our* good points whereas not much is said about *their* good points. Conversely, little is said about *our* bad points and a lot is said about *their* bad points.

The position of important information is also significant in CDA. Information that is favourable about or for *us* will take prime place as macro information in a text in topic sentences, i.e. those that come at the beginning of paragraphs and which carry important information. Information that is unfavourable about or for *us* will take a much less prominent place in a text as micro information in clausal constructions. *Our* discourses will also feature information and opinion that is relevant for *us*, and irrelevant for *them*.

In regard to implicitness and explicitness, information and opinions that are good for *us* and bad for *them* is made explicit whereas information and opinions that are bad for *us* and good for *them* is not.

Attribution and *perspective* are also important in van Dijk's approach: agency, responsibility and blame may be attributed as a function of ideological orientation, where good acts will be attributed to *us* and bad acts will be attributed to *them*. Events are subjectively described and evaluated from the cultural, social, personal, situational and temporal position of the speaker.

Blackledge's (2005, 21-6) analysis of discriminatory discourse establishes the positive presentation of the in-group and the negative presentation of the out-group through the application of five key strategies: *referential*, *predicational*, *argumentation*, *perspectivation* and *intensifying* and *mitigation*.

Referential strategies concern the way in which people are named and referred to linguistically. They are often metaphorical or metonymic, representing people in terms of

specific common characteristics. That characteristic is foregrounded to represent a group and frequently involves negative connotation or negative evaluation of that group. People are referred to according to, for example, national, linguistic, ethnic, cultural, economic, citizenship, legal, religious and sexual characteristics.

Predicational strategies assign certain qualities to refer to the traits, characteristics, qualities, and features which are attributed to groups, individuals, events, social phenomena with respect to quality and quantity, space and time. They are evaluative (good/bad) and appear as explicit/implicit or vague and evasive references. Metonymy, the replacement of the name of the referent with the name of the entity to which it belongs or is closely associated (for example “politicians” become “the government”), is used to evaluate groups and allows for the backgrounding of actors involved. Metaphor is another device used to represent the Other in a negative light.

Argumentation strategies refer to the means by which arguments and argumentation schemes individuals or social groups try to justify and legitimise exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others. This is achieved by the use of topoi, that is, parts of argumentation that “represent the common sense reasoning typical for specific issues” (van Dijk 2000a, 97, quoted in Blackledge, 2005, 24). Common topoi are advantage/usefulness, danger/threat, burdening/weighing down, law/right, equality and responsibility. They connect arguments with the conclusion as familiar arguments are repeated in new contexts. Topoi provide a useful means whereby discriminatory argument can be tracked along intertextual chains of discourse.

Perspectivation and intensifying strategies concern the perspective or point of view from which naming, attributions and arguments emanate. An example of this lies in the reporting of the coup in Honduras (see chapter 4.1) where initial reporting was influenced by the perspective of the opposition.

Finally, *mitigation strategies* are the means whereby discriminating utterances are articulated overtly, even intensified or mitigated. Mitigation strategies include ‘I think, suppose, believe, it appears that’, as well as the use of questions rather than assertions. Examples of mitigating adverbs are: fairly, probably and quite. Strategies of mitigation are the means whereby utterances which are not usually acceptable subtly find their way into mainstream discourse. Perspectivation and intensifying and mitigating strategies both lead to *framing of discourse*, the incorporation of voice in the text. Fairclough (2003a, 53, quoted in Blackledge, 2005, 25-6) suggests there are choices in the way in which new voices are contextualised in other parts of the text. The voice may come from the journalist. We often

read, for example, “[i]n a move likely to provoke ... the prime minister ...” A major significance of framing is that it can accord authority and status to different chosen actors.

4 Case Studies and Analysis

Ethnographic accounts of varying practices in different types of news organisation are required to evaluate the role of news translators in the production of news (Bielsa 2007, 152).

In my review of the literature relating to the place of translation in the production of international news (see chapter 2.3), I have described that, in the reporting of international political news events, content can be knowingly or unknowingly changed anywhere between the occurrence of the original event and its representation in a different language, in a new context. In an attempt to identify *where*, *why* and *how* such potential distortions can occur, this chapter comprises three case studies in which I will analyse the content of a total of 94 political news reports⁶¹, all of which were written in English. The aim of my analysis is to identify what I deem to be inadequate translation solutions contained therein. I will refer to information gleaned during field research in order to offer an explanation as to the occurrence of these inadequate translation solutions, and conclude the chapter with some general comments relating to my findings overall.

In all three case studies, my analysis sits within the three distinct, but ultimately interrelated perspectives of translation, critical discourse analysis and media practices. Firstly, from a translation perspective I will base my critique on the four Translation Studies paradigms that form the basis of the theoretical framework to my research as outlined in chapter 2.1. These are functional approaches, the Cultural Turn in Translation Studies, Lefevere's Theory of Rewriting and Descriptive Translation Studies. Then, from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, I will describe the effect that so-called inadequate translation solutions might have on the resultant discourse, and subsequently, therefore, on the portrayal of the Other. The third perspective is that of media practices, where my aim is to explain why inadequate translation solutions resulting in the use of what may be considered ideologically-laden or negatively-framed discourse might have come about. I adopt this three-way approach to analysis as those foreign language-competent journalists who produce reports of international political news play a role to in mediating between politicians and the public. This is important because "in [a] mediating role across linguistic, cultural and ideological boundaries, some of the transformations that occur in the recontextualisation process can be politically significant and can result in different interpretations of the 'same'

⁶¹ All reports are on-line versions and as such are not referenced with page numbers. However, URLs are listed in the bibliography.

political event by readers in different countries and even in political conflict” (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010, 17).

All of the reports I analysed were published in English and most first appeared in the *Guardian* and the *New York Times* over different lengths of time, but all within the twelve-month period from 28 June 2009 to 30 June 2010. Each set of texts reports a different type of politically significant event that happened in a socio-culturally heterogeneous area of the Spanish-speaking world,⁶² and is contained within its own specific period of time. My rationale for this selection is influenced by the writings of Susam-Sarajeva, who advocates that “[f]or a focused case study, it is important to determine where the case and the context begin and end, drawing as clear boundaries of time and space as possible” (2009, 42).

The first and largest of the three case studies comprises analysis of articles published between 29 June 2009 and 29 November 2009, specifically reporting the cause of the 28 June 2009 coup in Honduras in which President Manuel Zelaya was deposed. I compare news reported in the *Guardian* and the *New York Times* with that reported in Honduran dailies and Spain’s *El País*. I chose the *Guardian* and *New York Times* in order to accommodate different geographical and political spectra,⁶³ as these would influence the content of the reported events because of the different needs of their respective readership. In order to gain a fuller and more neutral perspective, I also make reference to Reuters on-line reports.

In the second case study I analyse articles that were published between 4 February 2010 and 2 April 2010, reporting Argentina’s latest claim to sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*. Here I compare news reported in the *Guardian* and *Financial Times* with that reported in Argentina’s *La Nación*. A major criterion for the selection of this topic is my expectation of finding ideological conflict embedded in the discourse of both Argentine and British reports.

The third case study involves analysis of articles published between 1 January 2010 and 30 June 2010, the six-month period of Spain’s Presidency of the European Union. Here I focus on the reporting of Spain’s financial crisis within the wider context of the financial crisis in the Euro Zone countries. I compare news events reported principally in the *Guardian*

⁶² Whilst each of the three areas has a common language, as in any world language there are different varieties in usage. In terms of issues of ethnicity, these play a more significant role in Honduras than in Argentina or Spain. The economic strength of each territory is also different with Honduras being the weakest and Spain the strongest. As for political leadership, whilst all three have at some stage been governed by military dictatorships, the outcomes of these have manifested themselves differently in their respective societies.

⁶³ The *Guardian* lies at the centre-left of the British political spectrum, whereas the *New York Times* lies at the centre-right of the US political spectrum.

and to a lesser extent in the *Times*, *Telegraph*, *Independent* and *Financial Times* with those reported in Spain's *El País*.

Whilst the keen political analyst might be critical of the fact that my chosen publications do not correspond exactly in terms of their position on the political spectrum, and might therefore be criticised for not providing a valid basis for comparison, my focus is on the translation of political discourse *per se* rather than on uncovering specific left or right biases in translation.

I have based my criteria for the choice of corpus not only on the different aspect of politics that each represents, namely i) electoral processes, ii) economic significance and iii) social aspects, but also on distinct geographical areas of the origin and destination of the reported events. These are Central America, South America's Southern Cone and Spain. The two distinct geographical areas of reception are Great Britain and the USA. My criteria for the choice of newspaper in which the mediated reports are published are based on a three-way combination of the geographical location of the readership, the political leanings of each newspaper and the political significance of each event to the main country of the newspaper's readership, that is to say, the USA in the Honduran case and the UK in the Argentine and Spanish cases. All are considered respectable and quality publications in their respective territories in that they purport to report accurately and objectively. In the English speaking world, both the *Guardian* and *New York Times* also have a large international readership.⁶⁴ The quality of the publication is an important consideration in the selection of newspaper in terms of the validity and reliability of this study. In order that particular stylistic features are not confused with ideological biases, it would, for example, not be valid to compare typically sensationalised reports from Britains' tabloids such as the *Sun*, with those published in newspapers that do not share the same rhetorical style.

My criteria for the choice of each of the three sources of news are also significant in that each source represents a different state of development of both its society and economy, i.e. "less developed" as in the case of Honduras, "developing" as in the case of Argentina and "developed" as in the case of Spain. Also, the events in Honduras represented in the first case study are, because of the US's former political and economic interests in Central America, likely to be of more interest to the US readership than are those emanating from Argentina. Likewise, for the obvious historical reasons relating to Argentina's longstanding claim to sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*, reports of events in Argentina are likely

⁶⁴ Here I refer also to the *Guardian Weekly*, *Observer* and *International Herald Tribune*.

to be of greater interest to a UK, than a US readership. Because of its more localised economic impact, the content of events pertaining to the third case study is likely to be of more interest to fellow members of the European Union than to a US readership.

In further regard to the choice of newspaper, I selected the *Guardian* for each case study, not solely because by doing so, I would be able to ensure a greater degree of reliability of results⁶⁵ (thereby increasing the degree of validity of the study) when drawing conclusions about the reporting of events in all three case studies, but also because the *Guardian* provided a larger sample for analysis. It is of interest that the *Guardian* published more news reports on the three different events than all of the other quality British newspapers combined, thereby providing a larger and therefore more valid sample.

Finally, in regard to the process involved in my analysis of the corpus of news reports, I was selective in my choice of focus, to the extent that I took care only to analyse segments of reports which, through their content, I was confident had been derived from sources where translation had played a part.⁶⁶ These segments usually contained quotations from speeches or information that was attributed to specific players or the political or economic institutions to which they belong(ed). Having identified potential areas of inadequate translation solutions I attempted to trace textual content back to its Spanish sources, to compare the discourse and political terminology used at the source of the reported events. Where I suspected a translation solution to be inadequate, I checked definitions and nuances of meaning in monolingual Spanish dictionaries, then compared these with corresponding entries in both Spanish and English monolingual dictionaries of political and economic terminology.

4.1 Case Study One - Manuel Zelaya's 'referendum'

Introduction and Rationale

This case study is based on a 84,146-word corpus reporting the deposition of Honduran president Manuel Zelaya in a military coupon 28 June 2009 and the subsequent course of events leading up to the Honduran presidential elections on 29 November 2009. It comprises analysis of 15 extracts taken from articles published in the *New York Times* and 14 taken from articles published in the *Guardian*. Both sets of extracts represent approximately 2,500

⁶⁵ See chapter 1.3.

⁶⁶ Analysis of other textual material would have fallen outside the scope of my study, belonging more to the discipline of Media Studies.

words from a combined total of approximately 22,000 words,⁶⁷ published in reports between 28 June and 29 November 2009.

I compare news reports written in English and published in the *Guardian* and the *New York Times* with reports of those same events written in Spanish, and published predominantly in Spain's centre-left *El País*. As previously mentioned, I chose these newspapers because all three are considered to be respectable and respected national dailies. In addition to this, both the *Guardian* and *El País* have similar political leanings. This is important as analysis of their respective political discourse would be expected to show similar political leanings, thereby not prejudicing the validity of the analysis of translated discourse. I also make some reference to the reporting of events in Honduran dailies, predominantly from *La Prensa* and *El Heraldo*. I selected *La Prensa* because of its high readership and because it is published in San Pedro Sula, Honduras' second city and the county's commercial centre, rather than the capital, Tegucigalpa, from where degrees of press censorship were, I deemed at the time of analysis, likely to be higher because of the nature of the events which were happening there. In this regard, the *Guardian* reports on 2 July that "Many media outlets have openly taken sides in the crisis, reflecting deep polarisation over the toppled president" (Carroll, "Honduran coup leaders curb civil liberties to tamp down Zelaya support"). A few days earlier, on 29 June, in its reference to radio and television reporting, AP describes a virtual "media blackout" ("Journalists briefly detained by troops in Honduras"). This being the case, reports published in all the Honduran press were likely to be at best quite subjective, and at worst inaccurate, depending upon which side of the local political spectrum they lay at the time. In further regard to censorship, I assumed that in terms of content rather than of language, reference to reports published in Spain's *El País* would most likely be more objective and certainly more internationally newsworthy, where elements of local interest would be omitted and necessary background information included, thus catering to the needs of a non-Honduran, Spanish-speaking readership.

Although I found a number of potentially questionable translation solutions in the whole corpus, I focus my analysis solely on the language used to report the causes of the coup, namely a 'referendum'. This is because of the significant effect on the consistency of what appear to be inadequate translation solutions of the Spanish language term *referendum* that continued through the entire six-month period, and the resultant discursive effect that those inadequacies could potentially carry. By these, I refer to the negative framing of the

⁶⁷ Exact figures are 10,359 from the *New York Times*, and 11,260 from the *Guardian*.

then president of Honduras, Manuel Zelaya, and the confusion engendered over the Honduran electoral processes proposed by him, the effects of which I will discuss under the respective headings of i) translation, ii) discursive practice and iii) media practices. Considering the use of the term “referendum” purely from a translation perspective rather than from a media perspective, what made me identify its use as an inadequate translation solution in the first place was its recurrence and the confusing background reporting that this engendered.

By way of introduction, it is useful to contextualise the content of the case study by looking at the background of political events leading up to the 28 June 2009 ousting of President Manuel Zelaya. To this end, quoting information published by Honduras’s weekly English language publication, *This Week*, the *International Foundation for Electoral Systems* (IFES)⁶⁸ and two articles both published in Spanish on 24 and 26 March 2009 by www.bbcmundo.com, I synthesise in the following two paragraphs a synopsis of events from both Honduran and non-Honduran perspectives. This is in order to ascertain potential reasons for the occurrence of what appear to be inadequate translation solutions in regard to the misuse of political terminology.

Since December 2008, Zelaya had been petitioning for a *cuarta urna*, or fourth ballot box, to be employed in the November 2009 elections as a *consulta popular* (referendum) on whether a constituent assembly should be convened in order to rewrite Honduras’s constitution. While Zelaya claimed the new constitution was intended to better represent the interests of the majority of the people in Honduras, and particularly his country’s poor, Zelaya’s critics worried that his true goal was to do away with the current constitution’s strict term limits. These term limits bar Honduran presidents from serving more than one 4-year term. Thus, if the referendum had been approved, Zelaya would have paved the way for his possible re-election.

On 23 March 2009, Zelaya proposed a constitutional reform. This needed to be validated through a referendum (*consulta popular*), but the opposition blocked this initiative through other government entities (Congress, The Electoral Board and The Judiciary). Zelaya then issued Executive Decree No. PCM-05-2009 through the Statistics Institute, instead of through the Electoral Office, to hold the *consulta popular* in the form of a wide-reaching survey for which the term *encuesta popular* was employed. He ordered that a fourth ballot box or *cuarta urna* be placed at each of the polling stations throughout Honduras during the

⁶⁸ The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is an independent, non-governmental organization providing professional support to electoral democracy.

national elections on 29 November 2009. The boxes were to be positioned beside the three ballot boxes designated for casting votes for president, congressional representatives and local mayors. The purpose of the fourth ballot box would be to vote on a binding referendum on the question of whether or not to review the current Constitution of Honduras (approved in 1982) and re-write it. The ballot question asked whether the populace was for or against reviewing and re-writing the Constitution.

After the Honduran Supreme Court ruled the 29 November referendum illegal, Zelaya issued a presidential decree to hold a *non-binding* public survey, or *encuesta*, on 28 June, to gauge the mood of the public regarding the setting up of a fourth ballot box, thereby also asking Hondurans if they approved of a proposal to change the constitution. On Saturday 27 June, the wording of the proposed *encuesta* was published in the government's official newspaper, *La Gaceta*. The wording, however, did not just mention setting up a fourth ballot box, but included a second question. That second question asked whether, in favouring a fourth ballot box, the populace would also favour the establishment of a National Constituent Assembly to undertake the process of reviewing and re-writing the Constitution. The new National Constituent Assembly would supposedly consist of a more diverse representation of Honduran society. With the publication of the word *encuesta* in *La Gaceta*, it became clear to members of the Legislative and Judicial branches of the Honduran government, as well as to Honduras' Attorney General and Armed Forces, that Zelaya was not solely moving to gauge the public's interest in a fourth ballot box on 29 November, but in the same breath trying to gauge public support for a National Constituent Assembly. All this raised a strong reaction from the opposition, who finally generated the coup that ousted Zelaya in the early hours of the morning of the proposed 28 June poll.

Although there were allegedly many other reasons for the coup, such as alignment with Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez and populist internal policies, this event was used by the opposition to say that Zelaya was violating constitutional laws (Cáceres 2009; Evans and Lynn 2009; Ruggia-Frick, ILO, Geneva, personal communication, October 2010).

Manuel Zelaya's 'Referendum' from a Translation Perspective

On 29 June 2009, readers of the *New York Times* woke to the news that Honduran President, Manuel Zelaya had been ousted in a military coup in the early hours of that Sunday morning. The reason for the coup was reported as centring round a referendum that was to take place that same day, one which would ask the populace if they wanted an additional vote on the day of the November presidential election to decide whether to convoke an assembly to rewrite

the Constitution. The report suggested that the coup marked an end to ongoing tension over Zelaya's efforts to lift presidential term limits: "The arrest of Mr Zelaya was the culmination of a battle that had been simmering for weeks over a referendum, which was to have taken place Sunday, that he hoped would lead to a revision of the constitution" (Malkin, "Honduran President Is Ousted in Coup").

In the late afternoon of the day of the coup (28 June 2009), on the other side of the Atlantic, and approximately thirteen hours after the seizure of President Zelaya, *Guardian* readers read in an article published at 16.41 BST in the article's standfirst,⁶⁹ that Zelaya had been exiled ahead of an opposed referendum: "Manuel Zelaya sent into exile ahead of opposed constitutional referendum as protesters surround disarmed palace" (AP, "Honduras President arrested in military coup"). From this, *Guardian* readers, like *New York Times* readers, understood that there had been a coup in Honduras, the cause of which was opposition to a referendum: "Zelaya was detained shortly before voting was to begin on a constitutional referendum the president had insisted on holding" (ibid).

On the surface there seems nothing questionable about this information. However, it is only the politically aware and discerning *Guardian* reader who reads the whole report who will be confused about the cause of the Honduran coup. The exact nature of the political event that was planned for that Sunday is still not clear in the closing lines of the article. In the following extract, which gives background information to the event, we read about a referendum, an election and a nonbinding referendum, all happening on the same day, Sunday 28 June 2009:

Zelaya's constitutional successor, congressional president Roberto Micheletti, has been one of his main opponents in the dispute over whether to hold the **referendum**. The head of the Supreme Court was also opposed to **Sunday's election**. The **nonbinding referendum** was to ask voters if they wanted a vote during the November presidential election on whether to convoke an assembly to rewrite the constitution ("Honduras President Arrested in Military Coup", AP, *Guardian*, 28 June 2009, my emphasis)

This seemingly random and possibly confusing usage of political terminology is significant as it sets the scene for the subsequent reporting of the event over the following five months.⁷⁰

Between them, the *Guardian* and *New York Times* use twelve different terms to describe the political process that Zelaya had planned for 28 June: *constitutional referendum*,

⁶⁹ The block of text that introduces the story. This normally appears in a style different to the body text and headline.

⁷⁰ The extracts from the *New York Times* and *Guardian* news reports used in this case study can be found in Appendix 1 where they are listed in chronological order. For ease of identification of the political terminology relevant to this study, my emphasis appears in bold type. Because of its significance, the time of publication of articles is also included.

referendum, election, nonbinding referendum, vote, unofficial referendum, binding referendum, consultative referendum, non-binding poll, consultative poll, non-binding public consultation and *survey*. However interesting and varied this choice of lexis may be, it is arguably only the last four terms that come anywhere near to accurately representing what was planned for that Sunday. That is because in any political system, a referendum which, as defined by The New Oxford Dictionary of English is “a general vote by the electorate on a single political question which has been referred to them for a direct decision” (Pearsell 1998, 1558-9), can only happen after a prior political process has been undertaken through some form of *survey*, or in political science terms, an *initiative*. David Robertson defines an initiative as “a method whereby a group of citizens can put a legislative proposal before the electorate directly for determination in a referendum. The proposal may be to enact a new law, to repeal an existing law or to amend a constitution” (2004, 238). It is arguably this process that Zelaya had put into place for 28 June 2009.

Looking at the definitions above of *referendum* and *initiative*, it would appear that purely from a translation perspective the seemingly random use of *referendum* constitutes a misuse of political terminology and therefore an inadequate translation solution. Further evidence of this misuse is borne out by examination of a number of sources written in Spanish and English. Three of the four Spanish language sources quoted below were available on-line at the time of publication of both the *Guardian* and *New York Times* reports. In addition to this, Reuters reports in English were also available, the earliest of which, reported from Havana at 4:02 am EDT employed the term “unofficial referendum” (“Cuba condemns Honduras coup as ‘criminal, brutal’”, Frank, Reuters 29 June 2009), followed by “unofficial public vote” (“Army overthrows Honduras president”, Rosenberg, Reuters 28 June 2009), from Tegucigalpa filed at 7:44 pm EDT on the evening of 28 June 2009.

The following four references to the events, all reported in the Honduran press, support the fact that it was a survey or an initiative, not a referendum, which was proposed. In its reporting of the cause of the coup and the announcement of the installation of Roberto Micheletti as interim president Honduras’ *La Prensa* says:

*Zelaya llamaba a una **consulta popular** para pedir una Asamblea Nacional Constituyente, la cual llevaría a derogar la Constitución de la República y redactar otra donde se le permitiera continuar en el poder mediante la reelección* (“Zelaya parte a Nicaragua en avión de Venezuela”, 28 June 2009, 18.26).

Zelaya called an **initiative** to request a National Constituent Assembly, which would lead to Parliament repealing the Constitution and drawing up a new one which would allow him to remain in power after re-election (my translation).⁷¹

Zelaya, que había protagonizado una crisis política sin precedentes en los últimos días, tenía previsto realizar este domingo una encuesta popular destinada a convocar un referéndum para reformar la Constitución, pese a que había sido declarada ilegal por la justicia ordinaria y electoral (“Al menos ocho ministros están detenidos”, 28 June 2009, 11.57).

Zelaya, who has been the protagonist of an unprecedented political crisis in the last few days, had expected to have a **survey** take place on Sunday which would lead to a referendum for constitutional reform, despite the fact that this had been declared illegal by the supreme court and the electoral court.

Of interest here is the fact that the terms *consulta popular* (initiative) and *encuesta popular* (survey) rather than *referéndum* (referendum) are used.⁷² Even more explicit is *La Prensa*'s earlier release (12:26 pm) on the same day which refers to “*la encuesta a la que convocó para consultar a la población sobre una posible reforma constitucional*” (“Zelaya ofrece conferencia en Costa Rica” 28 June 2009, 12.26), “**the survey**, which was organised to consult the people on possible constitutional reform”.

Even earlier, on 27 June 2009, *La Prensa*, in its article entitled “*Capitalinos con total desinterés por encuesta*”, reports the full background to the events:

Hoy, el Gobierno patrocinará una encuesta de opinión, declarada ilegal por varias instituciones de justicia, con la finalidad de preguntarle al pueblo si está o no de acuerdo con que se instale el 29 de noviembre próximo una cuarta urna que allane el camino para crear una Asamblea Nacional Constituyente. Una vez logrado este propósito, los constituyentes propondrán reformas profundas a la ley fundamental, comenzando por los artículos pétreos, uno de los cuales, el relativo a la prohibición de que un Presidente se reelija, sería modificado. Esto permitiría al presidente Zelaya aspirar al segundo mandato.

Today, the Government will sponsor a **survey** declared illegal by various judicial institutions. The aim of which is to gauge whether or not voters agreed with the inclusion of a fourth ballot box in the 29 November election, which could smooth the way forward for the creation of a national Constituent Assembly. Once this proposal is achieved, constituents will propose major law reforms, beginning with changes to fundamental cornerstones of the Constitution. One of these, relating to the prohibition of the re-election of presidents would be modified, and this would allow President Zelaya to aspire to a second term.

In none of the above quotations is the term “referendum” employed. Therefore, it seems surprising that both *Guardian* and *New York Times* journalists have used it so extensively, in comparison to the choice of terminology used by Spanish and Honduran journalists, because the two Honduran dailies *La Prensa* and *El Heraldo* were most likely available on the journalists' arrival in Honduras, thereby providing an initial source from which to gather information prior to reporting the events in English. Had *El Heraldo*'s 19 May 2009 article, “*A la consulta, ahora la llamarán ‘encuesta’*” (Now they're calling the initiative a survey),

⁷¹ Henceforth all translations of extracts from Spanish language news reports are my own.

⁷² See María Moliner (2001, 893/1109) for definitions.

with its rather explicit standfirst “*Juristas de “Mel” admitieron que proceso era ilegal*” (ibid) (Zelaya’s experts admit the process was illegal), been available and consulted from the start, perhaps journalists would have been able to achieve a greater degree of adequacy in their translation of political terminology. The article goes on to explain not only the lead up to the events of 28 June, but also the background to the change in terminology in regard to the use of *consulta popular* and *encuesta popular*:

Dicen que “aunque la mona se vista de seda, mona se queda”.

Y eso pasa con el gobierno, que ahora cambiará el nombre de la consulta popular para la cuarta urna por el de “encuesta de opinión”.

Esto significa que el gobierno deberá cambiar todo su lenguaje en torno a este tema, incluyendo los costosos anuncios en los que se convoca a “consulta popular” para el último domingo de junio.

El ministro de la Presidencia, Enrique Flores Lanza, informó que esta modificación se hará para que el Ministerio Público no encuentre delito en el sondeo que el Instituto de Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) realizará el 28 de junio, como lo advirtieron los mismos juristas del Ejecutivo.

El decreto que se aprobó para hacer la consulta ya no será publicado, si no que se emitirá uno nuevo para nombrar al ejercicio encuesta de opinión.

Expertos aseguran que con los resultados de una “encuesta” definitivamente no se puede obligar a los entes correspondientes a colocar una cuarta urna el día de las elecciones.

“Si malintencionadamente la Fiscalía quiere presentar acusaciones, entonces ya no lo podrá hacer porque ya no se trata de una consulta sino de una encuesta”, indicó.

El INE no puede hacer consultas a la gente de este tipo porque no está dentro de sus facultades, pero al llamársele encuesta se pretende acomodar a su labor de censo.

El juzgado de lo Contencioso Administrativo admitió un recurso de nulidad contra el decreto que convoca a la consulta, que interpuso la Fiscalía.

Flores Lanza se negó a revelar cuánto se está gastando en este proyecto, solo se limitó a decir que cifra es “insignificante”.

As the saying goes, “you can’t make a silk purse out of a pig’s ear”, but this is what the government is doing in its attempt to make the the “opinion poll” for the fourth ballot box, a “survey”. This means that the government will have to change all its language to reflect this, and that includes the costly publicity which is calling for an opinión poll on the last Sunday in June. Minister of the Presidency, Enrique Flores Lanza said that this change will come about so that the Ministry of Public Affairs does not, as warned by government lawyers, commit an offence by organising the poll through the National Statistics Institute on 28 June. The decree that was passed to allow the poll will not now be published, instead a new one will be issued which will call the exercise a survey. Experts are sure that with the results of a “survey” they definitely won’t be able to force the parties concerned to have a fourth ballot box on the election day. “If officials maliciously want to make accusations, they won’t be able to because the matter no longer has anything to do with an opinión poll, but a survey”, the minister indicated. The Ministry of Public Affairs cannot organise a poll like this because it has no right to do so, but by calling it a survey it is trying to fulfil its electoral function. The court of the contentious Administration has decreed the opinion poll null and void. Flores Lanza has refused to reveal how much is being spent on this Project. He has just said that the figure is insignificant.

In further regard to the use of Spanish terms *encuesta*, *consulta* and *referéndum* to determine an adequate translation solution of the terms, Raúl Ruggia-Frick provides the following explanation which is supported by reference to a number of articles from other Latin American news sources⁷³ originating from Argentina, Colombia, Peru and Uruguay, which report on events that also use *consultas populares*:

⁷³ For other articles relating to Latin America which report on events that use *consultas populares* in

In Latin America a *consulta popular* is a political consultation process. Although often a generic term, it is usually used to refer to the process of formally consulting the population on any variety of issues, usually in the form of a referendum, so the goal of a *consulta popular* may be very different. The term *encuesta* denotes any kind of generic survey, which may be on any topic, not necessarily on a political one. Adding the adjective *popular* highlights the fact that the target audience was very wide. It could be argued that both concepts are equivalent by playing with the ambiguity of the term *consulta* (Personal communication, November 2010).

In terms of frequency of usage, a Google search of their frequency of use in Spain's *El País* and Honduras's *La Prensa* and *El Heraldo* in articles during the period immediately following the coup shows the following:

Table 2

	<i>Encuesta Popular</i>	<i>Consulta Popular</i>	<i>Referéndum</i>
<i>La Prensa</i>	237	231	109
<i>El Heraldo</i>	309	325	204
<i>El País</i>	25	79	54

Of interest here is that the terms *encuesta* (survey) and *consulta* (initiative) are used in almost equal measure in the Honduran press. This is most likely because they are 'conveniently' used synonymously. According to Waleska Salinas Martínez of the Honduran Embassy in Mexico City in an interview held there on 17 June 2010, these terms are indeed synonyms. This being the case, any distinction would appear to be stylistic rather than semantic. Even though in some cases *referéndum* refers to the subsequent events in the November elections rather than those leading up to the coup, its usage is far less frequent in both newspapers, in comparison with that of *encuesta popular* and *consulta popular*. This is also the case in other Latin American newspapers reporting the same event. Salinas Martínez was also able to confirm that the term *referéndum* is used in Honduran Spanish in the same way as it is in other regional varieties of the language. Although her opinion of the conceptual meaning of the Spanish terms *encuesta popular* and *consulta popular* contradicts that of other erudite

Argentina, Colombia, Peru and Uruguay, see: "El titular de la bancada oficialista de diputados, Agustín Rossi, descartó la implementación de una consulta popular sobre la aplicación del 82 por ciento móvil durante el presente año" (adnmundo 2010); "Recientemente, el presidente Mujica ha expresado su opinión favorable a que la tan polémica despenalización del aborto sea resuelta mediante una consulta popular" (Visión Universitaria, 2010); "Consulta popular dice NO a la minería en Tambogrande" (WRM movimiento mundial por los bosques tropicales, 2002); "El intendente José Luisa Falero está dispuesto a realizar una "consulta popular" para determinar la instalación del hipermercado de la empresa Ta-ta" (Fernández 2010); "La resistencia inició consulta popular para convocar a una asamblea constituyente" (Utopiaalsur); "Ley 25.432. consulta popular vinculante y no vinculante" (Camara 2001); "La consulta popular en Colombia" (Blanquer 1991); "Mecanismos de participación democrática en Colombia" (Maripalo, n.d).

native Spanish speakers, it reinforces the fact that in Honduran political circles there was immense confusion over the use of the two terms.

If we look at some dictionary definitions of the terms⁷⁴ *encuesta* and *referendum*, we see that they are indeed different. María Moliner (2001, 893/1109) Dictionary of Spanish usage offers the following:

Referéndum: acción de someter a la aprobación pública por medio de una votación algún acto importante del gobierno.

Referendum: the action of submitting for public approval through means of a vote, any important government act.

Encuesta: operación de preguntar a muchas personas sobre un asunto determinado para saber cuál es la opinión dominante.

Survey: the operation of asking many people their opinions about a certain subject in order to ascertain the dominant opinion.

If we look at direct translations of the terms, in the *Dictionary of International Relations and Politics* (Haensch 1975, 80/450-1), “*consulta popular*” and “*plebiscite*” are listed as synonyms and translated as “plebiscite/consultation of the nation”, whereas “*encuesta*” is translated as “investigation”. Also of interest in regard to different uses of the term “referendum” in different geographical locations is the following information from *The Routledge Dictionary of Politics*: “The form in which the referendum takes place and its legal effect varies with political systems. The referendum may be purely advisory, or it may be binding” (Robertson 2004, 421).

What also points to the fact that *referendum* would appear to be an inadequate translation solution is *El País*’s version of events reported on 28 June 2009, where the same events are read about in Spanish as those reported in English in the *Guardian* and *New York Times*. However, analysis of the language used shows an initial significant difference in the content in regard to the reasons for the coup: In *El País*, Pablo Ordaz reports that Hondurans were expecting that day to be able to endorse their approval, or not, of Zelaya’s plan to reform the Honduran Constitution, i.e. through a survey, not a referendum.

Cuando los ciudadanos se despertaron, creyendo que iban poder referendar o no en las urnas el proyecto de Zelaya de reformar la Constitución... (“El Ejército de Honduras detiene al presidente Zelaya y lo expulsa a Costa Rica”).

When the [Honduran] citizens awoke, believing they were going to be able to vote whether to accept or not Zelaya’s plan to reform the Constitution in a ballot...

⁷⁴ NB. In the entry for *consulta*, María Moliner includes no reference at all to the usage of the term in political contexts.

Less critical Spanish language readers of *El País* might believe that a referendum had been proposed when they read the above extract containing the term *refrendar*, defined by María Moliner as “*aceptar algo por votación* (2001, 2524) meaning “to vote whether to accept”. However, closer analysis of the language used does not say that a referendum on constitutional reform was planned for 28 June in the same way as it does in the reporting of the same event by the *New York Times*. However, the newspapers’ more critical readers are more likely to understand that what Zelaya had organised was a survey, or unofficial public vote, the result of which would decide whether a referendum on constitutional reform would take place or not in the forthcoming presidential elections scheduled for November 2009.

It is also of interest that the *New York Times* reported the root cause of Zelaya’s intentions. In “Ousted Honduran President Sees U.S. Support Waning” (26 July 2009), the report, sourced through Reuters, tells us that Zelaya was intending to “extend his mandate” (ibid) through his so-called referendum. Whilst this fact was also widely speculated in Honduran sources and reported in other Latin American sources, it is of interest that both *Guardian* and *New York Times* journalists are able to report this fact accurately, yet the political terminology used to report the cause of the coup appears to be randomly chosen. It is fairly safe to assume that Zelaya’s motives were to extend his mandate, yet despite the availability of sources at the time in both English and Spanish, it seems surprising that the apparently inaccurate term “referendum” was so widely used in the reporting of the event in English.

Given the availability of this information prior to the publication of the English language reports, on the surface there would appear to be no reason why more accurate terminology could not have been used, at least in the *New York Times*. On 28 June the US State Department published a briefing on Honduras describing the nature of the events, a transcription of which was made public through the website of the Honduran Embassy in New York:

No, but there's a big distinction here because, on the one instance, we're talking about conducting a survey, a nonbinding survey; in the other instance, we're talking about the forcible removal of a president from a country. So I think we can distinguish between those terms -- those two in terms of what's constitutional and what might be left to institutions. But I think what's important to remember about the survey is that it was just that. It wasn't even a formal vote. It was a nonbinding survey (Honduran Embassy, 28 June 2009).

If reporters did not for whatever reason refer to this site when compiling their reports, then perhaps this is a valid explanation for them to have used seemingly inaccurate terminology. This leeway does not, however, account for the fact that over the six-month period of this

study, from a translation perspective, terminology was arguably still being wrongly applied in reports written in English on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is not until 30 June that the *New York Times* starts using seemingly more accurate terminology, and the *Guardian*, 8 July. In “In a Coup in Honduras, Ghosts of Past U.S. Policies”, the *New York Times*’ Helene Cooper and Marc Lacey use “non-binding survey”, and in “US leaves Honduras to its fate”, the *Guardian*’s Mark Weisbrot uses “non-binding poll”. From an international political perspective both the *New York Times* and the *Guardian* gloss over an important political process by choosing terminology which not only distorts the accuracy of the events, but which also simplifies their reporting by suggesting that the cause of the events leading to the coup was a randomly organised referendum which was to take place on Sunday 28 June. It is hard to believe that this was the case as it is unlikely that such processes, in any political system are possible. A referendum, whether advisory, binding or non-binding does not take place as a random process. As such, given the unclear nature of the political event that was to take place on 28 June, arguably both *New York Times* and *Guardian* journalists should have used the term “survey” or “initiative”, or for stylistic preference, any other term synonymous with that concept such as “plebiscite”, or “proposition” in a US context. On the one hand, through apparent misuse of political terminology both *New York Times* and *Guardian* journalists could be accused of misinforming their readers by simplifying the political procedures associated with the Honduran events on which they were reporting. On the other hand, it could be argued that they were doing their job by meeting the needs of their readers.

Reasons for this potential misinforming might be attributed to a lack of translation competence or lack of awareness of the meaning of the terms on the part of those who reported on the events of 28 June 2009. Evidence of a potential lack of translation competence is borne out by the *Guardian*’s Latin America correspondent, Rory Carroll, in response to my question “to what extent do different degrees of translation competence affect the content of a news report?”, Carroll suggests that “if less than fluent, a correspondent is more likely to paraphrase a statement – assuming he/she is confident of the meaning – than quote directly” (personal communication, May 2010).⁷⁵ When questioned further about his choice of political terminology in his Honduras reports, he replies,

[a]s I recall there was a dispute in Honduras over how to define the vote, and terminology became a political issue. In the first few days some coverage did try to explain this but as the story moved on the would-be vote, and how to define it, became a footnote. Ideally each article would have explained the

⁷⁵ It is important to note here that Carroll is not referring to his own linguistic abilities.

nuances of referendum/opinion poll but within a few weeks that had become almost an abstraction relative to the other, more dramatic developments, so for economy and convenience (or sloppiness and laziness, take your pick) it became referendum (personal communication, June 2010).

As we can see, a referendum is not an easy process to define. Whilst Carroll openly concedes to the fact that carelessness or lack of importance could have been the cause of this apparent inadequate translation solution, there is another important aspect to consider, one that belongs largely to media practices, but which is important to mention here in relation to its classification as an inadequate translation solution.

The term “referendum” has multiple variations depending upon where in the world and under which particular political system it takes place. In this regard, when questioned on the use of the term “referendum” in relation to the cause of the Honduran coup, the *New York Times*’ foreign news editor, Greg Winter, confirms that within US common usage of political terminology, any other term but “referendum” would not normally be used to describe the course of events leading to the coup. He asserts that no other word would be used in US political systems except for the very low-frequency terms “proposition” or “initiative” to describe the pre-referendum process (personal communication, October 2010). He sums up by saying that in United States common usage, the term “referendum” serves to refer to any popular vote on a specific measure. Therefore, from a media perspective, for the journalistic purposes of describing the events in Honduras the use of any other term would certainly be inappropriate in the *New York Times* reporting context and probably inappropriate in that of the *Guardian*⁷⁶ too. If we accept this viewpoint, then arguably the use of the term “referendum” does not, after all, constitute an inadequate translation solution when destined for publication in both the American and British press, but instead, appears simply as the result of a domesticating as opposed to foreignising strategy in translation (see chapter 2.2.3).

*Manuel Zelaya’s Referendum from the Perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis*⁷⁷

Christie points out that “[w]hen translation takes place within the mass-media context, there is the ability to express a diversity of opinions and to identify the basis of those positions” (2006, 22-3). She goes on to propose that “the question for any critical analysis of journalistic translation is always going to be, to what degree does a translation impose the opinions, beliefs, ideologies of the dominant culture onto the subaltern and at what point should this be

⁷⁶ I was unable to fully confirm the *Guardian*’s view because of the unwillingness of the newspaper’s editorial team to participate in my research.

⁷⁷ It is important to note that my analysis comes from an assumed CDA perspective, and not one to which I personally subscribe.

considered mistranslation?” (ibid). Taking up Christie’s question, in this section I will further examine the discourse used in the *New York Times* and *Guardian* reports relating to Zelaya’s so called referendum. I will discuss the potential effects that such discourse can have on the reader and in so doing aim to identify the degree to which translation has contributed to these effects. For ease of identification, I will again highlight significant lexis in bold type.

In chapter 3.10, I described a number of CDA models that encompassed Wodak’s (1996) discursal-historical approach that might be suitable for the critical analysis of the discourse of texts in this case study. Of these it is Jäger’s (2001, 54-6) “toolbox” that is most useful because it encourages the analyst to focus on four specific aspects of CDA through asking a series of questions. These relate to i) context, ii) text surface, iii) rhetorical structure and iv) ideological content. Of the extensive series of questions that Jäger proposes for each category, because of the type of text being analysed, the most useful for the purposes of analysis of this corpus of texts relate to sources of knowledge used by journalists, the structure of the text, the choice of language used therein and the socio-cultural information which that language contains.

Purely from a CDA perspective as opposed to a media perspective, references to sources of knowledge in articles reporting the so-called referendum appear to be scant.⁷⁸ By sources of knowledge I refer to references in the text that show from where specific pieces of information have come, for example, word of mouth, political or judicial institutions or other journalistic sources such as local television and radio reports. Out of twenty-nine articles cited, there are only three direct references to sources of information. In “Honduras: Back to the bad old days?” (*Guardian*, 29 June 2009), the unattributed report makes reference to the Honduran Congress and the Supreme Court, as does Marc Lacey’s 2 July report in the *New York Times*, “Leader’s Ouster Not a Coup, Says the Honduran Military”. In “Protesters demand return of ousted Honduran president Manuel Zelaya” (*Guardian*, 29 June 2009 16.36 BST), Rory Carroll refers to information supplied by “Zelaya’s critics” and “US officials”.

Of note here also is the fact that references are metonymic, that is, the name of the referent is replaced by the entity to which he or she belongs, thereby backgrounding those actors (Blackledge 2005, 21-6) and portraying them in a negative or insignificant light. The critical reader is left with the question as to who exactly “Zelaya’s critics” are, and to which

⁷⁸ According to *New York Times* Editor for Foreign News, Greg Winter in an interview held in New York on 12 October 2010, in reporting, referencing is considered to be inclusion in the body of the text of where information came from. It is often a general reference to, for example, a government department or an official document, but not necessarily a named person.

“US officials” Carroll refers. Metonymy is also a feature of the *New York Times*’ 20 July report sourced from AP, where it is not clear who the “many” are:

Zelaya angered **many** here by ignoring the objections of the courts and Congress to try to hold a referendum on changing the constitution, which **many** saw as an attempt to impose a Chavez-style socialist government. (“US Turns up Pressure on Honduras Coup Government”)

Omission on the part of the journalist of sources of knowledge is significant because without reference, arguably it is the journalist’s voice or opinion that appears in the text. This has the potential result of framing the discourse by according authority and status to different chosen actors (Fairclough 2003, 53). As judgement is expressed and based on the writer’s view of the events, the reader cannot be sure that the reported facts are accurate. Furthermore, and more importantly, he or she is likely to accept them as being accurate. The reason why this is of significance is because one must consider how Manuel Zelaya, as the Other, would feel about information about his carrying out of political processes being ambiguously reported from unidentified and possibly unreliable sources. In short, in whichever way information about Zelaya is reported at source, adequate translation solutions should strive to encompass balanced reporting of the events, even if information available at source does not offer this possibility. This is because, in accordance with good practice it is the journalist’s duty to report objectively. Without objectivity the report can be considered to be framed by the journalist’s voice or opinion.

In terms of content, in both *New York Times* and *Guardian* reports, reference to Zelaya as a political agent is appropriately foregrounded, that is, positive information is placed in a prominent position within the structural content of the text, thereby according him respect as a political agent. However, in some of this foregrounding, negative discourse is employed as in,

[h]e **angered** the courts, army, congress and his own party by trying to hold a non-binding referendum which may have paved the way for him to change the constitution to run again when his term expired. (Carroll, “Zelaya plans to return to Honduras to reverse coup” *Guardian*, 30 June 2009 19.37 BST)

Leading up to the coup, Zelaya was **pushing for** a referendum. (Dangl, “High stakes for Honduras” *Guardian* 7 July 2009 20.30 BST)

In contrast to the negative foregrounding of discourse relating to Zelaya, there are also instances of backgrounding of information favourable to the Other. In “High stakes for Honduras” (ibid), in a long awaited explanation to the cause of the 28 June coup, we read a more accurate description of events:

Leading up to the coup, Zelaya was pushing for a **referendum** on 28 June in which the ballot question was to be: “Do you agree that, during the general elections of November 2009 there should be a fourth ballot to decide whether to hold a Constituent National Assembly that will approve a new political constitution?” This **non-binding referendum** - not plans from Zelaya to expand his power – was enough to push right wing and military leaders to organise a coup.

However, not only did it take five weeks since the publication of the first report to clarify this important piece of information, but it also backgrounds information which is favourable to the Other. A further example of backgrounding of the same important information – an explanation for the course of events on 28 June comes in the seventh of eleven paragraphs in the article, “US leaves Honduras to its fate” (Weisbrot, *Guardian*, 8 July 2009 20.30 BST):

[T]he 28 June referendum was nothing more than a non-binding poll of the electorate, asking whether the voters wanted to place a binding referendum on the November ballot to approve a redrafting of the country's constitution.

According to van Dijk (1998, 40-4), such foregrounding and backgrounding of particular pieces of information gives clues to the existence of dominant or opposing ideologies in the reports.

Background information and details of events are included in reports but often unsubstantiated, therefore the accuracy of detail remains questionable: “**Accusations** that he violated the constitution ... **Many** suspected ...” (“Zelaya plans to return to Honduras to reverse coup”, Carroll, *Guardian*, 30 June 2009 19.37 BST). According to Blackledge (2005, 21–6), discourse is framed by according authority and status to the journalist whose intensifying and mitigating voice is sometimes present, to the exclusion of substantiated evidence, as in “[i]t appeared **pretty certain** that the vote would no longer take place” (“Honduras president arrested in military coup”, AP, *Guardian*, 28 June 2009), where there is no mention of to whom “it appeared pretty certain” (ibid).

Culture-specific presuppositions are present from the start of the *Guardian*'s series of articles. These manifest themselves through the absence of any overt explanation of the course of events leading up to the coup and of necessary background information to Honduras's political environment.⁷⁹ It is not until the third article, “Protesters demand return of ousted Honduran president Manuel Zelaya” (Carroll, *Guardian*, 29 June 2009 16.36 BST), that background information is supplied. This initial lack of background cultural information can sway the reader to form negative opinions about the course of events before the full picture is painted. This is because the *Guardian* reader may well not read to the end of the article and may have already formed a negative opinion of the course of events. The *New York Times* reader, however, is more likely to leave the article with a more informed opinion

⁷⁹ See “Honduras president arrested in military coup” (AP, *Guardian*, 28 June 2009) in which snippets of background information are mentioned throughout the report.

as background information about the cause of the coup is mainly foregrounded in one paragraph in the first of its three-page article:

The arrest of Mr. Zelaya was the culmination of a battle that had been simmering for weeks over a referendum, which was to have taken place Sunday, that he hoped would lead to a revision of the Constitution. Critics said it was part of an illegal attempt by Mr. Zelaya to defy the Constitution's limit of a single four-year term for the president (Malkin, "Honduran President Is Ousted in Coup" *New York Times*, 29 June 2009).

Analysis of the structure of the text shows what events take place, where they take place, and in what order they take place. Jäger (2001) describes this as "text surface", where importance is laid on the significance of the text layout, use of graphics, headlines, headings, sub-headings and how the article is structured in units of meaning. This is important because the time structure of events can help or hinder the reader's understanding Jäger (2001, 54-6). Looking at the macro structure of the first text to appear in both newspapers, "Honduras president arrested in military coup" (AP, *Guardian*, 28 June 2009), and "Honduran President Is Ousted in Coup" (Malkin, *New York Times*, 29 June 2009), in many cases, information appears to be randomly juxtaposed. Such juxtaposition can serve to confuse the reader.

At a micro level, examination of the linguistic organisation of the time structure is significant. The *Guardian* article illustrates how careless use of the simple past and past perfect tenses allows inaccurate information to be reported in regard to the sequencing of events:

Zelaya was detained shortly before voting was to begin on a constitutional referendum the president had insisted on holding, even though the supreme court **ruled** it illegal and everyone from the military to congress and members of his own party **opposed** it (ibid).

In order to report accurate time sequencing, "ruled" should read "had ruled", and "opposed" should read "had opposed". In the same vein, seemingly careless use of time referencing can serve not only to confuse the reader, but to convey inaccurate information with regards to the connection between Zelaya's ousting and the timing of the so-called referendum. In "Honduras revokes emergency civil liberties decree" (AP, *Guardian*, 5 October 2009 22.08 BST), we read that "Zelaya was forced from office with the backing of the Honduran congress and supreme court **for** trying to hold a referendum on rewriting the constitution", which is an accurate description of the course of events. However, two days later, in "Nations try to end coup deadlock in Honduras" (AP, *Guardian*, Wednesday 7 October 2009 22.16 BST), we read, "Zelaya was forced from office **after** trying to hold a referendum on rewriting the constitution". What we have here is an important difference in the reason for his being forced from office: in the 7 October version, the reader could be led to believe that the referendum had started to take place, which was not the case.

Examination of the meaning of key lexis used in the text reveals a number of discreetly embedded implications and insinuations. Some of the lexis used to describe the Other establishes a particular social identity. In “Honduras: Back to the bad old days?” (*Guardian*, 29 June 2009 12.30 BST), the encoded meaning that the writer’s use of inverted commas in the following sentence brings to the text suggests that “illegal” and “invited” are not meant to carry their conventional meanings, thus serving as a potential means of possible distortion of the original meaning.⁸⁰

Zelaya’s proposal to hold a referendum on a proposed new constitution was judged “**illegal**” by congress, and the army was “**invited**” to intervene by the supreme court.

This encoding of meaning is continued in “US leaves Honduras to its fate” (Weisbrot, *Guardian*, 8 July 2009 20.30 BST). In the extract below it is questionable whether a first-world leader of another democratic country would be described as “extend[ing] his rule”. It is more likely that “remain in power”, or “continue in power” would be used. Weisbrot’s choice of rhetoric, which indicates monopoly of power, could serve to paint Zelaya in a negative light. It corresponds to elements of attribution and perspective (van Dijk 1998, 43-4), where events are subjectively described and evaluated from the cultural, social, personal, situational or temporal position of the speaker. The repeated use of “even” indicates remoteness of possibility and also brings the voice and opinion of the journalist into the text. To the critical reader who subscribes to Zelaya’s cause, this collective symbolism can make him sound more like a Latin American bandit than a democratically elected president:

In fact, there was no way for Zelaya to “**extend his rule**” **even** if the referendum had been held and passed, and **even** if he had then gone on to win a binding referendum on the November ballot.

In “Honduras coup: troops deployed to oversee election” (Carroll, *Guardian*, 27 November 2009 18.34 GMT), Zelaya is again made to sound like a bandit.

The use of metaphor as a predicational strategy (Blackledge 2005, 21-6) is another device used to represent Zelaya, as the Other, in a negative light:

When he tried holding a non-binding referendum on changing the constitution they accused him of **plotting** to extend his rule – **a charge he denied** – and ousted him.

With the use of “plotting” and with the inclusion of “a charge he denied” Carroll is arguably appointing himself to the position of court reporter. Any trial, however, has not yet begun. In addition, in regard to the reporting of political news events in first- or third-world nations, it is questionable whether first-world political figures would “plot”. They are far more likely to

⁸⁰ See Blackledge’s analysis of discriminatory discourse (2005, 21-6) where the use of inverted commas comes under the umbrella of intensifying and mitigating strategies which lead to framing of discourse and the incorporation of voice in the text.

“plan”. First-world politicians are also more likely to be reported as having “debates” rather than “battles”, as described in the following extract from “Protesters demand return of ousted Honduran president Manuel Zelaya” (Carroll, *Guardian*, 29 June 2009 16.36 BST):

The arrest of Mr. Zelaya was the culmination of a **battle** that had been simmering for weeks over a referendum, which was to have taken place Sunday, that he hoped would lead to a revision of the Constitution.

It is not only *Guardian* journalists who have encoded meaning in such a way that Zelaya and Honduras’s political processes are framed in a negative light. In the *New York Times*’ 24 September 2009 article, Elisabeth Malkin and Marc Lacey write that Zelaya “flouted court rulings”. Again, had they been writing about a first world political figure, it is questionable as to whether “flout” would be used, where the less negatively-laden “disobey” or “disregard for” would probably be more likely choices. In this respect, though, it is also questionable whether the same situation would arise in first-world political processes.

A further example of negative stereotyping can be found in the *New York Times*’ AP sourced 28 October article, “US Urges Flexibility in Efforts for Honduras Deal”, where we read that Zelaya “took refuge after sneaking back into Honduras”. Again it is questionable whether a first world president would “sneak back” into his or her country. He or she would be more likely to, for example, “secretly enter”. Likewise, it is also questionable whether the same situation would arise in first-world political processes. In this instance, both the *Guardian* and *New York Times* have unwittingly portrayed Zelaya as someone akin to a bandit, in a similar way to that which the US press portrayed Bolivian President Evo Morales, as described by Christie (2006, 40) in her criticism of reports in the *Miami Herald*, where Morales is reported to have shouted “Long live Coca, death to the gringos” at campaign rallies. The problem with this type of reporting is that the journalist’s assumptions, beliefs and values that appear to underlie the language in the text serve to normalise readers’ knowledge. In the context of this study, the reader may be left with a poor impression of the state of political affairs in Honduras. This negative impression can last and become viewed as the norm because of continual reinforcement (see chapter 2.4.1).

A number of other references make Zelaya sound like a despotic leader rather than a democratically elected president. These are listed below with the ideological loading highlighted in bold type.

“The arrest of Mr. Zelaya was the **culmination of a battle that had been simmering** for weeks” (“Protesters demand return of ousted Honduran president Manuel Zelaya”, Rory Carroll and Agencies, *Guardian*, 29 June 2009)

The referendum ... condemned by broad swaths of Honduran society as an obvious **power grab**. (“Protesters demand return of ousted Honduran president Manuel Zelaya” Rory Carroll and Agencies,

Guardian, 29 June 2009) and (“Honduran President is Ousted in Coup” Elisabeth Malkin, *New York Times*, 29 June 2009)

He **angered** the courts, army, congress and his own party... **violated** the constitution ... in his push for a referendum (“Zelaya plans to return to Honduras to reverse coup” Rory Carroll, *Guardian*, 30 June 2009)

As the general elections scheduled for November began **to creep up** (“The Winner in Honduras: Chávez” Álvaro Vargas Llosa (Op-Ed Contributor) *New York Times* June 30, 2009)

the military and **other political factions** (“In a Coup in Honduras, Ghosts of Past U.S. Policies” *New York Times* 30 June 2009 Helene Cooper and Marc Lacey)

The crisis **flared** (“Brazil urges Manuel Zelaya not to provoke Honduras coup leaders” Rory Carroll, *Guardian*, 22 September 2009)

In Mr. Zelaya’s case, he **flouted** court rulings (“Battle for Honduras Echoes Loudly in Media” *New York Times*, Elisabeth Malkin and Marc Lacey, 24 September 2009)

He is at the Brazilian Embassy, where he **took refuge** after **sneaking back** into Honduras on Sept. 21 from his forced exile. (“Gallup: 73pc in Honduras Say Vote Will Solve Coup” *New York Times*, (AP) 27 October 2009)

In relation to the above extracts, one wonders whether first-world leaders would be engaged in “battles”, be involved in “power grabs”, “anger” or “violate” or whether elections would “creep up”. Do first-world leaders belong to political factions where crises “flare” because they “flout” rulings causing them to “take refuge” and “sneak back” into the country?

The above examples could have been an intentional addition on the part of the correspondent or on that of the editor to uphold the particular ideological stance of the newspaper or it could simply have been a case where what Kelly terms “the construction of foreigners and foreign cultures...” (1998, 58) was instigated by newswriters. In this regard, Kelly questions the newswriter’s sense of responsibility and accountability when operating in an international context, resulting in negative representation of the Other. She also recognises the need to analyse discourse in a way that considers how translation decisions “can introduce ideological elements... which reproduce and reinforce myths or stereotypes existing in the target culture regarding the source culture” (1998, 57), highlighting the potential effect that such subconscious cognitive practices can have in the shaping and subsequent reproduction of discourse.

In “Obama must help Honduras” (Tucker, *Guardian*, 3 August 2009 21.30 BST), transitivity in reporting, that is, the use of the passive voice versus the use of the active voice, allows for important detailed information to be omitted. Although this is not an issue for those who have followed the story from the start, it can be argued that first-time readers are denied important background information as to the cause of the coup when they read, “Had

the consultative poll been allowed to take place ...”, where there is no explanation as to who prevented the poll from taking place.

Finally, certain socio-cultural information such as representation of social class is presented in certain reports, sometimes as necessary background information. However, much of it, particularly that provided by journalists without specific referencing to sources, could potentially have further impact upon social practices by making readers believe, for example, that all Honduran political processes are conducted in a state of disarray. This type of reporting can provide further impetus for negative social practices rather than help to break them down.

Manuel Zelaya’s ‘Referendum’ from the Perspective of Media Practices

As the purpose of my critical analysis of the discourse of news reports is to identify the extent to which processes of translation are accountable for misrepresentation or negative framing of the Other, it is necessary to look at the situation from the wider perspective of media practices before drawing further conclusions as to whether the choice of terminology used in the news reports in the *Guardian* and *New York Times* does indeed constitute inadequate translation solutions, or whether there is justification for that choice. In this section, from a media perspective I aim to identify possible reasons for the occurrence of what appear to be inadequate translation solutions. To this end, first I will consider the common editorial practices of *deletion*, *addition*, *substitution* and *reorganisation* (see chapter 2.3.3). Then, in the light of information gleaned from some of the reporters concerned with the production of reports used in this study, I will take a closer look into the specific circumstances of the reporting of the events in Honduras in order to more fully substantiate my conclusions.

It is important to remember that news is a marketable commodity and as such it has to make money. The news-gathering process is not a free public service. Competition for news is cutthroat, therefore meeting customer expectations is crucial to its financial success. We cannot ignore the fact that the financial situation underpinning the whole phenomenon of news reception might be at least in part responsible for particular textual content. So as well as reporting events accurately and objectively, it is the responsibility of journalists to write in a way that is both appealing and comprehensible to their target readership. In order to meet customer expectations, international news is subject to summary, abbreviation and editorial selection. Neither can we ignore the ideological stance of the newspaper. At the point of reporting it is the responsibility of journalists to write in a way that is complementary to that stance. Therefore, far-away political events like those that happened in Honduras must be

written in such a way that the factual and stylistic content of the report both facilitates the target audience's comprehension, and meets their ideological expectations. This important consideration could explain the use of "referendum" as opposed to "proposition", "initiative" or "plebiscite" in reports destined for the British and American readership. In translation terms, this is an example of a domesticating strategy, where meanings become compatible with the culture and the dominant ideology of particular newspapers.

In regard to the media practice of challenging or reinforcing readers' views, the *Guardian's* Latin American correspondent, Rory Carroll offers the following view in regard to reception variables, and particularly in relation to the extent to which reader expectation influences the content of his news reports:

How you write a story often depends on whether you think it will challenge - or reinforce - readers' views. If you think the latter you are more likely to elaborate on some facts which readers will find contentious - citing multiple sources, for instance, and/or indicating that it is not necessarily you the writer making the claim, so much as reporting it (personal communication, May 2010).

The events in Honduras were only reported because they were deemed newsworthy. As I have already discussed, what according to Bell (1998, 74) makes events newsworthy is that they are typified by elements of negativity, immediacy, proximity, lack of ambiguity, novelty, personalisation and the elite status of the news actors. By looking again in more detail at those extracts relating specifically to Zelaya's so-called referendum, and with specific regard to what makes their content newsworthy, it is possible to gain a better idea of how the possible inadequate translation solutions identified earlier may have occurred. First, though, it is important to be mindful of the environment in which this event took place because, in order to identify exactly how inadequate translation solutions occur, it is necessary to look at the whole news gathering and dissemination process, from the occurrence of the event in Honduras to its publication in the British and American press.

In the first instance it is imperative to consider the reporting context. By this I refer to the demographics and construct of Honduran society. Anecdotally referred to as a "third-world, tin-pot banana republic", those who follow post-colonial affairs in Central America will recall that Honduras has endured a history of war, poverty, political instability, military coups, series of natural disasters, corruption and now drug warfare, against all of which modern day Honduras continues to struggle. Distribution of wealth is polarized, resulting in 50%, approximately 3.7 million, of the population living below the poverty line. Honduras is the third poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, after Haiti and Nicaragua (World Bank 2010).

The reporting of the events that started with the forced removal from power of President Manuel Zelaya on the morning of 28 June 2009 was, understandably, set against a backdrop of chaos and confusion. This situation was confirmed by those journalists interviewed who were in Tegucigalpa at the time of or shortly after the coup, when only radio and television broadcasting approved by the Opposition, commonly referred to by the international press as the “interim government”, was allowed. Newspapers and any other media outlets loyal to the Zelaya government were of course shut down. In short, the only available news sources were those emanating from the Opposition. Beyond these, reporters relied on first-hand but nonetheless only anecdotal evidence from bystanders. Here I emphasize “first hand”. This is because translation or interpretation by a third party to ascertain background knowledge and other information relating to cultural content that was crucial to their understanding of the political event did not necessarily take place. Furthermore, those reporting the events were, according to Reuters, the *Guardian* and *New York Times* reporters and editors, all competent Spanish speaking journalists. This being the case, and because of the lack of complexity between the Spanish and English terminology concerned, these factors would suggest that a lack of transfer competence alone (see chapter 2.3.5) was probably not a valid reason for any misunderstanding of political terminology.

With the time pressures characteristic of the dissemination of breaking news, there are no guarantees that sources of information were accurate, because it is unlikely that journalists would have had time to check the information supplied.⁸¹ This could account for Zelaya’s 28 June event being reported as a “referendum”. In the heat of the moment and without time to delve further into the background details because of the pressure involved in producing that piece of breaking news, it could simply be the case that reporters did not consider that “referendum” might be the ‘wrong’ term for the cause of the event on which they were reporting. Furthermore, it is debatable whether in fact “referendum” was the ‘wrong’ term, as the three Spanish terms, *encuesta popular*, *consulta popular* and *referéndum* featured widely in the local media reports that were available, as explanations for the cause of the coup.

⁸¹ This view was endorsed by the previously mentioned Reuters, *Guardian* and *New York Times* staff who confirmed that the earliest on-line reports were published on the other side of the world within hours of the occurrence of the event. The *Guardian*’s first report on the coup appeared just three hours after the event. In the absence of a written source text, there was no recourse to checking for the accuracy of the reported events in the time available.

It is worth noting that the degree of accuracy⁸² in the use of terminology surrounding the cause of the coup in the early stages of its reporting is greater in *New York Times* reports than those published in the *Guardian*. This, according to Greg Winter, editor of the *New York Times*' foreign news had most likely nothing to do with standards of journalism, but the fact that the *Guardian* reports were, because of differences in time zone, published before those of the *New York Times* (personal communication, June 2010).⁸³ The latter simply had more time to gather accurate details on the causes of the coup prior to the publication of its reports.

In further regard to the confusion and chaos surrounding the events of 28 June, and one which might plausibly provide a reason for the widespread use of "referendum" in the British and US press, is Reuters' Kieran Murray's explanation that, within Honduras there was 'self-induced' confusion on the part of both the Opposition and that of Zelaya's supporters about the terminology surrounding the so-called referendum. This terminological blurring suited the Opposition's cause in that it framed Zelaya's acts as being constitutionally unlawful. Thus, *referendum*, not the more accurate *consulta popular* or its apparent synonym *encuesta popular*, conveniently became the term widely used in Honduras to refer to the political procedure that was planned to take place on 28 June 2009 (personal communication, May 2010).

According to Reuters, any confusion in the reporting of events centres on the nature of the circumstances in Tegucigalpa at the time of reporting. As previously mentioned, the *Guardian*'s Rory Carroll also refers to this same phenomenon when he says "[a]s I recall there was a dispute in Honduras over how to define the vote, and terminology became a political issue" (personal communication, May 2010). That dispute revolved around local politics and the terminological confusion was instigated by both sides. From the Opposition's point of view it was used as an impetus to reinforce Zelaya's 'illegal act', whereas, from the point of view of Zelaya's supporters, the same terminological confusion was used to legitimise the organisation of the supposed referendum.

Further evidence of this terminological confusion lies in the wording of reports that appeared in the Honduran press in the weeks leading up to the coup. *La Tribuna* reports on the eve of the event that

⁸² Writing from a translation perspective, the assumption here is that use of the term "referendum" constitutes an inaccurate translation solution.

⁸³ Interesting as this may be, because comparison of degrees of accuracy in the *New York Times* and *Guardian* reports goes beyond the scope of this study, I will leave any such further research to the discipline of Media Studies.

[o]tra fuente de la Presidencia dijo que el cierre está previsto para las 4:00 p.m., hora local, aunque advirtió de que “si fuera necesario” se ampliaría en una hora el plazo de la **consulta**, que sin carácter vinculante se realizará en clave de **encuesta**. (“Gobierno tabulará encuesta el mismo domingo”, 27 June 2009)

Another presidential source said that the **non-binding poll** would close at 4.00 PM local time, even though it advised that *if necessary* it would continue for another hour, but only if essential for the purposes of the **survey**.

Anónimo el Mié, in Honduran on-line daily www.hondudiariohn.com, uses both terms *encuesta popular* and *consulta popular* in its 27 May article outlining Zelaya’s plans for the events of 28 June: “Una encuesta” por “consulta popular” el 28 de junio, determina el presidente Zelaya” (“A ‘consultative survey’ on 28 June, states Zelaya”).

Out in the blogosphere a multitude of opinions and explanations as to the confusion over terminology also began to appear: Greg Weeks, writing on www.poliblogger.com on 30 June 2009 in relation to the purpose of the referendum, says: “My understanding is that it would ask whether to ask if a commission should be formed. In other words, it would be a non-binding question about whether to have a binding question”. However, his next comment concisely sums up the root of the problem: “[I]n general the worst aspect of commentary on Honduras is that no one has exact language about anything” (ibid). In reply to this on 3 July 2009, Jules Siegel says: “I don’t know where the term referendum came from. It’s not a plebiscite either. In Spanish, it is described as an *encuesta*, which is a survey” (ibid). Steven L. Taylor, in his contribution on the same day points out that,

[t]he Spanish term being used was “consulta” and “consulta popular”. Both referendum and plebiscite can be the properly translated terms, depending on a few issues. Both are terms of art referring to asking the voters a question, usually in regards to some legal issue. A referendum usually means such a question that is asked by the legislature and plebiscite is usually used to describe such a question asked by the executive (a power that the French president has, for example). I have used the term plebiscite because the question originated with Zelaya (ibid).

Of significant interest here then is that at the time of reporting, because of press censorship the only available media sources were those supplied by the Opposition. With the advent of the coup, pro-Zelaya newspapers had been closed and because of the sensitive and potentially dangerous nature of events, reliably informed pro-Zelaya opinion was hard to come by (Kieran Murray, Reuters, personal communication, June 2010).

Before drawing further conclusions, it is also worth considering further the concept of a referendum as this may have had an effect on the way in which the events were reported for different target readerships. I have already mentioned the fact that “[t]he form in which [a] referendum takes place and its legal effect varies with political systems” (Robertson 2004, 421). Therefore, it is useful to consider the way in which a referendum, also known as a plebiscite, works in the United States and in the United Kingdom.

According to Robertson, a referendum or plebiscite is “a system for allowing the whole of an electorate directly to give their opinion on some political question” (2004, 377), but there appears to be no uniformity of usage between the two terms. A referendum or the less commonly used “plebiscite” is a device of direct democracy by which the electorate can pronounce upon some public measure put to it by government. Although the use of the referendum is almost ubiquitous in democracies, most countries resort to them infrequently.⁸⁴ Indeed, of the five *major* democracies which have never had nation-wide referenda, the US is one⁸⁵ (Bogdanor 1991, 524-5).

Referenda can also be required for certain ordinary legislative measures, or alternatively they may be called at the discretion of the government, as for example in Britain. The referendum divides legislative power, allowing the elector to share it with the legislature, thereby offering the electorate a check against government. Referenda are advocated so as to secure greater popular legitimacy and support for government policies through “a direct vote in which an entire electorate is asked to either accept or reject a particular proposal. This may result in the adoption of a new constitution, a constitutional amendment, a law, the recall of an elected official or simply a specific government policy” (Bogdanor 1991, 524-5) and forms part of the concept of direct democracy. Referenda may be purely advisory (non-binding) or “binding in the sense that either measure requires ratification in a referendum to enter into force. A binding referendum result places an obligation on the legislature to act in conformity with the popular decision within a specified period (ibid).

In terms of ideological loading and the presence of an imbalance of power relations arising from the (mis-)reporting of the events in Honduras of 28 June through the use of inaccurate political terminology, whilst critical discourse analysts might argue that reports in which Zelaya and Honduran political processes were negatively framed, the views given by those who were interviewed in the course of field research strongly indicate that journalists are not in the business of imposing their own ideologies on their readers. Such practices would go against the ethos of quality journalism; they would ruin the journalist’s reputation and only serve to end his or her career in journalism (Kieran Murray, personal

⁸⁴ Only five democracies – Australia, Denmark, France, New Zealand and Switzerland – have held more than ten nation-wide referenda (Bogdanor 1991, 524).

⁸⁵ In the US, referenda are widely used at state level where a number of different kinds may be distinguished. The constitutional referendum requires the referral for ratification of any constitutional amendment to the electorate in every one of the states of the US except Delaware (Bogdanor 1991, 524-5).

communication, June 2010; Greg Winter, personal communication, October 2010). Those responsible for the production of so-called ideologically-laden reports who do not subscribe to the same ideology as that of critical discourse analysts could equally well argue that particular lexis was used for stylistic purposes and also because it is exactly that choice of lexis that accurately described the nature of the events in a manner that is complementary to the political leanings of the newspaper.

Given the circumstances of the source of the event and the degree of understanding by *Guardian* and *New York Times* readers of political systems on either side of the Atlantic, it is debatable whether the widespread use of “referendum” can be considered an inadequate translation solution when describing the Honduran political process that sparked the coup. On the one hand, critical discourse analysts would argue that this does not alter the fact that those journalists reporting for the *Guardian* and *New York Times* may, through their reporting of his so-called referendum, have unwittingly portrayed Honduran President Manuel Zelaya as being incompetent in his attempt to usurp his country’s political processes. On the other hand, however, if we consider journalistic requirements of compliance with prevailing values and norms, the apparent simplification of the reporting of the “referendum” could also have been intentional, and therefore perfectly justified. It could have been possible that editors considered that there was too much detailed information for readers in the initial reporting of the events in Honduras. In other words, information may have been edited from an original source to the requirements of a specific readership, particularly if it had come via an agency rather than direct from a foreign correspondent working for either the *Guardian* or *New York Times*. References to the sourcing of articles show that some information did come from agencies.

As already discussed in chapter 2.3.1, where reporting is carried out directly by a journalist working for a newspaper, it is common for contextualising material to be incorporated at the moment of original composition. Background information pertaining to a particular news event is included as part of the news item. It is at this point that foreign-language competent journalists may have taken incoming texts written in both English and/or Spanish and adapted them through editing and translation for their specific audience, thereby effecting changes in the content of the original. As news reports can be made up from extracts of texts which include, for example, official speeches, interviews and witnesses’ accounts of facts, such extracts were the raw material in the composition of news reports emanating from Honduras. Thus, translated or interpreted information from a variety of

sources may well have been subject to summary, then contextualised through journalistic commentary so as to meet the needs and expectations of the new readership.

In regard to summary and recontextualisation, the *Guardian's* Rory Carroll agrees that the style, content, format and text type of the source can greatly affect the published content of news reports. He adds that “[a] government press release has greater authority, for example, than a blog on a state-backed website. Quotes in a local newspaper are less reliable than comments you can pick up from TV or radio” (personal communication, April 2010). In the Honduran context, if this source information was edited in keeping with the interests of the opposition and, due to strict media censorship, was all that was available, then it is quite possible that information supporting the opinions of the other side was unavailable at the time of reporting.

Other reasons for misinformation about the “referendum” could be concerned with the journalist’s unfamiliarity with the terminology of political processes. According to Rory Carroll, journalists ideally interview experts in the field when they are not familiar with the topic area, for example, political processes. However, he adds that if pressed for time, they typically do a *Google* search of background articles in the language with which they are most comfortable. In terms of usage of glossaries and terminology databases that are widely available on-line and which could be used as an aid to maintaining consistency in the use of correct terminology in the same way as they might be used in a traditional translation setting, these tools are not used in journalism. Carroll raises the very valid issue of journalists not having sufficient time or either the will or the training to use them. In the light of Carroll’s comments, arguably the term “referendum” could have been semi-randomly chosen for the sake of simplicity, without due consideration of its full meaning and an understanding on the part of the journalist of the necessary processes that must happen before a referendum can take place.

So far, I have only considered the journalist in my quest to explain the possible inadequate translation solutions that occurred in the reporting of Zelaya’s “referendum”. But it may be the case that the editor was responsible for making changes to original copy prior to publication of reports. Interference through editorial processes could have made inaccuracies in edited, published reports look like poor translation solutions. Of considerable interest here also is whether or not editors make use of or adhere to dictionaries, glossaries or terminology databases, so as to ensure consistency when editing reports from Spanish language sources. From examination of the examples quoted in this case study, and from information gleaned at Reuters and the *New York Times*, it would appear that this is not the case as, for stylistic

reasons, there is no journalistic norm that requires consistency in the use of terminology. It is unlikely therefore, that dictionaries, glossaries or terminology databases are used as part of the daily routine of a foreign correspondent. In personal communication with Reuters' Kieran Murray (June 2010), he confirmed that this was indeed true.

One further explanation remains for the consistent use of the term "referendum". This relates to the very existence of discourse. In the review of literature relating to the origins of discourse, I noted that Jackson describes hegemonic political discourse as one "where the public debate uses mainly the language, terms, ideas and 'knowledge' of the dominant discourse, and where alternative words and meanings are rarely found and dissenting voices are almost never heard" (2005, 19). If we accept Jackson's view on the workings of discourse, we see a plausible explanation to the dominant use of the term "referendum" in the Honduran context. The use of other, less known terms would be seen as acting as the "dissenting voice" (ibid), thereby threatening the hegemonic status of news discourse.

In regard to editorial processes at the Guardian, from both the *Guardian's* Latin American correspondent and from the head of the newspaper's foreign desk, there is strong evidence of the fact that the content of incoming material is not necessarily scrupulously checked by editors, prior to publication. When asked whether inadequate translation solutions could arise from post-editing where the reviser may not know the source language, Rory Carroll concedes that this could be a cause. Although this is not confirmed by the head of the foreign desk, Harriet Sherwood, she does indicate that the *Guardian* relies on foreign correspondents for translated sources. Evidence for this lies in her response to my request to discuss the role of translation in regard to editorial processes (see chapter 2.3.4), where she implies that, prior to publication, no change is made to reports that have come from non-English sources.

In short, there would appear to be few quality control measures in place at the *Guardian's* editorial end of the news gathering and dissemination process and for this reason, less than careful editorial practices may serve to explain the random and sometimes incorrect use of political terminology.⁸⁶ However, at the *New York Times* editorial processes are different. A minimum of three pairs of eyes, those of the Back Editor, the Copy Editor, who also writes the headline to the story and the Slot Editor will typically read an incoming article

⁸⁶ The continued unwillingness of the *Guardian's* editorial team to participate in this research does not allow me to either fully confirm or reject this hypothesis.

prior to its publication. Should discrepancies in content arise, the original reporter will be contacted for clarification. If an article that contains factual errors is published, the *New York Times* then relies on readers' feedback before it re-checks the content as the first step towards implementing corrections.

In order to find reasons why the term "referendum" was used in the British and US press as opposed to "initiative", "proposition" or "plebiscite", it is useful to consider the common journalistic strategies of "transediting", namely deletion, addition and reorganisation (Stetting 1989, 371) that I described in chapter 2.3.3, in order to determine the potential cause of the misleading representation of the events of 28 June 2009.

Deletion of original information from later reports may have occurred because information became redundant, either because it was already known by the target readers, or because it became too detailed and specific for readers who were geographically and culturally removed from the events reported. However, whilst deletion may have been desirable to meet the cultural needs or stylistic expectations of the target readership, it would appear that important background information such as that pertaining to the sequence and timing of events leading up to the coup was also deleted, thus prejudicing the accuracy of its content.

By adopting strategies of domestication as discussed in chapter 2.2.3, journalists also acculturate reports, thereby rendering them more accessible to their target audience. However, in so doing important detail can be at worst misrepresented, and at best, represented differently. This may also explain why the political process that caused Zelaya's downfall on 28 June was widely simplified and reported as a "referendum".

Finally, through processes of reorganisation, dominant ideologies may or may not have been accurately conveyed in reports whose compilation relied heavily on translated source material. Reorganisation of information in "Honduras president arrested in military coup" (AP, *Guardian*, 28 June 2009), involved restructuring the text, resulting in confusion over the overall meaning. As for the reasons for this confusion, given the circumstances that surround the production of breaking news, severe time constraints could again have been a contributory factor. Detail was perhaps refocused in such a way that its importance was either strengthened or weakened by both foregrounding and backgrounding specific pieces of information. Where the journalist was not familiar with particular political processes, or from a critical discourse perspective, possibly not committed to them either because he or she subscribed to other values, the potential for inaccurate portrayal of meaning could also have arisen. Any intentional moves on the part of the journalist to impose his or her own

ideologies, however, would also be most unlikely because in journalism, personal reputation is key to success.

4.2 Case Study Two – Prospecting for oil in the Falkland Islands/Islas Malvinas

Introduction and Rationale

My second case study comprises analysis of sixteen *Financial Times* reports and eighteen from the *Guardian*. Both sets of reports represent a combined total corpus of approximately 22,000 words⁸⁷ published between 4 February and 2 April 2010. I compare the content of reports published in both newspapers with that published in Argentina's *La Nación* during the same two month period which I chose because it represents the time during which it became publicly known that Britain's *Desire Petroleum* was planning to start prospecting for oil in the disputed territorial waters of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*. Because of the controversial nature of the operation I made the assumption that the events reported would thus generate significant news interest in opposing hemispheres and on opposite sides of the Atlantic.

I chose the end date firstly because, by this time, little was being reported on the issue, and secondly, as 2 April 2010 commemorated the 28th anniversary of the outbreak of war between the two nations over sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*, I expected that in relation to the current course of events, reports would be abundant in both the UK and Argentine press. However, although I compare British reports from both the *Guardian* and the *Financial Times* with their Argentine counterparts until 2 April, in those subsequent to 25 February I found no inadequate translation solutions. Therefore the following analysis of the corpus finishes with reports published up to and including 25 February. In addition to this, it is worth noting that in the analysis I make little reference to the *Financial Times* reports. Although some of these could be considered by the keen critical discourse analyst to be ideologically laden, the origins of that loading did not derive from processes of translation, but from textual manipulation of sources already written in English. Any such analysis therefore, would fall outside the scope of this study.

In comparison with the first case study, which in political terms centres on an 'electoral' news event, I chose the second, still political in nature, because of both its socio-economic significance and historically controversial nature. It is through the latter of the two that I expected to see the surfacing of some interesting discourse in regard to the positioning of power relations. This is because, just in the same way as British people do when they learn of the existence of the Falkland Islands and think they are British, Argentineans are brought

⁸⁷ Exact figures are 9226 words from the *Financial Times*, and 13,013 from the *Guardian*.

up to believe that the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas* belong to Argentina and should therefore not be occupied and controlled by Britain. Thus, I assumed that in terms of reporting, the possibility of ideological loading in the form of an imbalance of power relations in news reports published in both the UK and Argentina might occur through inadequate translation solutions. In short, Argentina's latest claim to sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas* is controversial in both social and economic terms; in social terms within the local context of the 177-year debacle between Britain and Argentina over what the latter sees as illegal annexation in 1833 resulting in Britain's ongoing sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*, and in economic terms within the worldwide context of the global need to discover new oil reserves.

Because of the longstanding tradition of equally strong nationalistic sentiment on both Argentine and British sides, I also assumed that there might occur other forms of ideological loading in news reports published in both the UK and Argentina. That is because it was widely reported in both UK and Argentine sources that Argentine President Cristina Kirchner was keen to find a way of stirring nationalistic sentiments as a means of gaining support for her otherwise ailing government. Evidence of Kirchner's move lies in Peter Beaumont's 28 February 2010 report in the *Observer*, "How realistic are the chances of finding oil in Falklands waters?" in which he writes:

It is worth recalling, too, that, for Kirchner, the islands are politically important in domestic terms. Her rhetoric – in marked contrast to Carlos Menem's "seduction" policy regarding the Falklands that he pursued in the 1990s – is one policy which unites her countrymen. But while a recent poll in Argentina has suggested that the ownership of the islands is "important" to some 80% of Argentines, only 3% believe they are worth fighting for.

This follows *Clarín's* 17 February 2010 report "*Malvinas, no distracciones*", in which Ricardo Kirschbaum reports:

La política de hechos consumados de Londres debe ser respondida con inteligencia. El tema es de una materia tan delicada que requiere un manejo de Estado que deje fuera cualquier tentación de usar este conflicto como pantalla distractiva de los serios problemas internos del Gobierno.

The response to London's policy of non-negotiation should be carefully considered. The topic is so delicate that it must be handled in such a way that no attempt is made to use this conflict as a smoke screen to detract from the [Argentine's] government's own serious internal problems.

As in the first case study, I consider the three perspectives of i) translation, ii) discursive practice and iii) media practices. However, different from the first case study, I jointly discuss these perspectives with reference to translation solutions in specific extracts surrounding three sub-topics, rather than in isolation under separate headings. This is because the inadequate translation solutions that I have identified relate more to distinct sub-topics rather than to one specific concept, as they did in the use of the term "referendum" in the first

case study. The three sub-topics relate to the reporting of i) Argentine sovereignty, its rights and resources, ii) Argentina's decree on shipping and iii) Argentina taking its case to the UN. For ease of identification, significant lexis is again highlighted in bold type and for the same reason, all original quotations from newspapers and where applicable, my translations of them, are indented.

By way of an introduction it is again useful to describe the context surrounding the event on which I focus. From an Argentine perspective this concerns Britain's violation of sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*, and from a British perspective it concerns the country's interests in prospecting for oil in the disputed territory. To this end, in the following paragraph I provide a synopsis of facts by quoting from Grace Livingstone's, article "It's time to talk about the Falklands", published in the *Guardian* on 25 February 2010.

Whilst no one really knows who first discovered the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*, the only point of agreement between the pro-Argentine and pro-British camps is that the islands were first settled by the French in 1764, who then ceded control to Spain in 1767. A year after the French landed, the British established a settlement there but abandoned the territory in 1774. Spain maintained a presence on the Falklands/*Islas Malvinas* until 1811. The newly independent United Provinces of the *Río de la Plata* (which included Argentina) believed that Spanish possessions should revert to them and in 1820 sent a ship to the abandoned Falklands/*Islas Malvinas*. In 1829, Argentina appointed a governor. The British then retaliated and an impoverished Argentina did not have the means to resist. Argentina maintains that the islands were illegally annexed by Britain in 1833 and remain to this day a colony, which Argentina and much of the world sees as an anachronism in the 21st century. A 1965 United Nations resolution backs, to some extent, the Argentine position by ruling that the principle of decolonisation applies to the Falklands. In 1910, a 17,000-word memo was commissioned by the Foreign Office to look at the historical dispute over sovereignty. The study highlighted so many weaknesses in the British case that the British government withdrew it from public view during the 1982 Falklands/*Islas Malvinas* war. For a colonial power in the 19th century, the Falklands/*Islas Malvinas* offered fishing and whaling opportunities. Today the territory holds a similar economic value where the added bonus is centred on oil. Britain and Argentina have long been aware of hydrocarbon deposits around the Falklands/*Islas Malvinas* and diplomatic disputes over oil-exploration predate both the 1982 war and Argentina's latest claim to sovereignty of the disputed territory.

Argentine Sovereignty, its Rights and Resources

In the first of a series of reports on Britain's violation of sovereignty in its prospecting for oil in the Falkland Islands/*Malvinas*, both the *Financial Times* in "Buenos Aires protests over Falklands oil drilling plans" (George Parker and Alex Barker, (London) and Jude Webber (Buenos Aires) February 4 2010) and the *Guardian* in "Falklands oil prospects stir Anglo-Argentinian tensions" (Rory Carroll and Annie Kelly, 7 February 2010) establish the crux of Argentina's concerns by quoting Jorge Taiana, Argentina's foreign minister:

What they [the British] are doing is **illegitimate** ... **It's a violation of our sovereignty**. We will do everything possible to **defend and preserve our rights**.

A few days earlier, on 3 February, Argentine readers of *La Nación* read similar information in an article entitled "*Protesta ante Londres por el petróleo de Malvinas*", explaining that,

Lo que están haciendo es ilegítimo porque vulnera la soberanía, los derechos y los recursos de la Argentina. La posición de la Argentina es clara en cuanto a defender y preservar nuestros derechos en las islas...

What they are doing is **not legitimate** because it **violates Argentina's sovereignty, rights and resources**. Argentina's position is clear in regard to **defending and preserving our rights** in the islands...

Of interest here from a CDA perspective is the exclusion in both the *Financial Times* and *Guardian* reports of Argentina's resources. This is significant because *los recursos de la Argentina* are mentioned in reports in the 3 February edition of *la Nación*. With insufficient reference to the source of information, it is impossible to say exactly why "Argentina's resources" were not mentioned in the British reports in the same way that they were in *la Nación*. Because of the difficulty of not being able to trace the exact source of this report either, it is impossible to offer an exact explanation as to the omission of the word "resources". However, I can surmise a number of reasons for the absence of this important piece of information.

As the same quotation appears in both the *Guardian* and *Financial Times*, it is possible that journalists from both newspapers were at the same 3 February press conference held at the *Palacio San Martín*, or alternatively they could have had access to information from that press conference, at which there is no mention of resources either:

La posición de la Argentina es clara en cuanto a defender y preservar nuestros derechos en las islas, enfatizó el funcionario en diálogo con periodistas en el Palacio San Martín. (La Voz 3 February 2010)

Argentina's position is clear in regard to defending and preserving our rights in the islands, emphasised the foreign minister in conversation with journalists in the *Palacio San Martín*.

On the one hand, omission of "resources" could simply be due to an editor who is pushed for space, not deeming its inclusion necessary to the content of the story, thereby making a

conscious decision to omit a seemingly redundant or implicit piece of information which thus constitutes an intentional omission. On the other hand omission of “resources” could simply have gone unnoticed during the writing of the initial report.

Two other possible explanations concern notions of competence and the physical environment of the reporting context. If the information were sourced from a press conference, where characteristically a lot of repetition can take place, it could be a case where, either through different levels of competence or some form of interference that could have affected the clarity of delivery, different journalists might have ‘received’ different information with the result that that information was reported differently. In short, we do not know and because of the reluctance of those journalists responsible for the production of the reports to co-operate, have no way of knowing why “Argentine resources” was omitted from reports destined for the British readership.

From the joint perspectives of critical discourse and colonial discourse, analysts might at first think that there could be some ideological loading in place with the possibly deliberate omission of “resources” as the term is clearly present in the Argentine reporting of the event. In terms of the nature of the topic I draw an interesting comparison with the *New York Times*’ 2006 reporting of Bolivian President Evo Morales announcement on his country’s future energy policy plans where Austermühl (2008, 81) questions whether it was lack of translation skill, sloppy translation/reporting or reflection of the level of disrespect that was expressed in the article’s headline, as being the cause of distortion of the accuracy of what was originally said. In the Argentine context the same sloppy reporting accords disrespect to what was originally reported in the Argentine press and the British journalists are employing strategies that favour local (British) political and commercial interests over those of ‘the (Argentine) Other’ (see chapter 2.1.2). In addition, the British newspapers may not be motivated to give too much detail because, in so doing, they could potentially encourage readers to think that perhaps Argentina’s interests go deeper than sovereignty in the light of Britain’s recent attempts to prospect for oil. On the other hand, and in defence of the British journalism, maybe *la Nación*’s report was embellished by its inclusion of “recursos” as a means of making it more newsworthy for the local readership.

In further regard to sources of information, the *Financial Times* is vague, using only “an Argentine government source...” to attribute its source of information. Given that the same source also contributed to information in the *Buenos Aires Herald* on the same day (“Argentina recognises the exclusive authority to establish conditions affecting exploration,” the source said), it is also likely that the source was an English one. This being the case, and

once again without access to the original reporting context, the omission of “resources” may arguably still be of no significance in regard to the adequacy or inadequacy of translation solutions.

Argentina’s decree on shipping

In a measure aimed at disrupting Britain’s prospecting for oil, on 16 February Argentine President Cristina Kirchner announced government sanctions on the use of Argentine ports by foreign vessels. This decree on shipping controls in Argentine territorial waters was reported on 17 February by *Guardian* correspondent Rory Carroll. In his article “Argentina imposes shipping rules in Falklands oil row” published at 07.27 GMT that day, he reports:

President Cristina Kirchner issued a decree obliging vessels which use Argentine ports to seek a government permit if they enter or leave **British-controlled waters**. "Any boat that wants to travel between ports on the Argentine mainland to the Islas Malvinas, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands ... must first ask for permission from the Argentine government," Aníbal Fernández, the cabinet chief, told a news conference in Buenos Aires yesterday.

On the surface this is a perfectly well written piece of information. However, the use of “British-controlled waters” represents factual information that is contradictory to both Argentina’s and Britain’s claim to sovereignty, and suggests that Argentina concedes to the fact that the territorial waters around the Falkland Islands/*Malvinas* are British. Rather than being at most a poor translation solution or at worst deliberate misinformation, because of the lack of complexity in translational terms and because of the fact that journalists are not in the business of deliberately misinforming their readership, one can surmise that this is probably nothing more than an unfortunate typing mistake that went uncorrected at the time. Reasons for the mistake could be attributed to time pressures characteristic to news reporting or carelessness at the editorial end in London. Whilst it is impossible to identify evidence of this, the correct factual information appears in cabinet chief Aníbal Fernández speech on 16 February. Thus the term “*aguas jurisdiccionales argentinas*” should have been rendered “Argentine-controlled/territorial waters” in the *Guardian* article:

*El artículo 1 de la norma establece que "todo buque o artefacto naval que se proponga transitar entre puertos ubicados en el territorio continental argentino y puertos ubicados en las Islas Malvinas, Georgias del Sur y Sandwich del Sur, o atravesar **aguas jurisdiccionales argentinas** en dirección a estos últimos, y/o cargar mercaderías a ser transportadas en forma directa o indirecta entre esos puertos, deberá solicitar una autorización previa expendida por la autoridad nacional competente. (El Gobierno limita por decreto el tránsito marítimo en las Islas Malvinas, La Prensa 16 February 2010).*

Article 1 states that “any ship or naval vessel that tries to transit between ports inside Argentina’s continental waters and those in the Falkland Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, or cross **Argentine-controlled/territorial waters** to travel to the Falkland Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, and/or carry goods destined to be transported directly or indirectly between those ports, must seek the permission of the national authorities concerned.

However significant, this typing error was corrected in Rory Carroll's 20.01 GMT update that night, "Argentina steps up row over Falklands oil exploration", in which we read that

[y]esterday's decree will force all ships – not just those involved in hydrocarbon exploration – bound for the islands or travelling through **waters claimed by Argentina** to secure the new permit.

Although not the same rendering in English of the content of the original speech which was destined for Argentine readers, who remain in no doubt about the fact that Argentina has judicial control over the waters, the phrase "waters claimed by Argentina" can still be considered an adequate translation solution because the article was written for a new readership, which it is assumed, sees sovereignty of the Falkland Islands as belonging to Britain. Had the phrase been rendered in translation as "Argentine territorial waters", critical discourse analysts could be justified in claiming ideological interference where the writer is 'siding' with Argentina, providing another example of colonial or nationalist discourse surfacing in the British press.

Although not relevant to translation *per se*, but potentially relevant to CDA, is the fact that the only sources of information referred to by Simon Tisdall in his 16.00 GMT report "This isn't Falklands II" (*Guardian*, 17 February 2010), are "suggestions in Buenos Aires", which leaves the critical reader wondering *who* exactly suggested the impracticality of the enforcement of maritime controls:⁸⁸

But **suggestions in Buenos Aires** that Argentina will attempt to enforce its authority on the high seas – or over what it calls its "national territory" around the Falklands – appear highly impractical at this point.

My final observation from extracts reporting Argentina's decree on shipping comes from "Argentina steps up row over Falklands oil exploration" (*Guardian*, 17 February 2010), where Rory Carroll reports that,

[t]he president defended the decree, saying: "I am telling all Argentines that we will keep working for our rights in Malvinas".

Here there are two points of interest. The first, purely from a translation perspective concerns Carroll's decision not to render "*Malvinas*" as "*Falklands*" as is the norm when referring to the Islands when writing in English. Instead, he has chosen to adopt a foreignising as opposed to a domesticating approach to his translation (see chapter 2.2.3) of that part of President Kirchner's quotation. This could well be for stylistic reasons, whereby he 'exoticises' the situation with a Hispanic flourish. On the other hand, from a critical discourse perspective,

⁸⁸ This is an example of metonymy as a referential strategy where the replacement of the name of the referent with the name of the entity to which it belongs or is closely associated, is used to achieve evaluation of groups and allows for the backgrounding of actors involved. Reference to sources is vague and evasive (Blackledge 2005, 21-6).

his chosen rendering could be seen as an indication of some degree of intentional ‘siding’ with the Argentine cause. This is an example of where the translational technique of foreignising not only deliberately foregrounds the cultural other, but also highlights the fact that the text cannot be presumed to have originated in English (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009, 9). In defence of Carroll’s rendering, the discursive effect that he has created by adopting a method of foreignisation could be argued to be one of having become “a form of political action and engagement” (Schäffner 2004, 135) inadvertently favouring the Argentine cause. The most likely explanation for the choice of “*Malvinas*” as opposed to “Falklands” derives from standard conventions of British print journalism that favour the use of direct speech in news reports to convey a sense of authenticity (see chapter 2.3.3).

The second point of interest is that Carroll does not recreate the full extent of the President’s rhetoric as used in the original source. This is because he omits to include the adverb *incansablemente* (tirelessly) in regard to describing the force of her government’s determination to regain sovereignty of the islands:

*Por eso quería finalizar con esto y decirles a todos los argentinos que vamos a seguir trabajando **incansablemente** por nuestros derechos en las Islas Malvinas, (Palabras de la Presidenta de la Nación en visita a Merlo, martes, 16 de febrero de 2010, Presidencia de la Nación Argentina).*

This is why I want to finish by saying to all Argentine citizens that we are going to continue **tirelessly** working for our rights in the Falkland Islands.

Also from a CDA perspective, this omission constitutes an inadequate translation solution because the full extent of information in the source is not being transferred to the target readership. There would appear to be no reason why “tirelessly”, which, for domestic reasons is significant to Argentina, could not have been included in the report written in English. Whether or not the omission was intentional or “for economy and convenience (or sloppiness and laziness, take your pick)” (Rory Carroll, personal communication, June 2010), from a CDA perspective its effect could be considered one of playing down the full extent of the Argentine government’s determination to regain sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*. Whilst this omission of detail may be of no great concern to the vast majority of *Guardian* readers, it can nonetheless be considered an inadequate translation solution in that it does not accurately represent the importance of the whole issue in Argentina. The discursive effect of the simple omission of one adverb is the creation of an imbalance of power relations, whereupon Argentina’s status is again reduced to the weakened position of colonial underdog.

Argentina Takes its Case to the UN

Argentina's view of Britain's violation of sovereignty in its prospecting for oil in the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas* prompted Argentina, backed by members of the Rio Group,⁸⁹ to take its case to the United Nations, where Argentine Foreign Minister, Jorge Taiana, met with UN General Secretary, Ban Ki-moon. News about the meeting was reported by the *Guardian's* Rory Carroll and Matthew Weaver in collaboration with agency sources in "Argentina to state Falkland Islands case to UN chief", on Wednesday 24 February 2010 10.47 GMT.

The Argentinian president, Cristina Kirchner, said a summit of 32 countries in Mexico had endorsed a document accusing Britain of flouting international law by permitting drilling to begin this week.

Interestingly, fewer details of the background to the meeting are reported in the *Guardian's* version than in the Argentine Press. In the English language version, no mention is made of Argentina's sovereign rights, whereas *La Nación*, in its 24 February 2010 article entitled "*Malvinas: fuerte apoyo de Lula a la posición argentina,*" reports:

Tiaina celebró que la Cumbre de la Unidad de América latina y Caribe (CALC) firmara ayer, tras sofocones de última hora, las dos declaraciones de apoyo a la Argentina: una reafirma sus derechos de soberanía; la otra exhorta a cesar la exploración hidrocarburífera británica en las Islas.

Tiaina was delighted that the Union of Latin American and Caribbean Nations after last minute deliberations, yesterday signed two declarations of support for Argentina: **one reaffirms its rights to sovereignty**; the other urges cessation of Britain's oil prospecting in the Islands.

Although there is no indication that the above extract from the *Guardian* report is a translation of that which appeared in *La Nación* on the same day, and therefore arguably not directly relevant to this study, it is nonetheless relevant from a CDA perspective: the absence of negative information relating to *us*, where information and opinions that are good for *us* and bad for *them* are made explicit, whereas information and opinions that are bad for *us* and good for *them* are not (van Dijk 1998, 33).

Also of CDA significance in the same article is the choice of reporting verb in the following extract, where the authors report on Brazil's President Lula "criticising" the actions of the UN:

Last night, Brazil's president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, **criticised** the UN for not pushing more forcefully to reopen the debate over the islands, which Argentinians call Las Malvinas. "What is the **geographic**, the political or **economic** explanation for the UK to be in Las Malvinas?" he asked.

⁸⁹ The Rio Group was a coalition of 23 Latin American and Caribbean countries which was formed in 1986 to serve as a body to facilitate the discussion of topics of common interest and to give impetus to the process of Latin American Integration. The Rio Group has now been superseded by the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) and serves the same purpose. (http://www.eeas.europa.eu/la/riogroup_en.htm)

"Could it be because the UK is a permanent member of the UN's security council where they can do everything and the others nothing? (Carroll and Weaver, *Guardian*, 24 February 2010)

*Cuál es la explicación política de la ONU para que no hayan tomado una decisión? Pidió una "explicación política" a la ONU por no haber tomado "una decisión"; "¿Será porque Inglaterra es miembro permanente del Consejo de Seguridad la razón por la que ellos pueden todo y los otros no puedan nada?", cuestionó (Malvinas: "Fuerte apoyo de Lula a la posición argentina", *La Nación*, 24 February 2010).*

It is arguable that the wording of the Spanish language version is (negatively) inquisitory rather than critical, and this is borne out by the use of the reporting verb “*cuestionar*” which according to María Moliner (2001, 877) is more closely defined as *discutir, poner en duda*, meaning to argue or doubt. However, it could equally have been rendered more neutrally as “questioned” or “asked” rather than “criticised”. Whilst the choice of “criticise” arguably serves as an attempt to accurately portray the tone of the UN’s Security Council meeting, the choice of “criticised” rather than “questioned” or “asked” may be considered by critical discourse analysts to frame Lula in a negative light. From a translation perspective, if *La Nación*’s article was indeed the source used to write the report which appeared in the *Guardian*, there is clearly an inadequate translation solution present in the rendering of “*cuestionar*” as “criticise”, because this was not the reporting verb originally used.

In regard to the accuracy of the reporting of information in the same article, it would appear that, by including references to economic and geographical aspects of sovereignty, *Guardian* journalists are misquoting Lula in the reporting of his demands for an explanation for Britain’s presence in the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*. Whilst Lula’s concern appears to be genuine and valid, the Argentine report makes no mention of geographic or economic reasons for Britain’s activities, but questions only the UN’s decision-making policy. From a CDA perspective, the writers are embellishing the content, arguably in such a way as to ‘side’ with Argentina’s cause.

4.3 Case Study Three – Spain’s Economic Crisis

Introduction and Rationale

In my third case study I focus on news reports published in the British press between 1 January and 30 June 2010 which focus on the reporting of Spain’s economic crisis, and which are reported within the wider context of the financial crisis and ensuing recession in the Euro Zone countries. I compare the content of the British reports with those reporting the same events in Spain’s *El País*. Like the second case study, the third is also of socio-economic significance. However, different from both the first and second case studies is the fact that the third is based on reports that come from a “developed”, rather than an “underdeveloped” or “developing” society.

I focus particularly on terminological issues that arise through an apparent lack of transfer competence (see chapter 2.3.5) and the portrayal of cultural stereotypes (see chapter 2.1). I chose the topic because of the significance of the wider reaching impact that Spain’s economic crisis has within the Euro Zone countries, and because the period of 1 January to 30 June 2010 represents the time during which Spain held the Presidency of the European Union, a time during which the British press might have a greater focus than usual on Spanish political and economic affairs.

In regard to the content of reports, I analyse the discourse of a number of different topics. These include: exploitation of the instruments of the EU’s new Lisbon Treaty; the role of British and American media in fomenting financial turmoil in Spain; Spain’s call for more common economic policy-making across Europe; rumours of bailouts; strikes and the opposition’s position on José Luís Rodríguez Zapatero’s austerity cuts; rejection of the United States’ plan for banking reform; Spain’s state of recession; the rise and crash of property prices; the rise in unemployment to 20%; trade unionist actions over the employment reforms designed to jump-start Spain out of recession; the increase in the retirement age from 65 to 67 in order to ensure the long-term stability of the country’s pensions; the tasteless acronym "PIGS", employed by the British press to refer to the economies of Portugal, Italy/Ireland, Greece and Spain; rumours of poor credit ratings and Spanish reactions to Zapatero and members of his socialist government taking a 15% cut and intervention by the Bank of Spain after *Caja Sur*’s collapse in the country’s property sector. Of these, only the first five show what I consider to be inadequate translation solutions. These manifest themselves predominantly through what would appear to be a lack of translation

competence and more specifically within this area, a lack of transfer competence (see chapter 2.3.5).

This case study predominantly comprises analysis of twelve *Guardian* reports. In addition to these, I also analyse the discourse of reports from another three reputable British newspapers, the *Times* (six reports), *Independent* (eight reports) and *Telegraph* (five reports), albeit to a lesser extent due to the fact that together, the latter three report less foreign news than does the *Guardian*. The reports represent a combined total corpus of 21,179 words.⁹⁰ As in the second case study, I jointly consider the three perspectives of i) translation, ii) discursive practice and iii) media practices and once again, for ease of identification, I highlight significant lexis in bold type.

Exploitation of the Instruments of the Lisbon Treaty

Early on in the reporting of Spain's economic crisis, in the *Guardian*'s 8 January 2010 article entitled "Spain calls for a binding EU economic strategy", Ian Traynor, the newspaper's foreign correspondent in Madrid, quotes Spain's Prime Minister, José Luís Rodríguez Zapatero as saying,

[w]e are convinced it is a good thing to have a European economic policy. The Lisbon Treaty **allows more coordination**. We should **make sure to give** the commission new powers, Zapatero **said**.

El Tratado de Lisboa prevé más coordinación, y para que ésta sea eficaz debemos dotar a la Comisión Europea de nuevos poderes", ha señalado el presidente del Gobierno. (El País, "Zapatero asegura que Cuba no será una prioridad durante la presidencia española de la UE" 8 January 2010)

The most striking feature of the whole paragraph is that it reads as a poor translation. Given that one can 'hear' the original Spanish, it is fairly safe to assume that translation of Zapatero's words has taken place somewhere along the media newswire, probably at a press conference held on 8 January 2010, and may have been re-used without further editing or revising prior to its inclusion in Traynor's report. In terms of natural English usage, a more adequate translation solution could be:

We are convinced it is a good thing to have a European economic policy. The Lisbon Treaty **allows for** more coordination. We should **bestow on** the commission new powers, Zapatero **pointed out**.

From a CDA perspective, the original *Guardian* extract offers some interesting insight into the use of the reporting verb in English, mainly because of the nuance of meaning it carries. "Señalar", which Moliner (2001, 2694) more closely defines as "ser la señal de algo,

⁹⁰ Exact figures are 9,719 words from the *Guardian*, 5,394 words from the *Independent*, 3,481 words from the *Times* and 2,585 words from the *Telegraph*.

significar, criticar la gente, aludir a cierta persona en la conversación”, meaning to be the sign of something, to indicate, to criticise (people) or to allude to a certain person, are not necessarily synonyms of the Spanish “*decir*” (to say). Because of its wider range of meaning, the choice of “said”, therefore, could be considered an inadequate translation solution as it distorts the tone of Zapatero’s original speech. Potential reasons for the choice in the use of “said” as the reporting verb rather than “pointed out” could, on the one hand, be merely stylistic and as such not considered to affect the meaning of the original quotation. On the other hand, however, if the source of the quotation was a press conference at which the journalist was not present, recontextualisation from the spoken to the written word by an unknown third party could be the origin of the use of “said” as the reporting verb.

Reasons for the occurrence of this inadequate translation solution can be attributed to a lack of transfer competence. To whom, however, it is impossible to say. It might be Traynor himself, or the agent involved (whoever that person may be) who translated from the Spanish original. Nonetheless, it is surprising that neither Traynor himself nor the *Guardian*’s editorial team were able to improve on the quality of the English used prior to publication of the report.

The Role of British and American Media in Fomenting Financial Turmoil in Spain

When Spain’s intelligence services were investigating the role that British and American media played in fomenting financial turmoil in the Spanish economy, the *Guardian*’s Giles Tremlett, quoted from *El País*, to report in “Anglo-Saxon media out to sink us, says Spain” (14 February 2010) that,

[t]he (CNI’s) economic intelligence division ... is investigating whether investors’ attacks and the aggressiveness of some Anglo-Saxon media **are driven by** market forces and challenges facing the Spanish economy – or whether there is something more behind this campaign.

*La división de Inteligencia Económica... indaga si los ataques de los inversores y la agresividad mostrada por algunos medios de comunicación anglosajones **obedece a** la dinámica del mercado y a los desafíos a los que se enfrenta la economía española, o si hay algo más detrás de esa campaña.* (Pérez, *El País*, “*El CNI investiga las presiones especulativas sobre España*”, 14 February 2010)

Of interest here is that Tremlett uses the causal construction “to be driven by” to render “*obedecer a*” (to be due to), to describe the cause of investor’s attacks as being market forces. It is likely that this is a stylistic choice, rather than one that has any intentional discursive effect, and one which, to the lay reader, would likely go unnoticed. Therefore, from a purely lexical or terminological perspective it does not necessarily constitute an inadequate translation solution. However, from a CDA perspective, by using “to be driven by”, Tremlett has put significant discursive loading in his choice of causal terminology,

thereby more strongly foregrounding the cause of the investors' attacks in the media. The effect of this is to provide an unsolicited critique of the market. From a CDA perspective this choice of terminology constitutes an inadequate translation solution as an example of what Blackledge describes as a "predicational strategy" (2005, 21-6), where implicit or vague and evasive evaluative references are made through the positive presentation of the in-group, and the negative presentation of the out-group (see chapter 3.10).

Later in the article, Tremlett goes on to elaborate on the Financial Times' criticism of the Spanish government's handling of its economy and refers to various *CNI*⁹¹ sources as being "**unable to** confirm or deny the report". Of interest here is that the Spanish version which reads, "*Fuentes del CNI no quisieron hacer comentarios al respecto*" uses "did not want to" or "were unwilling to". The choice of "unable to" is not the same as either "did not want to" or "were unwilling to". In this instance, the discursive effect of the English version is one that suggests inability rather than unwillingness on the part of the *CNI* sources, thereby suggesting some degree of ineffectiveness. Had Tremlett kept to the conventional "declined to comment", such criticism of the *CNI* would have been avoided. From a CDA perspective, this again constitutes an inadequate translation solution in that it portrays the *CNI* as an incompetent organisation, unable to comment on its actions. From a Translation Studies perspective it goes against DTS's notion of norms in translation (see chapter 2.1.4).

In further regard to discursive loading, Tremlett concludes his article with a quotation from the Minister of Public Works and deputy leader of the Socialist Party, José Blanco, as recently saying,

"somewhat murky manoeuvres" were behind **market pressures** on Spain. "Nothing that is happening, including the **apocalyptic editorials** in foreign media, is **just chance**. It happens because it's in the interest of certain individuals,"

"nada de lo que está ocurriendo en el mundo, incluidos los editoriales de periódicos extranjeros, es casual o inocente", para después denunciar "maniobras un tanto turbias" de los especuladores financieros. (Pérez, El País, "El CNI investiga las presiones especulativas sobre España", 14 February 2010)

Here, Blanco's original quotation is embellished in three instances: "financial speculators" have been more generalised to become "market pressures" or "certain individuals", thereby removing direct attribution to specific people or organisations; the adjective "apocalyptic", which does not appear at all in the Spanish version,⁹² has been added to describe the editorials in foreign newspapers, thereby exaggerating their negative content, which, in turn,

⁹¹ *Centro Nacional de Inteligencia.*

⁹² See chapter 5.1 for further comment on the use of "apocalyptic".

serves to paint Blanco in a more negative light, and the notions of “chance and innocence” have been reduced to just “chance”, thereby framing the accused (foreign editorials) in a less bad light. Whilst these alterations from original quotations may be stylistically appropriate and made newsworthy by the addition of “apocalyptic”, from a CDA perspective, they do, nonetheless, have considerable discursive loading and are another example of the use of predicational (Blackledge 2005, 21-6) and explicitation (Gumul 2010, 96-100) strategies in reporting.

An explanation for this discursive loading being allowed to appear in print is simple: with editorial controls at the *Guardian* such as they are (or rather are not), the accuracy of translated quotations is not systematically checked, resulting in the factual accuracy of this seemingly well written piece of journalistic prose going unnoticed and unquestioned. Evidence of this phenomenon was confirmed by *Guardian* business and economic reporters Elena Moya and Katie Allen (personal correspondence, April 2010).

Spain’s Call for More Common Economic Policy-Making across Europe

Careless editorial practices at the *Guardian* would also appear to account for a number of lexical inaccuracies in Elena Moya’s 19 February report, “Britain, Greece, Spain and Norway tell markets: growth, not cuts”. The rendering of Zapatero’s *paraísos fiscales* (tax havens) as “tax heavens”, is an inadequate translation solution that I attribute to a weakness in transfer competence, possibly deriving more specifically from first language interference.

Later in the same article, Moya presents the following information concerning changes in financial regulation:

It's a paradox that the markets that **we saved** are now demanding and **putting difficulties**, as those budget deficits are those that we incurred to save those who now demand budget cuts. What a paradox.

Taken in either in isolation or from within the context of the whole report, it is difficult for even the most educated and language-aware native speakers of English to follow the entire meaning of the sentence, which comes from the beginning of a Spanish report, and which becomes a quotation by Zapatero in the English language report. This difficulty in understanding arises because once again we can ‘hear’ the Spanish. What is written appears to be little more than a literal or word-for-word translation of parts of the Spanish original:

*El presidente del Gobierno español, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, ha considerado este jueves, en un foro progresista celebrado en Londres, una "paradoja" que los mercados financieros, a los que los Estados **acudieron raudos a salvar** -haciendo una fuerte inversión pública y provocando así el déficit que arrastran- sean los mismos que ahora que examinan a los gobiernos y los **ponen en dificultades**. (El País, "Zapatero considera una "paradoja" que los mercados que causaron el déficit examinen a los gobiernos" 19 February 2010)*

The poor English collocation “putting difficulties” comes directly from the Spanish “*poner en dificultad*”. The “we” in “We saved” would appear to be the EU member states, despite the fact that this is unclear in the English language report. In addition to the above lexical difficulties, from a CDA perspective where Moya renders the Spanish expression *acudieron raudos a salvar* as “we saved”, “quickly came to the aid of” would be a more accurate rendering.⁹³ The effect of this inadequate translation solution is to offer over-exaggerated praise for Zapatero’s ‘good act’⁹⁴ of saving certain financial markets.

It is indeed unfortunate that these inadequate translation solutions that most likely derive from first language interference and an inadequate level of transfer competence, and which could easily have been improved through more careful editorial practices, were not picked up and corrected, particularly in view of the fact that the article was written by a non-native speaker of English.⁹⁵ Once again, this rather poor standard of British journalism provides further evidence of the fact that incoming material is not thoroughly checked as part of the editorial process at the *Guardian*.

Rumours of Bailouts

The final example of an inadequate translation solution to appear in the *Guardian* comes in the form of addition of information and appears in the newspaper’s 4 May article, “Spain’s PM rejects debt crisis bailout rumours”, where Ian Traynor reports on Zapatero’s reaction to the rumours circulating in Brussels, according to which contagion from the Greek debt crisis could destabilise the Spanish economy, thereby causing Spain to seek hundreds of billions of Euros in bailout funds. In the *Guardian*’s report, Traynor adds information about Zapatero’s intention to fight the rumour that does not appear in the Spanish press:

"The truth is I give it no credit; it is complete madness," he told journalists in Brussels. "These rumours can increase differences and hurt the interests of our country, which is simply intolerable **and of course we intend to fight it.**"

⁹³ María Moliner (2001, 50-51) more closely defines the verb *acudir* as *dedicar alguien su atención* (to give attention to), *auxilio cuando otros medios o procedimientos han fallado* (to give help when other means or proceedings have failed), *raudo = rápido* (quickly, without delay).

⁹⁴ See Chapter 3.10.

⁹⁵ Elena Moya’s mother tongue is Spanish.

*"Lo que me importa", ha añadido Zapatero al término de su visita a Bruselas, donde ha mantenido una apretada agenda con motivo de la presidencia de turno española, "es que si un rumor de esta naturaleza, que es un despropósito descomunal, provoca un efecto inmediato en nuestras Bolsas, estaríamos ante un hecho muy grave". "Es intolerable y provoca daño a España", ha subrayado. (González and Missé, "España que ha sido desmentido por el FMI", *El País*, 4 May 2010)*

Whilst this addition is likely to go completely unnoticed to all but the keenest of media analysts, from a CDA perspective it nonetheless constitutes an inadequate translation solution, because the journalist is embellishing his account of the facts rather than remaining within his professional remit of reporting exactly what Zapatero said.

The Opposition's Take on Zapatero's Austerity Cuts

The following extract is taken from an article reporting the attitude of Spain's Conservative Opposition to new spending cuts in order to rein in a budget deficit. The full article, entitled "Spending cuts hit Spain's Socialists in poll", by Reuters' correspondent based in Madrid, Elisabeth O'Leary, was published in the *Independent* on Monday, 17 May 2010. It rather awkwardly reports information that was originally reported in the editorial section of *El País* and again constitutes an example of an inadequate translation solution, most likely due to inadequate levels of transfer competence on the part of the journalist:

"[t]he government is in a very precarious situation ... not because of the new direction announced with these measures but because of his (Zapatero's) obstinacy in sticking to **the old direction up to now**," *El País* said in an editorial. It warned that neither the main left- nor right-wing parties had provided credible alternatives, and that the crisis had highlighted the lack of prestige of the political class.

El Gobierno ha quedado en una situación política muy precaria tras el anuncio del severo plan de ajuste hecho público esta semana. Pero la precariedad no es consecuencia del nuevo rumbo al que apuntan las medidas, sino de la recalcitrante obstinación con la que el presidente Zapatero mantuvo el anterior (*El País*, "Evitar el ostracismo. El compromiso europeísta exige que la oposición apoye el drástico recorte de los gastos públicos" 16 May 2010).

On first reading, the first sentence of the extract reads rather awkwardly and conveys little or no meaning with the use of the term "old direction", which, if we examine the source text actually refers to the orientation of previous economic policies. Here, one justifiably wonders whether the journalist actually understood the source text. Interesting also is the insertion of the time adverbial "up to now", as there is neither any corresponding adverbial in the Spanish source, nor any hint of a link between past and present time.

Once again, through careless proof reading and careless editing processes, these inadequate translation solutions have passed unnoticed. Although I do not feel that this example shows any apparent signs of discursive loading, a more adequate translation solution would be:

The government is in a very precarious situation ... not because of the new economic direction announced with these measures, but because of his (Zapatero's) obstinacy in sticking to his government's previous economic policies.

Given the high quality control measures that are in place in Reuters bureaux in non-English speaking countries, it is surprising that this example appeared in the *Independent* in this form. Also surprising, however, is that the *Independent* did not improve Reuters' original text prior to publication, suggesting that its own editorial processes, like those of the *Guardian*, might on this occasion, have been less than rigorous.

4.4 Conclusions from Case Studies

Analysis of the news reports used in all three case studies has revealed some surprising and significant findings in regard to degrees of adequacy of translation solutions. All are concerned with translation competence, media practices or discursive effect and manifest themselves through inaccurate use of political terminology, inappropriate rendering of source language concepts resulting in poor English syntax, discursive distortion through omission of information reported at the source and discursive distortion through transfer (in)competence. In the following paragraphs I will draw conclusions from my findings. These are tabulated below according to the type of inadequate translation solution they represent.

Table 3

Inadequate Translation Solution	Spanish Original	Published in English	My Translation
Inaccurate use of political terminology	<i>consulta popular</i> <i>encuesta popular</i>	nonbinding/binding/ unofficial/consultative/ constitutional referendum. consultative/binding/non- binding poll. non-binding public consultation, survey, election, vote,	Initiative/proposition Survey
Inappropriate rendering of source language concepts resulting in poor English syntax	<i>El Tratado de Lisboa prevé más coordinación, y para que ésta sea eficaz debemos dotar a la Comisión Europea de nuevos poderes", ha señalado el presidente del Gobierno</i> <i>Pero la precariedad no es consecuencia del nuevo rumbo al que apuntan las medidas, sino de la recalcitrante obstinación con la que el presidente Zapatero mantuvo el anterior</i> <i>poner en dificultad paraísos fiscales</i>	The Lisbon Treaty allows more coordination. We should make sure to give the commission new powers, Zapatero said “[t]he government is in a very precarious situation ... not because of the new direction announced with these measures but because of his (Zapatero's) obstinacy in sticking to the old direction up to now, ” putting difficulties tax heavens	We are convinced it is a good thing to have a European economic policy. The Lisbon Treaty allows for more coordination. We should bestow on the commission new powers, Zapatero pointed out. The government is in a very precarious situation ... not because of the new economic direction announced with these measures, but because of his (Zapatero's) obstinacy in sticking to his government's previous economic policies. Creating difficulties Tax havens
Discursive distortion through omission of information reported at the source	<i>"nada de lo que está ocurriendo en el mundo, incluidos los editoriales de periódicos extranjeros,</i>	“somewhat murky manoeuvres” were behind market pressures on Spain. “Nothing that is	Spain's financial speculators made some ‘murky manoeuvres’. "Nothing, including the

	<p><i>es casual o inocente", para después denunciar "maniobras un tanto turbias" de los especuladores financieros.</i></p> <p><i>derechos y recursos vamos a seguir trabajando incansablemente</i></p>	<p>happening, including the apocalyptic editorials in foreign media, is just chance. It happens because it's in the interest of certain individuals,"</p> <p>rights we will keep working</p>	<p>editorials in the foreign media, innocently happens by chance. It happens because it's in the interest of certain individuals,"</p> <p>Rights and resources We will keep working tirelessly</p>
<p>Discursive distortion through transfer (in)competence</p>	<p><i>cuestionó obedecer a no quisieron especuladores financieros acudieron raudos a salvar</i></p>	<p>criticised to be driven by were unable to market pressures we saved</p>	<p>Questioned To be due to Did not want to Financial speculators We came to the aid of</p>

Through analysis of the accounts of the political events leading up to the 28 June ousting of President Manuel Zelaya and through research into the accurate usage of political terminology, it became evident that what was planned for 29 June would, because of its informal nature, have been better described as a plebiscite, a proposition, an initiative or a non-binding survey, rather than a binding referendum. This information was available at the time of reporting so from a translation perspective alone it would seem unfortunate that neither the *New York Times* nor the *Guardian* were able to publish reports that used terminology which clearly and accurately described the event. This is surprising, particularly in light of the fact that background information on the origin of Zelaya's proposed 29 June 'referendum' which was already widely available does not appear to have been sufficiently well researched by either newspaper prior to the publication of its reports. Severe time constraints, which characterise the gathering and dissemination of breaking news where there is considerable pressure to write and publish reports as quickly as possible, may also have been a contributory factor to the confusion in choice of terminology.

Another likely cause of the 'misreporting' of the Honduran political processes is the nature of the event and, more specifically, the fact that it sparked a series of arguably more dramatic and therefore more newsworthy events. In an email exchange with the *Guardian's* Rory Carroll in regard to his use of political terminology (the overriding use of "referendum" as opposed to "initiative", "proposition" "plebiscite" or "non-binding survey/vote"), his reply provides a key explanation to the repeated occurrence of "referendum":

As I recall there was a dispute in Honduras over how to define the vote, and terminology became a political issue. In the first few days some coverage did try to explain this but as the story moved on the would-be vote, and how to define it, became a footnote. Ideally each article would have explained the nuances of referendum/opinion poll but within a few weeks that had become almost an abstraction

relative to the other, more dramatic developments, so for economy and convenience (or sloppiness and laziness, take your pick) it became referendum (personal communication, May 2010).

This, and the numerous aforementioned reasons for the ‘misuse’ of political terminology in the Honduran case such as time pressures and a lack of terminological knowledge, thus point to the fact that it is most likely due to overriding media practices involving techniques of domestication (see chapter 2.1.2), rather than any form of translation (in)competence, that misrepresentation occurred. In short, the tragic⁹⁶ and complicated course of events in Honduras that was engendered by the political positioning of the interim government, whose intention it was to randomly use the terms *encuesta popular* and *consulta popular* in order to instigate a degree of ambiguity in the legality of the ‘referendum’, meant that *Guardian* and *New York Times* newswriters were unable to find the exact terminology to report on the event.

Perhaps the most surprising feature to arise from the analysis of the texts pertaining to the second case study was, contrary to my expectation, an absence of *more* instances of overt ideological loading than i) omission of the mention of Argentine resources; ii) lack of attribution to sources of information; iii) omission of the full rhetoric of President Kirchner’s speech and iv) the reporting of information that is explicitly favourable to *us*. Of the three different political scenarios used in this study as a whole, for historical reasons, it is the one originating from Argentina that would, with its ongoing dispute over sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas* be expected to be the most ideologically laden and therefore most prone to inadequate translation solutions of a discursive nature.

In contrast to the first and second case studies, in the third, a surprising yet overriding reason for inadequate translation solutions appears to centre on a lack of transfer competence on the part of those agents engaged in translation. This was further compounded by sloppy proof-reading on the part of editorial teams, particularly at the *Guardian* where interference from Spanish in the translation of quotations was allowed to go unnoticed, resulting in stylistically unnatural and sometimes inaccurate usage of English in published reports which at times also resulted in discursive loading. This phenomenon is particularly surprising given that the reporting of Spain’s economic situation did not constitute breaking news and was therefore not subject to tight time constraints. Neither was there any obvious ambiguity in terminology as there was in the Honduran case, nor any obvious elements of danger at the source of the events that might have affected the accuracy of reported information. In view of

⁹⁶ The Honduran situation was tragic in social and political terms because the coup ended 27 years of democratic stability in the region.

the fact that Spain and Britain are not party to the same historical conflict as are Argentina and Britain, I also find it surprising that, in contrast to the Argentine case, there were instances of ideological loading present.

Returning to Christie's assertion that, "[w]hen translation takes place within the mass-media context, there is the ability to express a diversity of opinions and to identify the basis of those positions" (2006, 22-3), on the basis of the analysis in this study, any precise and accurate identification of both opinion and the basis of that opinion would seem an impossible goal to achieve. I have identified two main reasons for this: firstly, choice of lexis can be attributed to common regional usage (cf. the consequences of not using the term "referendum" for a British or American readership), where domesticating strategies of translation are employed, and secondly, the invisibility of the translation process in news production. Where recontextualisation from the spoken to the written word by journalists who were not necessarily present at a press conference occurs, the result may constitute a case (albeit extreme) of Chinese whispers. Changes in discursive effect can occur because of re-quoting of speech that takes place at different stages of a press conference. In other words, quotations can be taken out of context. In short, the greater the degree of invisibility of translation, the greater the likelihood of the occurrence of inadequate translation solutions. These can, in turn, manifest themselves as imbalances of power relations.

As already discussed, it is rarely possible to identify exactly where translation has taken place as often no source text exists. Therefore in regard to Christie's proposal that "the question for any critical analysis of journalistic translation is always going to be, to what degree does a translation impose the opinions, beliefs, ideologies of the dominant culture onto the subaltern and at what point should this be considered mistranslation?" (ibid), the same response applies. The invisibility of translation and the manifold forms it takes on in the news gathering context prevent us from drawing well substantiated conclusions as to the degree, if any, of opinions, beliefs and ideologies of the dominant culture being imposed through the process of translation.

It is also highly contestable whether in fact newswriters do intentionally impose particular opinions, beliefs or ideologies of the dominant culture in their reports. Therefore, there is no evidence that Gentzler and Tymoczko's earlier cited assertion relating to translators inserting their own ideological stance in their work (see chapter 2.1.2), can be directed at processes of translation that take place in international newswriting. In my analysis of the corpus of texts in this study, I find no evidence that this is the case. I base my objection to Gentzler and Tymoczko's assertion upon information gathered from the

professional journalists whom I interviewed in the course of this study, who equally strongly assert that deliberate imposition of a particular ideology never forms part of the remit of quality journalism. Whilst reporting may be subject to implicit, subconscious influences such as tiredness, interference from external sources or lack of availability of concrete facts, journalists do not systematically and consciously manipulate texts by inserting their own ideas in an attempt to make them more ideologically accessible for the target readership in a different culture. What happens unconsciously, though, is something that is open to discussion and could be the object of a study different from mine. What journalists do is make the text accessible to the reader through techniques of *domestication* or *acculturation* as opposed to *foreignisation*. It is arguable that this is exactly what both *Guardian* and *New York Times* journalists did by choosing to employ the term “referendum” when reporting the causes of the Honduran coup.

Furthermore, when challenged on this phenomenon, both Reuters’ Mexico City staff and their colleagues at the *New York Times* were adamant that in the case of quality journalism, the imposition of particular opinions, beliefs or ideologies of the dominant culture did not exist, and that such beliefs were something that had been invented by critical discourse analysts who, as ardent subscribers to their cause, were possibly paying insufficient attention to the existence of journalistic style in news reports, the need for news organisations to cater for the needs of their readership and also the fact that newswriters may, as a subconscious act, inadvertently introduce elements of what might be interpreted as discursive loading.

Because of the lack of complexity of the lexis concerned and the generally high level of linguistic competence of the foreign correspondents at the source of reporting, it would seem unjust to apportion blame solely upon levels of language competence. The corpus of texts analysed in the second case study was, arguably, completely free of inadequate translation solutions of a terminological nature and the third showed just a few, of which some appeared to be due to poor levels of competence on the part of two journalists in particular, one a native speaker of English, the other a native Spanish speaker. Because of the adverse discursive effect they had on the content of the news item being reported, it is unfortunate that these inadequate translation solutions were allowed to appear in print.

In further regard to notions of translation competence, it is probably more useful to consider two other key areas thereof. These concern degrees of cultural knowledge and transfer competence. A likely explanation to what I at first perceived to be misuse of political terminology in the first case study could be attributed to a lack of cultural knowledge in

regard to political terminology and political systems, as opposed to varying degrees of transfer competence. This view is supported through information gleaned from Reuters, *New York Times* and *Guardian* journalists who feel there is no conclusive evidence of widespread weaknesses in the levels of source and target language transfer competence of those involved in the news gathering and dissemination process (at least based on the self-image of the journalists interviewed). Whilst there appear to be inadequacies in the accuracy of use of political terminology, there is no evidence to point towards the fact that this is due to language or translation (in)competence *per se*, because the inaccuracies identified do not represent conceptually difficult language.

According to Reuters' Kieran Murray, there is a twofold reason for the existence of inadequate translation solutions in the corpus of texts analysed in this study, particularly in regard to the existence of inadequate translation solutions of political terminology. The first is circumstantial and relates to the state of development of the society at the source of the reported events, i.e. "underdeveloped" as in the case of Honduras, "developing" as in the case of Argentina, and "developed" as in the case of Spain. The state of development of the society correlates with levels of journalism discourse pertaining to that nation, i.e. the reporting environment of a coup in an underdeveloped society is very different from that of socio-economic reporting from developing and developed societies. Murray is of the opinion that in terms of the sophistication of journalism discourse in Latin America, Argentina's exceeds all others, whereas that belonging to Honduras is among the least developed. This phenomenon is determined by such factors as newspapers and television and radio stations being controlled according to their political allegiance. This being the case, in Honduras it was the fact that unbiased media sources of information were unavailable to foreign journalists and the degree of ambiguity regarding political processes which suited the interim government, that were the likely causes of the 'glossing over' of political terminology.

One could argue that translation tools such as glossaries and terminology databases would ensure consistency in the use of terminology. However, these are not generally used in the production of international news reports. This is because in journalism, whilst there is a requirement for accurate reporting of facts, beyond adhering to the guidelines set out in style guides such as that produced by Reuters, there is, for stylistic reasons, no requirement for consistency in the use of specific terminology. 'Glossing over' of political terminology in the first case study was, according to Reuters, due more to the unavailability of reliable sources in the early stages of reporting, and thereafter, to carelessness or inadequate checking of facts by editorial staff.

The second reason for the existence of inadequate translation solutions is concerned with the notion of immediacy. The events from Honduras were reported as breaking news, whereas those from Argentina and Spain were not. Therefore, there was much less immediacy in the nature of the reporting and subsequent publication of reports in English from Argentina and Spain than there was from Honduras, thereby considerably minimising the potential for the inaccurate reporting of facts.

We cannot ignore the fact that other likely explanations to the occurrence of inadequate translation solutions concern features that are common to the process of international news gathering and dissemination. Here I refer to the inherent constraints of time pressures at both the reporting and editorial stages, and reporting in such a way that caters to the needs and expectations of the target readership. This may account for selective addition and deletion of information which causes the mediated report to be different in content to that reported at the source of the event.

Current Translation Studies researchers, who have a keen interest in political discourse and the use of CDA as an analytical tool (see Schäffner and Bassnett 2010), appear to perceive that problems in the accurate transfer of political discourses commonly exist in translational processes that take place in the production of international news. However, from the analysis of such reports, interviews and other personal communication with journalists that I have undertaken in the course of this study, there is no one, simple or explicable and unifying reason as to *why* or *how* these problems exist.

From within the context of this study, it is debatable whether indeed such problems exist to the extent to which we are led to believe. Analysis of the 125,000 word corpus of texts that comprised my three case studies highlighted fewer and different instances of inadequate translation solutions than I had predicted, in the light of having read previous publications and other related studies (see Schäffner and Bassnett 2010). Without being able to identify the exact processes of translation that occurred in the gathering and production of news in the articles analysed, I find it impossible to know *how*, *where*, *when* or *why* inaccurate translation solutions that have led to a discursive effect that is different to that reported at the source of the event, came into being. This is because it is not always clear or even known or agreed that translation as such has indeed taken place in the production of the articles. Therefore, the conclusions that I have drawn remain, for the moment, largely speculative.

5 Findings and Conclusions

[T]here are no clearly established parameters either for the training of translators or for evaluating translation competency. Rather, there are highly ambiguous attitudes to translation prevalent in the world of news reporting, which perhaps explains why so much research in journalism studies to date has failed to engage with translation. This ambiguity is manifest firstly in the avoidance of the word ‘translation’, with journalists/translators referring to themselves as journalists only, and secondly in the absence of translator training in and for news media (Schäffner and Bassnett 2010, 9).

This has been an exploratory study, one which I have carried out in response to calls to investigate a phenomenon which is not always easy to identify, largely because of the inherent nature of the international news gathering and dissemination process (see chapter 2.2).

By way of drawing conclusions related to the role of translation in the production of international news, an appropriate starting point is to return to the research questions originally proposed, and to outline significant findings as a result of both analysis of the corpus of news texts and ethnographic field research at Reuters and at the *New York Times*. To this end I re-list my research questions in chapter 5.1 below:

5.1 Main Findings

Research question one: *Can we compare traditional translation processes with those that occur in the production of international news?* From my interviews with international newswriters that were informed by mostly theoretical work concerning processes of translation that occur in the production of international news (see chapter 1), it is evident that on the whole, these and traditional translation processes cannot be compared. This is largely because the conventional notion of translation, with more or less clearly identifiable source and target texts, does not always constitute the norm in international news production. In addition to this are the “highly ambiguous attitudes to translation prevalent in the world of news reporting” (ibid.) where journalists do not see themselves as translators.

By conventional notion I refer to the practice of source to target text transfer where, within the theoretical framework of established approaches such as Functionalism, DTS or Lefevere’s Theory of Rewriting, for example, a professional translator essentially takes a source text and renders its textual content in another language. The skills set required of him or her, in addition to the obvious active and passive skills in the source and target language, also includes awareness of textual discourse conventions in the cultures involved. By culture here I refer not only to encyclopaedic knowledge of the history, geography, and institutions of both the source and target culture, but more particularly to the values, myths, perceptions,

beliefs, behaviours and textual representations of these (Kelly 2005, 32). In short, in conventional processes of translation, translators recognise their role for what it is - the transfer of textual information from one language to another. Whilst more modern approaches to translation such as Functionalism and Rewriting do go beyond these conventional notions, I do not think that they go far enough to appropriately describe what goes on in processes of translation that occur in the production of international news that is written for an English-speaking readership. Here, the core idea of an identifiable, singular source text that is transferred into a target text as has been replaced by the invisible reshaping of numerous verbal, visual or auditory texts in another language, which are then adapted to a new readership according to specified ideological reasons that are mediated by editors, thereby defining 'news translation' as the gathering, modifying and synthesising of information from numerous spoken, written and visual sources from one language, to then be used by journalists in the production of news reports in another language (my definition).

Whilst awareness of issues of intercultural communication and the translation thereof is a necessary skill that is required by international newswriters, news sense does not necessarily constitute a skill required of conventional translators. In regard to journalists' perceptions of their role, Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) note that from a translation perspective

[a]lthough we may use the word 'translation' when referring to news translation, it is clear that what happens during the process of transfer is not translation as generally understood... What happens in news translation is that networks of foreign correspondents working within or linked to news agencies, write and shape stories for designated audiences. This mainly results in the creation of completely new texts which resist the definition of translation (2009, 132).

Indeed, according to Bielsa and Bassnett (2009, 147), journalists do not see themselves as translators and even recoil at the thought of being labelled as such, despite the fact that, in assembling their reports they skilfully use elements of translation and interpreting as just one tool in their armoury, "of which more important tools are an excellent news sense and good writing skills" (ibid). This view was confirmed by those I interviewed in course of my own field research.

In international newswriting, when a newsworthy event happens in a non English-speaking country, foreign correspondents in that locale who are associated with English-language news agencies or directly with newspapers report that event. In the compilation of their report they draw on sources in a language other than English from local radio and television broadcasts, press releases, press conferences, reports in the local press and oral reports from persons present at the time of the event. Through an invisible process of language transfer, where translation is transformed into a "virtual process" (Cronin in Bielsa

and Bassnett 2009, 142), the draft of an initial report comes into being through careful sifting of material that is gathered with the aim of transposing the spoken, written and visual information that is contained therein. The focus here is not on the transfer of textual content from any one particular source text, but the transfer of a broader range of information gathered from a wider variety of mixed-media sources that is aimed at meeting the needs and demands of the target readership. With their designated readership in mind, the same foreign correspondents then write the report in the target language of text production and send it to the particular news agency or newspaper with which they are associated. There it is checked for its accuracy of language, cohesion and coherence and may be edited further before it is given a headline and finally printed. However, in the event of revisions having to be made, unlike in traditional practices of translation where reference would be made back to the source text, in international newswriting this is often not possible for two main reasons. The first of these concerns timing: tight deadlines that are characteristic of both translation *per se* and the production of breaking news do not always, if ever, allow sufficient time for the detailed checking of textual content. The second reason concerns sourcing: because textual content is so deeply embedded in a range of mixed-media sources, there may be no way of tracing these original sources, making it virtually impossible to identify the exact cause of an inadequate translation solution. In short, although some similarities between traditional translation processes and those that occur in the production of international news exist, they are outweighed by a number of differences, the main one being that information is synthesised, and in the process modified, from spoken, written and visual sources by journalists as opposed to by professional translators.

Research question two: *Should theoretical and methodological aspects of translation form part of journalism training?* Information gained from interviews with journalists points to the fact that in regard to specialist translator training and the language competence *per se* of those who translate in the rendering of reports of international news, there are no specific benchmarks. From a non-translational perspective, i.e. one that does not take into account the notions of competence that I described in chapter 2.3.5, journalists might typically be deemed to be competent linguists who have acquired their skills through the practice of translation of a variety of text types as part of an undergraduate degree in modern languages, where the main focus was on language acquisition. On successful entry into the journalism profession, provided they have some competence in the use of one or more languages in addition to their mother tongue, they can practise as either multilingual foreign correspondents or correspondents at news desks in English-speaking countries, regardless of having had any

translator training. Essentially, specialist language or translator training within the field of journalism does not exist. An exception is the *New York Times*' policy of providing language training for those reporters who are 'farmed out' from New York and who need to improve their foreign language skills so as to work as competent reporters in the field. However, what is not provided in that language training is the development of any specific skills required by international newswriters, such as the ability to be able to quickly and accurately interpret and translate both spoken and written textual content.

Foreign correspondents naturally need to have a certain degree of language competence to be able to operate effectively and understand what is happening in the territory in which they are working. However, although many international newswriters operate successfully in their role without any formal training in theoretical and methodological aspects of translation, my analysis of texts used in the case studies does suggest that a certain degree of training in translation might be required, particularly in the areas of transfer competence. On the sole basis of my analysis of texts pertaining to the third case study (see chapter 4.3), it would appear that neither *Guardian* journalists Elena Moya nor Ian Traynor would entirely achieve Kelly's criteria of "communicative and textual competence" (2005, 32) and its particular requirement of "active and passive skills in the two languages" (ibid).

In further regard to notions of professional competence, with the various textual transformations that take place, journalists operate within both functionalist and other, more modern approaches to translation whereby they modify and synthesise information from spoken and written sources in another language in order to provide a coherent news service. This modifying and synthesising of information necessarily occurs because the stylistic features of a political news report written for native English readers can be very different from those of a political news report rendered for native readers of other languages (see chapter 2.3.3). In short, readers of international political news unconsciously and subtly demand adapted versions of reports because these do not require the effort needed to understand different cultures. For this reason, journalists, who can competently operate in a foreign language, will, to all intents and purposes, from a media perspective, objectively and accurately tailor their news reports to their clients' needs without requiring theoretical and methodological aspects of translation to be included in their professional training. However, from a translation perspective, there is still the danger that such tailoring of information for the purposes of domestication might result in simplification and loss of identity on the side of persons and cultures upon which reports are being written, as I described in the case of Zelaya in this study.

In terms of current debates about the function of translators as journalists and journalists as translators, the most current researchers are moving towards a view that journalists who have no training in translation are nonetheless able to produce accurate reports of international news. Bielsa and Bassnett acknowledge the fact that, “[m]ultilingual journalists may not have specific training in translation as such, although they are often experts in news translation: able to produce fast and reliable translations on a wide range of subjects that are covered in the journalistic medium” (2009, 58). Caimotto adds that “part of the problem lies within the lack of recognition towards a translator’s role, as available studies suggest that the translation of news is often carried out by “language experts” who are mainly trained as journalists (2010, 85). Caimotto’s as well as Bielsa and Bassnett’s views were confirmed and positively endorsed by those journalists whom I interviewed in the course of my own research. However, whilst the fact that specialist language or translator training within the field of journalism does not exist appears to be a satisfactory situation and therefore one that does not necessarily need to be addressed, my study has shown that there *are* problems in the processes of translation that occur in the production of international news. Many would argue that the problems I identified are minor. However, they do exist and acceptance of them constitutes a flaw in quality control processes. It is my feeling that continuing to ignore them will only condone this situation, leading to further acceptance of potentially more serious problems.

In chapter 2.3, I noted that the practices of newswriters are in themselves very similar to those of translators in regard to timeframes, deadlines, their target readership and versatility in working practices. Caimotto also draws an interesting parallel between the two professions in her assertion that “a professional translator is expected to be trained to work properly even under pressure and avoid [linguistic] distortions, just as a professional journalist is expected to be able to write a good article in a short time” (ibid., 90). In short, aspects of translation in the production of global news are perceived to be successfully encompassed within common media practices. Evidence from the case studies points to the fact that in the majority of cases translation is efficiently and unproblematically dealt with by journalists whose job it is to ‘give the meaning’ in English of what they receive in Spanish via spoken and written media. The perceived satisfactory nature of international newsgathering and dissemination is borne out by a number of journalists interviewed. This being the case, it is again questionable whether indeed international newswriters need further specialist training in translation in their roles as producers of international news. However, my analysis of texts in chapter four suggests that in terms of discourse analysis in journalism

training where translation is involved, and translation where journalism is involved, a greater focus on the discursive properties of spoken and written source material could possibly result in greater awareness and therefore avoidance of inadvertent ideological loading and syntactical interference from the original (as I described in my third case study), in reports of international news that is consumed in a different language by a new readership. Interestingly, interviews with some international newswriters confirmed that they would find such training useful in terms of professional development, but did not feel that it was essential to the successful execution of their role as journalists.

In the case of transfer from Spanish language sources to the English language news reports that I have analysed in this study, transfer competence does not necessarily appear to always be a valid cause of what might be perceived as inadequate translation solutions. This is borne out by the fact that the foreign correspondents reporting the events are, in their own right, generally competent linguists and therefore, for the most part, because of parallels in skills profiles between journalists and translators, they should be able to perform adequately in their role as translators. Whilst they have no specific training in translation, there is no evidence to suggest that any such training would make any difference to the quality of the end result, the mediated news report. This is because in their function as journalists, like translators they are already writing for the needs of a target readership. In addition, just like professional translators, despite the absence of any professional requirement to do so, some newswriters use a similar range of tools for the job, for example, monolingual and bilingual dictionaries and parallel texts. However, as previously discussed, different from translators, international newswriters do not translate in the conventional sense of source to target text transfer. Elements of their job, such as those described in the review of the literature pertaining to the role of translation in the media, are arguably more demanding. Here, I refer to the practice of international multilingual journalists who write reports in English using material that they translate and interpret from a variety of non-English, spoken and written sources. This being the case, it is also arguable that the overall levels of translation competence of some international journalists, who have not undergone specialist training in translation and interpreting, might be higher than that of some conventional translators or interpreters. Nonetheless, awareness raising would make them even better.

Research question three: *Do specific quality control guidelines exist for the use or re-use of translated material in the publication of news reports?* Apart from those I cited from Bielsa and Bassnett's research (2009, 71-2) that I described in chapter 2.3.4, the short and simple answer is "no". An obvious reason for the absence of specific guidelines when

working with reports in whose production translation has played a part is that it is not always obvious that journalists might be working with translated texts. This is most likely because of the phenomenon of the invisibility of translation (see chapter 2.2.2), and of media's lack of overt recognition of the position and significance of translation in the news gathering process. The only exception to this is the translation of quotations, where there are professional requirements to cite original sources (see chapter 2.3.4).

The notion of trust would appear to play as important a part in the production of international news as does the existence of specific quality control guidelines in other translational contexts. Foreign correspondents build up networks of trusted sources which they use to research newsworthy information prior to writing reports. This same principle of trust is carried through to the dissemination end of news production. Editorial teams at Reuters, the *Guardian* and *New York Times* in turn trust the competence of their reporters. Professional relationships are built on trust and whilst this may not seem a particularly scientific basis for describing journalism's *modus operandi*, according to both the reporters in the field and editors based in news organisations whom I interviewed, it is one that they consider works well. However, the findings of my own research (see case study three) suggest that *Guardian* editors in particular, do indeed need to tighten up their quality control procedures prior to publication of reports in whose production translation has played a part. Such action would go a long way to avoiding the publication of reports containing non-standard English usage as in the examples I cited in chapter 4.3.

Through discussion with journalists, it became clear that in international news reporting, it is fairly safe to assume that, because of the multiplicity of agents involved in the production of news and the level of trust that exists between them, and despite, in the case of the *New York Times*, the absence of a requirement for formal language training, it is assumed that those involved will always have sufficient source and target language competence to produce accurate news reports. When in doubt in regard to cultural or political issues, journalists consult other experts in the field whose judgements they trust. As at Reuters, there is no requirement to use style guides for anything other than adhering to norms of punctuation and the use of abbreviations.

At Reuters and the *New York Times* professional translators are not used. Reporters at source make the transfer from information gained in the local language into English. In case of doubt relating to accuracy of content, the original reporter is contacted for clarification. If for whatever reason this is not possible, the language resources of colleagues are drawn upon. With the linguistic make-up of those employed at the *New York Times*, finding a colleague to

clarify items of language does not usually present a problem (Greg Weeks, personal communication, October 2010). In the case of *Reuters*, where news is written for both Spanish and English language readerships, bi-directional language exchange also takes place.

Research question four: *To what extent is discursive misrepresentation really happening in the production of international news that emanates from the Spanish-speaking world?* Specific awareness of the discursive effects that can occur through translation is not part of journalism training and therefore it is possible that journalists do not immediately consider the discursive effects that can occur when translation is involved in the process of international news production. However, awareness of the discursive effects that can occur in the production of news reports *per se* does form part of journalism training. Therefore, one can assume that every trained journalist should be aware of the phenomenon. In addition, awareness of the fact that journalists are not in the business of imposing their own ideologies but should objectively report events is an implicit part of a journalist's remit. Newswriters do not impose their own ideologies by, for example, intentionally misrepresenting the Other. This view was wholly supported through my interviews with professional journalists, who confirmed that there is absolutely no evidence that this practice exists in quality journalism. The unanimous feeling was that in quality news reporting, any form of conscious or deliberate misrepresentation is avoided at all cost. This view is supported by Munday (2008) who cautions critics against assuming that translation choices, particularly those regarding ideology, are deliberate, citing several examples where translators made choices with ideological consequences, but made them inconsistently, suggesting a lack of awareness. Munday further explains that translators are often not sensitized to such issues (160-69).

In regard to intertextuality, newswriters do take into account the content and discourse of other related texts prior to reporting a news event. This is an integral part of a journalist's research either prior to or on arrival at the location from where reporting will take place. Reuters' Kieran Murray reports that it is normal practice for correspondents to have arranged for back copies of local newspapers to be available on arrival at hotels, in order that they can take into account the content of other related texts prior to reporting a news event in English. Therefore, it is unlikely that inconsistencies or inaccuracies occur in news rewriting because of either insufficient research or inadequate analysis of the content of other texts.

In Murray's words, "a good journalist will know what he or she doesn't know, and find that out before writing a story" (personal communication, June 2010). When questioned further on the occurrence of inadequate translation solutions, he conceded that inadequate checking at the editorial end of the news production and dissemination cycle was a more

likely source of inaccuracy than at the news gathering stage. Murray also pointed out that in order to avoid the publishing of inaccurate information, at news agencies where there is a strong ethos of editorial led news production, thorough processes of checking are in place to ensure avoidance of error.

All the journalists interviewed conceded to the fact that, where inaccuracies do occur, a contributory factor may well be time pressure, either at the source of the reporting of the event or at the editorial end, where there might be inadequate analysis of the discourse and inadequate checking of the content of a report prior to its publication. In regard to the Honduran case, for example, Murray was on leave at the time of the coup, but on return to the office was concerned that “there was something not clear in the reporting of the cause of the coup” (personal communication, June 2010). In regard to the continuing lack of clarity in published reports, he explained that once a story is out on the newswire, it is very difficult to make significant changes because journalists will work from already published sources, often without being aware of any potential inaccuracies that they may contain.

With reference to ideological interference, Christie, in her study of British and American misrepresentation of Bolivian President Evo Morales, concludes that “evidence of misrepresentation and mistranslation is not always wholly observable, not quantifiable, and oftentimes, opaque” (2006, 49-50). In this study the same is true. From the perspective of CDA, I have identified a potential degree of misrepresentation of ex-President Manuel Zelaya, and of Honduran electoral processes. From a translation perspective, I have postulated mistranslation as a reason for the misuse of political terminology. However, if we consider Venuti’s translation approaches of foreignising and domesticating, it is also arguable that rather than sloppy translation or journalistic practices, what happened in the Honduran case was skilful “ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language values” (Venuti 1995, 20-21) that “inscribes the foreign text with a partial interpretation, partial to English language values” (ibid), thus accounting for what at first appeared to be the ‘glossing over’ of meaning in the media’s description of Honduran political processes.

Field research undertaken at Reuters and at the *New York Times* clearly suggests that in the Honduran case, local circumstances and processes of time-pressured news production rather than varying degrees of translator or journalistic competence were the most likely cause of inaccuracy, misrepresentation and what might be classified as inadequate translation solutions. My findings suggest that media practices do not have a serious effect on the integrity of journalistic translation, and in some cases, such as in the production of wholesale (agency) news, translated material is dealt with, with extra care to ensure reliability, and to

avoid at all costs, misrepresentation and thereby subsequent reinforcement of such discursive features as negative stereotyping.

In terms of the success of the interviews, it is worth reconsidering their original twofold purpose: firstly they were intended to serve to establish the extent to which newswriters (translators as journalists, or journalists as translators) might be responsible for inadequate translation solutions, and the subsequent effect those potentially inadequate translation solutions might have on published news texts. Secondly, they were intended to reveal those mechanisms in the world of media dissemination that obscure the phenomena of invisibility and transparency in translation in the production of international news in order to achieve a deeper and more accurate understanding of issues leading to inadequate translation solutions.

In regard to the measure of the outcomes of these initial purposes, both were quantifiable. Firstly, international newswriters, who belong to part of a dominant cultural elite, contribute unwittingly to the expression of international power structures (van Dijk 1998, 23) thus subtly legitimising these through discursive means in their rewriting of extracts from political speeches, political documents and press briefings which then become part of the make-up of news reports. They are therefore responsible for the existence of inadequate translation solutions and also for the subsequent effect these might have in published news reports. In the context of this study, this practice occurred in the indiscriminate use of the term “referendum” in relation to the demise of Manuel Zelaya, and omission of the term “resources” in relation to Argentina’s claim to sovereignty of the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*. Secondly, in revealing those mechanisms in the world of media dissemination that obscure the fact that translation takes place in the production of international news, the interviews allowed for a deeper and more accurate understanding of issues leading to inadequate translation solutions such as degrees of translation or journalistic competence; attitude to the task; the style, format and text type of sources; production factors such as deadlines or availability of reference material; journalistic norms; cultural values and ideologies; the editor’s acceptance of content and or reader expectations, all of which affect the content of a published report of international news.

For critical discourse analysts, examples shown in the first case study reveal a certain projection of negative stereotyping of Manuel Zelaya and Honduran political processes. Whilst the inconsistent and repeated use of political terminology might confuse the politically aware, critical reader, it cannot be said that it necessarily contributes to the projection of a negative image of Zelaya alone, but of the Honduran political system and of the country

itself, thereby still introducing an element of discursive loading. The same is true for what might be considered discursive loading through omissions from some of the reports relating to Argentina that I analysed in the second case study. Here I refer to the lack of mention of Argentina's resources in the Falkland Islands/*Islas Malvinas*, and also of the omission of lexis supporting the strength of emotion of President Kirchner's speech, both of which are present in Argentine reports.

Whilst there is no evidence that degrees of translation competence *per se* are at the core of the terminological problem, neither is there one sole explanation as to the cause. It is the existence of common media practices that is the most dominant contributory factor that results in inadequate translation solutions. Here I refer again not only to the need for newspapers to attract and maintain the attention and interest of their readership by best serving their needs in the reporting of international political news events which may involve both embellishment and editing of content, but also to the inherent processes that take place first at the initial reporting of an event, then on its journey across the international newswire and arrival at the desk of retail or wholesale news organisations. Given that the composition of reports of international news is often based upon a number of spoken and written sources that have been summarised and amalgamated with texts from other sources in another language, and that it is common for journalists to draw from other sources (typically agency reports and possibly unedited reports from other reporters which, although not immediately obvious, may also be translations), it is often impossible to ascertain the exact content of the original source. This being the case, and with evidence of translation often being difficult to find, it cannot be surprising that inaccuracies and inconsistencies in the reporting of international news occur. Where inadequate translation solutions do exist, it is important to remember that beyond problems of terminological transfer such as those highlighted in the third case study, their degree of adequacy is often impossible to measure. This is because criteria for measurement may only depend on the ideological stance of the reader.

5.2 Challenges and Limitations of the Study

This has been an extensive study, only through the execution of which has it become apparent that results are neigh-on impossible to measure. There are manifold reasons for this. The first is inherent in the study's design and relates to the many variables that I aimed to include in my analysis. Here, I refer to the three events that were originally reported in five Spanish language newspapers of different socio-cultural, political and economic backgrounds, which I then compared with reports in three English language news organisations of different political

persuasions. Such a broad approach was needed because in the absence of other such studies, mine needed to be exploratory, thereby encompassing a wide range of social, political and economic scenarios. The negative consequence of this was that arguably, results were not always entirely measurable because original Spanish language left- and right-wing political discourse was not always compared with English language discourse corresponding to the same political bias.

The obscuring effects of the nature of translation in journalism and the different, non-standardized conventions operating in different news organisations in different locales posed a further challenge. The paths that may lead to what appears to be the production of inadequate translation solutions are strewn with non-quantifiable ideologies as well as editorial decisions and biases, thereby making it extremely difficult to throw light on actual processes that are easily identifiable.⁹⁷ Ultimately, the news organisation's political bias and the fact that, traditionally, international news is domesticated to the needs of the target readership, leaves little space to analyse *what*, *how* and *why* inadequate translation solutions have occurred. A possible solution to overcoming this difficulty is further ethnographic field research that involves shadowing reporters at the source of reporting.

A second unforeseen and restricting factor during the course of my research was the reluctance of journalists associated with the news sources used to willingly participate in research. More interviews would have been desirable, particularly with editorial staff at the *Guardian*, in order to gather stronger evidence of the existence or not of the phenomenon of the (in)adequacy of translation solutions in the reporting of international news events. Only six interviews resulted from forty-five initial contacts. An interesting explanation for this, beyond the obvious one of the time constraints which are inherent to the job, is possibly that the working culture of journalists belongs to one where, in the anecdotal words of *New York Times* reporter Elisabeth Malkin, "journalists don't usually like having done to them what they do to others" (personal communication, June 2010). A further and probably more plausible explanation is that many journalists do not generally perceive there to be a problem related to translation within their profession, largely because they see translation as being an integral as opposed to separate part of their routine. In other words they do not see

⁹⁷ An interesting example of intertextuality in the third case study led me at first to believe that *Guardian* journalist Giles Tremlett was using techniques of explicitation to embellish his 14 February 2010 report, thereby constituting an inadequate translation solution. It later became apparent however, that what Tremlett had done was to skilfully merge information from different spoken and written sources, thus providing a clear example of how hard it is to identify a source text. (My thanks go to Dorothy Kelly for pointing this out).

themselves as translators in the way that some Translation Studies researchers often purport them to be.

A further limitation relates to suggestions by Austermühl, Bielsa, Christie and Schöffner that CDA be used in the analysis of reports of international news. The use of CDA as an analytical tool did not always prove to be an entirely effective, helpful or valid tool for the analysis of reports of international news in whose production translation played a part. It became a challenge largely because of its inability to offer a model from which to operate and also because of, for many, the requirement of personal ideological subscription to this particular methodology (Widdowson 2004, quoted in Haig, 2004, 142). According to Hammersley (1997, 253), methodologically-lacking and subjective CDA can force results to be judged according to their political or social implications rather than according to their validity (quoted in Haig, 2004, 136). In this regard, in the early stages of my analysis of the discourse of the corpus of news reports, speculation was often ungrounded and initially led to my over-interpretation of data.

In chapter 3.9, I referred to Haig's statement that "CDA is not analysis in support of theory, but merely interpretation in support of belief" (2004, 142). Interestingly, in regard to the imposition of dominant ideologies in mediated news texts by those who produce them, it is precisely this point which was refuted by journalists. The existence of notions of power was deemed by those interviewed to be non-existent and purely one that had been 'invented' by those who subscribed to the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis, whose mission it is to identify what they propose to be ideological loading in reports of political news.

In the second case study, there are elements of opposing political ideologies at play and for this reason it seemed reasonable to use CDA as a methodological tool. However, because news was reported in different languages for consumption by a different readership, the application of CDA in the evaluation of translation solutions in regard to the portrayal of that ideology may still have been to no greater effect than application of the second of the extratextual factors of Nord's model of translation-oriented text analysis pertaining to the writer's intention. While Nord does not explicitly address issues of power and manipulation, her model, with its focus on audience orientation, does stress consideration of the particular needs and expectations of the target readership (2005, 244).

Hatim (1997, 1-12) offers an approach that looks at the process of translation from the viewpoint of contrastive linguistics, where the global process of text analysis also starts with pre-reading for clues within the content of the text. These clues can inform translational decisions in terms of style. Hatim's approach to translation works within the wider contextual

frameworks of world knowledge, culture and ideology that have given rise to the production of a particular text in the first place, and which are so relevant to the news gathering and dissemination process.

In the first case study, application by newswriters of Nord's model would almost certainly have helped in handling the terminological difficulties presented by the local political situation. Undoubtedly there were dominant internal political ideologies at play in Honduras, which were driven by Micheletti's interim government, but whilst these affected the accuracy of the content of reports in the early stages of reporting, it was not necessarily the application of CDA that exposed these deficiencies in terms of adequacy of translation solution. Likewise, in the third case study where other examples showed explicitation of content by the journalist, it was not critical discourse analysis, but straightforward techniques of translation criticism that exposed inadequacies in translation solutions and more specifically, inadequacies in transfer competence. The same is true for the other instances of first language interference in articles written by both *Guardian* and *Independent* journalists.

Finally, in request for a model which provided for the critical analysis of the discourse of a corpus of news reports, it is of interest to note van Dijk's opinion on the meaningfulness and achievability of the task:

[It] all depends on your *precise* intentions: what exactly do [sic] you want to analyse and why. In my view, you can and should focus on the translation of specific aspects of news, and not on translation in general, etc. -- e.g. those subtle (usually lexical) structures that appear to lose much in translation from Spanish to English. For that you do not need discourse analysis, which deals mostly with larger structures, like local and global coherence, narrative or argumentative structures, little affected by translation (personal communication, June 2009).

Whilst van Dijk was not able to respond to my request for a model, his view on the use of CDA for the analysis of lexical structures concurs with my own conclusions relating to my findings in the first case study in regard to the use of the term "referendum", but is contradictory to those relating to my findings in the second. Here I refer specifically to the discursive effect created by the omission in the British press of the term "resources", despite the fact that its Spanish equivalent *recursos* frequently appears in the Argentine press (see chapter 4.2).

5.3 Further Research

It is only through the execution of this study that suggestions for future research have become apparent. In this regard, I would like to propose four main areas: i) the development of curricula models such as "translation for newswriters"; ii) the development of specific guidelines for dealing with translated material; iii) the provision of a methodologically sound

model for political discourse analysis in translation and iv) discrete item research centring on, for example, the working practices of editorial teams, observation of journalists in the field, reader involvement and the use of specific fields of terminology.

Curricula models such as “translation for newswriters” could be provided in both translation and journalism training programmes worldwide with input from both professions, thereby strengthening the position of Translation Studies in terms of research and training, and heightening awareness of translation’s link with intercultural communication as opposed to just language competence. In hypothesising about the cause of inadequate translation solutions, we cannot simply point to journalism’s disregard for the impact that translation may have, or, as my interviews revealed, assume its lack of awareness of the complexities of the translation process. Neither can we point to a lack of training *per se* as the cause of inadequate translation solutions that appear in reports of international news. However, greater awareness would lead to a reduction in the number of mistakes being made and would help journalists deal better with specialised terminology.

Whilst current training programmes might already include the translation of journalistic texts in their practice classes, these are not directly used with the view to student translators becoming journalists. In terms of methodology, it is likely that most currently fail to advocate anything more than translation-oriented text analysis as part of the training procedure. In this regard, it is interesting to note that according to Nord’s description of translation training in Germany, “newspaper texts play a secondary role in translation classes” (Nord 2005, 217). The longer-term effects of these differing modes of training result in professional translators of journalistic texts being ignorant of the deeper significance of the language expressed in source texts. Therefore, it would seem appropriate that translation training courses consider including, for example, components related to translation and interpreting specifically for journalistic purposes, or workshops for international newswriters, in order to provide a means of achieving appropriate levels of translator competence within the journalism profession. The proposed component could, for example, focus on the use of critical discourse analysis in conjunction with other conventional models of translation-oriented text analysis, such as Nord’s model of translation-oriented text analysis (1991) to ascertain meanings that may be hidden in their respective sources. In particular regard to Nord’s work, it would seem appropriate, even sufficient, to add her notion of *Function plus Loyalty* (1997, 123-8) to her text analysis model when dealing with translation in mediated texts. Such an addition would highlight awareness of the importance of the accurate

reproduction of political discourse and political terminology when writing reports of international news in whose production translation has played a part.

In regard for the need for the establishment of industry standards relating to the competence of those who translate in their role as producers of international news, client-driven, curricula models developed specifically for translation are non-existent, unlike in other language related areas such as English language teacher training.⁹⁸ In her review of Kiraly's (2000) *Social Constructivist Approach to Translator Education*, with reference to translator training in continental Europe at the turn of this millennium, Marta Rosas notes that "the fact that translator training courses have existed only for a few decades allows for the assumption that a methodology for the training of translators and translation teachers has not yet been properly developed" (2004). Since then, considerable research into translator training has taken place (see for example Maria Gonzalez Davies 2004, Nord 2005, Kelly, 2005, Arrojo 2005, and Vanessa Enríquez Raído 2011), but there are still no established systematic procedures to guarantee degrees of competence in training translators for journalistic purposes. From syllabus design to the planning and execution of classroom activity, there is the potential need to reconsider the role of trainee translators for journalism, and that of their trainers. This situation, therefore, also suggests the need for an approach that prepares trainee translators for translation of news texts whereby, for example, they are prepared for dealing with both spoken and written texts in a foreign language, thus also incorporating essential elements of interpreting. It would also be logical to base the driving forces behind any proposed model on realistic practices, and on demands that occur within the journalism profession, thereby meeting with the approval of industry stakeholders.

The development of specific guidelines for dealing with translated material would represent a logical step forward for the disciplines of Translation Studies and Media Studies because for many English language writers of international news, the concept of translation does not form part of the production process.⁹⁹ Such guidelines would need to be clearly defined and be given a clearly defining label in order to accommodate the distinction between the somewhat confusing and often hidden processes of translation that constitute a major part

⁹⁸ See Cambridge ESOL CELTA.

⁹⁹ See Loupaki, Gumul, Caimotto and Federici in Schäffner and Bassnett (2010) for exceptions to the norm. All provide valid and replicable studies relating to the translation of political and economic news reports from English and French into Greek, from English into Polish and from English into Italian, where traditional processes of translation occur resulting in *Guardian* and *New York Times* reports, for example, being translated into those languages and published as translations. In other words, Greek, Polish and Italian readers can read some *Guardian* and *New York Times* political and economic news reports in their native language.

of the production of international political news. They would include for example, consideration of the discursive effect of source material; the motive for communication of the source information at source; the medium of communication of the source i.e. radio, television or newspaper report and specific recommendations to editors for the checking content of material that has knowingly been translated. I propose that the use of the term “translation” be avoided in the context of describing news production and dissemination, for, as is evident from the research carried out in this study, in the conventional sense of the term, this is not an accurate label to describe what happens. My call for re-labelling comes as a result of the umbrella term “translation” having become a confusing metaphor for intercultural exchanges which often do not involve overt linguistic transfer. This phenomenon is described in a number of the contributions in Bielsa and Bassnett (2009) and Schäffner and Bassnett (2010) to which I refer in this study, where the term “version”, for example, as opposed to the term “translation”, could be employed to more accurately compare reports of international news that are produced in different languages.

The provision of a methodologically sound model for political discourse analysis in translation would be a useful step forward because of the global significance of translation in the production of international news. I would envisage a model based on principles of Nord’s 1991 model of translation oriented text analysis (see chapter 3.7), but with inclusion of the workable elements of CDA and its key concepts of power, ideology, and identity that I described in chapter 3.10, whereby the discursive effect of source and target material could be easily identified. It would also still seem appropriate that those involved in international newswriting be made sufficiently aware of the discursive effects of rewriting political discourse originating from non-English sources. This is particularly important in the globalised world where competent linguists, who may also be trainee translators, cannot necessarily predict the areas in which they will be working. Therefore, it would seem crucial for them to be able to adapt to the demands of an ever-changing market. With globalisation and the increased movement of people around the world, the phenomenon of multilingualism has also increased. This means that there are more multilingual people in the world than ever before and an interesting step for Media Studies would be to target this group, thus

encompassing already language-competent prospective candidates for the journalism profession.¹⁰⁰

Discrete item research with a minimum of variables would, I feel, be more easily achievable than the breadth and scope of the research attempted in this exploratory study. Future studies similar to this one might adopt a more qualitative approach to analysis by classifying and correlating results more systematically within the framework of working with news publications within the same political bias or socio-cultural background who share similar positions regarding the use of translated material. Specific studies relating to textual content could include examination of the use of specific fields of terminology (e.g. political) and syntax (e.g. modality or the use of reporting verbs).

Another very useful area to study would be the working practices of editorial teams. One key area of focus could be centred on increasing their level of recognition of the role of translation and that of the translator in the production of reports of international news. Another could be related to the practice of basing editorial decisions wholly on the fact that they trust that their foreign correspondents are accurately reporting events. Editorial teams might also need to be more selective in their acceptance of the use of political terminology in the reporting of international news events prior to publication of finished reports. If we look back at examples of language use highlighted in the third case study, there is arguably also cause for concern in regard to degrees of checking by editorial teams to ensure appropriate English usage in those reports of international news in whose production translation has knowingly played a part.

Observation of journalists in the field would be another useful area of discrete item ethnographic study. Only by witnessing the news gathering process first hand can we really make informed pronouncements on the translational processes involved.

Reader involvement is another important area. One of the criticisms of CDA and of other approaches to translation analysis is that they make subjective and unproven suppositions of the target reader's scrutiny of texts. One question to be asked would be, for example, "do real readers notice inadequate translation solutions"?

Finally, it would also be interesting to focus on more specific issues of directionality and language combination in the production of international news. In regard to language combination, based on the findings in this study, there were on the whole few inherent socio-

¹⁰⁰ In New Zealand, for example, "One in three children growing up ... today are [sic] likely to have at least one parent who was born overseas" (Morton et al. 2010). Whilst the study does not look into the languages spoken at home, it would most likely find the language mix to be equally diverse.

cultural problems in the transfer of concepts from Spanish and English. This being the case, it would seem appropriate for future researchers to carry out more focused studies i.e. between news publications of the same political bias when investigating the notion of inadequate translation solutions through comparison of texts with this same language combination. Whilst there is still value in comparing the adequacy of translation solutions between two world languages belonging to developed societies, it is also of value to compare translation solutions from less-translated languages, which are spoken in underdeveloped or developing societies, with English. This is because other socio-cultural implications will most likely be present.

Although the phenomenon of discursive intervention through inadequate translation solutions does undeniably exist, I do not believe it consistently and convincingly exists as a recurring problem. Whilst the keenest translation-focused critical discourse analysts would possibly disagree with this view, there is not sufficient evidence in my own research to suggest that large-scale discursive intervention on the part of international newswriters is systematically taking place. Therefore, in the same way that Christina Schäffner (2004, 136) suggests that it is time for the discipline of Translation Studies to move its focus from the now, widely-agreed non-existence of the phenomenon of “equivalence”, similar such action on the part of Translation Studies researchers could avoid possible fruitless debate about the phenomenon of *wide-scale* discursive intervention in reports of international news in whose production translation has played a part.

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Appendix 1

Questions for Unstructured Interviews – Newspaper and Agency Journalists

1. Translator variables - where degrees of translation or journalistic competence, or attitude to the task may vary

- a) To what extent is translation seen as an integral or separate part of journalism?
- b) To what extent do different degrees of translation competence affect the content of a news report?
- c) What quality control measures are in place in regard to translated text?
- d) How is a journalist's foreign language competence measured?
- e) How does a newspaper ensure journalists have the necessary specialist knowledge to work with non-English sources, e.g. political news reports?
- f) What are the professional backgrounds of those who translate? Are professional translators used in the translation of political news texts? If so are they also trained as journalists?
To what extent do you consider translation training or knowledge of theoretical aspects of translation could be helpful to journalists?

2. Source and target language variables - the style, format and text type of sources may affect the target text or structural and rhetorical constraints of English and therefore do not lend themselves to accurate translation solutions

- a) To what extent does the style, content, format and text type of the source affect the published content of news reports?

3. Task variables - where production factors such as deadlines or availability of reference material affect the end product

- a) How do factual inaccuracies in published reports arise?
- b) To what extent are journalists/editors aware that they may be working with material that has already been translated? How does this affect the writing of a news report?
- c) If it is known that a source (text) has been translated/interpreted, what guidelines/quality control measures (if any) are in place in regard to the accuracy of that translation?
- d) What do journalists typically do when faced with an incoherent or incomprehensible source?
- e) What do journalists typically do when they aren't *au fait* with the topic area, e.g. political processes?
- f) To what extent are glossaries/terminology databases available and used as an aid to consistency in the use of correct terminology?
- g) Have translators been incorporated in news organisations as editors or do they retain a distinctive role as translators?
- h) Could inadequate translation solutions arise from post-editing where the reviser may not know the source language?

4. Socio-cultural variables - journalistic norms, cultural values and ideologies

- a) What media practices, journalistic norms, cultural or ideological values affect the original content of a published news report?

5. Reception variables - the editor's acceptance of content, or reader expectations

- a) To what extent does the editor's attitude towards the item's newsworthiness affect the published content of a news report?
- b) To what extent does reader expectation influence the content of news reports?
- c) How are items manipulated to cater for reader expectations?

Appendix 2

Questions for Unstructured Interviews – Newspaper Editors

1. To what extent do different degrees of translation competence affect the content of a news report?

2. What quality control measures at the editorial end are in place in regard to translated material?

3. To what extent are editors aware that they may be working with material that has already been translated? Does this affect the editing of a news report?

4. How do factual inaccuracies in published reports arise? E.g. production factors such as deadlines or availability of reference material

5. What do editors typically do when faced with an incoherent or incomprehensible source?

6. To what extent are glossaries/terminology databases available and used as an aid to consistency in the use of correct terminology?

7. How could factual inaccuracies be caused by the editing process?
8. When editing, do *The Guardian's* cultural or ideological values cause changes in the original content of a report?

Appendix 3

New York Times and *Guardian* extracts used in the first case study.

“Honduras president arrested in military coup” AP, *The Guardian*, 28 June 2009

Zelaya was detained shortly before voting was to begin on a **constitutional referendum** the president had insisted on holding, even though the supreme court ruled it illegal and everyone from the military to congress and members of his own party opposed it.

Zelaya's constitutional successor, congressional president Roberto Micheletti, has been one of his main opponents in the dispute over whether to hold the **referendum**. The head of the supreme court was also opposed to **Sunday's election**. The **nonbinding referendum** was to ask voters if they wanted a vote during the November presidential election on whether to convoke an assembly to rewrite the constitution.

It appeared pretty certain that **the vote** would no longer take place.

Zelaya supporters who would have **cast their ballots** in favour of the **referendum** instead stood outside the gates to the presidential palace to protest his arrest.

“Honduras: Back to the bad old days?” *The Guardian*, 29 June 2009

Zelaya's proposal to hold a **referendum** on a proposed new constitution was judged "illegal" by congress, and the army was "invited" to intervene by the supreme court.

“Protesters demand return of ousted Honduran president Manuel Zelaya” Rory Carroll and Agencies, *The Guardian*, 29 June 2009

Last week, Zelaya tried to fire the armed forces chief, General Romeo Vasquez, in a dispute over an attempt to hold an **unofficial referendum** about changing the constitution to allow presidential terms beyond a single, four-year stretch.

The arrest of Mr. Zelaya was the culmination of a battle that had been simmering for weeks over a **referendum**, which was to have taken place Sunday, that he hoped would lead to a revision of the Constitution.

Zelaya was removed from office as Hondurans prepared to vote Sunday in a **nonbinding referendum** asking them whether they would support a constituent assembly to rewrite the constitution. Zelaya's critics said he wanted to use the **referendum** to open the door to reelection after his term ends in January 2010, an assertion that he denied.

The **referendum** -- which U.S. officials described as more of a "survey" than a true vote -- was condemned by broad swaths of Honduran society as an obvious power grab. The Honduran Supreme Court called the **referendum** unconstitutional, and leaders of Zelaya's own party denounced the measure.

“New Honduran government under pressure to quit” Rory Carroll, *The Guardian*, 29 June 2009

He angered the country's institutions by trying to hold a **non-binding referendum** about changing the constitution to allow presidential terms beyond a single, four-year term.

Just before the coup Zelaya fired the armed forces chief, who refused to cooperate in **the referendum**, and defied a supreme court ruling to abandon the vote.

“Honduran President is Ousted in Coup” Elisabeth Malkin, *NYT*, 29 June 2009

The arrest of Mr. Zelaya was the culmination of a battle that had been simmering for weeks over a **referendum**, which was to have taken place Sunday, that he hoped would lead to a revision of the Constitution. Critics said it was part of an illegal attempt by Mr. Zelaya to defy the Constitution’s limit of a single four-year term for the president.

Early this month, the Supreme Court agreed, declaring the **referendum unconstitutional**, and Congress followed suit last week. In the last few weeks, supporters and opponents of the president have held competing demonstrations. On Thursday, Mr. Zelaya led a group of protesters to an Air Force base and seized the ballots, which the prosecutor’s office and the electoral tribunal had ordered confiscated.

“Zelaya plans to return to Honduras to reverse coup” Rory Carroll, *The Guardian*, 30 June 2009

He angered the courts, army, congress and his own party by trying to hold a **non-binding referendum** which may have paved the way for him to change the constitution to run again when his term expired.

Days before the coup Zelaya fired the armed forces chief, who refused to cooperate in the **referendum**, and defied a supreme court ruling to abandon the **vote**.

Accusations that he violated the constitution came to a climax over his push for a **referendum** which might have abolished presidential term limits.

“The Winner in Honduras: Chávez” Álvaro Vargas Llosa (Op-Ed Contributor) *NYT* June 30, 2009

As the general elections scheduled for November began to creep up, Mr. Zelaya decided to hold a **referendum** with the ultimate aim of allowing him to seek re-election. The move violated articles of the Constitution that forbid changes to the presidential limit of one four-year term and establish the legal procedure for constitutional amendments. The electoral court, the Supreme Court, the attorney general, Congress and members of his own party declared Mr. Zelaya’s intention unlawful. Then, on Sunday, the military stepped in.

“In a Coup in Honduras, Ghosts of Past U.S. Policies” *NYT* 30 June 2009 Helene Cooper and Marc Lacey

During a more formal meeting afterward, they discussed Mr. Zelaya’s plans for a **referendum** that would have laid the groundwork for an assembly to remake the Constitution, a senior administration official said.

But American officials did not believe that Mr. Zelaya’s plans for the **referendum** were in line with the Constitution, and were worried that it would further inflame tensions with the military and other political factions, administration officials said.

Even so, one administration official said that while the United States thought the **referendum** was a bad idea, it did not justify a coup.

“On the one instance, we’re talking about **conducting a survey, a nonbinding survey**; in the other instance, we’re talking about the forcible removal of a president from a country,” the official said, speaking on the condition of anonymity during a teleconference call with reporters.

“Leader’s Ouster Not a Coup, Says the Honduran Military” *NYT*, Marc Lacey 2 July 2009

The army had resisted participating in a **nonbinding referendum** on constitutional changes that Mr. Zelaya continued to push after both Congress and the courts had labeled the president’s move unconstitutional. Army lawyers were convinced that Mr. Zelaya was moving to lift a provision limiting presidents to a single term in office, Colonel Bayardo said.

When the army refused an order to help organize the **referendum**, the president fired the commander of the armed forces, Gen. Romeo Vásquez. He was reinstated by the Supreme Court, which found his removal illegal.

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When the army refused an order to help organize the **referendum**, the president fired the commander of the armed forces, Gen. Romeo Vásquez. He was reinstated by the Supreme Court, which found his removal illegal.

“Honduras warned of sanctions over coup” Rory Carroll, *The Guardian*, 3 July 2009

The interim president, Roberto Micheletti, last night softened his position, saying a **referendum** on allowing Zelaya to finish his term was possible.

“Honduran military regime threatens reprisals as president plans return” Ben Quinn, *The Observer*, 5 July 2009

Zelaya was taken from his home at gunpoint by soldiers and flown into exile on 28 June, after months of pushing for a **constitutional referendum** that Honduras's courts and Congress had called illegal. Many suspected the **referendum** was an attempt to remain in power after his term ends in January, although Zelaya denies this.

“High stakes for Honduras” Benjamin Dangel, *The Guardian*, 7 July 2009

Leading up to the coup, Zelaya was pushing for a **referendum** on 28 June in which the ballot question was to be: "Do you agree that, during the general elections of November 2009 there should be a fourth ballot to decide whether to hold a Constituent National Assembly that will approve a new political constitution?" This **non-binding referendum** - not plans from Zelaya to expand his power – was enough to push right wing and military leaders to organise a coup.

“US leaves Honduras to its fate” Mark Weisbrot, *The Guardian*, 8 July 2009

In fact, there was no way for Zelaya to "extend his rule" even if the **referendum** had been held and passed, and even if he had then gone on to win a binding referendum on the November ballot. The 28 June **referendum** was nothing more than a **non-binding poll** of the electorate, asking whether the voters wanted to place a **binding referendum** on the November ballot to approve a redrafting of the country's constitution.

“US Turns Up Pressure on Honduras Coup Government” *NYT (AP)*, 20 July 2009

Zelaya angered many here by ignoring the objections of the courts and Congress to try to hold a **referendum** on changing the constitution, which many saw as an attempt to impose a Chavez-style socialist government.

"Neither Micheletti nor Zelaya gives me anything to eat," said street vendor Oscar Quintanilla, who is struggling to raise four children amid constant protests. "I don't care about **constitutional referendums**, all I care about is the welfare of my family."

“Honduras' Interim Govt Sends Lobbying Team to US” *NYT (AP)* 21 July 2009

Zelaya angered many people in Honduras by ignoring Congress' and the courts' objections to his effort to hold a **referendum** on changing the constitution, which many saw as an attempt to impose a Chavez-style socialist government.

“Ousted Honduran President Sees U.S. Support Waning” *NYT* 26 July 2009

Zelaya's relations with the military were tense before the coup. Just days before he was removed from power, he fired the military chief of staff after the army refused to help him run an **unofficial referendum** on extending his mandate.

“Honduras Leader Firm Against World Pressure” *NYT (Reuters)*, 1 August 2009

Zelaya upset the Supreme Court and many in Congress by trying to hold a **referendum** to change the constitution.

“Obama must help Honduras” Calvin Tucker, *The Guardian*, 3 August 2009

The coup was timed to prevent a **consultative referendum** scheduled for the same day.

Had the **consultative poll** been allowed to take place and the population voted yes, the Honduran Congress would have been under pressure to agree to a **second (this time binding) referendum** on the same day as presidential elections in November. Irrespective of the **referendum** result, Zelaya could not have been a presidential candidate.

“Honduras prohibits visit of OAS crisis negotiators” *NYT, (AP)* 9 August 2009

Soldiers arrested Zelaya and flew him into exile in Costa Rica after he ignored a Supreme Court order to cancel a referendum asking Hondurans if they wanted a special assembly to rewrite the constitution. Zelaya is constitutionally barred from seeking re-election. Opponents say his real motive for the referendum was to abolish term limits so he could run again. Zelaya denies that was his intention.

“Aide: Zelaya Plane Stopped at Base With US Troops” *NYT, (AP)* 16 August 2009

The government of interim President Roberto Micheletti is trying to withstand international pressure to restore Zelaya before scheduled Nov. 29 presidential elections. It insists Zelaya was legally removed from office after violating court orders to call off a **referendum** asking voters whether they would support rewriting the constitution.

“Ousted Leader Returns to Honduras” *NYT, Elisabeth Malkin*, 21 September 2009

At the time of his removal, Mr. Zelaya was planning a **nonbinding referendum** that his opponents said would have been the first step toward allowing him to run for another term in office, which is forbidden under the Honduran Constitution. Mr. Zelaya has denied any attempt to run for re-election.

“Brazil urges Manuel Zelaya not to provoke Honduras coup leaders” Rory Carroll, *The Guardian*, 22 September 2009

The crisis flared when he tried to hold a **non-binding public consultation** to ask people whether they supported moves to change the constitution.

“Rally for Ousted Honduran is Dispersed” *NYT*, Elisabeth Malkin and Marc Lacey, 23 September 2009

At the time of his removal, Mr. Zelaya was planning a **nonbinding referendum** that his opponents said would have been the first step toward allowing him to run for another term in office, which is forbidden under the Honduran Constitution. Mr. Zelaya has denied any attempt to run for re-election.

“Battle for Honduras Echoes Loudly in Media” *NYT*, Elisabeth Malkin and Marc Lacey, 24 September 2009

In Mr. Zelaya’s case, he flouted court rulings ordering him not to conduct a **survey** on whether to convene a citizens assembly to change the Constitution. Eventually, the chief prosecutor filed a complaint with the Supreme Court accusing Mr. Zelaya of treason and abuse of authority, among other charges. That led to an arrest warrant that was carried out on June 28.

“Honduras revokes emergency civil liberties decree” AP, *The Guardian*, 5 October 2009

Zelaya was forced from office with the backing of the Honduran congress and supreme court for trying to hold a **referendum** on rewriting the constitution.

“Nations try to end coup deadlock in Honduras” AP, *The Guardian*, 7 October 2009

Zelaya was forced from office after trying to hold a **referendum** on rewriting the constitution.

“Gallup: 73pc in Honduras Say Vote Will Solve Coup” *NYT*, (AP) 27 October 2009

Zelaya was ousted by the army after he defied Supreme Court orders to cancel a **referendum** on rewriting the constitution. He is at the Brazilian Embassy, where he took refuge after **sneaking back** into Honduras on Sept. 21 from his forced exile.

“US Urges Flexibility in Efforts for Honduras Deal” *NYT*, (AP) 28 October 2009

But the government of Robert Micheletti, sworn in as interim president after the coup, says Zelaya was legally removed from office June 28 after he defied a court order to cancel a **referendum** on whether to rewrite the constitution. It accuses the leftist leader of attempting to lift a ban on presidential term limits, something Zelaya denies.

“Honduras coup: troops deployed to oversee election” Rory Carroll, *The Guardian*, 27 November 2009

When he tried holding a **non-binding referendum** on changing the constitution they accused him of plotting to extend his rule – a charge he denied – and ousted him.

Appendix 4

Financial Times and *Guardian* extracts used in the second case study.

“Buenos Aires protests over Falklands oil drilling plans” George Parker and Alex Barker (London) and Jude Webber (Buenos Aires), *The Financial Times* February 4 2010

“Falklands oil prospects stir Anglo-Argentinian tensions” Rory Carroll & Annie Kelly, *The Guardian*, 7 February 2010

What they [the British] are doing is illegitimate ... **It’s a violation of our sovereignty.** We will do everything possible to **defend and preserve our rights.**

“Argentina imposes shipping rules in Falklands oil row” Rory Carroll, *The Guardian* 17 February 2010

President Cristina Kirchner issued a decree obliging vessels which use Argentine ports to seek a government permit if they enter or leave **British-controlled waters.** "Any boat that wants to travel between ports on the Argentine mainland to the Islas Malvinas, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands ... must first ask for permission from the Argentine government," Aníbal Fernández, the cabinet chief, told a news conference in Buenos Aires yesterday.

“Argentina steps up row over Falklands oil exploration” Rory Carroll, *The Guardian* 17 February 2010

Yesterday's decree will force all ships – not just those involved in hydrocarbon exploration – bound for the islands or travelling through **waters claimed by Argentina** to secure the new permit.

“This isn’t Falklands II”, Simon Tisdall, *The Guardian* 17 February 2010

But **suggestions in Buenos Aires** that Argentina will attempt to enforce its authority on the high seas – or over what it calls its "national territory" around the Falklands – appear highly impractical at this point.

“Argentina steps up row over Falklands oil exploration” Rory Carroll *The Guardian* 17 February 2010

The president defended the decree, saying: "I am telling all Argentines that we will keep working for our rights in Malvinas"

Por eso quería finalizar con esto y decirles a todos los argentinos que vamos a seguir trabajando **incansablemente** por nuestros derechos en las Islas Malvinas, (Palabras de la Presidenta de la Nación en visita a Merlo, martes, 16 de febrero de 2010.

“Argentina to state Falkland Islands case to UN chief” Rory Carroll and Matthew Weaver, *The Guardian* and agency sources, Wednesday 24 February 2010

The Argentinian president, Cristina Kirchner, said a summit of 32 countries in Mexico had endorsed a document accusing Britain of flouting international law by permitting drilling to begin this week.

Appendix 5

The Guardian and *The Independent* extracts used in the third case study.

“Spain calls for a binding EU economic strategy”, Ian Traynor *The Guardian* 8 January 2010

We are convinced it is a good thing to have a European economic policy. The Lisbon Treaty **allows more coordination**. We should **make sure to give** the commission new powers, Zapatero **said**.

“Anglo-Saxon media out to sink us, says Spain”, Giles Tremlett, *The Guardian* 14 February 2010

The (CNI's) economic intelligence division ... is investigating whether investors' attacks and the aggressiveness of some Anglo-Saxon media **are driven by** market forces and challenges facing the Spanish economy – or whether there is something more behind this campaign.

“somewhat murky manoeuvres” were behind **market pressures** on Spain. “Nothing that is happening, including the **apocalyptic editorials** in foreign media, is **just chance**. It happens because it's in the interest of certain individuals,”

“Britain, Greece, Spain and Norway tell markets: growth, not cuts” Elena Moya *The Guardian*, 19 February 2010

It's a paradox that the markets that **we saved** are now demanding and putting difficulties, as those budget deficits are those that we incurred to save those who now demand budget cuts. What a paradox.

“Spain’s PM rejects debt crisis bailout rumours” Ian Traynor *The Guardian*, 4 May 2010

“The truth is I give it no credit; it is complete madness,” he told journalists in Brussels. **“These rumours can increase differences and hurt the interests of our country, which is simply intolerable and of course we intend to fight it.”**

“Spending cuts hit Spain's Socialists in poll” Elisabeth O'Leary, *The Independent* (Reuters, Madrid), Monday, 17 May 2010

The government is in a very precarious situation ... not because of the new direction announced with these measures but because of his (Zapatero's) obstinacy in sticking to the old direction **up to now**,” El Pais said in an editorial. It warned that neither the main left- nor right-wing parties had provided credible alternatives, and that the crisis had highlighted the lack of prestige of the political class.