

Routledge Studies in Chinese Discourse Analysis

NEWS FRAMING THROUGH ENGLISH-CHINESE TRANSLATION

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CHINESE
AND ENGLISH MEDIA DISCOURSE**

Nancy Xiuzhi Liu



News Framing Through English-Chinese Translation

News Framing Through English-Chinese Translation provides a useful tool to depict how Chinese news translation can be examined in the era of globalization.

The author has integrated framing theory in journalism studies with translation studies and developed a new theoretical model/framework named Transframing. This interdisciplinary model is pioneering and will make theoretical and conceptual contributions to translation studies. This book aims to reveal ideological, sociocultural and linguistic factors creating media discourse by examining Chinese media discourse, in comparison to its counterpart in English.

Through the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative methods, it is concluded that the transframing model can be applied to interpreting, describing, explaining as well as predicting the practice of news translation.

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Contents

<i>List of tables</i>	ix
<i>List of figures</i>	x
1 Introduction	1
<i>1.1 Two unique newspapers</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>1.2 Framing studies and news translation</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>1.3 Goals of the book</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>1.4 Scope of the book</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>1.5 Methodology and data collection</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>1.6 Structure of the book</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Bibliography</i>	<i>13</i>
2 Transframing: a bridge concept in news translation	15
<i>2.1 Introduction</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>2.2 News framing and news translation</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>2.3 Transframing: a bridge concept in news translation</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>2.4 Macro framework of analysis of news transframing</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>2.5 Summary</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>Bibliography</i>	<i>26</i>
3 Operationalization of the transframing model	33
<i>3.1 Influencers of transframing</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>3.2 Indicators of transframing</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>3.3 Research model of transframing</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>3.4 Identification of frames</i>	<i>39</i>
3.4.1 Principles to identify frames	39
3.4.2 Focal points to locate frames	40

3.5	<i>Design of coding schemes</i>	43
3.6	<i>Critical discourse analyses</i>	44
3.7	<i>Summary</i>	45
	<i>Bibliography</i>	45
4	Application of the transframing model	48
4.1	<i>Introduction</i>	48
4.2	<i>Correlations between the influencers and indicators of transframing</i>	48
4.2	<i>Method of analysis</i>	49
4.2.1	Content analysis	49
4.2.2	Discourse analyses	55
4.3	<i>Summary</i>	55
	<i>Bibliography</i>	56
5	Story tone being key determiner of transframing	57
5.1	<i>Introduction</i>	57
5.2	<i>Story tone determines framing tone</i>	57
5.2.1	Neutral framing tone	57
5.2.2	Positive framing tone	59
5.2.3	Negative framing tone	61
5.2.4	Summary	62
5.3	<i>Story tone correlated with framing meaning</i>	62
5.3.1	Framing meaning remaining the same	62
5.3.2	Framing meaning added	63
5.3.3	Framing meaning reduced	64
5.3.4	Summary	65
5.4	<i>Story tone associated with framing degree</i>	66
5.4.1	Framing degree remaining the same	67
5.4.2	Framing degree strengthened	67
5.4.3	Framing degree weakened	68
5.4.4	Summary	70
5.5	<i>Story tone related to framing device</i>	70
5.5.1	Framing device remaining the same	71
5.5.2	Framing device partly changed	71
5.5.3	Framing device totally changed	72
5.5.4	Summary	73
5.6	<i>Story tone affects transframing strategies</i>	73
5.7	<i>Conclusion</i>	74

6	Story type correlated strongly with transframing	75
6.1	<i>Introduction</i>	75
6.2	<i>Story type determines framing tone</i>	75
6.2.1	Neutral framing tone	75
6.2.2	Positive framing tone	76
6.2.3	Negative framing tone	77
6.2.4	Summary	78
6.3	<i>Story type correlated with framing meaning</i>	78
6.3.1	Framing meaning remaining the same	78
6.3.2	Framing meaning added	79
6.3.3	Framing meaning reduced	80
6.3.4	Summary	81
6.4	<i>Story type associated with framing degree</i>	82
6.4.1	Framing degree remaining the same	82
6.4.2	Framing degree strengthened	83
6.4.3	Framing degree weakened	83
6.4.4	Summary	84
6.5	<i>Story type related to framing device</i>	84
6.5.1	Framing device remaining the same	85
6.5.2	Framing device partly changed	85
6.5.3	Framing device totally changed	86
6.5.4	Summary	86
6.6	<i>Story type affects transframing strategies</i>	86
6.7	<i>Conclusion</i>	86
7	Story sensitivity closely associated with transframing	88
7.1	<i>Introduction</i>	88
7.2	<i>Story sensitivity determines framing tone</i>	88
7.2.1	Neutral framing tone	88
7.2.2	Positive framing tone	91
7.2.3	Negative framing tone	91
7.2.4	Summary	92
7.3	<i>Story sensitivity correlated with framing meaning</i>	92
7.3.1	Framing meaning remaining the same	93
7.3.2	Framing meaning added	93
7.3.3	Framing meaning reduced	94
7.3.4	Summary	95

7.4	<i>Story sensitivity associated with framing degree</i>	96
7.4.1	Framing degree remaining the same	97
7.4.2	Framing degree strengthened	97
7.4.3	Framing degree weakened	98
7.4.4	Summary	99
7.5	<i>Story sensitivity related to framing device</i>	100
7.5.1	Framing device remaining the same	101
7.5.2	Framing device partly changed	101
7.5.3	Framing device totally changed	102
7.5.4	Summary	102
7.6	<i>Story sensitivity affects strategies of transframing</i>	103
7.7	<i>Word count</i>	103
7.8	<i>Filtered tests</i>	104
7.9	<i>Conclusion</i>	104
7.10	<i>Conclusion to the overall analysis</i>	105
8	Contexts of transframing	107
8.1	<i>Introduction</i>	107
8.2	<i>The political context</i>	108
8.3	<i>The ideological context</i>	114
8.4	<i>The economic context</i>	118
8.5	<i>The journalistic context</i>	120
8.6	<i>Transframing strategies</i>	123
8.7	<i>Summary</i>	124
	<i>Bibliography</i>	124
9	Conclusions	127
9.1	<i>Theoretical model of transframing</i>	127
9.2	<i>More thoughts on the investigation</i>	129
9.3	<i>Significance and application of the theoretical model</i>	131
9.4	<i>Further thoughts for future work</i>	132
	<i>Bibliography</i>	133
	<i>Appendix</i>	134
	<i>Index</i>	135

Tables

5.1	Story tone: framing tone crosstabulation	58
5.2	Story tone: framing meaning crosstabulation	63
5.3	Story tone: framing degree crosstabulation	66
5.4	Story tone: framing device crosstabulation	71
6.1	Story type: framing tone crosstabulation	76
6.2	Story type: framing meaning crosstabulation	79
6.3	Story type: framing degree crosstabulation	82
6.4	Story type: framing device crosstabulation	84
7.1	Story sensitivity: framing tone crosstabulation	89
7.2	Story sensitivity: framing meaning crosstabulation	92
7.3	Story sensitivity: framing degree crosstabulation	96
7.4	Story sensitivity: framing device crosstabulation	100

Figures

2.1	Cascading and horizontal framing network	17
2.2	Transframing: a bridge concept in news translation	22
2.3	Macro framework of analysis of transframing under globalization context	24
3.1	Influencers of transframing	34
3.2	Indicators of transframing	35
3.3	Research model of transframing	38
3.4	Fully developed frame for 9/11	40
3.5	Example of a fully developed frame in the source text	42
3.6	Example of a transframed story in the target text	43
9.1	Theoretical model of transframing	128

1 Introduction

Imagine that you are sitting in your office. If you look directly outside the window, you will see hazy mountains far off and lustrous grass nearby. The view thus framed is so relaxing and tranquil that it obscures the fact that you are working on a busy campus. But if you leave your desk and look out from another angle of the same window, the scene will be different: students and staff walking rapidly either to the library or to the classroom. Looking out further from the same window, you might see traffic on the road beyond. This window exactly mirrors what news workers do. They feed us with reports on events from their own or otherwise different angles. What we read is not just what has happened but what the media has chosen to cover. What if the already selected angle of stories is to be represented through translation into another language? It will complicate the scenario even more.

Thanks to information technologies, events happening on one side of the globe can reach the other side instantaneously. Connections through the Internet or mobile devices provide us with a myriad of information catering to various tastes and covering innumerable contents from daily cares and concerns to projections way beyond imagination. This infrastructure facilitates the instantaneity of news flows around the world that simultaneously addresses members of different linguistic and cultural communities. Such simultaneity has intensified the opposition and interaction between the global and the local. Instances of localization efforts are substantiated in many newspapers' websites, which continuously update and revise contents instantaneously. The conduit of this instantaneity is language. Although English has been the lingua franca in many international exchanges, it is still highly undesirable at the national level for disseminating ideas or penetrating into the inner culture of a designated society. Just as Cronin (2013, p. 16) points out, "for many subjects in the informational economy, the language of (native) expression remains the preferred language of (individual) access." This instantaneous access to information in local language generates huge demands for simultaneous access, which has to be facilitated through translated news.

To meet this demand, some world-leading news agencies and newspapers provide news coverage in different languages. Reuters, for example, publishes its news in dozens of languages including Arabic, Chinese, French and Japanese, among others; *Newsweek* circulates in Spanish, Korean, etc. *The Wall Street*

2 Introduction

Journal Online was launched in 1996 and has been expanded into several languages over the years. Similarly, the *Financial Times* (FT) revamped its news coverage by expanding into Asian languages with its debut in China as the *FT Chinese* (FTC) in 2003. Chinese media is also on the forefront of importing ideas from the world in disseminating coverage of China-related topics as well as issues from the international community. With the implementation of the reform and opening-up policy in the 1980s, state-run authoritative newspapers such as *The People's Daily* (人民日报) and *The Guangming Daily* (光明日报) began to open up columns or full pages for news translated from abroad under various columns such as education, finance, features and culture, among others. Furthermore, China designates a special newspaper under the name of *Cankao Xiaoxi* (the *Reference News*, RN) to publish only news translated from various newspapers worldwide. These translated news and newspapers provide fascinating perspectives and pose interesting questions for scholarly works to address.

1.1 Two unique newspapers

This study focuses on the examination of two unique newspapers, the *FT Chinese* and *Cankao Xiaoxi* (the *Reference News*, RN), which publish translated news in the Chinese context. The interest of the book is not only about *what* news is translated and *why* it is translated, but more crucially *how* translated news should be interpreted and explained in the globalized world.

Source text of the FTC, the *Financial Times* (FT), is a quality British newspaper that builds its fame on reporting international and business news worldwide with a history of 125 years. According to its website, “Today, the FT serves more readers and subscribers across the world than ever before and is recognized internationally for its authoritative and trusted news, commentary and analysis.” As a representative Western newspaper in China, FT Chinese.com claims 2.6 million registered users to date in early 2018. Its news streaming is also freely accessible on devices operated by systems such as iOS, Android, Windows and Kindle.

The Chinese newspaper *Cankao Xiaoxi* (the *Reference News*, RN) was launched as early as 1931 under the Xinhua News Agency, the most authoritative news wire in China. It is a daily newspaper with the largest circulation in China that publishes news translated from various newspapers worldwide. Its unique style and dissimilar narratives from other domestic media are appealing to a large readership. With its online version (<http://www.cankaoxiaoxi.com/>) launched in recent years, it enjoys even larger popularity, the site claiming of having 693,300 users as of 10 January 2018. It has also launched its own app on mobile devices, whose users are incalculable.

As one of the representative newspapers, the FTC also enjoys its popularity among the Chinese middle class for its in-depth coverage of news stories and insightful comments on news events. Examining into the news on the website of the FTC finds prominent features differentiated from the news written directly in Chinese. News stories assert themselves in every respect as translated from English rather than written directly in Chinese. Firstly, the translators' names are

conspicuously shown at the end of a news story. On top of that, English proper names from the source text (ST) are always provided in brackets in the translated Chinese target text (TT). For example, English names of Chinese companies or people are kept in brackets instead of getting them across directly in Chinese. Concerning a Chinese state-owned enterprise for instance, translation of the Chinese company is followed by the English name in brackets (Rizhao Steel) instead of adopting the Chinese name 日照钢铁 directly as a news story written in Chinese usually does. Reading into news stories in comparison to the ST in English discovers that there are various deviations between the two versions: either a playing down of the tone or bringing out an implicit message. The initial presupposition was that it is not something caused by the translator's failures, given the fact that almost all the translated texts are followed by the name of a translator instead of keeping him/her anonymized or "invisible" as is the practice of many international news agencies (cf. Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). Initial comparison of the contents also points to disparate framing effects. Concerning events in Xinjiang for example, one incident was framed as a loss of innocent lives under the headline "Further Violence Claimed Eight Lives in Xinjiang" on the FT (30 December 2013), while it was framed as a terrorist attack in the Chinese media. In the translated news on the FTC on the same day, it was represented as 新疆莎车发生暴袭事件 8人被击毙 (explosion happened in Yarkand, Xinjiang, with 8 people killed).

Although the meaning is still rather tricky concerning the eight people, it was connected to an explosion that specifically happened in Yarkand, a county in Xinjiang, rather than a habitual occurrence in the larger region as indicated in the ST. This frame was more or less closer to the framing effect of the state media in China. For example, one coverage read like this, "The Public Security Bureau at Yarkand County near Kashgar in Xinjiang was attacked by 9 violent terrorists, who were armed with knives and explosive devices. . . . The police took an immediate action, with 8 shot dead and 1 captured."¹ What distinguish the newspaper are the prominent news values that are upheld by the Western news media, which is differentiated from the Chinese news media. While such values as recency, proximity, consonance, unexpectedness, eliteness, etc. are all indispensable, *negativity* is what comes to people's minds as the basic news value in the west, which accounts for the fact that damage, injury or death are often made into "spot" news while conflict between people, political parties and nations is a "staple" of news according to Bell (1991, p. 155). While FTC endorses the journalistic professionalism encompassing impartiality, neutrality and objectivity, it also sticks to the legacy of reporting the negative side of events, holding that negativity makes news, so to speak, especially in covering stories concerning its ideologically differentiated counterparts such as China for example. On this account, the FTC sometimes incurs harsh criticism by the state media such as *the People's Daily* and the CCTV (Chinese Central Television) on its "singing empty or short of the Chinese economy." Sometimes the newspaper experiences inaccessibility for a short while due to its disparate coverage of some Chinese stories.

The RN's uniqueness lies in its publication of translated news from all over the world, which is the only authoritative one in China. Differentiated from its Western

4 Introduction

counterparts, the Chinese media constitute a part of the government machine that is to promote the agenda of the authority usually in the positive tone (Guo, 2012). If you click on any website of the state-owned media in China, reports on the Chinese leaders always dominate the headlines. In this respect, the RN stands out prominently. Different thematic headlines such as diplomatic exchanges and news from the international community are presented in its front page on top of the leaders. In presentation, news stories carried on the RN distinguish themselves as translated from other sources by starting with the wordings such as 境外媒体 (overseas media), 外媒 (foreign media), 英媒 (British media) or 美媒 (American media) in the headline; furthermore, the topic paragraph is usually started with the source of the story such as 据英国金融时报 (according to *the Financial Times* from Britain), 据美国纽约时报 (according to *the New York Times* from the United States) and so on. These features constitute the unique style of this newspaper, which is asserting itself from the very beginning that the story to follow is from sources outside China. On top of that, name of the translator will follow in brackets towards the end of each article.

In practice, the RN has a reputation for upholding “faithful translation,” in that being faithful is the legitimate criterion when translating for the newspaper (Pan, 2014). In the translating process, the translators will follow the guidelines and requirements set by the institution, which is to produce faithful translations of foreign reports for the Chinese reader. Unlike global news agencies, the role of translation in the Chinese news organization is not incorporated as an “invisible” or “untraceable” component into news production (cf. Bielsa & Bassnett, 2007). Instead, it is represented as the translation proper in its traditional sense, where fidelity and literal translation are advocated as the institutional guideline and basic requirement. Here the translators are “institutionalized professionals” whose actual practice is largely to follow the institutional approach. However, Pan (2014) finds that various deviations and discrepancies are identified in the actual practice and that the institutional practice and translators’ beliefs either enable or hinder “faithful translation,” in translating sensitive stories about China in particular.

Furthermore, in effect, the framing of some stories is at times more contrary than faithful in comparison to the ST. For instance, in covering the Two Sessions² in China, the story carried on 28 February 2013 on *the Associated Press* (AP) framed it as the newly elected Chinese leaders agreeing on posts ahead of congress. It was translated into “外界密切关注两会 探寻中国新方向” (Media outside China closely watching the Two Sessions, probing China’s new directions) on the RN on 1 March 2013. With the transediting in such a manner, the angle of framing was changed from one where the Two Sessions had not much to be anticipated into one showing China’s new directions drawing the attention of media from outside the country.

The distinctive attributes above and other features in the FTC and RN such as syntactical and lexical choices assert undeniably that these are translated texts. Here the concept of news translator is not exactly the same as some scholars have discovered in their studies, i.e. being information transmitters who remain mostly invisible. Why do these contending examples exist? With the team of professional

translators and native speakers of English at the FTC and strict quality control system of the RN, quality of translation in the two newspapers does not constitute any issue. For instance at the RN, the agency's training system is the assurance of quality of its translation, where newcomers' translations are to be reviewed by senior translators before submission. This reviewing process goes on for two or three years before they can work independently (Pan, 2014). So here in this study, translated news from the two newspapers are taken as high quality translation works free from language errors or mistakes.

Then what happened in the news translation process? Why do such contending examples exist? How can they be explained by scholarly research? And how can studies of such phenomena help news translation practitioners in pinning down specific translation strategies in practice? This study aims to answer these questions, drawing on theoretical insights and tools from framing studies in journalism and communication, translation studies (TS), news translation in particular, as well as critical discourse analysis (CDA). This book also aims to propose a new approach for analysing and explaining news translation strategies in the globalization context. This research effort addresses some of the key methodological issues in the two active fields: studies of framing in journalism and studies on news translation. The following section will briefly review and discuss some key issues in these two fields.

1.2 Framing studies and news translation

From the time when James Homes proclaimed that translation should stand on its own feet as a discipline in 1972, after the development of over four decades, translation study is now at a crossroad. Susan Bassnett (2012) has rightly pointed out that while congratulating ourselves on the success of the discipline, we need to ask ourselves some questions about the impact of the field on other disciplines. It is time for us to open up new communication channels with other related disciplines, to look outwards, to promote some of the excellent research in translation studies more effectively to our colleagues, to engage more in interdisciplinary, collaborative projects. "The time has come for those of us who would like to think of ourselves as translation studies scholars to rethink not only how we have come to be here, but where and with whom we want to go next" (p. 24).

Translation study as a discipline borrows heavily from linguistic, cultural and sociological studies and is dominated heavily by various dichotomies such as equivalence or non-equivalence (Nida & Taber, 1969), communicative or semantic translation (Newmark, 1981), visibility or invisibility (Venuti, 1995) or focusing on the ST or the TT (Nord, 1997). The linguistic turn focuses on texts in written or oral form; it looks at the relations between translations, their source texts, parallel non-translated texts in the target language and different versions of translations. It is thus interested in concepts such as equivalence, naturalness and fluency, and in the possibility of finding universal or general features of translations in the text of a distinctive kind. After the linguistic turn comes the cultural turn in the 1980s (Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990), when an opposition was set up between linguistics

and cultural approaches. On the cultural level, the focus is on ideas, on the transfer of cultural elements between different repertoires or polysystems (e.g., Even-Zohar, 1979). Central questions are issues of ideology, cultural identity and perception, values, relations between centre and periphery, power and ethics. Then comes the new cognitive paradigm, mainly in the 1990s, by looking at what goes on in the translator's head via think-aloud protocols (Tirkkonen-Condit & Jääskeläinen, 2000). Another perspective, the social one, has a focus on processes. The sociological turn represented by Hermans (2004) has put translation in the social context by focusing on the translation market, the publishing industry and other patrons or agents, the social status and roles of translators and the translator's profession (Chesterman, 2007, p. 174).

These twists or turns do not rule out overlaps in translation studies. Any cultural event cannot happen without languages, while any language cannot stand independent of cultural and social contexts. In the academic discourse of TS, the turns are very popular in the twentieth century. Snell-Hornby has warned that as a scholarly term, it should be viewed with some caution, however. The simple reason is that not every change is a "turn," being a clearly visible change of direction, even amounting to a redefinition (Snell-Hornby, 2009). The author agrees with this point for the fact that TS has never turned away from any aspects in the course of its development. In this sense, translation studies have not taken any turns, but have only followed the course of variant and vibrant focuses on different perspectives.

News translation is a case in point, where scholars have probed into the topic from various perspectives with the unanimity that the "traditional popular views of 'translation proper' as a purely linguistic transfer are not appropriate to explain the complex processes of change involved in news text production" (Doorslaer, 2010, p. 186). Current contributions have invariably found that there are extensive deviations in the translation of news texts: scholars resort to narrative theory (cf. Baker, 2006, 2010), or skopos theory (Nord, 1997), which takes translation as something guided by the translation brief from the client, or (mis)representation of reframing (Darwish, 2006), or translator's subjectivity by looking into the social or contextual reasons behind the phenomena (Chen, 2011b; Cheng, 2011).

Studies that draw a correlation between framing in journalism and translation studies are very limited. Yves Gambier (2006) has taken note of the connection of framing studies with news translations. He states that media frames focus on what is discussed, and how it is (or not) discussed. The reports are neither produced nor processed in a neutral, unbiased way. Audiences' interpretations and attitudes are influenced or manipulated by both the content and the form of frames in generating particular feelings and responses. The frames or framing effects are just something that cannot be overlooked in news translation. Van Doorslaer (2009) takes the production of international news in Belgium as the case in point by looking into the impact of language and (non-) translation on topic selection. His findings conform to the fact that languages and translation are important framing and agenda-setting factors in newsrooms. "The everyday framing practice in the media is a particularly decisive factor that masks the possible linguistic, cultural and/or

changes in perspective in news facts or news presentations” (p. 84). “Frames often combine localizing, simplifying and stereotyping aspects, thereby adapting the way a person or a topic is presented to the knowledge or the expectations of the (new) target readership or audience” (p. 85). Valdeón’s (2014) research touches upon framing and adaptation in news translation with the illustration of two examples in different newspapers: one is the appropriation of the US Department of State cables by the WikiLeaks organization, the other is the pro-Romanian slogans produced by the Gandul newspaper as a response to Britain’s anti-immigration campaigns. Rarely the attention has been paid to the role that news translation plays in achieving differentiated framing effects in general.

As stated in the previous section, translated news asserts itself as distinguishable from traditional news stories in aspects such as keeping translator’s name at the end of a story and keeping English names of companies or people in brackets. Furthermore, translated news exhibits deviations of one kind or another from the source text in various contexts. This phenomenon cannot be explained by the general practice at some news agencies where news translators remain invisible (cf. Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). It is difficult to be defined in terms of various dichotomies in the theory of translation studies *per se*. The author tracks down the reasons by probing into somewhere else. As news texts are the result of journalists’ choices, it follows that they are in conformity with practices of the media.

Looking into media studies, framing, agenda-setting and priming are three key terms. While agenda-setting and priming are primarily concerned with which issue to cover, the concept of framing is more concerned with how an issue is covered or portrayed in the news (cf. Tankard, 2003, p. 101). Agenda-setting refers to the strong correlation between the emphasis that the mass media place on certain issues and the importance attributed to these issues by audiences (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11). It is more related to which issues are emphasized (or what is covered) than how such issues are reported and discussed (Weaver, 2007). Priming refers to “changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations” (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63). Priming is more connected with what news content news audiences use as benchmarks for evaluating news stories. It is often understood as an extension of agenda-setting. Agenda-setting can make some issues more salient in people’s minds while priming can shape the considerations that people take into account when making judgements about political candidates or issues. While the former reflects the impact of news coverage on the perceived importance of national issues, the latter refers to the impact of news coverage on the weight assigned to specific issues in making political judgements (Iyengar, 1994; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). These two concepts are more related to journalistic choices and audience decisions. Differing significantly from these accessibility-based models, framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences, which is closely related to the presentation of a news story (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11).

Frames, more realistically and more frequently, are used by both political actors and journalists to present political reality. Frames are related to a journalist’s

cognitive schema concerning an event, while framing has more to do with such frames as embodied on the discourse level (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010). Entman (2004, p. 26) expounds that “to frame (or framing) refers to the process of selecting and highlighting some aspects of a perceived reality, and enhancing the salience of an interpretation and evaluation of that reality.” Molotch and Lester’s (1974) found that “media is reflecting not a world out there, but the practices of those having the power to determine the experience of others.” Glasgow University Media Group (1980, 1982), in their seminal works, have time and again discovered that news coverage has played the role of shaping the general public’s ideas about a happening, e.g.: losses at car plants are manifold, yet people have gotten the impression that “stoppage” and “strikes” are to blame while in fact those in the factory know far too well that there are many reasons behind the decline, such as machine breakdown or mistakes by management or lack of investment. It is the news that controls explanations as such ideologically – in “a way of seeing and understanding the world which favours some interests over others” (Glasgow University Media, 1982, p. 3).

News translation in terms of presenting the same story in different languages and contexts entails exactly the same choices of framing stories from different angles. In this sense, a correlation naturally connects framing studies with news translation. This book may fill some theoretical and methodological gaps by proposing and testing a new approach to the interpretation and explanation in translation-mediated framing effects in news translation.

1.3 Goals of the book

In this book, I propose a new analytical framework in order to analyse and explain news translation, drawing on the research traditions of framing studies and news translation studies discussed above. This new framework is called transframing (TF) which was proposed by Liu (2017a, 2017b). Transframing basically means translation-mediated framing through translated news. It will serve as a bridge between framing studies and news translation studies. The existence or non-existence of transframing will be tested through the analysis of the two newspapers the *FTC* and the *RN* by examining influencers of frames manifested in the source text and indicators of mediated frames in the target text by answering such crucial questions as HOW a piece of news is translated into another language. Influencers of frames are embedded in the news features of source news texts including story tone, story type and story sensitivity, which are the embodiment of frames navigated by ideology, culture and subjectivity of a news product. They are the drivers behind transframing and exert significant impacts in determining effects of translated news. Likewise, indicators of mediated frames in the target text include framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree, framing device and transframing strategies. The first three indicators entail the designated effects that translated news strives to achieve. The other two, framing device and transframing strategies, concern such rhetorical devices as metaphors, exemplars among others adopted in representing a frame, as well

as translation strategies such as rewriting or transediting adopted in realization of the effects.

The analytical framework is first and foremost rooted in framing studies in journalism. News media selects events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness, which makes news become not just what happens, but what is regarded and presented as newsworthy. In order to serve the newsworthiness of an institution, news stories, being the product of framing by its news workers, are to be mediated or adapted to a new set of criteria by another institution through translation. Translated news, bearing features and values of news itself, adds more values to news stories for the simple fact that it asserts itself as translated from another language. By mediating between the source and the target contexts, it serves as the conduit to connect the two contexts.

Proposition of the transframing framework is aimed at shedding more light on news translation studies. As translation is an indispensable part of news reporting in the unprecedentedly connected world, journalistic features of news-making cannot be overlooked by news translation studies any more. Therefore, it is essential that a link should be established between journalism studies and translation studies, to which end transframing is the concept that can bridge the gap on the ground that translated news is not just transplanted solely from a source text without intentions, but it is the outcome culminated collectively by various factors within a given context. By incorporating framing studies into news translation studies, the discipline will not be isolated from journalistic practices any more for the fact that framing holds the key to unlock the door of different interpretations of the same event. The framework will serve to explain various deviations from source text news when translated into target texts in a systematic and persuasive manner. It will also reinstall news translation study to journalistic studies by connecting it to features of news stories such as story tones, story types and story sensitivity among others in the presentation of translated news.

1.4 Scope of the book

With the manufacturing and remanufacturing of news through translation, the obvious question to ask is how this has been carried out. Is it a faithful rendition of the source text message? Are there any changes of meaning involved through the process? To what extent? How and why? These are some of the general questions that this book is going to address.

Therefore, the first and foremost theme of the book is to compare the media discourse in the Far East with that in the West by pinning down the specific constructions of such discourses so that the machinery behind can be exposed. This machinery manifests throughout the news translation process from selection, modification to presentation and final effects of transframing, which is both dynamic and consistent in constructing various frames. The second of the book's core themes is to address the problems that media discourse encounters in countries of transition, in which competing ideologies coexist. In this controversial era, frames embedded in news stories are also translated with differentiated approaches,

with some amplified while others reduced or deleted; henceforth, transformation of news texts is dealt with varied approaches depending on the effects they are designated to achieve.

The book attempts to integrate communication and journalism studies into news translation studies by looking into features of news itself. Similarly, the third core theme relates to the ways and extents to which these features are rooted in the political, ideological, cultural, economic and journalistic contexts in society, be it the Chinese media or the Western media. It is argued that being an indispensable part in journalism, news translation studies should examine features of news itself so that the causes behind various deviations validated by scholarly investigations in translated discourse can be exposed. The book attempts to answer the question that is often asked but rarely answered convincingly: HOW are news stories framed through translation? In spirit of the overall book, questions based on inherent features of news itself in relation to how story tone, story type and story sensitivity are connected to news translation respectively will be answered and relevant correlations will be constructed.

It is worth noting that this study does not intend to provide a *norm* or *generalization* of patterns in news translation at such institutions or in certain cultures; rather, it is an *attempt* or *tester* used to verify the effectiveness of the research process of the proposed framework and to test the analytical and explanatory power of the theoretical model.

1.5 Methodology and data collection

The main research methodology employed here is empirical. It “seeks new data, new information derived from the observation of data and from experimental work; it seeks evidence, which supports, or disconfirms hypotheses, or generates new ones” (Chesterman & Wagner, 2002, p. 58). Both quantitative and qualitative methods are adopted, with the former taking the form of content analysis, and the latter relying on critical discourse analysis. Mixed method is adopted on the grounds that it can better triangulate the results and that translation is not a simple game of linguistic transfer. More details on the method employed in the study will be provided in Chapter 4.

Corpus of the data have been constructed from the two newspapers – *Cankao Xiaoxi* (the Reference News, RN) from China, and the other the *Financial Times in Chinese* (FTC) from the UK. The obvious reason is that both newspapers publish translated news in the Chinese language. The other more important reason is that the two newspapers are managed by different institutions with disparate ideological viewpoints and cultural perspectives, and that data collected from them are more persuasive in validating the existence or non-existence of transframing effects in translated news. Both newspapers cover a wide range of topics rather than just international news for the RN or financial news in the case of the FTC. The percentage in the sampled data can substantiate this: financial news takes up 47% in the RN, while it only takes up 0.5% of the samples collected from the FTC. In this sense, both newspapers are representative news media from China and from

the West that carry translated news in the Chinese language by covering a wide range of topics. While the translated news on the FTC is translated from its home paper FT, sources of the RN are quite diversified. This will present a broader picture of transframed news for examination.

Because the study is to examine the transframing effects on general topics, it would be more persuasive to collect samples covering a relatively long span of time with a wide range of topics. More specifically, the data collected are the key daily news reports in a constructed month in the year 2013. A constructed month is one that is constructed with three days in each month. In this instance, it is constructed starting from the 1st, 2nd and 3rd in March, 4th, 5th and 6th in April, 7th, 8th and 9th in May and thereafter till December. The first two months in the year were skipped with the anticipation that most events that happened then would be recaptured in the following months. The reason for collecting the data in a constructed month within a year rather than a shorter period of time is that it can generate a wider range of topics. Key daily reports mean that the top three news stories in the first three news columns from the first four categories on the RN and the FTC. The reason for choosing the three columns from the four categories is that both the websites cover a wide range of topics under different categories, which are then sub-categorized into columns. Usually stories of greater importance go into the first columns under each category. The first four categories cover general areas such as China, world, finance and military, while the rest of the categories are mostly related to specific areas such as technology, fashion, market and business. The case is the same with each column. For instance the first three columns under China on the FTC are politics, commerce and financial market while the other columns are stock market and property; on the RN, the first three columns under China are current affairs, diplomacy and observation while the others are Hong Kong and Macau. Therefore, the first three columns in each category are more representative in framing effects than the specific subject areas such as real estate or specific businesses, which are more related to figures and facts, where transframing effects are less conspicuous.

Another aspect that needs to be pointed out is that as this investigation is related to translation between English and Chinese news stories, news items translated from non-English sources carried on the RN are not included, while news reports from the FTC written directly in Chinese are not considered valid. Also in the case of the RN, some stories carried on the newspaper are written by its own correspondents stationed worldwide or are collected from the Chinese Newswire – Xinhua News Agency for example; these are not considered as valid data for the fact that they are not translated news. At the same time some stories are compiled by synthesizing various sources, which have not been translated from any specific sources; as such they will not be counted as valid on the account that multiple sources are difficult to trace.

In the data collection process, the target texts are collected first; then the source texts are retrieved by searching on Nexis, and other sources' websites, as well as the FT's home page. The STs and the TTs are thus in parallel, which are comparable instances of texts from pairs of languages (Hartmann, 1996). In this instance,

Chinese and English are the paired languages. One piece of news story with both languages in parallel is counted as 1 in the samples. All in all, the sampled data set is $N=308$, with 167 from the RN and 141 from the FTC.

1.6 Structure of the book

Chapter 2 proposes a new model of “transframing” as the research framework for news translation studies based on present framing studies in journalism and translation studies, news translation in particular. Transframing is conceptualized as a bridge concept that transcends ideology and culture by determining HOW a news text is to be translated.

Chapter 3 operationalizes the transframing model by defining the influencers and indicators in the research model, as well as by illustrating how and where frames can be identified and located. Guidelines for coding scheme design and framework of discourse analyses are also developed.

Chapter 4 puts the transframing model into application. Mixed methods of both quantitative content and qualitative discourse analyses are proposed in validation or non-validation of transframing effects.

Chapter 5 presents results of both the content analysis and discourse analysis in relation to how story tones in source texts are correlated to transframing in terms of the transframing indicators such as framing tone, meaning, degree and devices, as well as strategies of transframing. Examples of discourse analyses are provided in support of results of the statistical analyses.

Chapter 6 presents results of both the content analysis and discourse analysis in relation to how story types are associated with transframing indicators. Correlations of this influencer are largely validated by content analyses with statistics and discourse analyses with concrete examples.

Chapter 7 presents results in relation to how story sensitivity is correlated with transframing indicators. In conclusion each hypothesis regarding all the indicators of transframing is generally supported by both results of the analysis. Results of some other items listed in the coding scheme are also presented in this chapter. They are the results of word count and filtered tests.

Chapter 8 is devoted to a comprehensive discussion of findings in this study. The discussion is set in the context of globalization, concerning the Chinese media in particular. It consolidates the model of transframing by demonstrating that all the indicators of transframing are in conformity with commonly occurring frames in media studies. These frames include attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality. Copious discussions are conducted with regard to political, ideological, economic and journalistic contexts in the specific context of China. These discussions provide abundant evidence for the causality of the transframing effects. These effects contribute to serve the designated frames of institutions in a concerted effort. Coexistence of competing frames within institutions and societies further consolidates and reinforces the model of transframing, which serves to describe and explain how global media transframe their stories for designated purposes

by either exerting influence on the public or by accommodating to the target market and audience.

Finally Chapter 9 concludes that the model of reframing can better explain and describe the phenomenon exemplified in news translation. It also serves to predict the effects of translated news once the framing of some issues or events are set on the agenda of certain institutions. It can further guide future practice and research, as well as training in news translation studies.

Notes

- 1 Translated by the author from *Gansu Economic Daily*, retrieved 31 December 2013 from <http://gsjib.gansudaily.com.cn/system/>
- 2 Every year, the Chinese government holds two important congresses. One is known as the National People's Congress, abbreviated as NPC; the other is the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, known as CPPCC. Together they are often referred to as "Two Sessions" by the media.

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2 Transframing

A bridge concept in news translation

2.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to propose a theoretical framework, the Transframing (TF) model, for analysing translated news discourse. In this study, the TF model will not only be used to describe, interpret and explain news translation with reference to different contexts, but also to analyse and predict translation strategies employed by news translators, which goes beyond the boundary of news translation per se. Seeking evidence from previous news translation studies finds that framing studies is one of the promising routes for explaining manifestations existing in news translation. These observations support the view that it is essential that framing studies should be incorporated into news translation studies.

2.2 News framing and news translation

Framing studies are traced back to origins in both psychology and sociology. The former examines processes involved in the formation of audience frame or the effects of framing on the audience (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Druckman, 2003; Iyengar, 1994), while the latter largely focuses on frames in communication in the study of words, images, phrases and presentation styles in constructing news stories and processes of the construction (Baker, 2007; Bennett & Entman, 2001; Borah, 2011; D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010; Entman, 1991; Gandy, Grant, & Reese, 2001; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974; Johnson-Cartee, 2005). Actors of framing are identified as elites, such as government leaders and experts, the media and the public (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Entman, 2004; Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Definitions of frame or framing are rather elusive, in which all point to the fact that discourse presentations are adopted to represent a social reality in certain designated modes. Nisbet (2010, p. 46) in his illustration of storytelling states that communicators select from a plurality of interpretations, in which the storyteller's preferred meanings are filtered by the predispositions of the audience, which, in turn, shape their judgement and decisions. Frames organize central ideas on an issue, which are used by "audiences as 'interpretive schema' to

make sense of and discuss an issue; by journalists to condense complex events into interesting and appealing news reports; by policy-makers to define policy options and reach decisions; and by experts to communicate to other experts or to broader audiences” (p. 47). Consequently, frames are also adopted by translated news, through which preferred meanings of institutions are filtered to the readers via translators.

In the study concerning public opinion, framing is associated with generating support from the public by way of building political alignment through an interactive process that involves various actors (Benford & Snow, 2000; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Entman, 2004; Matthes, 2012; Pan & Kosicki, 2001). Entman (2004) explores the complex relationships among different actors, including the Administration, elites, the media and the public in American society in the debates over US foreign policy. He conducts his analysis on such events as the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001 and the Iraq War, among others, by resorting to a cascade model. He develops the model with a view to unveil the power behind the news frames and its influence on public opinion. He maintains that public opinion rests at the bottom of the cascade, but sometimes it can also impinge onto the top of the cascade where the information may travel up to the leaders through framings by the media. Entman’s (2004) framing model is a two-way system in which frame effects are achieved in both top-down and bottom-up mode. He explains how the thoughts and opinions travel in a loop. On the one hand they are extended down from the Administration, including the White House, State and the Defense, to the elites such as congress members and experts, and to the media with its journalists and news organizations, who frame through the texts they produce, which then become accessible to the public. On the other hand, the public contributes to frames at the top through polls or other channels such as hearings or demonstrations, sending their opinions and thoughts through to the top. In this way the public sentiment also feeds information back to officials at the upper level and thereby influences domestic or foreign policy by moving up the cascade to the top.

In the study of *Framing as a Strategic Action in Public Deliberation*, Pan and Kosicki (2001) argue that the discursive practices of framing an issue is *not* the exclusive province of political elites or media. Participating in public deliberation involves various actors who have access to resources, referring to “the material, social structural, institutional, and cultural means,” that would “win a political actor a spoken role in public performance” (p. 44). These actors include such people as elected officials, experts, activists, the public and the media, who strategically cultivate their resources and translate them into power (p. 45). The topic of Pan and Kosicki is more concerned with domestic issues, where translation is out of the picture. As a matter of fact, irrespective of whether an issue is domestic or international, in the globalized world today, what a country does will have international repercussions; likewise, countries also take into consideration international responses when making domestic policies. In this sense, translator should be counted as one of the actors in any framing processes. In the network of journalists, Entman (2004, p. 11) includes “reporters, columnists, producers, editors and

publishers who work for the important national media.” Translators actually have a role to play in disseminating opinions, especially from foreign media, which also has influences on reporting carried on the national media (Baker, 2007; Chen, 2011b; Valdeón, 2005; Zhang, 2012).

Therefore, the present study proposes a four-way framing network, where frames travel not just in a cascading and bottom-up manner but also in a horizontal and reciprocal fashion through translations and their organizations as illustrated in Figure 2.1.

The newly proposed network has drawn news translation into the picture by extending Entman’s original cascading network into a four-way system, where media frame travels more extensively in the interconnected world. Translated news can exert its influence on local media, which in turn generates global impacts horizontally and vice versa. Through this network activation, news travels instantaneously across the world together with multifaceted framing effects as designated purposefully through news organizations.

Strengths of framing research lies in the potential of bridging several research areas in mass communication, such as the origin, journalist production, content and effects of news (Matthes, 2012). Matthes draws a complete picture of the whole framing process by pointing out that no studies have ever truly bridged the various stages of frames, from political elite to the news media and finally to the public (p. 250). He further identifies four broad principles in describing the framing process: “*frame competition, frame selection and modification, frame dynamics, and frame consistency*” (p. 252). The first is that there is always a

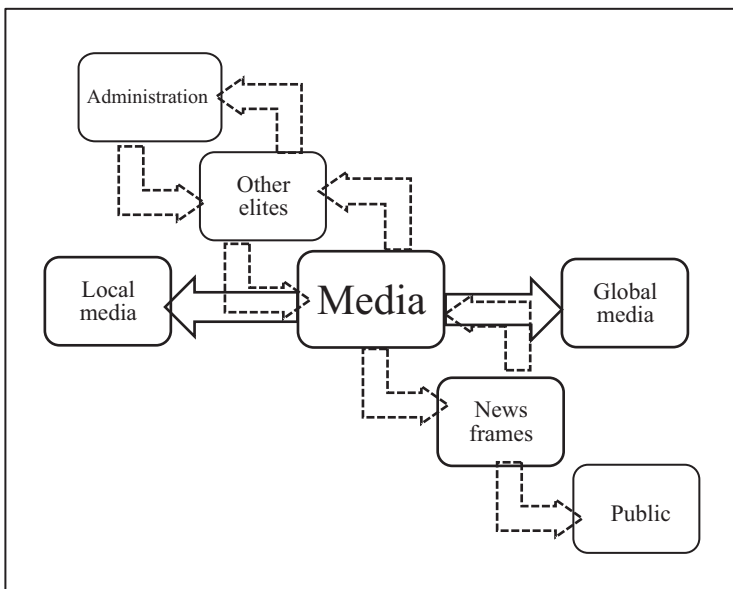


Figure 2.1 Cascading and horizontal framing network

competition of frames among elite on the grounds that all political issues are contested, open to several interpretations or frames. The second process accounts for the fact that all actors involved are free to select some frames over others, in the case of journalists and the audience for instance. Thirdly, framing is a dynamic process because it evolves over time. And the fourth means that frames do not stand alone, but “always refer to a pattern involving issue interpretation, attribution, and evaluation,” which are tied together in consistent ways (p. 252). He argues “the key idea of framing is one of strategic communication; to bring one’s views to news attention and to win public support for one’s position” (p. 253).

The frames that occur commonly in the news, though not necessarily simultaneously, are identified as attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality, which are quite generic ones as exhibited in different media outlets. Attribution of responsibility frame involves the manner in which a news agency portrays a problematic event or issue by focusing on blame and responsibility. This responsibility or blame encourages news users to hold others responsible for social problems rather than the government or the system. For instance the poor woman on welfare is held responsible for her fate (e.g., Beaudoin, 2007; Iyengar, 1994; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest. Sometimes a complex political debate is reduced to a simplistic conflict frame. For example presidential election campaign news is framed largely in terms of conflict (Patterson, 1993). Human interest frame is also called “human impact frame” by Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992). It serves to frame an issue by bringing a human face or emotional angle to the presentation of an event in order to capture or retain audience interest (Bennett, 1995; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Frames of economic consequences are those that focus on the economic aspects or effects of an event or issue in terms of consequences it will have economically on an individual or society. This frame, in suggesting the impact of an issue or event, can arouse considerable public interest (Beaudoin, 2007; Graber, 1993). Morality frame puts the events, problem or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. Due to the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make reference to moral frames indirectly by having someone else raise the questions (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). A newspaper for example may use the views of an interest group to raise questions about sexually transmitted disease, which may contain moral messages or offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave (Neuman et al., 1992). Some scholars make minor adjustments to these frames in order to fit in with their particular research contexts. For instance, the “severity” frame in covering the acuteness of the SARS epidemic was added by Beaudoin (2007). At the same time, framing of news also varies according to different topics. Methodologically, De Vreese (2004) argues that frames can be studied as dependent and independent variables, and news frames can be studied typically as independent variables. In the present study for example, news stories of the source text can be treated as independent variables on the account that they are the source of translated news; likewise, translated target text stories are the dependent variables. There are also studies that take a

multi-method approach by combining content analysis with experiment to research into how religion has become a political issue in China (e.g., Yao, 2007).

Each constructed frame is presented by a framing package. Firstly framing tone determines the direction of the frames. Then other elements in framing are integrated into a storyline with collection of raw facts into interpretation in meaning, degree which the media choose to make a frame salient or insignificant, as well as framing devices such as metaphors historical examples among others that demonstrates how the frame functions to represent an issue (Cooper, 2010; Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010; van Gorp, 2010, p. 91). These discourse components in terms of tone, meaning, degree and device can be used to perform the activities of framing an issue by defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgements and suggesting remedies (Entman, 1991).

2.3 Transframing: a bridge concept in news translation

Looking at the landscape of translation studies concerning the media, it still remains relatively under researched in comparison to other areas. Although news translation has drawn the attention of many scholars in recent years, the subfield of audiovisual translation is more fruitful and popular. Attention paid to the relationship between media and translation mostly dealt with audiovisual translation such as dubbing and subtitling, while news translation in relation to themes and sub-themes in scholarly publications only account for around 10% (van Doorslaer, 2009). In the study of news translation, two broad areas are generally probed, i.e., translation and communications. In the translational approach, news translation has been probed through the lenses of linguistics, culture and sociology in terms of rewriting (e.g., Bani, 2006), cultural sites (e.g., Conway, 2008) and ideology (e.g., Leung, 2006). From the communications perspective, news translation has been researched through narrative theory (e.g., Baker, 2006), reframing studies (e.g., Darwish, 2006) and translator's subjectivity (e.g., Chen, 2011b).

Translation studies recognize the fact that translated news is transedited or rewritten or adapted (cf. Stetting, 1989; Valdeón, 2008; Zhang, 2012) in the target language. "Transediting" is a term coined by Stetting (1989) by combining the words "translate" and "edit." Stetting discusses translators as news workers in news agencies, whose jobs entail both translating and editing, which involves changing, adding and removing information from the source text by converting it into a new target text. It has struck the chord with many scholars in news translation (e.g., Aktan & Nohl, 2010; Bielsa, 2007; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Chen, 2011a; Cheng, 2011). They have delved into the practices in newsrooms in different countries with fruitful findings. These researchers resort to translation theories with the effort of explaining the reasons behind these changes at the textual level. They share the commonality of taking the target-oriented approaches favoured by Skopos theory, i.e., translating in the service of the target readers on top of linguistic transference. At the same time, cultural and ideological elements have been used as conduits to explicate the changes at textual levels.

For instance, Aktan and Nohl (2010) look into the international transediting practice of the BBC World Service at Turkish Radio by interviews, participant observation and comparison of the ST with the TT. They believe that news transmission is beyond news transference in another language, but it is part of intercultural communication. In order to facilitate the comprehension of the audience, the transeditors have to resort to some strategies such as adding explanatory information, modifying semantics, reducing information, omitting information and adding input so as to avoid incomprehensibility (pp. 16–17), which direct translation may cause. They attribute the modification of various news items by transeditors to the differences in the reader's conjunctive experiences from the perspective of intercultural communications. Conjunctive experience refers to the fact that "everyday communication is based on 'background understanding' that is constitutive for comprehension but not explicated" (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 44 quoted in Aktan & Nohl, 2010, p. 3).

News translators act more clearly as gate-keepers who enjoy broader freedom than broadcasting translators (van Doorslaer, 2010b). Their freedom is manifested in such schemes as rewriting or adaptation. Rewriting in translation is ascribed to Lefevre (1992), who adopts the term to

denote activities such as literary criticism, reviewing, anthologizing and translation, which manipulate original texts in some way. In rewriting, it is the institutions or powerful individuals involved in the process who hold the power within a specific community. These political and literary power institutions exert control over the work that circulates in their own cultural system and may bestow patronage, for example to fund translation and publication.

(Munday, 2009, p. 221)

Bani (2006) takes press translation in Italy in the weekly magazine *Internazionale* as a case study. She has approached translation of this genre through the effort of translating cultural elements by narrowing cultural differences in discourse and extra-discourse strategies on the part of the translator, aiming at maintaining a balance between making texts easily readable by the readers while respecting cultural diversity.

In one way or another, translators of news are doing the same thing by "aligning" different frames in an effort to translate the story into another language. This process of "transformation" redefines activities, events and biographies that are already meaningful from the standpoint of some primary framework, in terms of another framework, such that they are now "seen by the participants to be something quite else" (Goffman, 1974). Similar to framing in enlisting public opinions, transframed news is the outcome of "frame alignment" between the translator's individual frames and media frames by rendering events meaningful through linking individual events in line with the interests, values and beliefs contained in an organization's activities, goals and ideology. "What is involved is also a 'systematic alteration' that radically reconstitutes what it is for participants that are going on" (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986).

Examination into existing literatures points to the fact that few studies in communications or translation have ever conceptualized or operationalized the close-knit relationship between news framing and translation studies in a systematic fashion. Current contributions in news translation studies have by and large been initiated by cases of particular practices that can rarely serve to interpret, describe, explain and predict news translations under different circumstances. Framing effects achieved through news translation such as framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree and framing device have been overlooked by news translation researchers. Therefore, the gap is palpable. Through integration of news translation studies with news framing, causes behind the changes which news texts undergo will be better interpreted while “the mode of intention” (Benjamin, 1968) can be further revealed. This integration will also facilitate the study on news translation to re-examine the close-knit relations of features of news itself. Therefore, the notion proposed here is that news translation involves not just a process of transformation but also a process of transframing (TF). Transframe is the fabric with which news texts are woven. Following framing studies in the media, transframing deals at a fundamental level with the differences in the means by which particular stories are represented through translation. These means are the representations on the discourse level, through which the effects of transframing are actualized, which will in turn have impacts on audience perceptions.

In connection to various transformations that may happen on the discourse level through news translation, transframing thus is the effort from and through the translator in articulating the interests of an organization or authority by getting the message across in the sense as deemed in line with its goals and ideologies. It offers an alternative to the old “equivalence” or “visibility” prototype in translation studies by directing the attention of a researcher to the study of frames in the news by transcending ideology or culture while getting beneath the surface of news coverage and exposing hidden assumptions instead. Frames are omnipresent, where they are found to be located in audience members, news organizations, news sources, news texts and within the culture that news is constructed (e.g., Entman, 1993; Nelson & Willey, 2001); and they also materialize in translated news. The power of framing comes from the ability to define the terms of a debate without the audience realizing it, in that “media framing can be likened to the magician’s sleight of hand – attention is directed to one point so that people do not notice the manipulation that is going on at another point” (Tankard, 2001, pp. 96–97).

News transframing in terms of translation is no different from other framing efforts, in which the “transeditors” recreate the texts in view of the targeted context by reshaping facts for the target readers and viewers. It is a bridging concept that draws a correlation between framing analyses and translation studies by way of comparing the source text and its translation with the effort to determine how the story has been transformed in the process of translation and how the frames have been reshaped in particular. Hidden under the surface of translated texts, transframing entails the constant shifting of contexts between cultures and ideologies on the part of the translator by comprehending the target context in reformulating renditions out of the message in the source text. The transframing process involves

anticipating and comprehending the context of the target text and its acceptability in the targeted market based on the comprehension of the message from the source text. By doing so, translators, while taking stock of the ideological and institutional principles entailed within the source text, are tactful in comprehending the target context and acceptance of the targeted market. Their rendition therefore both transmits the message and mediates between the source text and the target readers. The transframing proposition transcends the notion of news translation in connection to international communications such as culture, ideology or subjectivity, which decide what texts to be translated, or the selection of texts to be translated by a specific newspaper. The proposition explains the approaches in news translation in terms of transediting, rewriting or adaptation by pinning down how a text should be translated. Transframing thus provides a bridge to link the missing paradigm in between which explains the causes behind the selection and translational strategies of translated news as illustrated in Figure 2.2.

In Figure 2.2, while culture, ideology and translator’s subjectivity are the deeper layer that decides the selection process of what texts to be translated, transframing is the central layer that decides how a text is to be translated, i.e. transediting, rewriting and adaptation among others. The selection process is manifested by such features of news in terms of story tone, story type and story sensitivity, which are the embodiment of frames navigated by ideology or culture behind each story. Transframing, namely this “how” decides the representation of the translated news story in headings, sub-headings, topic paragraphs, catchwords, endings, etc., in every respect by framing the source text into another language. It will provide answers to questions behind news translation such as why a piece of news is transedited, rewritten or adapted through the process of rendering into another language. This is particularly essential in news translation, as it is an interaction between media frames represented by organization of the source text and individual frames of a translator relating to his/her comprehension of the target context navigated by certain institutions. Being caught in between, the manipulation of translators will be embodied in the final product of translated news stories, as

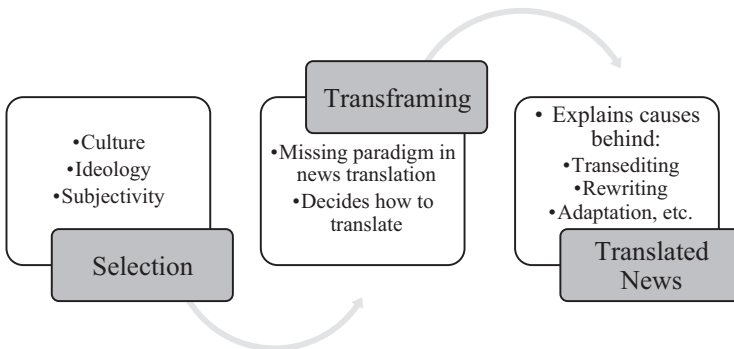


Figure 2.2 Transframing: a bridge concept in news translation

manifested through the transframing efforts guided by the frames of a particular institution that a newspaper represents. Thus transframing serves to connect the missing link between frames manifested in the source text and manipulated frames in the translated target text. It answers such questions as how a piece of news is translated into another language, and reasons behind the approaches, as well as “the mode of intentions” hidden deeper under transframed stories. It sets the field for news translation to be investigated through the features of news itself rather than merely communications or translation approaches as evidenced in previous research works.

2.4 Macro framework of analysis of news transframing

The proposition of the four-way system of framing and the transframing model postulates that news translation be investigated in the broader context of globalization under which, irrespective of whether a translation is text-oriented or reader-oriented, translators have to perform the role of a tightrope walker between the source and the target texts. S/he is the first one who receives the source text and also who decides what is to be presented in the target text, and who has the flexibility to decide which end to shift towards, albeit limited the flexibility may be, with the institution monitoring his/her acts at the back. In facilitating news to travel across the world in an instantaneous manner, the translator’s shaping hand is indispensable. It has made possible the “assembly” (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009) process with texts in different languages to be synthesized. Their presence in reconstructing reality is more than the dichotomies of visibility or invisibility, focusing on source text or target text, foreignization or domestication among others.

Analysing the published “predictive” articles on translation for the past 10–15 years, Brems, Meylaerts, and van Doorslaer (2012) observe that TS boundaries are more and more blurred. This makes the dynamic field able to respond to new societal needs, and which will open up new areas for the discipline to flourish. They believe that while TS has seen itself under the influence of technological development, it is getting more and more interdisciplinary than ever. A case in point is the growing of sociological approaches in the research development of TS. They have noted that, in light of Christiane Nord’s contribution, translation practice is taking a much broader view than the traditional view on language transfer towards “cross-cultural consulting or intercultural technical writing.” That will lead to an important consequence for the discipline: “Translation Studies is expanding towards the transdiscipline of Transfer Studies” (p. 9).

Looking into the wider context where news translation is generally situated opens up a broader view that allows a translated text, produced like the original text by a human agent, be studied as part of “an organic whole” (Merkle, 2008). In the globalization context, this whole is the overall global system, and news translation is something to fit in with the system by catering to the needs of a local market. Thus news translation is part of the global system, in which various factors interact and influence the translated product. Only through an integrated approach can the complex and dynamic processes involved be studied without

losing sight of or tipping toward any particular angle. It will allow a continual interaction between theoretical models and practical case studies so that the study of news translation will be grounded on a “*descriptive, target-oriented, functional and systemic*” basis (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 49). It will also allow consideration to be given to both ST and TT sociocultural contexts in the study of a translation. Thus taking an integrated approach enables news translation to be put into the global context for analysis. Context is broadly defined by van Dijk as “the mentally represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production of comprehension of discourse” (van Dijk, 2001). It is a communicative situation that encompasses the political, ideological, economic and journalistic ones within a given society, all of which have certain impacts on the translated news. Likewise, translated news shaped by these factors in one way or another exerts its influence on them at the same time. Drawing on SFL and corpus linguistics, Munday (2007, p. 78) develops a model for the analysis of ST and TT pairs by locating and comparing both texts within their sociocultural systems. He illustrates the model with one case study that proves to be succinct and easy to replicate. Based on that, this book develops a macro framework for the analysis on translated news under globalization as illustrated in Figure 2.3.

This macro framework allows researchers to examine four interrelated areas of analysis located within the framework of globalization. Thus the ST’s role and reception located within its context can be compared to those in the TT in its corresponding TT context; the profile of the ST produced by following a “repertoire of features” (Even-Zohar, 1979) can be compared to the corresponding profile of the TT.

Through analysis of the contexts shifts based on this model, linguistic shifts identified in the TT profile can explain reasons behind the shifts. The contexts

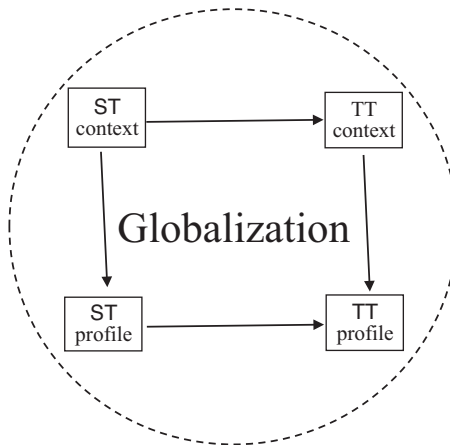


Figure 2.3 Macro framework of analysis of transframing under globalization context

encompass the social and linguistic factors within a culture (Chang, 1998, 2000; Even-Zohar, 1997). These social factors consist of the political, ideological as well as economic contexts while the linguistic factor mainly concerns journalistic context on the account that news is a product culminated through different journalistic practices. Hence the checklist for the context analysis will be:

- 1 The political context;
- 2 The ideological context;
- 3 The economic context; and
- 4 The journalistic context.

News translation as a practice out of differentiated contexts is the product through an integrated approach of translation. Its presentation involves the integration of various factors in the background. These factors can provide a comprehensive framework in the discussion of this practice by locating news translation into the specific contexts where the ST and the TT are situated.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, through the examination on framing studies, an extended framework of framing is developed. This framework serves as the starting point for news translation studies where frames travel not just in a two-way model of bottom-up and top-down manner but horizontally and reciprocally in a four-direction system. Against this backdrop in examining into news translation studies, it is found that news translation as a practice inseparable from journalism has rarely been on the agenda of translation research and even less noted in framing research. That accounts for the fact that news translation has neither been correlated with features inherently born by news itself nor framing effects achieved through the representation of stories. Therefore, a research model of transframing is put forward in the name of transframing. Transframing is conceptualized as translation-mediated framing, which is the fabric that weaves news texts together. It transcends such notions of culture or ideology underlining transframing by deciding how a text should be translated. It also serves as a bridge that joins frames manifested in the ST and manipulated frames in the translated TT. With the proposition of the four-way system of framing and the transframing model, news translation will be investigated in the broader context of globalization. The macro framework of analysis of news transframing through an integrated approach will serve to explain how various factors are at play by culminating the final effect of a piece of translated news. Situated within the context of globalization, all the sociocultural and linguistic factors behind transframed news can be explained through the macro analysis. The next chapter outlines the operationalization of the proposed frameworks for analysing news transframing by identifying the influencers and indicators of TF. Then it further develops a research model so that TF can be investigated in a systematic way.

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3 Operationalization of the transframing model

This chapter proposes an analytical framework to operationalize the transframing model proposed in the previous chapter. Rationale behind the operationalization is that frames in the ST will have to be compared with those in the TT so that possible deviations will be identified. With identifications as such, reasons and intentions behind transframing can be exposed. Firstly influencers and indicators of transframing are defined; secondly a research model is developed; then principles to identify frames and focal points to locate frames are illustrated. At the same time, guidelines for designing coding schemes and methods of discourse analysis are also elaborated.

3.1 Influencers of transframing

As a bridge that joins the ST news with the TT news, the transframing process involves first and foremost a selection process, then a translation process. The process of selecting a news story to be translated is determined by features embodied in a news product. Such features include story tone, story type and story sensitivity, which constitute the influencers of transframing. Once these influencers in a story fall in line with the agenda-setting programme of an institution, it would be selected to be transframed, as shown in Figure 3.1.

In Figure 3.1, story tones, story types and story sensitivity are the drivers behind transframing, and exert significant impacts in determining effects of translated news. These influencers are the embodiment of frames navigated by ideology, culture and translator's subjectivity, driven by which a story is always given a tone in the coverage in the first place. Although news workers claim to be objective and factual, they are the people who create the tone of stories (Rich, 2009). Framing a story with certain wording may project positive or negative images of an actor (e.g., Entman, 1991). News as "selective articulation" is based on the interpretive frameworks and definitions generated by the centre (van Ginneken, 1998). For example, news carried in *The New York Times* focuses exclusively on Washington's official agenda of "what we should do about China" instead of "what is happening in China," with portrayal of the West as "the spectator, the judge and jury" of China's behaviour, which results in the stereotypical general coverage of China-related issues in negative tones (Lee, 2003, p. 80).

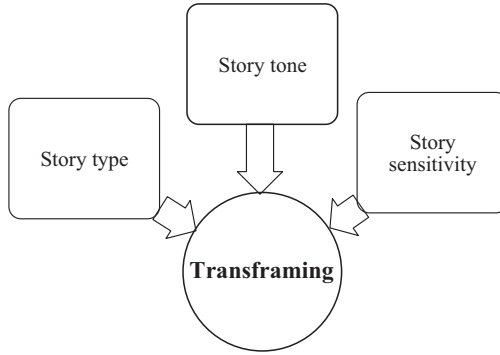


Figure 3.1 Influencers of transframing

Together with story tone, story type in terms of hard news or soft news is another feature of news stories that plays an essential role in determining how a story is to be transframed. Though the boundary between hard news and soft news is often quite blurred (Bell, 1991, p. 14), the former generally covers the more serious topics such as politics, international issues, disasters or crime, while the latter refers to the lighter topics such as celebrities, fashion or entertainment, mostly with feature articles, which are generally longer with background, personal opinions and freer in style (p. 147). Labelling a story as hard news or soft news is important in selecting strategies of translation, as evidenced by previous studies showing that most hard news types have more deviations on the discourse level than soft news (e.g., Baker, 2006; Chen, 2011a).

Story sensitivity is another feature borne by news, since news products are the outcome of manufacturing and constructing by particular institutions in which ideology and culture prevail. These social constructs decide how some stories are filtered by the gate-keeping process of a news organization (Fowler, 1991). Story sensitivity is one of the reasons why some stories are censored or filtered. Censorship of cultural products is not a topic unique to any news media. It has been practised in different countries in various stages of history and different areas in order to serve the interests of those in power (cf. Billiani, 2007; Brownlie, 2007; Cheung, 2003; Müller, 2004). It accounts for the fact that some stories go through more mediations or transformations than others, in the case of religious issues in Arab countries for example (see Baker, 2006). Story sensitivity refers to whether the story is sensitive or not within a given context, which can be related to political, cultural, social and economic issues. For example, stories related to human rights, Taiwan, Tibet and the Tiananmen Incident in China are by and large considered sensitive, and presently negative stories connected to the leadership, as well as negative coverage relating to economic development, among others, are also considered sensitive. In the present Chinese context for instance, sensitive topics can be the extent to which the topic is negative to the image of the government or the

country, while non-sensitive are operationally those topics related to the positive side that demonstrate the government's willingness to contribute to the welfare of other countries and international stakeholders. An issue that is "extremely sensitive" is a problem facing the Chinese government that has been unresolved for many years and has damaged the interests of international stakeholders (Zhang & Shoemaker, 2013).

Therefore, these features in terms of story tone, story type and story sensitivity are the embodiment of hidden reasons that orient the transframing effects of translated news. Through a selection process based on these features of a news story, it is to be transframed accordingly. The next process is how a story is to be transframed. This "how" is manifested in the indicators in translated news such as framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree and framing devices in the same fashion as framing a story.

3.2 Indicators of transframing

Discourse presentations are adopted to represent a social reality, as shown in studies on framing and news translation. The representation process through translation is accompanied by discourse changes that are caused by changes of frames with intended effects. The changes in frames are exhibited in the indicators as shown in Figure 3.2. Indicators of transframing in terms of framing tone, meaning, degree and devices in the translated news are gauged in comparison to influencers of frames in source texts so that questions relating to "how" a news text is transframed will be answered.

Framing tone refers to the tone of a story, which can be negative, neutral or positive, and is evaluated in comparison to the source texts. Although news workers claim to be neutral or objective, neutral ground tends to be ruled out in framing

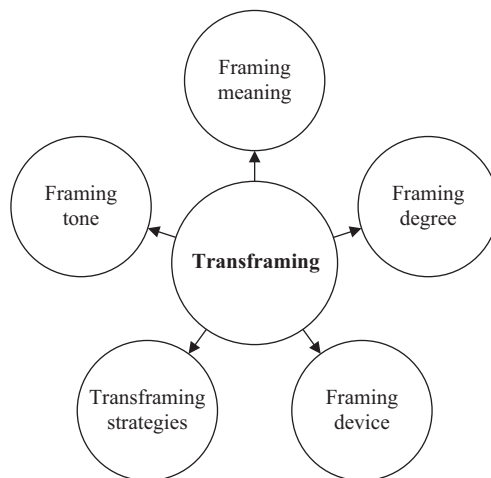


Figure 3.2 Indicators of transframing

studies on the assumption that every story has a frame (Tankard, 2001). At the same time, framing a story with certain tones is closely connected to journalistic legacy in a certain culture that binds the type of storytelling within a country's press (Werder, 2002). Also from the perspective of translation studies there exists the neutral ground where translations transfer the ST's message into the TT without deviations as demonstrated in previous news translation studies (e.g., Hursti, 2001). Therefore news stories going through transframing process are projected to have differentiated framing tones in effect. Thus, a story being transframed positively, negatively, or neutrally is inevitable. The fact that framing an issue as "violence" or "terrorist attacks," as such the case in Xinjiang, obviously indicates differentiated framing effects. Therefore, being neutral means reporting in a matter-of-fact way, where an issue is covered without emotional attachment or opinion about it. Positive stance is the coverage that is in support of an issue, while negative frames are the antagonistic reports against an issue.

Framing meaning is the meaning embedded in a frame. The indicator of frame meaning in the transframing model refers to the meaning embodied in framing an issue in the TT. In the study of frames, news frames employed by media outlets can have different meanings (e.g., Dai & Hyun, 2010; Entman, 1991). The study of news translation also demonstrates that meanings are differentiated in comparison to the ST (e.g., Baker, 2007; Chen, 2011b). Framing meaning in transframed news is assessed in comparison with the meaning embedded in the ST, which can be the same, added or reduced.

Framing degree refers to the intensity against which a frame is measured in the TT in comparison to the ST. In reporting the same event or translating a ST story, manipulations of degree in terms of strengthening or weakening are usually the tactics in emphasizing or deemphasizing some aspects (e.g., Cheng, 2011; Guo, Hsu, Holton, & Jeong, 2012). Framing degree refers to the extent to which a frame is measured in terms of intensity, e.g., the same, strengthened or weakened.

Framing devices are those rhetorical devices adopted in presenting a frame, for example metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, factual depictions, using certain words or phrases or making certain context references in achieving certain framing effects. They are the discourse devices used in achieving a designated effect. These include descriptive devices using certain words, phrases or catchwords, rhetorical devices adopting metaphorical or allegorical language, referential devices making certain context references, exemplary devices giving examples as typical, referring to certain sources and so on.

Changes or non-changes in these indicators as compared to corresponding source texts are closely related to features of news stories. These indicators of transframing in terms of framing meaning, frame tone, frame degree and framing devices are realized through strategies in news transframing. These strategies are more or less the same as those involved in translating a story into another language in international news production, as was examined in previous studies (e.g., Bani, 2006; Hursti, 2001; Lee, 2006).

Strategies in news translation such as modifying semantics, reducing information, omitting information and adding input so as to avoid incomprehensibility and

nostrification proposed by Aktan and Nohl (2010); or cutting or summary, explanation, generalization and substitution advocated by Bani (2006), can actually all be classified as transfer or transformation under Hursti's model (2001), which is succinct and easy to follow. Such translation strategies as transfer or transformation by keeping the ST message or changing the message all apply in news transframing. They are also the means used by transframed news to achieve the intended transframing effects. The process of transframed news product also involves transfer or transformation of a news story from its source. These changes on the discourse level are driven by the changing of frames behind a translated news story. Transfer means the approach of keeping the form and meaning of the ST. The source text story that is directly transferred basically remains unchanged in the transframing effect, in that the targeted recontextualization of the translated news is more or less the same with the source text. Therefore, the decision made by the translator in the representation of the translated news is a faithful rendition of the message in its equivalent sense (cf. Nida, 2003). The transframing effort still exists concerning the decision of transferring the message of the ST into the TT in fidelity. This effect is not represented conspicuously in discourse changes in the target text. Transframing effect is also presented in the transformation process, in which the story goes through the changes such as deletion, addition, substitution, reorganization, explication and other rhetorical operations on the discourse level. These discourse changes explain the changing effect in transframed news stories. These effects shaped by translators with their institutions behind them are then further conveyed to the readers. They are the clue for researchers to seek the reasons behind deviations in the translated news. Through exposure of these reasons, the "mode of intention" of news translation can be further unwrapped.

3.3 Research model of transframing

With the concept of transframing established, and the influencers and indicators defined, a research model is developed, as in Figure 3.3. The model can facilitate the investigation of transframing in a systematic manner. In this model, grounded on previous research works into framing and news translation studies, the influencers listed are based on the hypotheses that they all have certain impacts on the indicators of transframing.

In Figure 3.3, features of news stories including story tone, story type and story sensitivity decide the selection of news to be transframed. The indicators of transframing including framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree as well as framing devices are the effects that the audience perceive in their consumption of transframed stories. These effects are realized through framing strategies such as transfer and transformation. These influencers, being features of news products, are the outcome of framing by news organizations. Being selected to be translated into another language means they possess certain news values that other news organizations deem as newsworthy in their agenda-setting. Therefore, stories in terms of neutral, positive and negative story tones are transframed into another



Figure 3.3 Research model of transframing

context through representation of the indicators such as framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree and framing device, as well as framing strategies. News type in terms of hard news and soft news also exerts its influences on the indicators of transframing. Story sensitivity being an important influencer on transframing is categorized as sensitive, partially sensitive and non-sensitive since sensitivity is a relative concept, which means that in one context some events can be sensitive and in another they may not be. Also sensitivity evolves over time. For example, publication of some archives in history at the present time is a case in point. Also a variable of partially sensitive should be included on the grounds that some aspects of issues are sensitive while other aspects are not and that giving a leeway in between can avoid tough decisions for coders. With the research model thus

constructed and elaborated, principles and focal points to identify frames will be explained in the next section.

3.4 Identification of frames

3.4.1 Principles to identify frames

Owing to frames' latent presence in news texts, the most important aspect to locate them in each text is not to focus on what a story is about, but on how a story is told. When one tells a story one is making choices. Regarding news, framing is not about the core facts of an event but about what selections the journalists have made (van Gorp, 2010). Matthes and Kohring (2008) proposed that a frame is understood as a certain pattern in a given text that is composed of several elements, which are not words but previously defined components or devices of frames. Then, a cluster analysis of those elements should reveal the frame. "That means when some elements group together systematically in a specific way, they form a pattern that can be identified across several texts in a sample" (p. 263). They call these *pattern frames*. To make the definition of frames operational they chose the widely adopted definition by Entman (1993, p. 52; emphasis in original): "To frame is to select some aspects of reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, *in such a way* as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."

Entman's definition of frames has also been identified as the more detailed and most widely adopted framework in the analysis of framing studies (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). As the present study examines the news samples with diverse contents, the issue of almost each story differs. Therefore, it cannot be reduced to the frames as exemplified in previous studies in any specific sense. Entman's model (1991, 1993, 2004, 2007), which recognizes frames as generic, is thus applicable. Consequently, frame in this context will be defined as the theme in a story that promotes problem definition, causal and consequence analysis and remedy proposals. In this sense frames in any theme of a story can be identified within each specific piece of news, either source text or translated target text. "A problem definition can consist of an issue and relevant actors that discuss the problem. A causal interpretation is an attribution of failure or success regarding a specific outcome. An evaluation can be positive, negative, or neutral and can refer to different objects. Finally, a treatment recommendation can include a call for or against a certain action" (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 264). To perform these activities, discourse devices are the resources to be resorted to, which include using certain words or phrases, making certain context references, giving examples as typical, making certain factual depictions, referring to certain sources and so on.

More specifically in operationalization, Entman specifies that "frames in the news are typically a part of the reporting for three different classes of objects or functions: political events, issues and actors (who may be individual leaders, groups, or nation)" (Entman, 2004, p. 23). Following Tuchman (1978, p. 134),

		Focus of Frame	
Function of Frame	Issues: War (actor remedy becomes focus of issue frame)	Events: 9/11/01	Political actors (individuals, groups, nations)
Defining problematic effects/conditions	Need to destroy al-Qaeda to protect US	Act of war, a surprise attack on US civilians	Al-Qaeda and Taliban (event cause specified)
Identifying cause/agent	9/11 attack (entire frame becomes cause in issue frame)	Terrorism	Ideology, envy of US
Endorsing remedy	Deploy all resources, mobilize nation for war, support military	Unity, protection	War
Conveying moral judgment	War proves US united, effective, moral	Evil, irrational and competent; Americans innocent	Evil, oppressive, weak, unpopular; US strong, good

Figure 3.4 Fully developed frame for 9/11

Adapted from “*Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and US Foreign Policy*” (p. 25), by R. M. Entman, 2004, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

events or occurrences concern facts – the who, what, when, where, why and how of the news, which are discrete and have a beginning, a middle, and an end; while issues are “based on analytic explanations of the everyday world as socially experienced structure,” which “do not have the same sort of temporal anchoring as events.” Take the 9/11-attack as an example, the news coverage focusing on all three objects provides a fully developed narrative frame as in Figure 3.4.

The figure is adapted to fit into the schema of framing, and one thing to be noted is that these factors act simultaneously upon each other, which leads to the final settlement of the 9/11 issue – war. Frames are identified with the functions of problem definition, causal and consequence analysis and remedy proposals. Sub-frames under each frame will be counted in support of each frame as one frame. Where are these functions generally resided within a text? The next section will provide answers to this question.

3.4.2 *Focal points to locate frames*

In locating sites of frames, Tankard (2001) develops an approach to identify a list of frames. The first step is to identify a list of frames for the particular domain under discussion. Then each frame can be defined in terms of specific keywords,

catchphrases and images. To be more specific, Tankard has identified a list of 11 framing mechanisms, or focal points for identifying frames, i.e.

- 1 Headline and kickers (small headline over the main headlines).
- 2 Subheads.
- 3 Photographs.
- 4 Photo captions.
- 5 Leads (the beginnings of news stories).
- 6 Selection of sources or affiliations.
- 7 Selection of quotes.
- 8 Pull quotes (quotes that are blown up in size for emphasis).
- 9 Logos (graphic identification of the particular series an article belongs to).
- 10 Statistics, charts and graphs.
- 11 Concluding statements or paragraphs of articles.

(p. 101)

These focal points for identifying frames are clear-cut and easy to detect within each news story. The biggest advantage for the list of frame approaches is that it is replicable, reliable and suitable for “uncovering terms through an examination of media content” (p. 102). Once the researcher has the initial feeling that there is a framing difference out there on various media concerning an issue, he/she can set out to study these sites of focal points to evaluate the discrepancy there. And the results are replicable. Achieving acceptable reliability will ensure that the subjectivity of the researcher is taken out of the identification of frames. As the present study is concerned primarily with the content of texts, items related to images and charts are not to be studied for now. Hence the focal points for identifying frames are those situated within news texts, either source texts or translated target texts. So the focal points are:

- 1 Headline and kickers.
- 2 Subheads.
- 3 Leads (the beginnings of news stories).
- 4 Selection of sources or affiliations.
- 5 Selection of quotes.
- 6 Concluding statements or paragraphs of articles.

The list is trimmed by focusing on discourse presentation only, which includes all the constructs of news stories within texts. With this list in mind, the focal points for finding frames can be established, which will enable researchers to locate frames in varied content of news stories in either the ST or the TT.

A fully developed frame within a story is illustrated by taking the example of the Chinese President Xi Jinping’s visit to central Asian countries. This story is translated from *The Christian Science Monitor* on 17 September 2013 under the heading “China Strengthens Its Hand in Kazakhstan After Xi Jinping’s Visit.” It is

Focus of Frame			
Function of Frame	Issues: Chinese build strategic relations with Central Asia	Events: Xi's visit to Central Asian countries	Political actors: Chinese President Xi Jinping and President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan
Defining problematic effects/conditions	Chinese expansion, competing with the US and Russia	Vying for energy and market in the region	The Christian Science monitor
Identifying cause/agent	Washington focusing on settling disputes; Russia historical bilateral exchanges	Great increase in bilateral trade, energy and mutual understanding	Chinese diplomacy
Endorsing remedy	Unlike Washington, Beijing avoids linkages to hot spots such as Afghanistan or Pakistan. Moscow's dissatisfaction	Oil and gas pipeline to China, signed 22 contracts worth over \$30 billion.	Revealing more negative sides such as staging protests against Chinese "expansionism."
Conveying moral judgment	China greedy (Beijing's unchecked strategic ambitions) and irresponsible (avoid linkage to hot spots)	Increasingly seen as a threat to the country's sovereignty by its own population	Favoured by elites

Figure 3.5 Example of a fully developed frame in the source text

transframed into 美智库：中国尝试与中亚构建战略关系 (20 September 2013, RN) (American think-tank: China trying to build strategic relations with Central Asia). Frame embodied in the ST is illustrated first in Figure 3.5, and then the transframed story in the TT in comparison is shown in Figure 3.6.

As is exemplified here, the ST first gives an account of an overall scenario in the region by comparison of positions of the US and Russia to the policies of China; then it goes on specifically to China's ambitions in terms of oil and gas. The transframed TT focuses more on the strategic relations, with the downside such as the threat being deleted, which is reorganized into something of a long-term relation to the mutual benefit of China and the region with restoration of the Great Silk Road. Also from this example together with others, it is found that focal points for identifying frames are located mostly in the headline and lead of a story, which are the abstract and summary of a story respectively. Reading translated news finds that changes in the headlines are often accompanied by

Focus of Frame			
Function of Frame	Issues: China building strategic relations with Central Asia	Events: Xi's visit to Central Asian countries	Political actors: Chinese President Xi Jinping and President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan
Defining problematic effects/conditions	Comprehensive strategic partnership, priority on the Chinese diplomatic agenda	China's new regional framework: Great Silk Road diplomacy	American think-tank (the Christian Science monitor)
Identifying cause/agent	China more pragmatic than Washington and Moscow	Great increase in bilateral trade, energy and mutual understanding	Chinese diplomacy
Endorsing remedy	Reinforcing the regional political dialogue, creating road infrastructure, facilitating cross-border trade, intensifying money flows and bridging cultural differences.	Beijing signed contract, 8.33% stake in Kashagan oilfield, agreed to cover half of Kazakhstan's future investment in the exploitation of giant deposit in the Caspian Sea	Yielded concrete results such as increased investments in the region from \$24 billion to \$40 billion in 2015, etc.
Conveying moral judgment	Ensuring stable long-term relations	Success of Chinese diplomacy	First attempt in the region fruitful

Figure 3.6 Example of a transframed story in the target text

shifts on the discourse level in line with the meaning signalled under the new title. Therefore, headline and lead are the most conspicuous focal points where frames are located.

Having exemplified how to identify frames within the ST and the TT, methods to operationalize the research model of transframing will be elaborated in the coming sections. As mixed method can better triangulate the result, it will be adopted in the study. The quantitative analysis takes the form of content analysis while the qualitative method resorts to critical discourse analysis. Design of coding schemes for content analysis and method of discourse analysis will be discussed in detail.

3.5 Design of coding schemes

With principles for identifying frames and focal points to locate frames clarified and exemplified, coding schemes are designed so that the transframing model can be tested. To ensure inter-coder reliability, coding items should be succinct and

simple to define in developing the list of coding schemes. For example, concerning specific issue frames, Tankard (2001) has tested his approach with the topic of abortion by coming up with a list of six frames at the beginning: anti-abortion, anti-pro-abortion, pro-life, pro-abortion, anti-anti-abortion (arguments to refute arguments against abortion) and pro-choice. They found that coder reliability was not acceptable; so they collapsed the frames into two – generally favourable to abortion and generally unfavourable – and the agreement reached 89%. Tankard’s study together with other research works (e.g., Hendrickson, 1994; Maher, 1997; Tankard & Israel, 1997) have all given support to the fact that a smaller number of frame categories can help to improve the reliability of coding. In the author’s own experiment in coding, more items have also proved to be unreliable when we tried double coding by myself and another trained student who is fluent in both English and Chinese. Double coding refers to the coding practice in which the author of the study and a group of trained analysts code the corpus independently (Károly, 2014). For example, when we included more categories under framing devices, such as explication, exemplification and factual depiction, results of the coder reliability were unacceptable. We collapsed that into simple three-fold ones such as “the same,” “partly changed” and “totally changed.” The reliability rate rose to 82%.

To be more specific, indicators of transframing in the model such as framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree and framing device are designed in a three-fold categorization, with three choices for each item. That is frame tone is coded as neutral, positive and negative. Other items are also coded by keeping one item as “the same” with the supposition that translated news keeps the line of neutrality as journalists claim and that translators produce a faithful rendition under certain circumstances. Following Tankard (2001) and our pilot tests, the coding items are mostly chosen as straightforward ones, i.e., frame meaning remains the same, added or reduced; frame degree the same, strengthened or weakened; framing device the same, partly changed or totally changed. In so doing, coding items are clear and straightforward so that tough decisions by coders are avoided.

3.6 Critical discourse analyses

Translation is not a one to one game, where A can fit in with B in an unquestionable manner. Qualitative discourse analysis should be carried out in order to further validate results of content analysis. In journalism studies, while quantitative content analyses take the lion’s share by supporting the results with hard facts in number form, qualitative discourse analysis is also indispensable, just as Reese advocates that “the qualitative turn of much framing analysis helps resist the reductionist urge to sort media texts and discourses into containers and count their size and frequency” (2003, p. 8). Discourse analysis should and must be counted on to confirm the quantitative results. Therefore, CDA is a very useful tool on the account that it

offers *interpretation* of the meanings of texts rather than just qualifying textual features and deriving meaning from this; situates *what* is written in the *context*

in which it occurs, rather than just summarizing patterns or regularities in texts; and argues 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.

(Richardson, 2007, p. 15 emphasis in the original)

In operationalization of the transframing model, discourse analysis serves as an essential means through which frames in the TT are compared with the ST by focusing on where deviation occurs. In so doing, causality and possible shapers behind a transframing practice can be tracked. Furthermore, discourse analysis allows consideration to be given to sociocultural contexts of TF news both concerning the ST and the TT. Contexts such as political, ideological, economic, as well as journalistic ones under the context of globalization in different countries can be discussed, which will further unveil the root cause of TF effects. In discussion of transframed news, a genre of hybrid text as the outcome of translation practices out of differentiated contexts, the macro integrated approach in translation studies presented in 2.4 is adopted as the framework for analysis on the account that it will allow profiles of the STs and TTs to be compared sufficiently. Strategies of news translation on the discourse level such as deleting or adding information among others will serve as evidence in support or not in support of the statistical results of content analyses.

3.7 Summary

Following the proposition of the theoretical model of transframing, this chapter further elaborated how this model can be operationalized. Namely, the transframing framework consists of influencers and indicators of news stories. Influencers include story tone, story type and story sensitivity, which are borne by news products inherently in the source text stories. Indicators are framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree, framing devices and framing strategies. They are transframed effects in the target translated news stories, which can be measured in comparison to the source texts. The research model is thus developed so that how a news product has undergone changes or non-changes through transframing can be assessed. Principles for identifying frames are illustrated based on Entman’s definition concerning problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation. Focal points to frame identification are by and large located in news headlines and leads. Guidelines for coding scheme design and discourse analysis are also elaborated. With the transframing model thus operationalized, its validity and applicability is yet to be tested, which will be the focus of the next chapter.

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4 Application of the transframing model

4.1 Introduction

To put the research model of transframing into application, this chapter will discuss the correlations between the influencers and the indicators of transframing in translated news. The questions are concerned with “HOW” the influencers are correlated with the indicators through transframing. Hypotheses are formulated in relation to the indicators of frames, through which transframed texts are transferred into a new context, as well as strategies of translation through which transframing effects are achieved. A pertinent method of data analysis will also be elaborated.

4.2 Correlations between the influencers and indicators of transframing

The first correlation is how story tones in the ST are related to transframing in the TT. As proposed in the research model, it is hypothesized that the story tone of framing an issue in the ST is closely correlated with indicators of transframing in terms of framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree, framing devices as well as strategies of transframing.

How is story tone correlated to transframing?

- H1a. Story tone determines framing tone.
- H1b. Story tone is correlated with framing meaning.
- H1c. Story tone is associated with framing degree.
- H1d. Story tone is related to framing device
- H1e. Story tone affects transframing strategies.

Besides story tone in the ST, story type also have impacts on the effects of TF news, as is projected in the research model in the previous chapter. In framing studies, research works (e.g., Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) identify that difference in framing an issue is not related to news media such as television or print, but significant differences are found in both sensational and serious types of news outlets. Existing literature concerning framing (e.g., Camaj, 2010; Segvic, 2005; Zhou, 2008) and news translation studies (e.g., Baker, 2007; Valdeón, 2008) invariably

concern the coverage in terms of frequent occurrence of events of hard news type such as international political events, Internet issues in China or conflicts in the Arab countries. Therefore, the second correlation is that story type is related to transframing. It is hypothesized that story type of the ST is closely associated with the indicators of transframing and that it also affects strategies of transframing.

How is story type correlated to transframing?

- H2a. Story type determines framing tone.
- H2b. Story type is correlated with framing meaning.
- H2c. Story type is associated with framing degree.
- H2d. Story type is related to framing device.
- H2e. Story type affects transframing strategies.

Story sensitivity accounts for the fact that some stories go through more mediations or transformations than others in the process of localization. Sensitive topics concerning society, culture and economy often go through filtering or gate-keeping in news organizations (Fowler, 1991). Therefore, the third correlation between influencers and indicators of TF addresses how story sensitivity is associated with transframing, with the hypotheses that story sensitivity of the ST is closely correlated with the indicators of transframing as well as strategies of transframing.

How is story sensitivity associated with transframing?

- H3a. Story sensitivity determines framing tone.
- H3b. Story sensitivity is correlated with framing meaning.
- H3c. Story sensitivity is associated with framing degree.
- H3d. Story sensitivity is related to framing device.
- H3e. Story sensitivity affects transframing strategies.

4.2 Method of analysis

To validate or invalidate the above correlations and to testify the hypotheses, a corpus was constructed as elaborated in 1.5. Both quantitative and qualitative methods are adopted in the analysis, with the former taking the form of content analysis and the latter resorting to discourse analysis. Specifically the design of coding schemes for content analyses and method of discourse analyses will be elaborated in this section.

4.2.1 Content analysis

4.2.1.1 Coding scheme

For the content analysis, coding schemes are developed in relation to independent variables and dependent variables. Previous studies have validated that frames can be studied as dependent and independent variables, with news frames typically

50 *Application of the transframing model*

studied as independent variables (de Vreese, 2004; Zhou, 2008). Coding items in the ST, which are borne by the ST itself, are thus identified as independent variables. Items in the TT, which come into existence on account of the independent variables in the ST, are coded as dependent variables. Based on the proposed research model of transframing, influencers of transframing from ST news story, namely: story tone, news type and story sensitivity are coded as independent variables. Indicators of transframing in the TT including framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree and framing device are coded as dependent variables (please refer to the Appendix for details of the coding scheme).

CODING UNITS

Single news items are the coding units. Both the ST and the TT of one news story are coded as one unit, thereafter numbered as 001, 002, 003, and so on.

NEWSPAPER CODE

Samples from the two newspapers are coded separately so that filtered tests can be performed. A filtered test is a test with some specific variables, which are to examine the difference in specific variables in comparison to others. In this case, (1) is the *Reference News* (RN) and (2) is the *Financial Times Chinese* (FTC).

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Independent variables are those born by the source texts including story tone, story type and story sensitivity. The point that should be emphasized is that in coding independent variables in the ST, story tone or story sensitivity is a relative concept that depends on the angle of the reader as news is “manufactured” with a stance. In the coding process, coders should examine the ST from the perspective of a target text reader for the fact that transframing concerns primarily the target market.

STORY TONE

Story tone entails whether the tone of a story is (1) neutral, (2) positive or (3) negative. In deciding the tone of a story, the coder is looking at it from the perspective of a target text reader. If a story is presented in the way of giving two sides of a coin, it is coded as neutral. Positive ones are those with positive connotations from the perspective of a target text reader. On the other hand, negative tones are those that carry negative connotations. For example, the story under the heading of “Why Dividends Are Needed” (12 October 2013, FT) is coded as neutral on the account that it gives a factual account concerning paying out dividends to shareholders by presenting both sides of the coin. The story of “China Taking First and Second in Special Forces Competition” (3 April 2013, *Jane’s Defence Weekly*) is coded as positive for the fact that it describes the strong Chinese soldiers who won

the competition. Negative stories are those with negative connotations in the wordings. For example, the story “Snowden Documents could be ‘Worst Nightmare’ for US” (13 July 2013, *Reuters*) tells the story negatively by centring on the wording of “worst nightmare.”

STORY TYPE

Story type is coded as (1) hard news and (2) soft news. Usually hard news is labelled as the type concerning accidents, disasters and crimes as such, as well as covering politics and diplomacy. Soft news is mostly feature stories that are to entertain or inform readers. For instance, “The Xi Presidency” is coded as hard news on the account that it concerns such topics as politics and power in a serious tone. On the other hand, the story under the title “Why a TV Show about Celebrity Fathers Has Enraptured China” (20 December 2013, *The Atlantic*) is coded as a soft news story for the fact that it tells the story of a popular TV show by a provincial station.

STORY SENSITIVITY

Three variables under this item are: (1) sensitive, (2) partially sensitive and (3) non-sensitive. This is because pilot tests have found that some stories fall in between, that is some parts are sensitive while the story is not sensitive as a whole. So the choice “partially sensitive” is included. In the coding process, the angle of looking at a story is a decisive factor in pinning down its category because the concept of sensitivity is relative, i.e., some stories that are sensitive within one context can be considered non-sensitive within another; or some stories can be sensitive at one time and non-sensitive during the course of their development. Again as TF news is closely tied with the target context, a story’s sensitivity is determined by examining an event through the lens of the target context. For example, the story concerning the “Xinjiang violence claims eight lives” is sensitive for the fact that it has been an unresolved problem facing the Chinese government for a long time. The feature story of “A Western Tourist Visiting Kinmen in Taiwan” (17 August 2013, FT) is coded as partly sensitive due to the relationship between the mainland and Taiwan across the strait concerning sovereignty. Despite the beautiful writing about the small island, it casually mentions the wording of “two countries,” which means that the story is partly sensitive. Non-sensitive stories are those covering such light topics as tourism, or some factual depictions such as “The Challenges Facing the EMBA” (20 October 2013, FT), among other stories of this type.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Dependent variables are the ones that are born out of the independent ones from the source texts. They are the ones embodied in the target texts including framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree as well as framing device. The point to

bear in mind by coders here is that in coding dependent variables in the TT, comprehensive comparison with the ST is the prerequisite in deciding whether a frame experiences any changes or not. Again TF news stories are examined from the perspective of the target context.

FRAMING TONE

Similar to story tone in the ST, tone of frame in the TT is coded as (1) neutral, (2) positive and (3) negative. Because TF news is translated with a designated framing agenda, framing tone of being neutral, positive or negative is also comprehended from the perspective of a target text context. If a story is framed by giving two sides of a coin, it is coded as neutral. Positive ones are those with positive connotations from the perspective of a target text reader. On the other hand, negative tones are those that carry negative connotations. For example the story about “Chinese out-bound tourists embracing independent travel” (23 October 2013, RN), which gives pros and cons of Chinese people’s experience of travelling abroad, is coded as neutral in framing tone. The story concerning “the new Chinese leaders who do not go after ostentation, but pursue austerity” (23 March 2013, RN) is coded as positive on the account that it just focuses on the positive coverage of the new leaders. The story under the title “American Drone killed 900 Civilians in Total” (7 May 2013, RN) is coded as negative framing tone because the story is entirely about the killing of civilians by American drones.

FRAMING MEANING

It was found during pilot tests that sometimes the meaning of framing remains more or less the same; however, some details or minor points are added or reduced in the framing. Therefore, this item is also categorized into three choices, i.e., (1) same, (2) added and (3) reduced. Being the same means that the TF news keeps all the meaning as is framed in the ST by direct transfer without changes. Added framing meaning means that information is added to the TT that either does not exist in the ST or is more expanded than the ST while reduced framing meaning means that some parts in the ST are deleted in the TT.

For instance, the story under the headline that “Snowden documents could be ‘worst nightmare’ for the US” Snowden documents is coded as the same in framing meaning, for the reason that the whole story is a faithful transfer from the ST.

The story under “China’s ‘Beidou’ satellite will serve the whole globe” (29 December 2013, RN) is coded as a case with added framing meaning. This is because the story is translated from a story concerning GPS and the three competitors including China. In the translated news, the framing meaning has changed from one of competition in the navigation system to one that China is quite strong in this arena. Therefore, the framing meaning is added in comparison to the ST in this case.

The story under the headline “China has become the cash cow for has-been footballers from the west” (3 April 2013, RN) is coded as reduced in framing

meaning. It is translated from a ST story which frames the Chinese football market as chaotic, with many Western football stars coming to make money not on the pitch but in advertising, and running the risk of not getting paid. In the translated story, the framing meaning of making money is kept, but the meaning of mismanagement and corruption of the Chinese football market is removed. Therefore, cases such as this mean that framing meaning is reduced.

FRAMING DEGREE

Pilot tests also show that in some cases the degree is strengthened or weakened by choosing a stronger or a weaker term than the degree connoted in the ST. Again this item also has three categories: (1) same, (2) strengthened and (3) weakened.

Cases with the same framing degree are those whose degree of framing an issue remains the same in comparison to the ST. For example, the story concerning “Iceland found beef pie without meat” (3 March 2013, RN) is translated from the story under a similar title: “Official: Icelandic Meat Pies . . . Have No Meat” (1 March 2013, AP). Reading into the story shows that the issue is framed similarly in the ST without deviations in the TT. So the framing degree remains the same.

Cases with strengthened framing degree are those where the degree of framing is reinforced by some wordings in comparison to the ST. For example the story under the headline “US media claims that Xi enjoyed upper hand at the Sino-US summit meeting” (12 June 2013, RN) is translated from the ST “Xi Enjoyed Upper Hand” (10 June 2013, *The National Interest*) While the ST does a more or less two-sided analysis of the meeting, the TT is more inclined to the Chinese side. With addition to the existing information in the ST such as the background of the summit meeting and the bad situation Obama faced at home, the favourable conditions for Xi are much more strengthened. Cases such as this are coded as strengthened in framing degree.

Cases with weakened framing degree are those in which the degree of framing is softened in comparison to the ST. For example, in the case of the story under the heading “The Chinese state nuclear group interested in investing in the British Nuclear Project” (15 July 2013, RN), it is translated from the corresponding ST under “UK Turns to Chinese Nuclear Investors to Keep the Lights On” (15 July 2013, FT). While both texts concern building nuclear power plants in Britain, the ST focuses more on the UK side, and this frame is weakened in the TT by changing the focus to the Chinese side. So here the frame degree is weakened in comparison to the ST.

FRAMING DEVICE

Framing devices are coded in the TT also in comparison to the ST. Again here a category of “partly changed” is included for the reason that pilot tests have validated that this variable is not binary. There are cases where some devices are changed while others are not changed. Therefore, this item includes the trio categories, i.e.: (1) the same, (2) partly changed and (3) totally changed.

The same framing device means that the TT adopts the same framing devices with the ST. For example, the news under the heading “China designed concept trains that can pick up passengers without stopping” (29 December 2013, RN) adopts the framing device of factual depiction that is the same with the ST. Such cases are coded as the same in framing device.

Cases with partly changed framing devices are those where the framing devices are changed in one way or another but the overall framing device does not validate complete changes. For example, the news under the heading “Who will take care of China’s 60 million ‘left behind children’” (15 July 2013, RN) is translated from a story with similar meaning “Who Will Take Care of China’s ‘Left behind Children’” (12 July 2013, *The Atlantic*)? With addition of the figure “60 million,” the framing device is partly changed from a general coverage to more detailed explication. Cases such as this one are coded as partly changed framing devices.

Cases whose framing devices are totally changed are the ones where the device is different from devices adopted in the ST. For instance, a story concerning the rise of China written by the former Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew is translated into “Lee: China will not choose to confront the US in 30 years” (19 September 2013, RN). The device of explication is adopted in the affirmative statement, which reads like an answer to the rhetorical question raised by the ST: Once China Catches up – What Then (7 October 2013, *Forbes* pre-dated)? Cases such as this are coded as totally changed in framing devices.

4.2.1.2 *Coding and inter-coder reliability*

Following previous researchers (e.g., Camaj, 2010; Károly, 2014), double coding is adopted so that reliability of analyses can be ensured. Besides the author of this study, another trained analyst who is fluent in both English and Chinese coded 20% of the corpus independently firstly in two pilot tests before the actual coding. The reason for the author being involved in the coding is that coding the samples herself can enable her to become familiar with the content of each story, which facilitates further discourse analysis in due course. Two pilot tests were conducted for rationality and consistency of the coding items. After each pilot test, the coding scheme underwent some changes so that more of a comprehensive picture of the data pool can be achieved. For example a third category is added to some items in terms of partial sensitivity, as well as framing device that is partly changed. This has avoided tough decisions by coders and has improved inter-coder reliability. Cohen’s kappa was used to calculate inter-coder reliability, which takes on values between 1 and -1, with 1 indicating perfect agreement between coders. The overall reliability coefficient was .86. For all the variables, the reliability coefficient ranges between .71 and .84, which means good levels of agreement for each of the coded items. More specifically for the independent variables in the ST, .71 was achieved for story tone, .74 for story type and .92 for story sensitivity, while for the dependent variables of the TT, .79 was reached for framing tone, .84 for framing meaning, .84 for framing degree and .79 for framing device.

4.2.2 Discourse analyses

The last indicator of transframing, framing strategies, will be examined through critical discourse analysis. As elaborated in 2.4, discourse analysis in translation study must be included so that results of quantitative content analysis can be further validated or invalidated. In this instance, it can not only further verify the existence or absence of differentiated framing effects between the ST and the TT, but also substantiate the strategies of transframing within various translated news stories. Through discourse analysis, the TT profiles are compared with the ST profiles by focusing on where deviation occurs so that the reasons and possible shapers behind the transframing process can be tracked. TF news being the outcome of translation practices out of various contexts, the integrated approach in translation studies elaborated in 2.4 is the applicable method of analysis. It allows the researcher to look into the sociocultural and linguistic contexts that news stories are situated in. Therefore, it will be adopted as the framework for analyses so that TF news stories will be compared with their relevant STs from differentiated contexts. These contexts encompass the political, ideological, economic, as well as journalistic ones against the backdrop of globalization. Analyses and discussions in such a manner will unveil causality of TF news and further expose the mode of intentions behind.

More specifically in operationalization of the TF model through discourse analysis, strategies such as transfer or transformation as validated by previous news translation studies (Baker, 2006; Cheng, 2011; Hursti, 2001) will be analyzed. Transfer means keeping the form of the ST by lexical borrowing such as direct copying, transcribing or transliterating, as well as transfer of pattern without changing the sentence structure while transformation refers to changing the ST by transformation in terms of reorganization including deletion, addition and substitution of information. These strategies elaborated by Hursti (2001) in the discussion of international news production will be adopted as strategies of transframing. One reason for this is that these strategies are straightforward and easy to identify. Another reason is that effects of translated news are all realized through the umbrella strategies of transfer or transformation of the ST whether a story has been through the process of transediting, rewriting or adaptation. Therefore, through the integrated approach by comparing the TT profile with the ST profile, deviations or non-deviations can be pinned down by analyses on the discourse level. Further discussions can be carried out by putting both the ST and the TT into the sociocultural contexts under globalization.

4.3 Summary

This chapter has put the transframing research model into application by drawing a correlation between the influencers and indicators of transframing and postulated the hypotheses. These correlations and hypotheses are to be tested for the applicability of the transframing proposition. Data for testing are collected respectively from two representative newspapers with different ideological and cultural

standpoints: the *Reference News* from China and the *Financial Times Chinese* from the UK. Methodology to be employed is both quantitative and qualitative with both content analyses and discourse analyses. Coding schemes for the content analyses are developed, with each item defined. Discourse analyses will be conducted in verification of the results of the content analysis.

Results of both the content analyses and the discourse analyses will be presented in the following three chapters. Crosstabulation in SPSS is adopted in the test of the bivariate relationship between the independent and the dependent variables in terms of “story tone, story type and story sensitivity” in the ST against “framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree and framing device” in the TT. Discourse analysis is developed by exemplification of the key variables as validated in the translated news and it is also resorted to in the analysis of strategies of transframing. Other related results of the content analyses such as word count and filtered tests are also presented towards the end of Chapter 7, plus an overall conclusion to all the analysis.

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5 Story tone being key determiner of transframing

5.1 Introduction

The test results and corresponding discourse analyses will be presented in this chapter and the following two chapters regarding the correlations between the influencers and indicators of transframing. All examples are listed in bracketed numbers with the ST followed by the TT, to which back translation, the literal meaning of the TT, is provided by the author in round brackets.

This chapter focuses on the first correlation, which postulates that story tone is correlated to transframing. Hypotheses formulated thereof based on the TF model are that story tone in the ST determines framing tones in the TT, and that it is closely related to other indicators of transframing such as framing meaning, framing degree and framing devices, as well as strategies of transframing. Tests with Crosstabulation in SPSS show that ST story tone is one of the key determiners of transframing.

5.2 Story tone determines framing tone

H1a predicts that story tones of the ST determine framing tones in the TT through transframing. Crosstabulation test shows that tones of framing in translated news are closely correlated to story tones of the ST, as is shown in Table 5.1.

The number of stories with neutral, positive and negative story tones in the ST is 210/5/93, which takes up 68.2%, 1.6% and 30.2% in the data set respectively. Framing tone in the TT is represented by different numbers. The number of neutral framing tones increases to 234 (76.0%), while positive ones increase significantly to 34 (11.0%) and negative ones drop considerably to 40 (13.0%).

5.2.1 Neutral framing tone

Looking into the texts, the quantitative result is mostly supported by qualitative analysis. Stories with neutral tones are by and large transferred directly without changes such as Examples (1) and (2), the ST of which are both from the website of *The Atlantic Monthly* (21, 22 October 2013).

- 1 The Geographic Distribution of China's Last Names, in Maps
美刊：外国专家制作中国姓氏地理分布地图 (23 October 2013, RN) (US media: Foreign experts made geographic distribution of China's last names in maps)

Table 5.1 Story tone: framing tone crosstabulation

		<i>Framing tone</i>			<i>Total</i>	
		<i>neutral</i>	<i>positive</i>	<i>negative</i>		
Story tone	neutral	Count	189	15	6	210
		% within story tone	90.0%	7.1%	2.9%	100.0%
		% within framing tone	80.8%	44.1%	15.0%	68.2%
		% of total	61.4%	4.9%	1.9%	68.2%
	positive	Count	1	4	0	5
		% within story tone	20.0%	80.0%	0.0%	100%
		% within framing tone	0.4%	11.8%	0.0%	1.6%
		% of total	0.3%	1.3%	0.0%	1.6%
	negative	Count	44	15	34	93
		% within story tone	47.3%	16.1%	36.6%	100%
		% within framing tone	18.8%	44.1%	85.0%	30.2%
		% of total	14.3%	4.9%	11.0%	30.2%
Total	Count	234	34	40	308	
	% within story tone	76.0%	11.0%	13.0%	100.0%	
	% within framing tone	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of total	76.0%	11.0%	13.0%	100.0%	

2 How the Chinese Learned to Embrace Independent Travel

美媒：中国出境游客越来越偏爱自助游 (23 October 2013, RN) (US media: Chinese out-bound tourists embrace independent travel)

Increase of neutral cases is mainly validated by deletion of negative sides in stories that are domestically related. In Example (3) from the RN, which is translated from the website of *Carnage International Foundation* (10 March 2013), this is one of the stories concerning policy changes under the new leadership through an interview of the vice chairman Douglas Paal. The headlines are presented differently, with the ST being more general while the TT more specifically related to diplomacy. By adding a summary, the specific theme of foreign policy is more emphatically highlighted in the TT:

3 The Xi Presidency

包道格解析中国新领导层外交动向 (15 March 2013, RN) (Douglas H. Paal analyzes direction of China's diplomacy under the new leadership)

核心提示：中国领导层人事的巨大变动，可以为调整外交政策提供机会，但中国没有改动政策的动机。(Summary: the shift of China's leadership may provide opportunity for adjustment of its foreign policy, but China is not motivated to make the change.)

Other information such as the following is deleted. Also deleted is the part concerning China's stance on North Korea (which is not presented here due to its length).

The general thrust of Beijing's policy allows new leaders to focus on domestic issues first, and to leave foreign policy pretty much to caretakers.

While the ST focuses on various aspects of the new government under Xi Jinping, the TN chooses to focus more on its foreign policy. With the deletion, the coverage becomes more of an opinion from the Western elite, who takes a great interest in China's foreign policy rather than a laissez-faire attitude of the new leadership in this regard. Thus the negative story tone is more neutralized.

5.2.2 Positive framing tone

Stories relating to China in a positive tone are by and large transferred directly, with both the heading and content faithfully kept as in Example (4). ST of the example is from the *Jane's Defence Weekly* (3 April 2013).

4 China Takes First and Second in Special Forces Competition

英刊：中国武警称雄“特种部队奥运会” (5 April 2013, RN) (British media: China's Armed Police Force won “the Annual Warrior Competition”)

Examination of the cases that account for the increase of positive framing tones in the TF news finds that they are mostly domestically related stories. For example, in the story concerning the outbound deals of China in Example (5), which was carried on 22 November 2013, *The Reuters*.

5 China Set to Overtake Japan in This Year's Outbound M&A Deals

路透社：中国海外并购总额远超日本成亚洲第一 (25 November 2013, RN) (Reuters: China overtook Japan in this year's outbound M&A deals and became number one in Asia)

The ST frames the story in quite a neutral way by presenting both sides of the coin such as China expanding its appetite beyond natural resources, reaching into areas such as food and banking. The TF news made it more positively related to the country in terms of overtaking Japan and becoming number one in Asia. Examples such as these account for the increase in the rate of stories with positive tones.

One story covering the Chinese new leadership is translated from the Indian media, *the Hindu Daily* (22 March 2013) to be more exact. Its headline is as below, which is transframed into a story with very positive tone.

6 Ostentation Out, Austerity In

印媒关注中国新领导人不讲排场厉行节俭 (23 March 2013) (Indian media pays attention to the new Chinese leaders who do not go after ostentation, but pursue austerity)

The translated story is only 462 words in length. Given the fact that the word count in Chinese with similar content may double the number in comparison to English, it just occupies a very tiny space of the newspaper in terms of page. This means that the story length may be just over 200 words if it were to tell the same story in English. The ST counts 898, which means it takes up over four times more space on a page than the translated story. Within such a short story, the positive side is significantly expanded in the TT. The changing of frames here happens at various levels. On the sentence level:

With this, the new CPC leadership, which assumed power last November, finalised the transition process, which can be described as one of the smoothest in recent Chinese history.

就此，2012年11月接管权力的党的新领导层完成了权力交接。(With this, the new CPC leadership, which assumed power in November 2012, finalized the transition process.)

The hedged meaning under the word “smoothest” in the latter part of the ST sentence is deleted in the rendition. On the paragraph level, lengthy paragraphs concerning the predecessors Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao are not there anymore. In the last paragraph:

Therefore, the question is not only about the sustainable development of the Chinese nation alone, but also one that is crucial for her neighbourhood in Asia and the world at large. For this, China’s new buzzwords to be “frugal” and “green” become relevant. How far can they succeed?

这个问题不仅与中国的可持续发展有关，而且对中国的亚洲邻国以及全世界都至关重要。(The question is not only about the sustainable development of the Chinese nation alone, but also one that is crucial for her neighbourhood in Asia and the world at large.)

The question asked at the end of the ST is no longer there. It is reorganized into something positively related to the present leadership solely. With the strategies such as reorganizations and deletions, etc. the framing tone as carried with it in the ST is much more reinforced into a positive story focusing only on the new leadership.

Increase in the rate of positive stories is also validated in China-related stories such as the one in Example (7). In the report concerning the vying for the position of presidency of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the story carried on *The Wall Street Journal* (27 February 2013) under its heading shows rather neutral and balanced coverage. It focuses firstly on the Japanese side of its gearing up for the contest to grab the position, and then it moves on to China’s unreadiness to take the opportunity.

7 Japan Gears Up for ADB Presidential Race

美媒猜测中日将角逐亚行行长职位 (1 March 2013, RN) (US media speculates that China and Japan will compete for ADB presidency)

However, the TF news adds China in the headline by drawing it into the picture in a more conspicuous manner. The ST body of the story mostly concerns the Japanese determination toward the post, with some parts deleted. The deletions are mostly concerning the fact that China is yet to make the bid and some of the occasions when Japan and China resisted each other. The TN is 604 words in length, which is significantly shortened from the 949 words of the ST. It gives an account of the background of the organization, and ends with another example of the two countries sharing power in another regional institution. Therefore, with the addition of “China to compete with Japan” in the heading, the whole story is fine-tuned into a more positively China-related one with the country’s unpreparedness and resistance of the two countries omitted.

5.2.3 Negative framing tone

Negative stories related to foreign countries, non-allies in particular, are normally kept without changes such as in Example (8), which is translated from *The Guardian* on 7 May 2013.

8 Obama Rebukes US Military as Report Shows Rise in Reported Sexual Assault

英报：美军性侵丑闻频发奥巴马怒斥军方 (8 May 2013, RN) (British newspaper: Obama rebukes US military as report shows rise in reported sexual assault)

However in the Crosstab results, there is quite a large decrease in the rate of negative stories in the TF news. Examining through the data finds that these are mostly domestically related stories such as Example (9) from Bloomberg on 27 February 2013.

9 ChemChina Said to Buy March Angola Crude for Teapot Refineries

彭博社：中国化工集团购买安哥拉原油” (1 March 2013, RN) (Bloomberg: ChemChina said to buy Angola crude oil).

This is a case concerning China’s purchase of crude oil from Angola. The ST focuses on the “Teapot refineries.” In the TF news, the headline is trimmed into “buying the oil” only.

China National Chemical Corp. bought a cargo of Angola crude for March delivery to feed its smaller refineries under the country’s first allowance for processing imported oil at so-called teapot plants, according to four people with knowledge of the purchase.

核心提示：知情人士说，来自安哥拉的100万桶原油将于3月18日抵达青岛港，购买方是中国化工集团公司。(Summary: According to people with knowledge, 1 million barrels of crude oil from Angola will arrive in Qingdao on 18th March. The buyer is China National Chemical Corp.)

As is shown here, summary of the TT is also different from the ST. Information concerning the small refineries is deleted. Although this information is supplemented in the body of the news, it is less conspicuous than putting it in the summary. With transformations such as these, the negative story tone in the ST is much diminished in the TF news.

5.2.4 Summary

In summary, results from the discourse analysis mirror the results of content analysis. It means that H1a under the first correlation is largely supported; that is, story tone of the ST determines the framing tone of the TT. It also affects translation strategies adopted such as addition or deletion or reorganization among others, which are decided by the framing effects that the TT is to achieve. The increased rate of cases with a neutral framing tone is mainly validated by deletion of negative sides in stories that are domestically related. Stories related to the country in a positive tone are by and large transframed positively with direct transfer. Negative stories related to foreign countries, non-allies ideologically in particular, are normally transframed without changes. The decrease in negative framing tone is validated in stories with negative tones in relation to China, in which the negative side is mostly removed through transformation.

5.3 Story tone correlated with framing meaning

H1b predicts that story tone of the ST is correlated with framing meaning. The Crosstabulation test shows that meanings of framing in translated news are very much correlated with story tones of the ST as is shown in Table 5.2. The number of stories with neutral, positive and negative story tones in the ST is 210/5/93, which takes up 68.2%, 1.6% and 30.2% of the samples respectively. Cases whose framing meanings remain the same are 169 (54.9%), added ones are 26 (8.4%), and reduced ones are 113 (36.7%). Further breaking down the numbers finds that a neutral story tone in the ST means a higher rate of the same framing meanings (83.4%), with a much lower rate in cases of negative tones (14.8%). A negative tone points to a higher rate of reduced framing meanings (50.4%) while rates of added meanings are higher in both neutral (57.7%) and negative cases (42.3%). There are only 5 cases whose story tones are positive in the ST, which fully substantiates the fact that bad stories sell. Because of the small number, the rate of framing meaning representation in the TT is not very significant.

5.3.1 Framing meaning remaining the same

Discourse analysis also supports the statistical results. Meanings in frames with neutral tones tend to be kept through transframing as in Example (10), which is a translation from *Fortune* magazine (7 May 2013, AP).

10 Wal-Mart Regains Top Spot on Fortune 500 List

外电：沃尔玛重回《财富》美企500强榜首 (8 May 2013, RN) (Foreign media: Wal-Mart regains top spot on Fortune 500 list)

Table 5.2 Story tone: framing meaning crosstabulation

			Framing meaning			Total
			same	added	reduced	
Story tone	neutral	Count	141	15	54	210
		% within story tone	67.1	7.1	25.7	100.0
		% within framing meaning	83.4	57.7	47.8	68.2
		% of total	45.8	4.9	17.5	68.2
	positive	Count	3	0	2	5
		% within story tone	60.0	0.0	40.0	100
		% within framing meaning	1.8	0.0	0.6	1.6
		% of total	1.0	1.3	0.0	1.6
	negative	Count	25	11	57	93
		% within story tone	26.9	11.8	61.3	100
		% within framing meaning	14.8	42.3	50.4	30.2
		% of total	8.1	3.6	18.5	30.2
Total	Count	169	26	113	308	
	% within story tone	54.9	8.4	36.7	100.0	
	% within framing meaning	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	% of total	54.9	8.4	36.7	100.0	

At the same time, there are cases whose negative story tones are also kept in framing meaning in the TT. Reading into the texts finds that these are mostly stories covering non-allies or ideological opponents of China such as in Example (11), whose ST is from 13 July 2013, *The Reuters*.

11 Snowden Documents Could be “Worst Nightmare” for US

外电：斯诺登手中文件或成美国“最可怕噩梦” (15 July 2013, RN) (Foreign media: Snowden documents could be “worst nightmare” for US)

5.3.2 Framing meaning added

In cases of added framing meanings, results validate the Crosstabulation tests. Meanings are mostly added to the ST whose frames are either neutral or negative. Also concerning the story surrounding Snowden, the ST is quite a two-sided coverage under the headline in Example (12). Addition of framing meaning is the most noticeable in this case: firstly it is found in the heading, then the body of the story itself.

12 Edward Snowden is a “Traitor” and Possible Spy for China (16 June 2013, Guardian)

“棱镜门”揭秘者继续爆料 中方驳斥“间谍”说 (18 June 2013, RN) (The “Prism Gate” whistleblower continues to expose while China revokes the “spy” allegation)

While the first part of the story is mostly a translation from the ST carried on *The Guardian*, the second part is a clear addition of the stance on the Chinese side that refutes the allegation that Snowden is a spy for the country. It gives an account from the Chinese spokeswoman Hua Chunying by calling it “sheer fabrication,” as well as verification from the Executive of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Leung Chun-ying.

In the story concerning the imperialism of the US in Example (13), the ST is from *Newsweek* on 3 September 2013 under the heading in a negative story tone. It is transframed into a headline with the addition of more details in the RN.

13 The End of US Imperium – Finally!

新闻周刊：白宫前高官称美国最高统治权将终结 (18 September 2013, RN) (Newsweek: White House high rank official states that US supreme control will end)

Although the body of the story is more or less a faithful transfer of the message from the ST, with some paragraphs deleted, which can be accounted for by space limitations of the newspaper, a summary and three sub-headings are added. They go in this way:

核心提示：美国国会重新开始负责外交政策，而其专长是无能、寡断和失调。美国的最高统治权将因此而终于宣告终结。(Summary: The US Congress, which specializes in paralysis, indecision, and dysfunction, will resume the control of foreign policy. Thereafter the US’s supreme power will end.)

The three added subheadings are:

虛假宣传夸大“威胁” (Propaganda exaggerated “threats”)

战争机器蠢蠢欲动 (War machine itching to move)

军事行动无望取胜 (Military actions with no hope to win)

The author, David Stockman, is the author of *The Great Deformation: The Corruption of Capitalism in America* and *The New York Times* Best Seller *The Triumph of Politics*. This is an article written for *The Daily Beast*, a news website of Leftist opinion which is famous for its sharp commentary. With these additions, the negative story tone as expressed in the ST is much more amplified. Here is the case where addition is adopted to transframe the existing frames in the ST. The addition contributes to reinforce the framing effects of the “decadent imperialism” in the US.

5.3.3 *Framing meaning reduced*

Cases with reduced framing meanings are mostly found in stories with negative story tones. These stories mostly concern China.

For instance, Chinese economy always occupies headlines of routine reports. Economic data released by China often attracts the attention of some newspapers.

One story goes like this on *The Wall Street Journal* (10 June 2013), which is translated by the RN on the 12 as follows.

14 Chinese Exports Collapse! Or Not

美报：中国经济新数据令人感到沮丧 (US newspaper: data of the Chinese economy is depressing)

The ST paints a gloomy picture of the Chinese economy in terms of “dramatic plunge” in export, “black box of which all Chinese numbers emerge rather than the Chinese economy.” In the TF news, the headline goes in the similar vein as the ST. The dubious story tone towards the data is still there in the TT, as follows:

Current forecasts that GDP will grow by +7.5% this year are fanciful in my humble opinion.

在我看来，目前关于中国今年国内生产总值将增长7.5%的预测是不切实际的。(In my opinion, current forecasts that GDP will grow by 7.5% this year are fanciful.)

However, body of the story is much shorter than the ST. Most of the parts concerning the disheartening side of the economy and accusations of the government such as in the paragraph below are deleted. With the deletion, the transframing effect of the Chinese economy is less gloomy in comparison to the ST.

The government’s gotten itself in a bad cycle of issuing debt to fuel growth. A lot of the credit is going into bad, unproductive investments (think of the infamous ghost cities). Rather than take the loss, the government issues more debt to cover the payments on the older debt. Every year the returns get smaller and smaller.

Through reduction of these framing meanings, the negative tone is reduced consequently.

5.3.4 *Summary*

In summary, concerning the indicator of framing meaning, results from the discourse analysis complement the results of content analysis. Story tone of the ST is closely correlated to framing meaning of the TT. Meanings in frames with neutral story tones tend to be kept through transframing. Stories with negative tones that mostly cover non-allies or enemies of the country, so to speak, are transframed with the same framing meanings. Cases of added framing meanings are mostly domestically related stories, in which transframing serves as a channel to air the country’s stances on some issues through translated news. Therefore, addition is often adopted in transframing frames of the ST. The increased rate of added framing meanings in neutral and negative cases are validated in cases which are related to the country’s ideologically disparate opponents, to which additions are adopted,

which in turn results in amplification of negative story tone embedded in the ST. The high rate of reduced framing meanings in stories with negative tones mostly reside in those concerning China. With reductions such as in Example (14) among others, reframed news conforms to the overarching framing of the country through removal or reorganization of stories from outside the country in consonance with its mainstream media.

5.4 Story tone associated with framing degree

H1c predicts that story tone of the ST is associated with framing degree in the TT. The Crosstabulation test by and large confirms this supposition as is shown in Table 5.3. The number of stories with neutral, positive and negative story tones in the ST is 210/5/93, which takes up 68.2%, 1.6% and 30.2% of the samples respectively. Cases whose framing degree remains the same are 201 (65.3%), strengthened ones are 19 (6.2%) and weakened ones are 88 (28.6%). Breaking down the numbers finds that neutral story tones in the ST means higher rate of the same framing degrees in the TT (82.6%), while a much lower rate in cases with negative tones (15.9%). Negative tone points to a higher weakened rate (62.5%) and strengthened rates are higher in both neutral and negative cases (68.4% and 31.6% respectively). Again the 5 cases whose story tones are positive in the ST are not very significant in the rate of framing degree changes represented in the TT.

Table 5.3 Story tone: framing degree crosstabulation

			<i>Framing degree</i>			<i>Total</i>
			<i>same</i>	<i>strengthened</i>	<i>weakened</i>	
Story tone	neutral	Count	166	13	31	210
		% within story tone	79.0	6.2	14.8	100.0
		% within framing degree	82.6	68.4	35.2	68.2
		% of total	53.9	4.2	10.1	68.2
	positive	Count	3	0	2	5
		% within story tone	60.0	0.0	40.0	100
		% within framing degree	1.5	0.0	2.3	1.6
		% of total	1.0	0.0	0.6	1.6
	negative	Count	32	6	55	93
		% within story tone	34.4	6.5	59.1	100
		% within framing degree	15.9	31.6	62.5	30.2
		% of total	10.4	1.9	17.9	30.2
Total	Count	201	19	88	308	
	% within story tone	65.3	6.2	28.6	100.0	
	% within framing degree	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	% of total	65.3	6.2	28.6	100.0	

5.4.1 Framing degree remaining the same

Results of discourse analyses echo the outcome of the Crosstabulation test. Cases with neutral story tones in the ST tend to validate the same framing degrees in the TT as in Example (15) and (16), which are translated from the *Wall Street Journal* on 23 November and the *AP* on 1 March 2013 respectively.

15 Japan Looks for Ways to Say It's Cool

华尔街日报：日本设“酷日基金”促出口 (25 November 2013, RN) (*Wall Street Journal*: Japan established “Cool Japan Fund” to promote exports)

16 Official: Icelandic Meat Pies . . . Have No Meat

外电：冰岛出现“无肉”牛肉饼 (3 March 2013, RN) (Foreign media: Iceland found beef pie without meat)

In the SPSS test, there are cases whose negative story tones validate the same framing degrees in the TT. Here is one example. The ST is a long story of 4369 words, which is an interview of Edward Snowden by *the Washington Post* on 24 December 2013. It is transframed into a very short story of 705 words under a different heading as follows.

17 Edward Snowden, after Months of NSA Revelations, Says his Mission's Accomplished

斯诺登把美国安局比作英殖民当局批其不受限制 (24 December 2013, RN) (Snowden compared the US National Security Agency to British colonial regime, criticizing its unchecked limits)

The long story of the ST gives an account of the interview concerning various aspects of Snowden's thoughts and life in Moscow in a negative story tone; and the TT reorganizes it into a short story solely concerning his criticism of the NSA in the US with similar negativity.

5.4.2 Framing degree strengthened

The rate of strengthened framing degree is high in both neutral and negative cases. In neutral cases such as Example (18), addition of sub-headings as follows serves to strengthen the framing degree.

18 企业为何需要分红？ (Why should business pay out dividends?)

保持电力供应 (Keep the power supply)

撒切尔夫人(Thatcher)说：不！不！不！ (Mrs. Thatcher says no! no! no!)

The ST under the headline of “Why dividends are needed (even Apple now agrees)” on the FT (12 October 2013) tells a story about paying out dividends to shareholders, first with the case of the Apple Company, then about SSE, the British power company, and the policy of Mrs. Thatcher, without adding any sub-headings.

68 *Story tone being key determiner of transframing*

While the headline of the translated news in the FTC (22 October 2013) remains the same in tone and meaning, it has added the sub-headings accordingly, which strengthens the framing degree by making the story easier to follow.

In the case of strengthened framing degree of negative story tones, Example (19) shows one example of this. It is translated from *The Huffington Post* in the US on 5 May 2013.

19 Obama Drone War “Kill Chain” Imposes Heavy Burden at Home

美国无人机累计已造成约900名平民死亡 (7 May 2013, RN) (American drone killed 900 civilians in total)

By supplying the figures missed in the ST headline, the explication serves to make the story more sensational in framing degree. These kinds of cases with strengthened framing degrees mostly are found in stories covering issues of countries which are ideologically apart from China.

5.4.3 *Framing degree weakened*

Two examples are provided below to illustrate cases with weakened framing degrees in transframed news. Carried on the FTC (1 March 2013), the story (20) is related to the disputed case of China’s dumping. Here are the headlines:

20 Fresh Accusations in China Dumping Case (1 March 2013, FT)

欧盟对中国产太阳能玻璃启动反倾销调查 (1 March 2013, FTC) (EU started anti-dumping investigation into Chinese solar panels)

The length of the translated story only amounts to half in comparison to the ST. In coverage on the other side of the issue altogether seven paragraphs are deleted. These deleted paragraphs concern the Chinese stance, such as “Beijing and Chinese manufacturers have denied any wrongdoing and focused attention instead on Europe’s own system of government subsidies,” and the voices from some EU companies and so forth. However, the last paragraph was retained, albeit with some modifications.

The solar panel dispute has proved highly divisive within the European industry. Companies that sell solar production equipment to China and the many smaller firms that install panels across the EU have lobbied against the EU ProSun case, arguing that higher tariffs would be counterproductive because they would drive up the cost of solar for consumers and threaten thousands of European jobs.

此案也引发一场涉及面更广的辩论：即便调查确定倾销行为成立，对中国商品征收高关税有哪些好处？提供太阳能电池板安装服务的欧洲零售商辩称，此举可能也会伤害欧洲自身—导致商品最终价格提高、伤害消费者，并迫使各零售商裁员。欧盟委员会拒绝对最新的反倾销案置评。按照欧盟的规定，调查最多可以持续15个月。(This case has

triggered a debate at a more extensive level: even if the investigation confirms the dumping, what would be the benefit of levying higher tariffs on the Chinese product? Smaller firms that install panels across the EU have argued that it would hurt the EU itself because it would drive up the cost of solar for consumers and threaten thousands of European jobs. The EU declined to comment on the new anti-dumping case. According to EU policy, the investigation can last as long as 15 months.)

With the heading being explicated into a specific case related to solar panels rather than the general accusation of China dumping, the degree of framing in the TT is significantly weakened in comparison to the ST. By deleting some paragraphs concerning details of the dispute and readdressing the issue in the way the last paragraph does, the TF news tones the issue down in comparison to the ST.

Framing degree of the TT in Example (21) is much weakened in comparison to the ST. It is a story concerning the Third Plenum of the 18th Communist Party Central Committee (CPCC). It was a key event in the year 2013, which caught headlines of the Chinese media as well as some foreign media. The TF news on the RN is translated from *The Wall Street Journal* (28 October 2013). The ST focuses more on the non-radical prospects of Chinese reform. The TT (30 October 2013, RN) weakens the frame degree by hedging it into “the prospects catching attention of foreign media.”

- 21 Prospects for Reform at China’s Plenum; Beijing’s Economic Reforms will not be so Radical as to Jeopardize the Status Quo.

外媒关注中共十八届三中全会改革前景 (Foreign media pays attention to the prospects of reforms at the Third Plenum of the 18th Communist Party Central Committee, CPCC)

While the topic paragraph in the ST has chosen to comment on the reform of the Chinese *hukou* or residence permits system affecting the 250 million migrant workers, the TT chooses the overall reform as the summary. The TF news lead on the RN reads as follows:

核心提示：当11月中共十八届三中全会召开时，全世界都将瞩目习近平所说的全面深化改革的“总体部署”能否出台。(Summary: When the Third Plenum of the CPCC is in session, the world’s attention focuses on whether there will be what President Xi Jinping has recently called “a master plan for reform.”)

In effect, the downside of the Chinese economy is deleted in the TT. The following is the deleted paragraph. Consequently, the TF news has shortened the long story of 935 words into 783 words, which counts about half the length of the ST.

The forthcoming Third Plenum takes place also at an important point in China’s development. The economy is growing slower on a secular basis and

becoming more dependent on credit creation. Growth has picked up a bit recently, but only because of decisions from the leadership to again tap the credit and infrastructure veins of the existing economic model.

Therefore both the quantitative and qualitative results support H1c, which posits that story tones are correlated with framing degree.

5.4.4 Summary

In summary, concerning another indicator of transframing in terms of framing degree, results from both content analysis and discourse analysis validate H1c in one way or another, which means that story tone of the ST is closely associated with framing degree in the TT. Cases with neutral story tones in the ST tend to validate more of the same framing degrees in the TT. There are cases whose negative story tones validate the same framing degrees in the TT. These are by and large stories related to opponents of the country such as the US. The rate of strengthened framing degree is high in cases with both neutral and negative story tones. In some neutral cases, addition of sub-headings, usually in long stories, serves to strengthen the framing degree. Negative cases with strengthened framing degrees mostly are found in stories covering issues of countries that are ideologically apart from the country. The high rate of weakened framing degree in stories with negative tones is mainly substantiated by China-related stories. Through the transframing process, negativity in translated stories is much weakened in comparison to the ST.

5.5 Story tone related to framing device

H1d predicts that story tone of the ST is related to framing device. The Crosstabulation test concerning framing devices in the translated news stories supports the hypotheses that the framing device adopted is largely related to ST story tones, as shown in Table 5.4.

The number of stories with neutral, positive and negative story tones in the ST is 210/5/93, which takes up 68.2%, 1.6% and 30.2% of all the samples respectively. Cases whose framing devices remain unchanged are 88 (28.6%), partially changed ones are 241 (69.5%), and totally changed ones are 6 (1.9%). Close examination of the numbers finds that neutral story tones in the ST means higher rate of unchanged framing devices (89.8%) and partly changed ones (60.7%) in the TT, while negative story tones means a much lower rate of unchanged cases (9.1%). However, negative story tone points to the highest rate of totally changed cases (83.3%), while partially changed rates are higher in both neutral and negative cases (57.7% and 42.3% respectively). Stories with positive story tones only take up a very small proportion, which amply affirms the fact that bad stories sell well. Within this small number, one case remains unchanged while four cases are partially changed.

The result is further consolidated by discourse analyses as exemplified in the following sections.

Table 5.4 Story tone: framing device crosstabulation

			Framing device			Total
			unchanged	partly changed	totally changed	
Story tone	neutral	Count	79	130	1	210
		% within story tone	37.6	61.9	0.5	100.0
		% within framing device	89.8	60.7	16.7	68.2
		% of total	25.6	42.2	0.3	68.2
	positive	Count	1	4	0	5
		% within story tone	20.0	80.0	0.0	100
		% within framing device	1.1	1.9	0.6	1.6
		% of total	0.3	1.3	0.0	1.6
	negative	Count	8	80	5	93
		% within story tone	8.6	86.0	5.4	100
		% within framing device	9.1	37.4	83.3	30.2
		% of total	2.6	26.0	1.6	30.2
Total	Count	88	214	6	308	
	% within story tone	28.6	69.5	1.9	100.0	
	% within framing device	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	% of total	28.6	69.5	1.9	100.0	

5.5.1 Framing device remaining the same

By and large, there are a great number of cases where framing devices remain the same as in the ST. For example, the metaphoric allegory of the cat spy of the ST is also adopted in the TN in (22), which is a translation from *The Daily Mail* (9 June 2013), and factual depiction of the best economies is kept the same in the TT in (23), which is from the website of CNNMoney (27 February 2013).

22 Could George Osborne’s Cat be the Purr-fect Spy?

英报：英财政大臣爱猫被指“完美猫间谍” (10 June 2013, RN) (British media: British Chancellor of the Exchequer’s cat was alleged to be “the perfect cat spy”)

23 World’s Best Economies in 2013

美媒：IMF评出2013全球最佳经济体 (29 February 2013, RN) (US media: IMF selected world’s best economies in 2013)

Devices in stories with neutral story tone are generally kept in the TF news.

5.5.2 Framing device partly changed

There are cases in which some framing devices are changed while others remain the same. Here are some examples to triangulate results of the content analysis. In Example (24), the news concerning “the left behind children” – children of migrant

72 *Story tone being key determiner of reframing*

workers who stay with their grandparents, is one of the cases whose framing device is partly changed. The ST is selected from *The Atlantic Monthly* (12 July 2013).

24 Who Will Take Care of China's "Left Behind Children"?

美刊：谁来照顾中国6000万留守儿童 (15 July 2013, RN) (US media: Who Will Take Care of China's 60 million "Left Behind Children")

With the addition of the number "60 million," the framing device is changed from general coverage to a more factual depiction. It emphasizes more the acuteness of the problem than the ST.

Example (25) is another example of partly changed framing devices, which is the story concerning the nuclear investment from China in the UK. The headline in the FT (15 July 2013) takes a lightly satirical tone from the British perspective with the device of metaphoric language. The TT frames the news from the Chinese side by partly changing it into factual depiction on the RN.

25 UK Turns to Chinese Nuclear Investors to Keep the Lights on

金融时报：中国国家核电有意投资英国核项目” (15 July 2013, RN) (Financial Times: Chinese State Nuclear intended to invest in the British nuclear project)

The topic paragraph of each story also revolves around its own framing. On the FT, it goes like this:

Britain has turned to China to revive its hopes of building more nuclear power plants to help meet its energy needs, handing a lifeline to a project that has been dogged by delays.

The target text serves its framing of a story line with the device of factual depiction.

核心提示：中国国家核电表示：“我们当然感兴趣，英国也希望我们参与到该项目当中。”该集团还暗示可能与日本西屋电气合作。(Summary: SNPTC the Chinese state nuclear group said: "Of course we are interested, and the UK also wants us involved in this." The group also hinted that it could team up with the Japanese Westinghouse Electrics Co.)

Framing devices that are partly changed are mostly found in China-related issues, which are meant to either emphasize a certain frame tone or explicate a certain hedged tone, the power of China in this case for example. Devices adopted always contribute to serve the framing effects.

5.5.3 *Framing device totally changed*

There are cases whose framing devices are totally changed in comparison to the ST. Here are some examples that mirror results of the content analysis.

In coverage of the has-been footballers' attempts to make money in China, headings on the FT (2 April 2013) and the TN on the RN (4 April 2013) are like this:

26 In China, How to End It like Beckham

英报：中国成西方过气球星吸金地 (British media: China has become the gold mine of Western has-been footballers)

The ST adopts a humorous touch in allegorical language. It is referring to the fact that the much-loved football idol Beckham “fluffed a free kick to end up sprawled on the turf of a football club in central China,” which is signalling the fact that it is not easy to make money in China. Under the substitution of the TT heading, the device is more of a factual depiction. The content thereof is also modified. With deletion of the various details concerning the rather chaotic management of Chinese football, the story has been transframed into one that recounts the scenario of the former footballers' attempt to make money in China, mainly in advertising.

27 In a peculiar nationally televised press conference to mark the appointment of Beckham as global ambassador to the corruption-plagued Chinese Super League, the much-loved football idol dodged questions on . . .

他在全中国电视直播的记者招待会上被任命为中超联赛的全球形象大使。在这次记者招待会上，这位备受喜爱的足球偶像回避了以下三个问题： . . . (In a nationally televised press conference to mark the appointment of Beckham as global ambassador to the Chinese Super League, the much-loved football idol dodged questions on . . .)

As is shown in this short paragraph, the negative depiction of the Chinese Super League as “corruption-plagued” is deleted. Other parts deleted are longer paragraphs concerning the negative side of the Chinese football market, which will not be included here.

5.5.4 Summary

In summary, concerning the indicator of transframing in terms of framing device, H1d is highly substantiated by results from both content analysis and discourse analysis, which means that story tone of the ST is closely related to framing device in the TT. Cases with neutral story tones in the ST tend to validate the same framing devices in the TT. The high rate of totally changed and partially changed cases are validated in stories with both neutral and negative tones. Devices adopted are meant to serve the framing effects, which either emphasize a certain frame tone or explicate certain hedged tones as preferred in the designated context.

5.6 Story tone affects transframing strategies

H1e predicts that story tone of the ST affects strategies of transframing. As this hypothesis is unfeasible to be quantified, only qualitative discourse analysis is

adopted. Results point to the fact that transframing strategies are largely decided by the ST story tone.

This hypothesis is actually already illustrated by the examples in this chapter such as Examples (5) and (6), in which the translation strategy of addition is adopted if the story tone in a ST story is positively related to China, while deletion or reorganization tends to be used if the story tone is negatively related to the country as in Examples (9) and (21). At the same time, direct transfer tends to be adopted in transframing stories with negative story tones that are related to ideological opponents or non-allies as in Example (11), or sometimes strengthened as in Example (19) and amplified in (13). Direct transfer is also adopted in most of the foreign stories in (16) for example, which are not very related to the context under discussion, and stories with positive story tones related to the country (10) or soft news stories with neutral story tones (1). These examples will not be represented here.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on exploring “how story tone is correlated with transframing” based on the research model of transframing. All the five hypotheses are validated to a large extent. That is to say story tone of the ST largely determines all the indicators of transframing, which further decide strategies of transframing.

Results from both content analysis and discourse analysis complement each other. Story tone of the ST determines the framing tone of the TT. It is also highly related to other indicators of transframing such as framing meaning, framing degree and framing device. Stories with neutral tones tend to be kept the same in framing tone, meaning, degree and framing device through transframing. Also stories with negative tones covering non-allies or ideological enemies of the country in particular are by and large transframed with the category of “the same” in all framing indicators. Or in many cases, the negativity is amplified by added framing meaning or strengthened framing degree. On the other hand stories with negative tones related to China tend to exhibit a neutralized framing tone, reduced framing meaning, weakened framing degree or changed framing devices. The high rate of these changed cases is mainly substantiated by China-related stories. Through transframing strategies such as these, the negativity in translated stories is much weakened in comparison to the ST.

Translation strategies adopted in terms of transfer and transformation are decided by the framing effects that the TT is to achieve under given contexts. Stories with neutral tones are mostly transferred directly without changes. Stories related to China in a positive tone are by and large transframed positively with direct transfer. Negative stories related to foreign countries, non-allies in particular, are normally transframed without changes. The increased rate of neutral cases is mainly validated by deletion of negative sides in stories that are domestically related. The decrease in negativity is validated in stories with negative tones in relation to the country in question, in which the negative side is mostly deleted or reorganized through transformation.

6 Story type correlated strongly with transframing

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the second correlation, which proposes that story type is correlated to transframing in the research model. The hypothesis formulated thereof is that story type in the ST has influences over indicators of transframing in the TT such as framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree, and framing devices, as well as strategies of transframing. Tests with Crosstabulation in SPSS show that story type is another factor that determines transframing orientations. The test results together with results of corresponding discourse analyses will be presented in this chapter.

6.2 Story type determines framing tone

H2a predicts that story type of the ST also determines framing tone in the TT. Crosstabulation test results are presented in Table 6.1.

The ratio of story types in hard news and soft news in the samples is 281/27 that takes up 91.2%/8.8% respectively in the samples. The rate of TT frame with negative tones takes up 97.5% in the hard news stories, which are higher than the rate of 2.5% in soft news ones in comparison to the ratio of the ST (91.2%/8.8%). Positive cases remain in similar ratio between the hard news and soft news with the rate of 91.2% and 8.8%. Neutral cases in the hard news (90.2%) validate a little lower rate than the soft news (9.8%). The Crosstabulation test confirms the correlation between story type and TT story tones.

6.2.1 Neutral framing tone

Examination into the samples shows that soft news stories are mostly transframed with neutral framing tones. For example, the soft news story about a popular TV show is transframed faithfully with the content being a direct transfer of the ST.

28 Why a TV Show About Celebrity Fathers Has Enraptured China (20 December 2013, *The Atlantic*)

大西洋月刊：《爸爸去哪儿》缘何走红？” (20 December 2013, RN) (*The Atlantic Monthly*: Why did the show “*Where Are We Going, Dad?*” become a hit?)

Table 6.1 Story type: framing tone crosstabulation

		<i>Framing tone</i>			<i>Total</i>	
		<i>neutral</i>	<i>positive</i>	<i>negative</i>		
Story type	Hard news	Count	211	31	39	281
		% within story type	75.1%	11.0%	13.9%	100.0%
		% within framing tone	90.2%	91.2%	97.5%	91.2%
		% of total	68.5%	10.1%	12.7%	91.2%
	Soft news	Count	23	3	1	27
		% within story type	85.2%	11.1%	3.7%	100%
		% within framing tone	9.8%	8.8%	2.5%	8.8%
		% of total	7.5%	1.0%	0.3%	8.8%
Total		Count	234	34	40	308
		% within story type	76.0%	11.0%	13.0%	100.0%
		% within framing tone	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of total	76.3%	11.0%	13.0%	100.0%

As is shown in the ratio of the sampling that hard news stories are many more than soft news types, this is because of the fact that the two newspapers are both quality papers, which are more valid for the study of frames. There are also some hard news stories that are transframed with neutral framing tones. These are more related to hard facts of international news. The example such as (29) concerning the revered African leader Mandela is transframed with a neutral framing tone.

29 Doctors Say Nelson Mandela's Condition Has Become Critical (23 June 2013, BBC)

BBC : 南非前总统曼德拉病情“危急” (24 June 2013, RN (Former President of South Africa Mandela is in a critical condition))

6.2.2 *Positive framing tone*

Stories transframed with positive framing tones are mostly related to the context in both hard news and soft news in type.

In Example (30) concerning the relations between China and Kazakhstan and some other central Asian countries, the frame in the Chinese media follows the trend of reviving the historical friendship, such as that exemplified by the Ancient Silk Road.

30 Kazakhs Launch “Silk Road” China-Europe Rail Route (10 June 2013, Reuters)

外电：哈新建铁路复兴“丝绸之路” (12 June 2013, RN) (Foreign media: Kazakhs launch rail route to revive the “Silk Road”)

Heading of the hard news “launch Silk Road” from Reuters is substituted in this case into “revive the Silk Road” on the RN with a positive framing tone.

In another example of soft news type (31) for instance, the heading of the story about the emerging film market of the Brics¹ from the FT (3 April 2013) is explicated in the positive tone.

31 Brics Turn Film Market on its Head

英报：金砖国家改变全球电影市场格局 (5 April 2013, RN) (British media: Brics countries change the structure of global film market)

The ST uses an idiom “turn on one’s head,” which means “completely change something” according to the dictionary. The translation has explicated the idiom with the same positive framing tone.

6.2.3 Negative framing tone

Examination into the samples shows that most hard news about foreign stories or negative stories related to ideologically disparate countries are framed negatively.

In Example (32), the hard news story concerning the deal between Iran and the US from *The Reuters* shows a negative framing tone in the ST. It is transframed with the same negativity in the TT.

32 “Great Satan” Meets “Axis of Evil” and Strikes a Deal (25 November 2013, Reuters)

外电评伊核协议：“大魔头”与“邪恶轴心”握手 (26 November 2013, RN) (Foreign media on Iran nuclear deal: “Great Satan” shakes hands with “Axis of Evil”)

At the same time, not all negatively framed stories related to China are transframed with changes; there are some cases both in soft news and in hard news in which negative story tone is kept through transframing, as in Examples (33) and (34).

For example, the following story carried on *The Sydney Morning Herald* (17 October 2013) concerning wealthy Chinese people who are often considered as uneducated and vulgar is represented in the TT directly without any changes.

33 China’s Vulgar Rich: Befriended but Unloved

外媒谈中国“土豪”：人人想结识但不喜欢 (20 October 2013, RN) (Foreign media on China’s vulgar rich: befriended but unloved)

This piece of soft news with some touches of ridicule here is transferred faithfully.

Another hard news story concerning the Chinese people with Alzheimer’s disease in *the New Scientist* (7 June 2013) goes in quite a sensational way, which is not just framed negatively but also emphatically in the TT.

34 China's Alzheimer's Time Bomb Revealed

英刊：中国痴呆患者数量全球居首 (11 June 2013, RN) (British media: number of Alzheimer cases in China tops the world).

Under the metaphor of time bomb, the ST story frames the story as a serious social problem accompanying the development of China. The TT explicates the metaphor into something more factual but also severe and acute. These two cases and others are generally stories concerning social problems that are either brought to the awareness of the general public or of great concern of the society that calls for more action from the authority.

6.2.4 Summary

In summary, results from the discourse analysis reinforce the results of the content analysis. It means that H2a under the second correlation is by and large validated, that is the story type of the ST is closely related to the framing tone of the TT.

Discourse examination into the samples shows that soft news stories are mostly transframed with neutral framing tones. There are also some hard news stories that are transframed with neutral framing tones. These are more related to hard facts of general interest. Stories transframed with positive framing tones are mostly related to the context in both hard news and soft news story types. Most of the hard news concerning foreign stories or negative stories related to ideologically disparate countries is transframed negatively in tone. In the meantime, not all news stories with negative frames related to China are transframed with changes in framing tone. There are some cases both in soft news and hard news in which negative story tone is kept through transframing. These are generally stories concerning social problems that call for action from the authority such as the problem of the left-behind children and the ageing population.

6.3 Story type correlated with framing meaning

H2b predicts that story type of the ST is correlated with framing meaning in the TT. Results of the Crosstabulation test descriptively reinforce the hypothesis as is shown in Table 6.2.

The ratio of hard news and soft news is 218/27, with the rate of 91.2%/8.8% in the samples. The rate of added cases in hard news takes up 96.2% while reduced cases takes up 93.8%, which are higher than the rate of 3.8% and 6.2% respectively in soft news stories. Cases with the same framing meanings are more or less compatible with 88.8% in hard news and 11.2% in soft news stories. The Crosstabulation test confirms the correlation between story type and framing meaning.

6.3.1 Framing meaning remaining the same

In the soft news story (35), although the TT adopts less metaphoric language, the framing meaning remains the same as in the ST.

Table 6.2 Story type: framing meaning crosstabulation

			Framing meaning			Total
			same	added	reduced	
Story type	Hard news	Count	150	25	106	281
		% within story type	53.4	8.9	37.7	100.0
		% within framing meaning	88.8	96.2	93.8	91.2
		% of total	48.7	8.1	34.4	91.2
	Soft news	Count	19	17	7	27
		% within story type	70.4	3.7	25.9	100
		% within framing meaning	11.2	3.8	6.2	8.8
		% of total	6.2	0.3	2.3	8.8
		Total	Count	169	26	114
	% within story type	54.9	8.4	36.7	100.0	
	% within framing meaning	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	% of total	54.9	8.4	36.7	100.0	

35 China Joins the Fat-Fighters’ Club (9 August 2013, the *Independent*)

《独立报》：中国人因为“忙”而变得越来越胖 (17 August 2013, RN)
 (According to the *Independent*: Chinese people are becoming fatter and fatter because of their “busyness”)

In another story of hard news type (36) concerning the Shanghai Free-Trade Zone carried on the FTC (26 November 2013), Hong Kong is added to the title of the TT, which makes it less ambiguous than the ST. But the framing meaning remains unchanged.

36 Benefits Likely to Flow from Liberalization in Shanghai (18 November 2013, FT)

香港有望受益于上海自贸区 (Hong Kong is expected to benefit from Shanghai Free-Trade Zone)

Therefore, the discourse results validate the statistical test that cases with the same framing meanings exist both in soft news and hard news stories.

6.3.2 Framing meaning added

The rate of added cases in hard news takes up a very high rate in the Crosstabulation text. This is validated in the discourse analysis. For example the hard news story related to the newly elected Chinese leaders in 2013 is transframed with added framing meaning. Strategies of deletion and reorganization are adopted to

achieve the framing effects. The headline of the story carried 28 February 2013 on the AP (the Associated Press) is “Top China leaders agree on posts ahead of congress.” It is a piece of hard news concerning the present leadership with a negative story tone that the leaders are not elected through democracy. It reads like this in the news lead:

- 37 China’s top leaders on Thursday circulated a list of future government officeholders to be appointed at the annual legislative session that starts next week and completes a once-a-decade leadership transition in the world’s most populous nation.

The frame of the ST focuses on the fact that the top Chinese leaders are already chosen before the ballots at the meetings while the media is looking for indications of new directions of the leaders. The ST touches upon the theme of probing new directions for the country, which is adopted in the transframed headline on the RN on 1 March 2013, i.e., “外界密切关注两会 探寻中国新方向” (Media outside China closely watching the Two Sessions, probing China’s new directions). The ST summary of the story goes like this:

While the NPC session is largely an afterthought to the party congress, observers have been closely scrutinizing it for indications that Xi plans to lead China in a new direction. So far, there have been few such signs, with the 59-year-old career party official hewing to his predecessors’ stance of promoting rapid economic development while maintaining rigid one-party political control.

The news lead in the translated news goes this way:

报道指出，观察家对这次两会密切关注，以期找到体现习近平计划率领中国走新方向的迹象。(According to reports, observers have been closely scrutinizing the Two Sessions in order to find indications that Xi plans to lead China in a new direction.)

With the above transframing, the framing meaning is added in the TN towards the positive side of the story that the Two Sessions have caught the attention of the media outside the country.

6.3.3 Framing meaning reduced

The rate of cases with reduced framing meaning in hard news also takes up a high rate in the test, which is also supported by text analysis. Example (38) gives an account of the global picture of development in the central Asian region first and then goes on specifically to note China’s ambition in countries such as Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan in terms of oil and gas in the ST from the website of the Jamestown Foundation on 17 September 2013. The TT focuses more on the strategic relations,

with the downside such as potential threat being removed and substituted into something of a broader picture in the name of the Great Silk Road diplomacy.

38 China Strengthens Its Hand in Kazakhstan After Xi Jinping's Visit

美智库：中国尝试与中亚构建战略关系 (20 September 2013, RN) (American think-tank: China trying to build strategic relations with Central Asia)

With the differentiated heading as in the above and deletion of the Western allegations about China's irresponsibility toward security issues in this region, the frame meaning is much reduced in the transframed TT in comparison to the ST.

Another hard news story surrounding the DPRK in Example (39) is covered under the headline with the same meanings both in the ST and the TT on the FTC (8 May 2013) as follows.

39 Bank of China Shuts Account with North Korea's Foreign Trade Bank (7 May 2013, FT)

中国银行关闭朝鲜外贸银行账户 (Bank of China shuts account with North Korea's Foreign Trade Bank)

But the paragraph concerning more of Beijing's stance towards the country is deleted. Some other background to the story as in the following is also omitted.

and China has grown increasingly alarmed by the regional security implications of North Korea's nuclear weapons programme.

... Earlier this year Beijing endorsed two sets of new UN Security Council sanctions against Pyongyang, following its long-range rocket launch in December and nuclear bomb test in February. Last month Chinese President Xi Jinping said that "no country should be allowed to throw a region and even the whole world into chaos for selfish gains" – a comment widely interpreted as a rebuke of North Korea.

Many Chinese businesses maintain close trading relationships with North Korea, giving the country access to vital commodities and hard cash.

So, hard news stories that are negatively framed concerning allies of the country such as the DPRK are more likely to experience reduction of framing meanings through transframing.

6.3.4 Summary

In summary, concerning the indicator of framing meaning, results from the discourse analysis complement the results of content analysis. It means that H2b under the second correlation concerning story type of the ST and framing meaning of the TT is validated in big proportions.

The results of discourse analyses confirm the statistical test that cases with the same framing meanings exist both in soft news and hard news stories. The rate of cases with both added and reduced framing meanings in hard news is high. These added or reduced framing meanings all serve to emphasize or deemphasize certain framing effects depending on the context. It can either reinforce the positive image of the actors in the TF news or it can also lend a hand in reducing negativity through transframing.

6.4 Story type associated with framing degree

H2c predicts that story type of the ST is associated with framing degree in the TT. Results of the Crosstabulation test are presented in Table 6.3.

Concerning framing degrees, with the ratio of 218/27 (91.2%/8.8%) in hard news and soft news in the samples, strengthened cases in hard news take up 94.7% while weakened ones take up 95.5%, which are more than the percentage of 5.3% and 4.5% in the soft news stories. Cases with the same framing degrees are 89.1% in the hard news and 10.9% in the soft news stories, with the hard news a bit lower than the soft news stories. The Crosstabulation test also confirms the correlation between story type and framing degree to a large extent.

6.4.1 Framing degree remaining the same

TF news with the same framing degrees is mostly validated in soft news such as Examples (22) and (28) among others, which will not be repeated. Also some hard news stories such as Example (40) translated from the FT validate unchanged framing degrees.

Table 6.3 Story type: framing degree crosstabulation

		<i>Framing degree</i>			<i>Total</i>
		<i>same</i>	<i>strengthened</i>	<i>weakened</i>	
Story type Hard news	Count	179	18	84	281
	% within story type	63.7	6.4	29.9	100.0
	% within framing degree	89.1	94.7	95.5	91.2
	% of total	58.1	5.8	27.3	91.2
Soft news	Count	22	1	4	27
	% within story type	81.5	3.7	14.8	100
	% within framing degree	10.9	5.3	4.5	8.8
	% of total	7.1	0.3	1.3	8.8
Total	Count	201	19	88	308
	% within story type	65.3	6.2	28.6	100.0
	% within framing degree	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	% of total	65.3	6.2%	28.6%	100.0%

40 Chinese Fund Groups Take on US Rivals (25 November 2013, FT)

英报：中国基金公司有望10年内跻身行业30强 (25 November 2013, RN)
(British newspaper: Chinese fund companies expected to reach the top 30 within 10 years)

Such stories as can strengthen the power of the country are thus transframed with the same framing degree of the ST, with some addition of factual figures in meaning specifically.

6.4.2 Framing degree strengthened

Cases with strengthened framing degrees are mostly found in hard news stories. While addition is used for the simple reason of conveying the meaning clearly as is shown in the above example, it can also be adopted for more sophisticated reasons. In the story of hard news type on the summit meeting between Xi Jinping and Barack Obama, the ST carried on the website of the *US National Interest* (10 June 2013) is under a very straightforward headline. In the TT, background information is added and a summary is also added as shown below.

41 Xi Enjoyed Upper Hand

美刊称中美峰会习近平占上风 (12 June 2013, RN) (US media claims that Xi enjoyed upper hand at the Sino-US summit meeting)

核心提示：宣布中美两国领导人将举行峰会之际，奥巴马政府正面临多重问题。各种丑闻和政策失败削弱了奥巴马。(Summary: at the time when the two leaders' summit meeting was announced, Obama's administration was faced with multiple problems. Various scandals and failed policies have weakened Obama.)

While the ST gives a more or less two-sided analysis of the meeting, the TT is more inclined to the Chinese side. With addition to the existing information in the ST such as the background of the summit meeting and the situation Obama faced at home, the favourable conditions for Xi are much more strengthened.

6.4.3 Framing degree weakened

Hard news shows more cases in weakened framing degree than soft news. For instance in Example (42), concerning the establishment of the Shanghai Free Trade Zone (SFTZ), at its commencement, there has been some sort of disappointment concerning the lack of clarity about loosening financial regulations, as shown in the pessimistic coverage in the FT on 26 September 2013.

42 China Takes Gamble on Shanghai Trade Zone

外媒：上海自贸区具体细节令人期待 (29 September 2013, RN) (Foreign media: Details of the SFTZ are keenly anticipated)

While the story on the FT refers to the SFTZ as a gamble, the TF news in the RN focuses its attention on the anticipation. The sentiment of uncertainty in the SFTZ of the ST is much defused through the transframed stories with weakening of the framing degree.

6.4.4 *Summary*

In summary, concerning framing degree in TF news, results from the discourse analysis supplement the results of content analysis. More changes in framing degree are detected in hard news than in soft news. TF news with the same framing degree is mostly shown in soft news. Stories that can reinforce the power of the country are also transframed with the same framing degree as the ST. Cases with both strengthened and weakened framing degree are mostly found in hard news stories. The strengthening or weakening of framing degree is decided by the context under discussion. Where frame of a story is closer to the institutional stance on an issue its degree will be strengthened and where it falls contrary to its agenda-setting items it will be weakened.

6.5 **Story type related to framing device**

H2d predicts that story type of the ST is related to framing device in the TT. Crosstabulation test results in relation to this hypothesis are shown in Table 6.4.

With still the ratio of hard news and soft news being 218/27 that is 91.2%/8.8% in the samples, the rate of TT framing devices which are unchanged in the hard news is 90.9%, which is much lower than that in the soft news 29.6% in comparison to the ST ratios. The partly (91.6%) and totally changed (83.3%) cases in the

Table 6.4 Story type: framing device crosstabulation

			<i>Framing device</i>			<i>Total</i>
			<i>unchanged</i>	<i>partly changed</i>	<i>totally changed</i>	
Story type	Hard news	Count	80	196	5	281
		% within story type	28.5%	69.5%	1.8%	100.0%
		% within framing device	90.9%	91.6%	83.3%	91.2%
		% of total	26.0%	63.6%	1.6%	91.2%
Soft news	Count	8	18	1	27	
	% within story type	29.6%	66.7%	3.7%	100%	
	% within framing device	9.1%	8.4%	16.7%	8.8%	
	% of total	2.6%	5.8%	0.3%	8.8%	
Total	Count	88	214	6	308	
	% within story type	28.6%	69.5%	1.9%	100.0%	
	% within framing device	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of total	28.6%	69.5%	1.9%	100.0%	

hard news are much higher than the respective rates of 66.7% and 3.7% in the soft news ones. The Crosstabulation test confirms the correlation between story type and TT framing devices.

6.5.1 Framing device remaining the same

Mostly the cases with the same framing devices occur in soft news stories such as the factual depiction in Example (1) among others. There are cases in hard news that adopt the same framing devices, such as in Example (43).

- 43 Shanghai Free Trade Zone Attracts 1,400 Companies (28 November 2013, FT)
英媒:上海自贸区运营进展顺利 6000企业待入驻 (30 November 2013, RN)
(British media: Shanghai Free Trade Zone operating smoothly, with 6000 businesses in application)

Framing devices adopted in both the ST and the TT are figures in factual depiction. However, the FT focuses on the number of companies registered, which is considerably low, while the Chinese side on the RN turns its attention to the number of applications, which is much higher. In so doing the favourable tone is more amplified in comparison to the ST.

6.5.2 Framing device partly changed

The rates of partly and totally changed cases in hard news are much higher than those in soft news types. In coverage of the Chinese government's joining of the Railway Ministry with the Transport Ministry (44) from the FT on 28 February 2013, the metaphor "end of the line" is used, which can be easily associated with the railway. However, in the TN on the FTC on 1 March 2013, the metaphor is changed into a more factual depiction like this:

- 44 End of the Line for China's Rail Ministry

中国据报已决定将铁道部并入交通部 (China is reported to have decided to combine the Railway Ministry with the Transport Ministry)

Furthermore, the ST is still carried on with the metaphor of the line in the body that follows by choosing the word "rolling . . . into," while in the TT, the metaphor is not kept, as indicated by the heading.

Nevertheless, rolling the railway ministry into the transport ministry, a change previous leaders discussed but failed to implement, will mark the first major change to the Chinese bureaucracy in five years.

然而，撤并铁道部，使其成为交通部的一部分，将标志着中国官僚体系出现首次重大变动。此前领导人曾讨论这一方案，但未能实施。(Nevertheless, eliminating and combining the railway ministry into the

transport ministry, a change previous leaders discussed but failed to implement, will mark the first major change in the Chinese bureaucracy.)

As can be seen, not just the device is partly changed, but the meaning is also changed in part by deleting the “five years” time line.

6.5.3 Framing device totally changed

The rate of totally changed cases in hard news is also much higher than that in soft news. In a story concerning the rise of China written by the former Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew carried on *Forbes*, explication of the TT heading reads like an answer to the question raised by the ST.

- 45 Once China Catches Up – What Then? (7 October 2013, *Forbes*, pre-dated)
李光耀：中国30年内不会选择与美发生冲突 (19 September 2013, RN)
(Lee: China will not choose to confront the US in 30 years)

Here the framing device in the TT changes from a rhetorical question into an affirmative statement; thus changing the effect of uncertainty and suspense conveyed by a question into a statement of affirmation and assurance.

6.5.4 Summary

In summary, concerning framing devices in TF news, results of the content analysis and discourse analysis are in agreement. H2d under the second correlation is generally supported, that is, story type of the ST is related to framing device in the TT to a large extent. Mostly cases with the same framing devices are identified more in soft news than in hard news stories. More changes in framing devices are detected in hard news than in soft news. These changes or non-changes of framing devices all serve the framing agenda of framing effects of the institution.

6.6 Story type affects transframing strategies

H2e predicts that story type of the ST affects strategies of transframing. As it is unworkable to quantify this hypothesis, qualitative discourse analysis is the means to authenticate it. In effect, more strategies of transformation are adopted in transframing hard news than in soft news. While direct transfer is often adopted in transframing both soft news and hard news stories such as Examples (28) and (29), more transformations of addition or deletion or reorganization tend to be adopted in hard news than in soft news. The examples will not be repeated here.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter testified that story type is correlated with transframing based on the transframing model. The five hypotheses are mainly supported by both quantitative

and qualitative analyses to a great extent. That means story type is another important factor that determines transframing. In conclusion, more changes in the indicators of transframing are detected in hard news than those in soft news.

Discourse examination of the samples validates the statistics in content analyses. Soft news stories are mostly transframed with neutral framing tones. Hard news stories that are transframed with neutral framing tones are more related to hard facts of general concern. Stories transframed with positive framing tones are mostly related to the context in both hard news and soft news. Most of the hard news concerning foreign stories or negative stories related to ideologically disparate countries is transframed negatively in tone. In the meantime, there are some cases both in soft news and hard news in which negative story tone is kept through transframing. These are generally stories concerning serious social problems which are of great concern and which call for more action from the authorities.

Concerning the indicator of framing meaning, cases with the same framing meanings exist both in soft news and hard news stories. The rate of cases with both added and reduced framing meanings in hard news is higher. These added or reduced framing meanings all serve to emphasize or deemphasize certain framing effects depending on the context. It can either reinforce the positive image of the actor in the TF news or it can also lend a hand in reducing the negativity.

Concerning framing degree in TF news, more changes in framing degrees are detected in hard news than in soft news. TF news with the same framing degree is mostly found in soft news stories. Stories that can reinforce the power of the country are also transframed with the same framing degree. Cases with both strengthened and weakened framing degrees are mostly found in hard news stories. The strengthening or weakening of framing degree is decided by the context under discussion. Where the story is more inclined to the institutional stance on an issue its degree tends to be strengthened and where it falls contrary to its agenda-setting items it is likely to be weakened.

Concerning framing device in TF news, mostly cases with the same framing devices are validated more in soft news than in hard news stories. More changes in framing devices are detected in hard news than in soft news. These changes or non-changes of framing devices all serve the agenda of framing effects of the institution.

Regarding strategies of transframing, while direct transfer is validated in transframing both soft news and hard news stories, more strategies of transformation in terms of addition, deletion or reorganization are adopted in transframing hard news than in soft news.

Note

- 1 BRICS is an acronym for the five emerging economies, i.e., Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

7 Story sensitivity closely associated with transframing

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the third correlation about how story sensitivity is associated with transframing. The hypothesis formulated is that story sensitivity in the ST is associated with indicators of transframing in the TT such as framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree and framing devices, as well as strategies of transframing. Both results from Crosstabulation in SPSS and discourse analyses will be presented. Some other related results of the content analyses such as word count and filtered tests are also presented towards the end of this chapter, plus an overall conclusion to all the analyses.

7.2 Story sensitivity determines framing tone

H3a predicts that story sensitivity of the ST determines framing tone in the TT. Crosstabulation test results are shown in Table 7.1.

The ratio in the ST with sensitive, partially sensitive and non-sensitive story sensitivities is 76/156/76, which takes up 24.7%, 50.6% and 24.7% of the data respectively in the table. Cases whose framing tones remain neutral are 234 (76%), positive ones are 34 (11%) and negative ones are 40 (13%). Further breaking down the numbers finds that the results vary. Partially sensitive cases demonstrate a high rate of framing tones in the three categories: neutral (50.9%), positive (61.8%) and negative (40%). Sensitive cases point to a lower rate of neutral framing tones (19.2%), lower rate of positive tones (29.43%) and higher rate of negative tones (52.5%). Non-sensitive stories mean a higher rate of neutral framing tones (29.9%), but a lower rate of positive (8.8%) and negative tones (7.5%).

7.2.1 Neutral framing tone

Examination into the texts validates the high rate of neutral framing tones in non-sensitive cases and partially sensitive ones. Take the example of “*tuhao* or vulgar rich” in Example (33) as a case in point. It is a soft news story of tabloid nature concerning the “Chinese vulgar rich” so to speak. The fact that these people are lavish with money is not a sensitive topic, and is instead a popular and

Table 7.1 Story sensitivity: framing tone crosstabulation

			<i>Framing tone</i>			<i>Total</i>
			<i>neutral</i>	<i>positive</i>	<i>negative</i>	
Story sensitivity	sensitive	Count	45	10	21	76
		% within story sensitivity	59.2%	13.2%	27.6%	100.0%
		% within framing tone	19.2%	29.4%	52.5%	24.7%
		% of total	14.6%	3.2%	6.8%	24.7%
	partially sensitive	Count	119	21	16	156
		% within story sensitivity	76.3%	13.5%	10.3%	100%
		% within framing tone	50.9%	61.8%	40.0%	50.6%
		% of total	38.6%	6.8%	5.2%	50.6%
	non-sensitive	Count	70	3	3	76
		% within story sensitivity	92.1%	3.9%	3.9%	100%
		% within framing tone	29.9%	8.8%	7.5%	24.7%
		% of total	22.7%	1.0%	1.0%	24.7%
Total	Count	234	34	40	308	
	% within story sensitivity	76.0%	11.0%	13.0%	100.0%	
	% within framing tone	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of total	76.0%	11.0%	13.0%	100.0%	

light-hearted topic in casual conversation. It is reframed with a neutral framing tone, with the heading and the content faithfully kept.

The partially sensitive story concerning a Western tourist experience in Taiwan is also a neutralized case through reframing. The relationship between the mainland and Taiwan across the strait is a sensitive topic in the Chinese context, especially when dealing with sovereignty or relations between the two. However, this is a feature story of over 2000 words carried on the FTC, which is written by Mike Carter, a guest of the Taiwan Tourism Bureau. It is coded as “partially sensitive” for the fact that while the story is entertaining it touches a little on the subtle relationship across the strait. It is a pleasant piece of reading about a small island called Kinmen, or a “bow-tie-shaped lump of granite gneiss, just 58 square miles in all” 200 miles west from Taiwan’s capital city Taipei. Other than the beautiful scenery, it is chosen without doubt for its sensitive geographical location. According to the story, “Kinmen was the first place Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist forces landed and claimed in their 1949 retreat from Mao Zedong’s Communist regime. At its closest point, it is just over a mile from the mainland. For the next 30-odd years Kinmen was shelled remorselessly by China; and the cliff-top sirens did their thing.” The title of the ST is hedged with the implication of the island’s double presence – “A garden built on a fortress” (17 August 2013, FT). The TF Chinese heading is much plainer in comparison: “西方旅客游台湾金门” (22 October 2013, FTC) (Western tourist travelling in Kinmen).

Before the year 1979 when China and the US established diplomatic relations, China would fire artillery onto the island in deterrence on special occasions such

as festivals or the National Day (1st October), with sirens to alert the inhabitants at the time. On the other hand, the Taiwanese side would do such things as floating bottles into the sea, which contained propaganda slogans or some daily necessities in the effort of sending out the message that people across the strait were living a better life, and held the hope to conquer the mainland one day. After 1979, both sides ceased such activities. The ST reads in one paragraph like this:

- 46 But rapprochement eventually followed and, in 1995, Taiwan designated Kinmen a national park, embarking on a massive programme to turn the once off-limits military zone, one of the most heavily fortified places on earth, into a tourist destination – with its Cold War history one of the key draws. And the tourists they mainly want to attract? The newly wealthy Chinese, of course: what sweet irony.

但两岸最终走向和解，1995年，台湾把金门设为国家公园，并启动大规模的开发计划，把昔日的军事禁区、这个地球上固若金汤的堡垒打造成旅游胜地 – 把国共冷战时期的历史作为主要旅游景点 . . .

(But rapprochement eventually followed and, in 1995, Taiwan designated Kinmen a national park, embarking on a massive programme to turn the once off-limits military zone, one of the most heavily fortified places on earth, into a tourist destination – with its Cold War history one of the key draws . . .)

Here the ST is kept as the back translation of the paragraph, which can clearly show what has been excluded in the ellipsis of the TT. With the ellipsis, the ambivalence concerning the “sweet irony” does not need to be elaborated. In another paragraph of the travelogue, the framing effect is clearly differentiated between the ST and the TT.

We passed a vast building, nearing completion. It was, Chen told me, a five-star hotel and shopping mall, due to open at the end of this year. In a sign of ever-increasing closeness between the two countries, it was the first hotel and mall in Taiwan to be funded by a Chinese property developer. It looked terribly out of place.

我们经过一幢规模宏大的建筑。陈告诉我这是一家五星级宾馆与大型购物商场，它预定今年底正式开张。作为两岸关系越来越紧密的标志，这是首家由大陆地产商开发的酒店与商场，但它显得不伦不类。(We passed a vast building. Chen told me that it is a five-star hotel and shopping mall, due to open at the end of this year. In a sign of ever-increasing closeness across the straits, it was the first hotel and mall in Taiwan to be funded by a Chinese property developer. It looked terribly out of place.)

While the meaning in the two texts remains relatively unchanged, one key piece of information of the TT is shifted from “between the two countries” to “两岸关系” (across the straits), which reflects the awareness of different framing effects in Chinese politics on the part of the TF news. In the paragraph that follows, the

wording such as “proposing that the island become a duty-free destination, integrating travel and shopping, better to detain the Chinese holidaymakers from just across the water” in which “the Chinese holidaymakers” was rendered as “以更好地吸引一水之隔的大陆观光客” (to better attract the holidaymakers from the mainland just across the water). In another paragraph concerning building of casinos, “the Chinese tourists” was also rendered as “tourists from the mainland.”

With the changing or deleting of some sensitive wordings in the ST, the story is transframed into a neutralized story concerning travelling without alluding to the subtle relationship across the straits or “between the two countries” as the ST asserted.

7.2.2 Positive framing tone

Sensitive stories with a positive story tone, those related to the present leadership in particular, are transframed positively, such as in Example (3) in 5.2.1 and (6) in 5.2.2 concerning Xi’s presidency and the government.

A non-sensitive case such as (47) is also transframed into a story that is more positively related to Chinese people.

47 Hard Work, Long Hours: French Find Chinese Recipe Sour (20 October 2013, Reuters)

路透社：法国人发现在法华人成功“秘诀” (22 October 2013, RN (Reuters: French have found “the secrecy” of success for the French Chinese)

This story concerns Chinese people who work in France in rather an ambivalent tone by using the word “sour.” The TT chooses to explicate it with the open “secrecy” of success more positively by making it clear that the French Chinese people are successful.

7.2.3 Negative framing tone

The high rate of negative framing tones are found in sensitive stories related to the US such as that in Example (32) in 6.2.3, which concerns the deal between the US and Iran in terms of “Great Satan” meeting the “Axis of Evil.” Stories such as these are transframed with a similar negative framing tone as the ST.

In (48), involving the FTC’s coverage of Japanese GDP data on 8 May 2013, the ST uses a metaphor of “boffin in doldrums.” A boffin refers to a person who is engaged in scientific or technical research or a person with knowledge or skill considered complex, arcane and difficult, such as a tax boffin or computer boffin, according to the dictionary. It is used here to indicate the complexity of the data and miscalculation contained in it. In the TF news, it is rendered as below.

48 Japan’s GDP Error Leaves Boffins in Data Doldrums

日本承认去年第四季度GDP“算错” (9 May 2013, FTC) (Japan admits that GDP was miscalculated in the fourth quarter of last year)

As is known, China and Japan had wars in history and have disputes over territory, and this is also reflected in other respects such as economically sensitive stories in reporting Japan in a less positive manner.

7.2.4 *Summary*

In summary, results from the discourse analyses reinforce the results of content analyses. It means that story sensitivity of the ST is closely related to the framing tone of the TT. Results of both content and discourse analyses demonstrate high rates of neutral framing tones in non-sensitive cases and partially sensitive ones. Sensitive stories concerning the present leadership or government in particular are reframed with positive framing tones. Also stories of non-sensitive topics that are related to China are reframed positively. Sensitive stories concerning international politics, the country's opponents in particular, have a higher rate of negative framing tones.

7.3 *Story sensitivity correlated with framing meaning*

H3b predicts that story sensitivity of the ST is correlated with framing meaning in the TT. Crosstabulation test results are presented in detail in Table 7.2.

The ratio in the ST with sensitive, partially sensitive and non-sensitive story sensitivities is 76/156/76, which takes up 24.7%, 50.6% and 24.7% of the data pool respectively. Cases whose framing meanings remain the same are 169

Table 7.2 Story sensitivity: framing meaning crosstabulation

			<i>Framing meaning</i>			<i>Total</i>
			<i>same</i>	<i>added</i>	<i>reduced</i>	
Story sensitivity	sensitive	Count	28	11	37	76
		% within story sensitivity	36.8%	14.5%	48.7%	100.0%
		% within framing meaning	16.6%	42.3%	32.7%	24.7%
		% of total	9.1%	3.6%	12.0%	24.7%
	partially sensitive	Count	78	11	67	156
		% within story sensitivity	50.0%	7.1%	42.9%	100%
		% within framing meaning	46.2%	42.3%	59.3%	50.6%
		% of total	25.3%	3.6%	21.8%	50.6%
	non-sensitive	Count	63	4	9	76
		% within story sensitivity	82.9%	5.3%	11.8%	100%
		% within framing meaning	37.3%	15.4%	8.0%	24.7%
		% of total	20.5%	1.3%	2.9%	24.7%
Total	Count	169	26	113	308	
	% within story sensitivity	54.9%	8.4%	36.7%	100.0%	
	% within framing meaning	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of total	54.9%	8.4%	36.7%	100.0%	

(54.9%), added ones are 26 (8.4%) and reduced ones are 113 (36.7%). Breaking down the numbers finds that the results vary. Non-sensitive stories mean a higher rate of the same framing meanings in the TT (37.3%) and a lower rate of added (15.4%) or reduced (8.0%) meanings. Partially sensitive cases show a high rate of the same framing meanings (46.2%), added meanings (42.3%) and reduced meanings (59.3%) in the TT. Sensitive cases point to a lower rate of the same framing meanings (16.6%), but a higher rate of added (42.3%) and reduced (32.7%) meanings.

7.3.1 Framing meaning remaining the same

Results of discourse analysis agree with the quantitative statistics. Stories on non-sensitive topics such as EMBA, tourism, etc. are transferred directly. Although the headings may have been modified a little in one way or another, the contents are generally reproduced in a faithful manner, as in Example (49).

49 The Challenges Facing the EMBA (20 October 2013, FT)

金融时报：EMBA在中国面临多项挑战 (22 October 2013, RN) (*The Financial Times*: EMBA in China facing many challenges)

Sensitive stories such as the one related to the US in Example (50), which is from the website of the US StrategyPage on 8 June 2013, account for the rate of cases whose frame meaning remains the same with the ST.

50 American Secret Sauce Sours

美媒称美军用钱砸战争战略“失灵了” (10 June 2013, RN) (US media claims that the US army strategy of throwing cash at wars has “seized up”)

By putting the translation into colloquial Chinese such as 用钱砸 (throwing cash at) and 失灵了 (machine seized up), not only the hedged meaning in the ST comes through easily but also in a satirical and sarcastic tone, while the negativity is preserved at the same time.

7.3.2 Framing meaning added

Sensitive stories concerning international politics have a higher rate of added cases of framing meanings. In transframing the story concerning Snowden, the ST from *the Guardian* (10 June 2013) has the following heading (51), which is substituted with something different in the TT by the RN.

51 US Leaker Edward Snowden “Defending Liberty”

英报称美“监视门”泄密者藏身香港有玄机 (11 June 2013, RN) (British newspaper claims that the reason for the US “surveillance gate” whistleblower to hide in Hong Kong is complex)

The length of the ST story is 848 words, and it elaborates more on the idea of defending liberty. The summary goes in this way:

An ex-CIA employee has said he acted to “protect basic liberties for people around the world” in leaking details of US phone and Internet surveillance.

The TT summary is substituted in this way by transframing it into a shorter story of 488 words.

核心提示：斯诺登选择香港不仅是因为香港本地相对自由的公民社会文化，也是看中了中国可以抗衡美国的大国地位。” (Summary: Snowden choosing Hong Kong is not just because of its “strong tradition of free speech,” but more because of China’s power to counterbalance the US).

Therefore the shorter story serves the transframing effect of reinforcing the power of China.

7.3.3 Framing meaning reduced

The high rate of reduced framing meanings in partially sensitive and sensitive cases is also validated by discourse presentations. The partly sensitive case in Example (52) is a case in point. It covers the relationship between the US and the DPRK with a negative touch, causing the framed meaning in the TT to be reduced according to the coding. Looking into the ST from *The New York Times* on 1 March 2013, it is a story about Rodman, the American basketball star, who visited North Korea. The visit itself is not sensitive in terms of exchanges of this kind. However, concerning the long-standing antagonistic relationship between the two countries, it is coded as partially sensitive. The ST and the TT go under the following headlines:

52 Rodman Meets With North Korean Leader, Courtside

美报：罗德曼上演篮球外交金正恩欣然示好 (1 March 2013, RN) (American newspaper: Rodman puts on basketball diplomacy, Kim Jong-un accepts happily)

It is known that North Korea is an ally of China, but China seldom acknowledges this publicly. In this coverage, this relationship is reflected in the fact that bad words about “Kim Jong-un the leader of one of the world’s most repressive countries” and other information related to its conducting a nuclear test are not to be found in the TT. Thus the framing meaning is much reduced.

Topics concerning the data relating to Chinese economy are quite sensitive due to stories of manipulation of the data by the authorities. The FTC (9 May 2013) transframes the following story into something less pessimistic in the much shorter summary than the FT (8 May 2013) by deleting some details such as these below.

- 53 The Chinese economy grew 7.8 per cent last year, its slowest pace since 1999, and had been widely forecast to post stronger growth this year after its economy picked up in the final quarter of 2012. But there are concerns that an unexpected slowdown in the first quarter, despite remarkably strong credit issuance, may have carried over at the start of the second quarter.

However, the import figures provided a glimmer of optimism.

China's imports of raw materials in April grew steadily from the previous year, showing that while economic growth has slowed, it has hardly ground to a halt.

Imports of iron ore, a key ingredient for steelmaking, were up 16.4 per cent by volume in April compared with the same time last year, bringing import growth for the first four months of 2013 to 3.9 per cent compared with the previous year. Thanks to improving demand from the auto and appliance sectors, China's steelmakers reached record production levels at the end of last month.

Imports of crude oil also showed modest growth, rising to 23.1m tonnes in April, an increase of 3.2 per cent over the previous year.

Sijin Cheng, commodities analyst at Barclays in Singapore, said the commodities imports point to a manufacturing sector that is "chugging along" but unlikely to show very strong growth in coming months.

Imports of high-tech products were also strong, rising 41.6 per cent from a year earlier.

"The rising demand for commodities and high-tech product imports may be related to the increased investment in infrastructure and property supported by abundant credit," economists at Citi said.

Summary on the FTC:

铁矿石等原材料进口4月份同比稳中有升，显示中国经济虽然放缓，但并未停滞。高科技产品进口情况同样强劲，同比增长41.6%。(Imports of iron ore and other raw materials maintained a stable and upward trend in April compared with the same time last year, which indicates that the Chinese economic growth has slowed, but it has not grounded to a halt. Imports of high-tech products were also strong, rising 41.6 per cent from a year earlier.)

The short summary reads more optimistically than the ST after deleting the more detailed information. Thus it conforms more to the mainstream media of the country in covering the economy, which is dominated by various positive stories.

7.3.4 Summary

Results of both quantitative statistics and discourse analyses verify H3b, which means that story sensitivity of the ST is closely correlated with framing meaning in the TT. Stories on non-sensitive topics are usually transferred directly with the same framing meanings. Sensitive stories such as those related to the US in

negative tones are also transframed with the frame meanings as the ST. On the other hand, sensitive stories concerning international politics with involvement of the country show a higher rate of added framing meanings. Generally these added framing meanings through transframing serve the interest of the country. Cases with reduced framing meanings are mostly those partially and sensitive ones, which either indirectly related to China concerning its allies for example, or those which are closely related to the country. Sensitive stories that are not in line with the main frame of domestic media mostly experience reduction in framing meanings through transframing.

7.4 Story sensitivity associated with framing degree

H3c predicts that story sensitivity of the ST is associated with framing degree in the TT. The Crosstabulation test largely supports this hypothesis as is shown in Table 7.3.

Test results in Table 7.3 illustrate the relation between story sensitivity and framing degree, which points to a similar varied trend with framing meaning. The ratio in the ST with sensitive, partially sensitive and non-sensitive story sensitivities is 76/156/76, which is 24.7%, 50.6% and 24.7% respectively. Cases whose framing degrees remain the same are 201 (65.3%), strengthened ones are 19 (6.2%) and weakened ones are 88 (28.6%). Further breaking down the numbers finds that the results vary. The ratio of cases in non-sensitive stories whose framing degree

Table 7.3 Story sensitivity: framing degree crosstabulation

		<i>Framing degree</i>			<i>Total</i>	
		<i>same</i>	<i>strengthened</i>	<i>weakened</i>		
Story sensitivity	sensitive	Count	37	7	32	76
		% within story sensitivity	48.7%	9.2%	42.1%	100.0%
		% within framing degree	18.4%	36.8%	36.4%	24.7%
		% of total	12.0%	2.3%	10.4%	24.7%
	partially sensitive	Count	93	9	54	156
		% within story sensitivity	59.6%	5.8%	34.6%	100%
		% within framing degree	46.3%	47.4%	61.4%	50.6%
		% of total	32.0%	2.9%	17.5%	50.6%
	non-sensitive	Count	71	3	2	76
% within story sensitivity		93.4%	3.9%	2.6%	100%	
% within framing degree		35.3%	15.8%	2.3%	24.7%	
	% of total	23.1%	1.0%	0.6%	24.7%	
Total	Count	201	19	88	308	
	% within story sensitivity	65.3%	6.2%	28.6%	100.0%	
	% within framing degree	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of total	65.3%	6.2%	28.6%	100.0%	

is strengthened (15.8%) or weakened (2.3%) are much lower than sensitive (36.8% strengthened, 36.4% weakened) and partially sensitive (47.4% strengthened, 61.4% weakened) ones. Rates with the same framing degree vary among story sensitivity, with the ratio of 18.4% in sensitive stories, 46.3% in partially sensitive and 35.3% in non-sensitive ones.

7.4.1 Framing degree remaining the same

Cases whose framing degree remains the same are validated in all three types of sensitivities. Non-sensitive stories such as the EMBA in Example (49) of 7.3.1 are reframed with the same framing degrees. Partially sensitive stories concerning anti-corruption in China such as the one in Example (54) are reframed with the same framing degree of the ST.

54 Beijing's Top Tipples for Masses (23 November 2013, FT)

中国高档白酒降低身段 (26 November 2013, FTC) (Ultra-luxury *Baijiu* in China lowered its status)

In the coverage of anti-corruption in China, the FTC focuses its attention on the price of *baijiu* or white spirits – liquor with high amounts of alcohol by volume ranging from 36 to 60 degrees, which is usually made by distilling sorghum or other grains. To make the story more eye-catching and more interesting, it uses metaphoric language. In the translation, a Chinese metaphor is also adopted. The idiom 降低身段 (lowered one's status) means to lower oneself from a higher rank, which suggests the drop of *baijiu* prices. The framing degrees of the ST and the TT remain the same, with different metaphors, though.

The validation of sensitive issues with the same framing degrees mostly falls within negative coverage of the country's opponents, the US in particular such as Example (50) in 7.3.1 concerning the sensitive topic of the American military. The negativity in both framing meaning and degree is transferred faithfully through reframing.

7.4.2 Framing degree strengthened

Cases with strengthened framing degree are mostly validated in sensitive and partially sensitive stories. Examination into texts finds that sensitive cases with strengthened framing degrees in the TT are mostly closely related to China with positive touches in the ST, such as Example (37) in 6.3.2 and Example (38) in 6.3.3 concerning new direction of the Chinese leadership and building strategic relations with Central Asia.

Cases with partial sensitivity validate the high rate of strengthened framing degrees. In Example (55), the TT story is translated from the story on the website of US StrategyPage on 27 November 2013. The ST gives an account of the landscape of world navigation systems, i.e., the American GPS System and three other competitors, namely the Galileo navigation of the European Union, the Russian GLONASS system and the Beidou satellite system from China. Considering that

navigation system is almost universally adopted despite its sensitive nature of being used for military purposes, it is coded as a partially sensitive case. From the ST and the TT headlines and summary of the TT, it can be seen that the two stories are framed differently.

55 Space: GPS and the Three Competitors

美媒：中国“北斗”卫星将服务整个地球 (29 November 2013, RN) (American media: China's "Beidou" satellite will serve the whole globe)

核心提示：中国30余颗“北斗”卫星已有16颗投入使用 (News lead: 16 of China's 30 "Beidou" satellites are in operation)

Here by deleting some details about the other systems while still keeping the pros and cons of the global systems, the TT becomes more China-focused. Through the strengthened framing degree under the new headline and the lead such as the above, the TT is reorganized into a story that China is playing quite a dominant role in the navigation system competition.

7.4.3 *Framing degree weakened*

Cases with weakened framing degree mostly occur in sensitive and partially sensitive stories as well. In the case concerning the sensitive issue of the American whistleblower Edward Snowden carried on *the Washington Post* on 10 June 2013, frame meanings of both the ST and the TT headlines are more or less the same as is shown in Example (56).

56 A Hero's Welcome for Snowden on Chinese Internet

美报：美“监视门”泄密人受中国网民追捧 (12 June 2013, RN) (American newspaper: US "Surveillance Gate" leaker warmly welcomed by Chinese netizens)

While the word "hero" implies higher framing degree than "warmly welcomed" in the TT, the transframing does register much difference once looking into the story. Firstly, the story is translated in a complex manner, with some parts that are not favourable to China's Internet control omitted while adding some information that does not exist in the ST. For example, the following paragraph is added towards the end of the story.

报道指出，眼下，揭发在中国是一个火热话题。实际上，这个话题太过火热，就连国有的中央电视台最近都给予网络揭发者像《时代》周刊“年度人物”一样的称号。有越来越多的人在社交媒体上揭露地方政府腐败的做法，评选反映出在中国不断扩大的一种共识，普通人必须挺身而出。(According to the news, at present, disclosure is a hot topic in China. In fact, the topic is so hot that China Central Television (CCTV) has given whistleblowers on the Internet the title "Figure of the Year" similar to the

Times Magazine. There are more and more people who have exposed corruption of their local government on social media. The selection of the figure reflects a common understanding in the general public that it is time for them to speak out boldly.)

With this addition, the story is recontextualized in consistency with the Chinese context, in which exposure of corruption is enthusiastically welcomed by the general public. Therefore the translation strategy of addition serves to construct consonance with frames of the given context by weakening the framing degree of the ST.

Chinese data is another economically partially sensitive topic, which always catches the headline on the FTC. The coverage under “China Trade Growth Raises Data Questions” on the FT (8 May 2013) is rendered into 中国出口数据引发质疑 (9 May 2013) (Chinese trade data raises questions) on the FTC. The sections concerning, “Analysts have calculated that the exaggeration has added about 5 percentage points, and maybe more, to China’s export growth in recent months,” and more about the downside of the Chinese economy towards the end of the story are not included. Comparison of the two versions is shown as below.

- 57 The Chinese customs administration previously brushed aside criticism of the data, saying that any faked invoices were only a small part of the overall numbers. However, in a sign that the government is concerned about the problem, the foreign exchange regulator unveiled new rules on Sunday that mandate closer checks on exporters and punishment for those found to be inflating their bills.

As those rules were only just announced, they had no impact on the April data. Analysts have calculated that the exaggeration has added about 5 percentage points, and maybe more, to China’s export growth in recent months.

On the FTC:

中国国家外汇管理局出台新规，加大对出口商虚增账单金额的检查 and 惩处力度，表明政府对这一问题的担忧。由于新规刚宣布不久，因此其对4月份数据没有影响。(The foreign exchange regulator unveiled new rules on Sunday that mandate closer checks on exporters and punishment for those found to be inflating their bills, which indicates the concern by the government. As those rules were only just announced, they had no impact on the April data.)

As is shown here, the framing degree in the TT is much weakened in comparison to the ST.

7.4.4 Summary

Results of both quantitative statistics and discourse analyses verify H3c, which means that story sensitivity of the ST is closely associated with framing degree in

the TT. Cases whose framing degree remains the same are validated in all three types of story sensitivity. Depending on the issue's relatedness to China, non-sensitive stories tend to be transframed with the same framing degree; partially sensitive cases can be transframed with the same framing degrees if framing in the ST falls in line with dominant frames within a context; sensitive cases related to non-allied countries in negativity tend to be transframed with the same framing degrees. Cases with strengthened framing degrees mostly occur in sensitive and partially sensitive stories which are related to China. These stories usually cover the issues that have positive frames, or issues with a certain leeway that can be transframed into stories favourable to the country. Cases with weakened framing degrees mostly occur in sensitive and partially sensitive stories as well. These cases by and large serve the interests of the institution in its framing of issues.

7.5 Story sensitivity related to framing device

H3d predicts that story sensitivity of the ST is associated with framing device in the TT. The Crosstabulation test supports this hypothesis as is shown in Table 7.4.

The ratio in the ST with sensitive, partially sensitive and non-sensitive story sensitivities is 76/156/76, which accounts for 24.7%, 50.6% and 24.7% of the data respectively. Cases whose framing devices remain unchanged are 88 (28.6%), partially changed ones are 214 (69.5%) and totally changed ones are 6 (1.9%). Breakdown of the numbers finds that the results vary. The totally changed cases

Table 7.4 Story sensitivity: framing device crosstabulation

			<i>Framing device</i>			<i>Total</i>
			<i>same</i>	<i>partly changed</i>	<i>totally changed</i>	
Story sensitivity	sensitive	Count	15	58	3	76
		% within story sensitivity	19.7%	76.3%	3.9%	100.0%
		% within framing device	17.0%	27.1%	50.0%	24.7%
		% of total	4.9%	18.8%	1.0%	24.7%
	partially sensitive	Count	34	119	3	156
		% within story sensitivity	21.8%	76.3%	1.9%	100%
		% within framing device	38.6%	55.6%	50.0%	50.6%
		% of total	11.0%	38.6%	1.0%	50.6%
	non-sensitive	Count	39	37	0	76
		% within story sensitivity	51.3%	48.7%	0%	100%
		% within framing device	44.3%	17.3%	0%	24.7%
		% of total	12.7%	12.0%	0%	24.7%
Total	Count	88	214	6	308	
	% within story sensitivity	28.6%	69.5%	1.9%	100.0%	
	% within framing device	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of total	28.6%	69.5%	1.9%	100.0%	

are shared by the sensitive (50%) and the partially sensitive cases (50%), with nil in the non-sensitive cases (0%). The unchanged rate is relatively higher in non-sensitive stories (44.3%) than sensitive (17%) and partially sensitive ones (38.6), while partially changed rates are 17.3%, 27.1% and 55.6% respectively in stories of the three categories of sensitivity.

7.5.1 Framing device remaining the same

Framing with the same devices are mostly manifested in cases with non-sensitive and partially sensitive topics such as in Example (58) and (59), the ST of which are from *The Atlantic Monthly* (23 December 2013) and *The Christian Science Monitor* (24 October 2013) respectively.

58 This Proposed Chinese Train Picks Up Passengers . . . Without Stopping

美媒：中国设计概念火车行驶中能上下乘客 (29 December 2013, RN)
(US media: China designed concept trains that can pick up passengers without stopping)

59 Why China's Middle Class Supports the Communist Party

美媒：中国“中产阶级”为何支持共产党？ (24 October 2013, RN) (US media: Why China's middle class supports the Communist Party)

The ratio of sensitive cases whose framing degree remains the same is mostly validated in stories related to China's ideological opponents such as in Example (11) in 5.3.1 concerning "Snowden documents being worst nightmare for the US."

7.5.2 Framing device partly changed

In some sensitive stories concerning Chinese politics or the Chinese economy, framing devices are partly changed on the FTC as compared to its mother version on the FT, such as incidents which happened in Xinjiang (60) and another event concerning the Chinese media (61), as well as concerning the Chinese economic data in Example (53) in 7.3.3.

60 Further Xinjiang Violence Claims Eight Lives (30 December 2013, FT)

新疆莎车发生暴袭事件8人被击毙 (30 December 2013, FTC) (Explosion happened in Yarkand, Xinjiang, with 8 people killed)

The ST starts with "Chinese security forces killed eight people who attacked a police station in the northwestern region of Xinjiang." The frame itself is obviously different from frames on most of the Chinese media, which usually goes as follows: "The Public Security Bureau at Yarkand County near Kashgar in Xinjiang was attacked by 9 violent terrorists, who were armed with knives and explosive devices . . . The police took immediate action, with 8 shot dead and 1 captured."¹ Further, additional parts in the reports are deleted in the TF news on

the FTC. They are related to background information on the incident as follows:

The World Uyghur Congress, an exile group based in Munich, could not be immediately reached for comment. The organisation has previously challenged Chinese government accounts of such incidents, saying they often involved police raids on peaceful gatherings or protests.

Also deleted is the information relating to the situation in the region in the past few years and President Xi's involvement:

On a tour of Central Asia earlier this year, President Xi Jinping called for the creation of a "new silk road" between the regions in China. Chinese energy companies have invested heavily in Central Asian oil and gas fields, building pipelines through Xinjiang to feed soaring demand in eastern China.

With the device of explication of the details in the TT headline rather than usual happenings in the region as implied in the ST headline, the FTC has weakened much of the framing degree in the TF news.

Another example concerning a Chinese journalist reads also very sensational on the FT (23 October 2013), with a very general accusation.

61 China Newspaper Takes on the Police

广东《新快报》头版呼吁“请放人” (24 October 2013, FTC) (Headline on the *Guangdong New Express* appealing "Please Release Him")

The TF news in the TT makes it more explicit by naming the newspaper and the specific issue, which is actually related to one reporter.²

7.5.3 *Framing device totally changed*

Cases whose framing devices are totally changed mainly are validated in stories concerning the government such as the one in Example (37), which concerns new direction of the leadership. The device is changed from one of factual depiction into generalization. Also in cases concerning negative stories about the US such as Example (17), the ST was a lengthy interview of Edward Snowden; but it was summarized into a very short story focusing on his criticism of the NSA by changing the framing device from a two-sided interview into a narrative of factual depiction.

7.5.4 *Summary*

Results of both quantitative statistics and discourse analyses verify H3e in principle, which means that story sensitivity of the ST is closely related to framing device of the TT. Framing with the same devices mostly occur in cases with

non-sensitive and partially sensitive topics, as well as sensitive stories that are related to China's ideological opponents. Framing devices that are partly changed are mainly shown in some sensitive stories concerning the politics or economy of China by changing the device of generalization into explication. Cases whose framing devices are totally changed are mainly validated in stories concerning the government and those concerning negative coverage of the country's opponents by serving the overarching frames of the country in question.

7.6 Story sensitivity affects strategies of transframing

H3e predicts that story sensitivity of the ST affects strategies of transframing. As it is unworkable to quantify this hypothesis, qualitative discourse analysis is the means to verify it. Results point to a high rate of support to this presupposition. More changes in translated news in terms of framing tone, meaning, degree and device are identified in sensitive and partly sensitive stories than in non-sensitive ones. While direct transfer is often adopted in transframing both non-sensitive stories such as Example (58) in 7.5.1 and sensitive stories such as Example (50) in 0, the former are mostly stories with neutral framing tone or relatively positive stories related to the context and the latter are by and large related to negative stories about the country's opponents. More strategies of transformation such as addition or deletion or reorganization tend to be adopted in transframing sensitive and partly sensitive stories than non-sensitive ones like those in Examples (51) in 7.3.2, (9) in 5.2.3 and (52) in 7.3.3 among others. Those examples will not be represented here.

7.7 Word count

Both word counts of the ST and the TT are included in the coding process. But they are not taken as indicators of transframing. One reason for this is that word count in Chinese with similar content usually amounts to one and a half times more or sometimes double the count of English due to lexical and syntactic characteristics of the languages. Take the simple example of the word "school," which is counted as one word in English. Its Chinese equivalent "学校" is counted as two. Another reason for word count not being included in the indicators of transframing is that length of a story can be attributed to space limits of a newspaper in some cases, as is the case with some stories which are summaries of a source text. Therefore, it can be tricky to gauge it as a clear indicator of transframing. However it is still coded on the grounds that word counts differ greatly between the ST and TT when the coders read the texts. It was coded as "Story length" in word count of both the ST and the TT with three variables: (1) short (-500), (2) medium (between 500 and 1000) and (3) long (+1000). The result is quite significant as well, because average word count of both the ST and the TT falls in the category of (2), which means that the translated news stories are mostly shorter on account of the natural constructs of word counts in the two languages. (See more on this in Examples (6) in 5.2.2, (20) and (21) in 5.4.3 concerning some specific cases).

7.8 Filtered tests

Filtered test refers to tests with specifications designed to examine the difference in some variables in comparison to others. In this case, the filtered variables are (1) Reference News (RN) and (2) Financial Times Chinese (FTC) under “Newspaper code.” The tests with the filtered sample from the RN yield more changes in framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree or framing device than those from the FTC. This consolidates the validity for choosing the two newspapers as the samples for analysis. On the one hand, newspapers with different ideological backgrounds all transframe their stories. On the other, it also falls in line with the author’s projection that transframed news would yield different results in spite of the fact that both newspapers publish translated news within the Chinese context. (See more discussions on this in Chapter 8.)

7.9 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the association between story sensitivity and transframing in the research model of transframing. Results of both the quantitative and qualitative analysis support the hypothesis to a large extent that story sensitivity is associated with all the indicators of transframing.

More specifically, non-sensitive cases and partially sensitive ones tend to experience a higher rate of neutral framing tones in TF news. Sensitive stories concerning the present leadership or government in particular are transframed with positive framing tones. Also stories of non-sensitive topics that are related to China are transframed positively. Sensitive stories concerning international politics, the country’s opponents in particular, show a higher rate of negative framing tones.

Concerning the indicators of framing meaning, framing degree and framing device, stories of non-sensitive topics are usually transframed directly without many changes. Sensitive stories, especially those related to the US in negative story tones, are also transframed with the same frames as the ST. On the other hand, sensitive stories concerning international politics with the involvement of China have a higher rate of changes in terms of added framing meanings or weakened framing degrees which all serve the interest of the country in general. Cases with reduced or weakened framing meanings and degrees are mostly those partially sensitive and sensitive ones, which either indirectly relate to the country, concerning its allies for example, or are closely related to the country. Sensitive stories that are not in line with the main frame of domestic media mostly experience more changes in framing meaning, degree, as well as framing device through transframing.

Strategies of transframing are also affected by story sensitivity. Direct transfer can be adopted in both sensitive and non-sensitive stories depending on the effects of framing that a transframed text is designated to achieve. Transformation tends to be adopted in translating sensitive and partially sensitive stories, which are especially adopted in stories that contribute to portray a positive image of China.

7.10 Conclusion to the overall analysis

To conclude the analysis of the preceding three chapters, the proposed research model very well applies to the evaluation on changes in transframing effects in translated news. Influencers in the ST news stories including story tone, story type and story sensitivity are correlated closely with indicators of transframing such as framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree, framing device and framing strategies, which are measurable in the TT in comparison with the ST. Specifically, ST story tone plays a decisive role in shaping the indicators of transframing. Hard news story type contributes significantly to transframing while soft news' contribution is insignificant. Sensitive and partially sensitive stories affect transframing effects considerably while non-sensitive stories have little effect on transframing. The theoretical proposition of transframing is thus validated through detailed analysis. Results of quantitative and qualitative analyses both validate to a large extent the applicability and practicality of the research model of transframing. ST story tones in terms of positivity and negativity play a decisive role in shaping the indicators of transframing, such as framing tone, meaning, degree, devices and strategies, while neutral framing tone plays a relatively lesser role. Soft news story type does not contribute significantly to transframing while hard news is one of the main contributors to transframing effects. Regarding story sensitivity, the influence of non-sensitive stories does not affect transframing significantly while considerable influences are verified by partially sensitive and sensitive stories. Therefore, results generated by adopting the research model can be developed into a theoretical model in the study of transframing under different contexts.

This theoretical model can not only explain and describe transframing practice; it can also predict transframing practice within different contexts. Once the influencers of transframing related to a ST story such as story tone, story type and story sensitivity on an issue are perceived by the translator, the indicators can be subsequently decided according to the context of the story to be transframed. The theoretical model of transframing will better interpret, describe, explain and predict the phenomenon of translation behaviour in terms of transfer or transformation during the process of news translation. In practice, once the framing agenda on some events or issues by a certain institution are comprehended by the translator, the model of transframing can guide news translation practice so that the effects will be assured. Regarding media research, equipped with this model, researchers can dig out the root cause of various changes that happen on discourse levels in news translation. Once the frames of some issues are understood, the model of transframing will serve to better explain the causes behind the effects of translated news. The model can also provide a useful tool for training in news translation by directing the attention of trainees to wider contexts of social reality with regard to specific issue framings rather than focusing solely on linguistic aspects in news translation. Transframing effects also revolve around such frames as responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequence and morality under given contexts.

Together they serve to shape the process of transframing a source text into a target text, in which context is the determining factor. Looking into the specific context of China will shed more light on the model of transframing, which will be the focus of the next chapter.

Notes

- 1 Translated by the author from *The Gansu Economic Daily*, retrieved 31 December 2013 from <http://gsjib.gansudaily.com.cn/system/>
- 2 The reporter's name was Chen Yongzhou, who wrote some untrue reports of fraud about Zoomlion, an SOE in Hunan Province, according to the state media.

8 Contexts of transframing

8.1 Introduction

In the preceding three chapters, the relationship between influencers and indicators of transframing has been examined within the theoretical framework of transframing by incorporating framing in journalism studies with news translation studies. Through the analysis, the model of transframing is validated in principle. The indicators of transframing are all invariably related to features of news stories. These indicators do not just act independently but also concurrently on transframing effects. The aggregation of framing effects achieved through transframing results in the hybrid news texts in a similar manner as different framing effects investigated in previous studies (cf. Gambier, 2006; Gandy, Grant, & Reese, 2001; van Doorslaer, 2009).

This chapter will conduct a copious discussion on various contextual factors that contribute to transframing effects under globalization with a view to show that the theoretical model of transframing is an indispensable part of news translation studies. Given that transframing is an approach that integrates politics, media actors and audiences together with translators, transframed stories are not just the products of translators, but are the outcomes of the aggregated forces of ideology, culture, media tradition and institutions within the society. As was stated when proposing the model, the aim of testing such a model is to reveal causality of transframing effects, so as to pursue the mode of intention of the hybrid language in news texts. Contexts are the situation factors which news translation is born from, as was discussed in the framework of macro integrated analysis in 2.4. They determine the ST and TT profiles (refer to Figure 2.3). Such contexts include sociocultural factors such as political, ideological, economic and journalistic ones. Translated news is shaped by these factors in one way or another. Framing puts information into a context and establishes frames of reference so that people can evaluate information, comprehend meanings and take relevant action (Hallahan, 1999). Once these factors are exposed, the reason behind news transframing and its mode of intention can be uncovered. In so doing the theoretical model of transframing will be further consolidated. Guided by the framework of the macro integrated analysis, the discussion will follow the trajectory of political, ideological, economical and journalistic contexts although they are intertwined within the society, inseparably in fact.

To avoid further fragmentation of the study of framing, as is the scenario envisaged by some scholars (e.g., Matthes, 2012) and without losing sight of journalistic autonomy, the discussion will also follow the track of framing studies. News frames determine the salience of an issue and the manner in which news users perceive, understand, process and store related information and subsequently have an impact on how people construct what is going on in the world (Beaudoin, 2007; Entman, 1991, 1993; Iyengar, 1994). The same as in studies on framing, transframing is also validated in such frames as commonly occurring ones in news stories across the media such as attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality (e.g., Beaudoin, 2007; Iyengar, 1994; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

8.2 The political context

News texts are the typical ones of “language in use” purposefully in particular instances and contexts (Richardson, 2007, p. 24). Differentiated from its Western counterparts, the Chinese media’s overarching guiding principle is to promote or “propagandize” its own agendas and framings. As stated by Jiang Zemin, the late president, at the National Conference on Ideological and Publicity Work on 24 January 1994, the essential task of the media is to “Arm the people with scientific theories, guide people with correct public opinions, cultivate people with lofty ideals, and inspire people with excellent works of literature and art.” This principle is still being practised in the Chinese media to this day. The RN being one of the state-owned media is part of this propaganda machine. In elaborating on its leading roles, Fan (2004), the deputy editor-in-chief, is proud of the newspaper’s mechanism of selection at three levels and processing in four stages from myriad information. He states that the RN has the largest circulation in China because of its “vision” that equals to the internal capacity that the newspaper has built up through years of practice. This vision is the prerequisite that determines the newspaper’s judgement, insight and perception, all of which ensures its perspective, filtering, focus and diversity in content to be authoritative and in line with the mainstream media.

Curtin (2012) has pointed out that for all the translocal and transnational complexity, influence of the government is nevertheless inescapable given its broader influence over a vast and growing domestic market, and due to its self-conscious state policies designed to project a positive image of China on the global stage. The politics of projecting a positive image can be found everywhere in the routine news coverage. For example, in most of the disaster reports, contents about casualties in general may account for about one third of the content while the larger space is taken up by the various positive actions of the top national or provincial leaders and the government in figures or large images. This tradition of painting rosy pictures also finds its expression in the TF news, not just in telling the China-related stories, but also stories regarding its allies in general. On the other hand, Xiufang Li (2012) has carried out a study in “Framing China and the United States in the Australian Broadcasting Corporation’s Current Affairs Television

Programming at the Start of the 21st Century.” She has concluded that the programme is less favourable to China than the US, in relation to political aspects in particular, which may be rooted in the American-Australian historical ties and Sino-Australian ideological differences. At the same time, the media in Australia are gradually shifting their negative views by giving China more prominent and favourable coverage with respect to its economy and environment, due to China’s emergence and Australia’s economic reliance on China. But still the image of the “other” frame has been found in the reports on China, and the image of the “us” frame has been shown in the US episodes, which indicates who the author is taking side with. By and large, most stories in this case carried on the ST from Western websites report news by balancing the two sides of a coin, perhaps more slanting to the negative side of frames concerning the China-related ones. However, after having been through transframing, most of the stories were more oriented towards the positive side.

Against the backdrop of negative coverage of the country in the Western media and the strenuous effort of portraying a positive image of the leadership, the *Reference News*, being the mouthpiece of the government, resorts to various strategies such as deletion, addition or substitution in order to transframe the stories in the service of its own framing effects. It has selected stories from various sources in the hope of lending a hand from media outside the country to paint a positive picture of the government by eradicating the negative frames present in the source texts. With the machinery to project a positive image of the country and the government in particular, stories such as those concerning the Two Sessions in China and the Central Asia strategy of the Chinese government are produced, the former by removing the negative information that the leaders were chosen ahead of the congress, while the latter by deleting the information concerning China’s vying for oil and gas in the Central Asian region. Hence, there comes into press the story “Media outside China watching closely the Two Sessions, probing China’s new directions” (28 February 2013, AP). It sensationalizes the ascending to the throne of the new leadership, and the much-anticipated new policies along with it. It cannot bear to tarnish the images of the new leaders; therefore messages such as “the leaders are chosen ahead of the congress” or “so far, there have been few such signs” of any new policy in the pipe line have to be erased as reported in the aforementioned article.

For similar reasons, the story “Xi Enjoyed Upper Hand” on the website of *the US National Interest* (10 June 2013) falls in line with the agenda-setting of the media in positively framing the present leadership. So it is selected to be transframed by the RN. By listing problems and scandals that the Obama government is faced with conspicuously in the lead in contrast to the Chinese government, erasing some sensitive messages such as the human rights and Xi’s visits to Chinese military facilities, the frame of “Xi gained the upper hand” is more strengthened in the TT. It also explains the reason why the story from Indian media is reorganized under the headline: “Indian media paid attention to the new Chinese leaders who do not go after ostentation, but pursue austerity” (22 March 2013, *Hindu Daily*). While the ST is a story which is quite a thorough coverage of the

Chinese leadership at various stages, with an uncertain tone concerning the persistence of pursuing austerity, the TT is represented in a comprehensive image of clean government that plays a responsible role not just for its own nation but for its neighbours and the world at large. It makes a concerted effort to paint a very rosy picture of the new leaders through the aggregation of both interest frames and morality frames by retaining audience interest while offering specific social prescriptions. Here the human interest is disseminated through the newspaper's impact by framing the issue in asserting somebody or something is right in the presentation of an event by capturing audience interest while the morality frame is mostly politically or ideologically related rather than religiously related for the fact that the majority of the people in this context are not religiously bound.

Regarding DPRK, the ally of China, who does not admit it openly, reporting the positive side of news also persists. In the coverage concerning the meeting between the basketball star Rodman and the DPRK young leader Kim Jong-un (10 March 2013, *New York Times*), while focusing on the meeting itself, which is both exciting and unusual, the ST also adds a negative touch about the regime, describing it as repressive and unpredictable. In the TT, the frame is reduced by focusing only on the meeting and by eliminating the negative aspects such as "Kim Jong-un, the leader of one of the world's most repressive countries," as well as uncertainty about the team's invitation from him. Similar reduction of frame meanings happens with other information related to North Korea, such as in the meeting between Xi and Obama, with the statement that "Xi promised greater cooperation on reining in North Korea's nuclear programme" and some of the details concerning the information about China's closure of North Korea's bank accounts such as:

The new rules come as some experts cite China as the world's biggest source of "dirty" funds and as it faces growing foreign pressure to scrutinize its financial links with North Korea and block cash transfers tied to Pyongyang's nuclear ambitions.

While politically portraying an image in positivity by borrowing from media abroad, China also seeks a greater role in the international arena by adopting an "accommodationist" foreign policy. The policy is characterized by multilateral diplomacy in embracing economic globalization under the leadership of Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao since 2002, underpinned by the Confucian rhetoric of "*he er bu tong*" (harmonious but different), which constitutes the core value promoted in its approach to international relations (Cao, 2008; Peerenboom, 2007, 2002). In explicit terms, the policy is one that is in "*tao guang yang hui*" (hide one's capabilities and bide one's time), or five principles of peaceful coexistence. China also reiterates itself on various occasions that as a peace-loving nation, it needs a peaceful environment for its development to defuse the allegation of a China threat. Diplomacy under the new leadership basically will rarely see any changes by still continuing on the familiar path. In the story under "The Xi Presidency" from *the Carnegie International Foundation* website (10 June 2013), the story sends out such a message. The author, Douglas H. Paal, is the Vice President of this

foundation. It is presented in Q&A format. The ST gives an all-round discussion of Xi's potential to make policy changes at home and abroad. Paal says that China's new leaders would stay focused on domestic issues. With its growing relative economic and military advantages, China is largely comfortable in its current foreign policies. The TF news has reorganized it into something focused on only the foreign policy under the new headline "Douglas H. Paal analyzes direction of China's diplomacy of the new leadership" (12 June 2013, RN). A summary is added as follows: "the shift of China's leadership may provide opportunity for adjustment of its diplomatic policy, but China is not motivated to make the change," which reassures that the content to come would be more concentrated on the foreign policy that would introduce very few changes. However, unfavourable framing wordings such as "the general thrust of Beijing's policy allows new leaders to focus on domestic issues first, and to leave foreign policy pretty much to caretakers" are removed. In so doing, the newspaper is sending out the message that the line of its inherited foreign policy will still persist under the new leadership in terms of consequence frames for the world to consume. The consequence may not be directly related to economy but may have a broader consequence in developing international relations. It is constructing the news consonance by borrowing words from a guru abroad rather than asserting it in its own words, which is the unique characteristic of the RN. Publishing mostly translated news, this newspaper can get the framing meaning across to the audience through the mouth of sources outside the country in support of its own frames.

The inclination of painting itself positively is not only reflected in the positive or complimentary tone in the coverage of the government as is the tradition of the Chinese media, but also in the media finding every possible channel to enhance the image. As a large country, China tries to paint itself the image of an influential and strong power in framing its responsibility and morality. That explains why the story concerning "Space: GPS and the Three Competitors" has been reorganized into something more related to the Chinese navigation system. As can be comprehended from the title of the ST, the story has given an account of the global landscape of navigation systems. The TF news is more focused on the Chinese system of Beidou, which plays an important role by serving the globe according to the TF news. It contributes to the effort of asserting a strong and influential power in the world, by enhancing its national image in a concerted effort of "national glory" (Lee, 2012).

However, this pursuit of power is in a cautious manner, in the name of cooperation or friendship for example. A typical example of the "cautiousness" in terms of responsibility frames is reflected in the coverage of the country's presence in the Central Asian countries. The ST under the title "China Strengthens Its Hand in Kazakhstan After Xi Jinping's Visit" (17 September 2013, Jamestown Foundation) frames Xi's visit by: firstly, noting the constant development of a bilateral partnership following his "orchestrated accession to the presidency," secondly, through comparing China's approach to the US idea and the Russians' scheme, framing China as "a privileged partner" in a strategic way, and thirdly giving evidence in terms of trade and energy in concrete numbers supporting China's rapid rise in the

region, and also the ambivalence of threat among the population there. In the TF news, the heading is transframed into “China trying to build strategic relations with Central Asia, according to the American think-tank.” The wording of “trying to” reflects the caution on the Chinese side, while the source is from a US think-tank, rather than a Chinese official channel. The frame meaning is reduced to focusing on China’s strategic relations with the region, in terms of “pragmatic” propositions such as “the Great Silk Road,” which strengthens political communication, transportation connection, trade, money transaction and non-governmental exchanges. The news ends by giving an example of China footing half the bill of developing an oil field and citing some of the figures in bilateral trade as the evidence of the “burgeoning economic cooperation.” The negative frame of China’s irresponsibility about security and aggressiveness in prioritizing trade and energy is transframed into a power of cooperation and bilateral benefits. This responsibility framing encourages news users to hold others responsible for social problems rather than China by portraying the country as cooperative and benevolent.

Transframing effects in the TN also validate the existence of conflict frames as in media studies where complicated political issues are reduced into simplistic conflicts. China marked its Internet debut as early as 1987 when Professor Qian Tianbai sent an email to Karlsruhe University in the former West Germany. Yet, it was left far behind in this hi-tech domain until ChinaNet, the first public Internet service, was opened in January 1995. Since then the country saw a boom in the Internet use. The Information Superhighway mesmerized Chinese officials, whose Chinese version might induce sustainable development, strengthen national pride, and integrate China into the global economy. The Internet has been developing at a stunning speed with the largest population of netizens in the world (Qiu, 2004).

Although the party-state is loosening its grip on various economic and social aspects to promote globalization and the more market-oriented economy, it has never slackened its control over the Internet.

The Temporary Measures for the Management of Computer Information Networks’ International Connection Decree was announced in February 1996 and revised in May 1997. It mandated that (1) all international Internet traffic had to go through officially approved gateways; (2) all Internet service providers had to be licensed; (3) Internet users need to be registered; and (4) ‘harmful information’ which is ‘subversive’ or ‘obscene’ was banned.

The year 2000 alone saw six major regulations regarding online secrets and Internet security, which primarily targeted Internet content providers (ICPs). They required such rules as requiring that online news disseminators should get special licenses, and prohibited foreign companies from being large shareholders of Chinese ICPs. Technically, there is the “Great Firewall” and the “Golden Shield” for harmful information blocking as well as content filtering. Starting from September 2002, the blocking mechanisms became more sophisticated and aggressive by specifically targeting certain online content (Qiu, 2004, pp. 110–111).

Censorship has become a more attractive, more interesting and more productive area of research, the revival of which is “the product of conceptual changes in our understanding of censorship.” The term censorship itself has been controversial. It is seen as a set of concrete measures carried out by someone in a position of authority, often someone working for a censorial institution, while proponents of the new censorship “would insist that censorship is unavoidable, irrespective of the given socio-political context” and is regarded as an integral element of communication (Müller, 2004, pp. 4–7). Henceforth:

Communication without censorship is effectively impossible, because the structure of a discursive field, while enabling a particular discourse, can only do so at the expense of the other, potentially competing discourses which have to be stifled, and consequently censored, in order to allow the field-specific discourse to flourish.

(p. 8)

The Internet content reflects the mechanism of self-censorship imposed on the media in China. According to Brownlie (2007, pp. 205–206), there are three types of censorship: public censorship, structural censorship and self-censorship. Public censorship is imposed by public authorities by virtue of explicit laws, mostly in banning of works. It is also referred to as pre-publication censorship or licensing, i.e., “the control of material before it is published” (Müller, 2004, p. 4). Structural censorship proposed by Bourdieu (1982) constitutes censorship in the form of control on discourse without explicit laws, consisting of dominated positions in which people are silenced, also known as post-publication censorship. Self-censorship “occurs prior to publication when the cultural agent censors his or her work voluntarily, in order to avoid public censorship, and/or in order to achieve approval from the dominating sector in society” (Brownlie, 2007, p. 206).

Müller (2004, p. 20) argues in his study that “sociopolitical context determines the scope for censorship in many ways – censorship is not above politics but a means thereto, and censorial decisions are bound to reflect the concerns of the political elite.” Similarly Freshwater (2003) also reiterates that censorship entails diversified aspects that reflect socio-historical specificity rather than an omnipresent, structural necessity. It is “a process, realized through the relationships between censorious agents, rather than a series of actions carried out by a discrete authority.” Basically the self is discreet in choosing to silence voluntarily, surrendering to anticipated pressure that the self has to face, which may boil down to the ultimate game of strategic signalling and coordination (cf. Cheung, 2003, p. 26).

By and large, in the present-day Chinese political context underpinned by globalization, foreign correspondents in China experience much more freedom and less frustration in writing their stories than their colleagues in the early years of its opening-up policy in the 1980s (cf. Lee, 1990). Journalists themselves are also aware of the prevailing policy of the Chinese media, who act in a constrained way accordingly. In the TF news of the Kinmen Island in Taiwan on the FTC for example, the effort of self-censorship is abundantly clear. In framing the relationship

between Mainland China and Taiwan in the FT, the Western framing is reflected in the wording of “closeness between the two countries.” However, it is substituted with “closeness across the straits.” “The Chinese holidaymakers” is also replaced by “holidaymakers from the mainland.” This substitution results from the compliance with the policy of self-censorship since the newspaper is fully aware of the Chinese government’s stance on the issue of Taiwan’s sovereignty. The authority reiterates on various occasions that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China. Reports on Taiwan include such wordings as “two countries” are “zero tolerant.” Henceforward, the transframed story on the FTC has censored itself by replacing the wordings that conform to the frames of the issue in the Chinese media, whether voluntarily or not. Transframing in such a manner reduced the complexity of the sovereignty issue of conflict frames between Taiwan and the mainland, into the issue of simple tourist interests.

8.3 The ideological context

In the Chinese context specifically, over 30 years of reform and open policy initiated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978 have seen China abandon its ideological orthodoxy in favour of a pragmatic approach to economic growth and on its way to better integration into the international market. In this process, the Chinese media are becoming widely commercialized and partly privatized with regard to Internet service and content providers in particular (Akhavan-Majid, 2004). This process further saw the entrance to the Chinese market of foreign media companies from 2001. Global media conglomerates saw the chance to “cash in” on the WTO as a key to integrate China into global capitalism, with AOL Time-Warner’s broadcasting a Mandarin-language channel in Guangdong Province at the fore (Li, 2003). Other media followed suit including the FTC, which made its debut in 2003, and BBC political debate programme Question Time broadcasting from Shanghai in 2005 (Huang, 2007a). These all cater to the diversified needs of the many netizens and also reflect the government’s “from control to negotiation” model of the media (Cao, 2008; Huang, 2007a; Winfield & Peng, 2005). This process triggers “the start of transition of media regulation in China from a rigid totalitarian state control mode to a state-media-market-society negotiation model,” where “each party of the game has to more or less consider other players’ interests and possible reaction before making its own decisions” (Huang, 2007b). The result of this is the more diversified news coverage in the Chinese news media with translated versions in particular. The media is going through ever-increasing marketization in the meantime. Consequences of this integration have been carried into the domain of news coverage, particularly in terms of a more neutral journalistic perspective and a widened range of vision at the local level, although the regionalization of international news reporting is still contained within the orbit of the Party-state. In this transition from a market socialism model to a state-controlled capitalist corporation model, a media structural reform strategy involving an internal shakeup and external opening up is taking shape in both policy and practice (Huang, 2007a; Song & Chang, 2013). In the structural reform economically and legally, the

marketized press in China has been increasingly confronted with a complex world to cover both politically and ideologically.

China, being a country in transition, is getting more and more integrated into the global system. As a result, China's integration into the world capitalist system has opened up a larger global landscape for the local press. Sometimes competing or contradictory framing happens when some frame meanings seem to go against the dominant frames within a certain context. These competing frames are the outcome of the impact of a package of frames in terms of responsibility, interest and morality among others in the process of a media structural reform.

In one story about "China's changing Internet landscape," translated from the *New York Times* (6 May 2013), one paragraph goes:

All this activity and wealth creation is happening inside of what the Economist magazine, in an excellent recent report on China's Internet, termed a "giant cage." But there are recent signs that the government is concerned the cage may need strengthening.

In the translation (8 May 2013, RN), the meanings are all retained without any loss. However, towards the ending, the ST goes further by saying that "Given the scale of business activity and wealth creation on the Chinese Internet, the cage looks quite gilded and may prove far more robust than many expect." This part is not to be found in the TT. Therefore, it can be corroborated that being a country in transition, Chinese news media is set in a phase in which competing ideologies coexist. In this controversial era, frames in a news story are also translated with differentiated approaches, with some competing frames coexisting. This ambivalence of the existence of competing frames within one media reflects the unsettledness of a culture towards some issues. It can be likened to the ancient Chinese parable *Ye Gong hao long* (Lord Ye's love of dragon), which tells of a Lord named Ye who professes to love dragons immensely but runs for life when finally encountering a real one.

Competing frames have also been born out noticeably in some stories carried on both the FT and the FTC. Concerning the sensitive topic of Xinjiang for example, incidents occurring there are mostly framed as a loss of innocent lives by the Western media, while they are framed as terrorist attacks in the Chinese media. The coverage on the FT on this issue follows this Western train of thoughts. One story of the ST went as "Further Xinjiang violence claims eight lives" (30 December 2013, FT). The framing effect would be that eight innocent lives are gone due to more violence in Xinjiang. The report starts with "Chinese security forces killed eight people who attacked a police station in the northwestern region of Xinjiang" thus framing the issue into something more related to the Chinese security forces who are formidable and kill people unscrupulously. However, in the TT, the heading has been substituted into "Explosion happened in Yarkand, Xinjiang, with 8 people killed" (30 December 2013, FTC). Although the meaning is still rather tricky concerning the eight people, it is connected to an explosion that specifically happened in Yarkand, a county in Xinjiang, rather than a habitual occurrence in

the vast region. It has been transframed into something more or less closer to the framing on the mainstream media in China, still with some differences though. This case and others such as Examples (20) and (61) illustrate that competing frames coexist within an institution under the same ideological principles. Example (20) concerns the EU's accusations about the China dumping case. The ST on the FT (1 March 2013) reads generally as "Fresh accusations in China dumping case," which alludes to the reader that China's dumping is quite rampant, with this case being a new one. However, the TT explicates it into "EU started anti-dumping investigation into Chinese solar panels" (1 March 2013, FTC), which is closer to the coverage in the Chinese media, i.e., more specifically related to one particular case of solar panels. The length of the story is only half of that in the ST. Coverage on the other side of the issue with regard to the Chinese stance such as "Beijing and Chinese manufacturers have denied any wrongdoing and focused attention instead on Europe's own system of government subsidies," and so on, which clearly goes against the stance of the main Chinese media, is deleted. In Example (61) concerning the case of one reporter, the TF news also specifies the story as an individual case rather than a general one as presented in the ST.

Conflict frame is also evidenced in the transframing effects ideologically. The conflict is mainly validated in issues, where ideology plays a decisive role such as events relating to China and the Western countries. The mistrust between the West and China is still profound, which can be seen from the data collected. Mostly the frames of the coverage on China are still on the negative side as can be exemplified by the results of the previous chapters. That contributes to one of the reasons why many of the translated news stories have been mediated through translation by various means of transframing. On the other hand, in transframing the coverage of its Western counterparts, ideology inherited from the Cold War period still finds its expressions, which accounts for the fact that negative stories concerning the US in particular always stick. That explains why such negative news as the rise in reported sexual assault in the US military and "Snowden documents could be 'worst nightmare' for the US" (13 July 2013, Reuters) have been translated without modifications. The complexity of opposing ideology in societies is transframed into negative stories simplistically in conflict frames as the similar negativity embodied in the source text news. This effort of transframing also conforms to morality frames in term of "moral prescriptions" by having the audience raise the questions of the morality of the US military.

The frame of responsibility is another case in point in this context. With the country's painful experience and humiliation in its modern history, Chinese media has resorted to a discourse of mobilizing nationalistic sentiment in framing globalization, which has been endorsed as the best opportunity for China to rise to world prominence and thus to revive the past glory of Chinese civilization. On the one hand, globalization has been most frequently framed in terms of the implications of US-China relations for China's rise; on the other it has also been framed to defuse the so-called China threat in the Western media (Lee, 2012). This frame of China rise rhetoric is also substantiated by some samples of the translated news stories in terms of the responsibility frame. The article by the Singaporean

ex-Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew is framed with the implication of uncertainty under “Once China Catches Up – What Then?” (7 October 2013, *Forbes*, predated) in the ST. However, in the TF news on the RN, it is transframed into something much more of an assurance as “Lee Kuan Yew: China will not choose to confront the US in 30 years” (19 September 2013, RN). A summary is added, in this form: “Lee Kuan Yew thinks that China will not choose to confront the US in 30 years, for they are aware of how far behind the US they are technologically.” Thus the responsibility frame of the so-called “China threat” is removed in the national context that tends to frame this issue, instead, in serving the interest of “China rise.”

The above examples and others amply demonstrate that global news is a local product, in which the social context of the recipients’ world has a large role to play in deciding the translated works’ adequacy or acceptance in gaining access into the market. In framing a specific event, it has to take into consideration dominant frames within a given context. As a result, the FTC transframed the story in a way closer to the frames of the social context in China in conformity to the local market, by taking consideration of its policy of self-censorship and filtering out the offensive and adversary frame ingrained in the ST. By so doing, it fulfils its mission of gaining access into the market.

In the meantime, competing frames in transframed news triggered by the influence of a global context also act as a channel to exert their impacts on the overarching frames of the authority. This has been substantiated by the ambivalent coverage of the Internet “cage” analogy in the transframed news on the RN. Chinese society is in a transitional stage that is experiencing fundamental changes from control into more diversification. This change is invariably reflected in every facet of news translation. The Chinese news media after being commercialized is also integrating into itself a watchdog role like its Western counterparts, for instance in the cases of “the left-behind children” in Example (24). The transframed news just serves to lend a hand in this transitional process by selecting some severe social problems in China with a view to urge the authority and the public to act. While neutralizing some negative reports about China in some foreign media in the service of the authority in finding evidence of support from abroad, the translated Chinese media represented by the RN is also more out-spoken than its domestic counterparts. By so doing, it acts as a counter-force in the media by introducing novel ideas or comments from abroad, which in turn will send out messages by way of a translated channel to the top as well as to the world.

Meanings through transframing in translated news are also associated with morality frames. Traditionally there have been fundamental differences between China and the West in political institutions, values and practices (Cao, 2008). The suspicion and distrust are both deep and mutual, which can be substantiated by the persistent negative portrayals of China in the West despite China’s positive contribution to the world economy and despite China’s time-and-again reiteration of its stance of “peaceful development” on many occasions. Just as Peerenboom (2007) points out that despite China’s efforts in asserting a peaceful image, it is represented in sharply opposing dual images in the West: on the one hand is the

robust, flourishing economy that has lifted millions of its people out of poverty with bright, confident professionals everywhere to be seen; while on the other is the grudging record of its rule of law, democracy or human rights, whose people are suppressed by the authoritarian state. A classic case in point was during Chinese president Hu Jintao's visit in November 2005, when "the British media chose to focus on protests by pro-Tibetan independence and human rights groups," as was the similar scenario six years ago during Jiang Zemin's visit. A negative story tone is often adopted by *The New York Times* in its coverage concerning China-related issues. For example, in the coverage of the row between Google and China on 23 March, 2010, the newspaper states: "This is a nation that builds dams, high-speed rail lines and skyscrapers with abandon. In newly muscular China, sheer force is not just an art, but a bedrock principle of its seemingly unstoppable rise to global prominence." Upon reading this, the morality framing is obvious on the audience, implying that the country is a robust totalitarian state that cares only for its own interests and tolerates no other voices. This tone is echoed on the other side of the ocean carried on the same day by the BBC. One report had the title "Stories China's media could not write," stating that

Censorship has been an everyday feature of news reporting in China for as long as the Chinese Communist Party has been in power. But this wide range of so-called sensitive stories shows that, in China, any story on any subject at any time can still fall foul of the censor's red pen.

Here, the image of China being a nation without democracy or freedom is reinforced for the audience. Henceforth, the effort of hosting the Olympic Games and entering the WTO, hailed as China's rise to the world stage in the Chinese media, has been taken as the occasion to transform the image of China's political economy in the west. According to the *New York Times*, the reason that the United States did not oppose China's application was allegedly in the interest of pushing Beijing towards further reform. ("If you let a rascal attend a gentleman's game," a commentator sneered, "he will pick up some civilized etiquette.") Taking China as its archenemy never fails in appealing to its audience. In the 2012 presidential campaign, both Obama and Romney, the two candidates, asserted that China has robbed the US of its jobs, domestically and offshore. "The focus on China put the candidates back on familiar ground, with a reliably populist theme that allowed each to try out new lines showcasing their toughness and caricaturing the fecklessness of the other," was the similar framing carried on the same day by the *New York Times*. A similar line of framing China was also followed in the more recent campaign between Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump.

8.4 The economic context

In the specific case of the Chinese economy, transframing largely serves to strengthen or weaken the framing of economic consequence, responsibility, conflict and morality. After the humiliation of the Opium War and victory in the

Anti-Japanese War and the People's Liberation War against the *Kuomintang*, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under Mao Zedong had been pursuing a closed-door policy in building the country through self-reliance and working hard with industry and thrift. The people, in a sort of puritan lifestyle, barely made ends meet with their very moderate pay, yet rejoiced over being fed and clad, and regarded the luxury of others as decadent capitalism. The Chinese people were largely spiritually immersed in the illusion of the lofty goals promulgated by Mao Zedong, in the mission of liberating mankind from the iron heel of imperialism. After Deng Xiaoping, the architect of the Chinese reform and opening-up policy, came into power, marked by the convening of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CPC in 1978, the Chinese economy has been developing at a stunningly high rate over the past 40 years or so, underpinned by the effort to integrate into the global economy in the name of strengthening national pride and improving people's living standard. According to CNN, from the World Bank figures, the Chinese economy is the world's second largest behind the US, surpassing Germany and Japan in December 2010. According to the Economy Blue-cover Book released by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences on 7 December 2010, this was in terms of GDP, but not in terms of per capita.¹ Embracing global capitalism, seeking to elevate its international status in the new world order is one of the key concerns of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Chinese economy has caught the headlines in many newspapers for its growth at a burgeoning rate of double digits. Although it has reduced to one digit with around 7% in recent years, it is still faster than the rest of the world. For that reason, it is considered as the engine pushing the world economy. Framing on the story of the Chinese economy sometimes sends out controversial messages from China and the Western media. The Chinese media prefers the positive coverage of a promising economy, while its counterparts tend to paint a rather gloomy picture. This differentiated framing effort also finds its expression in the translated news. Some stories surrounding the Chinese economy have become economically sensitive topics in the media such as issues of anti-dumping cases between China and other countries, the EU in particular, and stories concerning the Chinese economic data. By way of promoting the dynamic economic development, the Chinese media persistently seeks evidence to strengthen the positive side of its image. If you click on the website of the Chinese economy at www.ce.cn² randomly on any day, positive coverage always dominates the headline. On the day of writing back to 8 December 2014, the front page was an analysis of the prospects of the Chinese economy in the following year. It starts with a recapitulation of the 2014 economy, which is full of spotlights such as overall stability, increase with rational proportion, positive trends in operation in terms of looking forward to the coming year, the general domestic condition and reform policy's sustaining of high-rate economic growth, and the maintenance of this growth within rational parameters with only some intermittent and structural constraints or setbacks.

With the framing of positive coverage on the agenda, the RN also contributes in a concerted effort of picking out positive coverage from media outside the country to the effort of strengthening the positive frame in terms of economic

consequences. That accounts for the different framing tone in the coverage of the Shanghai Free Trade Zone (SFTZ). While the coverage in the FT focuses on the small number of companies registered, the RN from the Chinese side turns its story to the number of applications, which is of course much larger as shown in Example (43). Another story on the FT (42) has termed the SFTZ as a gamble while the TF story on the RN focuses its attention on the anticipation. In the case about China's purchase of crude oil from Angola in Example (9), the ST frames it as buying for teapot refineries, while the TF news on the RN cuts it into ChemChina buying Angola crude oil with the information concerning the small refineries deleted.

Data surrounding the Chinese economy has been a hot topic in recent years. One reason is that because the Chinese economy has survived the 2008 financial crisis and has managed to maintain a high rate of growth; another is that reports concerning the fabricated data in China generated mistrust of the data. It is also a popular topic that has caught the headlines in the FTC. In Example (57) for instance, the ST includes such information as “fabricated 5 percentage points and maybe more” and a paragraph about the downside of the Chinese economy. The rendition of the TF news wipes this out in the FTC. This indicates that on the one hand the harsh criticism in the state media such as the *People's Daily* and CCTV of the FTC on its so-called singing empty or short of the Chinese economy in the early month of 2013 is not groundless, on the other hand the criticism does have some immediate effects. So as a matter of fact, the translated Chinese edition is more lenient than its mother version. It points undeniably to the fact that although the two versions of news in both English and Chinese are managed by one institution, frames change according to the targeted context. While keeping its own line of frames, the transframed news has to take into consideration the overall frames of the mainstream media in the given society, which has resulted in the inevitable changes in framing tone, framing meaning and framing degree.

8.5 The journalistic context

Different countries have developed their own traditions in story telling in their course of history. Frames in translated news have profound connections with journalistic legacy within a culture and society. This legacy binds the norm of storytelling within a country's press in consistency with the commonly occurring frames. Chinese media, exhibiting significant geographical, linguistic and cultural differences, has drawn the attention of researchers with its remarkable diversity. This diversity is furthermore apparent in the translated news in the context of globalization, which “invites us to look at China, Chinese-ness, and Chinese media in more complicated and hopefully more meaningful ways” (Curtin, 2012).

In Chinese culture, the media tends to rely on circumstances in determining what is good and evil. Journalists in such societies may pay their attention to the pragmatic practices in some issues (Guo, 2012; Hofstede, 2001; Zhou, 2008). Once a kind of norm is achieved by a particular newspaper, this norm is the style accompanying the diversity of topics and formats within each day's edition (Fowler, 1991, p. 47). Labelling an event with a positive or negative tone in writing

is deeply rooted in the Chinese culture dating back to Confucius in the tradition of *chunqiu bifa*,³ a writing style in ancient China. As a tradition of the Chinese ideology, things are always categorized as good or bad. Describing things either using complimentary or derogatory words has evolved into a subconscious choice in the Chinese language. An interesting example of using this writing style, which is almost a household story, was a general who was fighting at the front. He was to faithfully report his defeats to the emperor by using the word 屡战屡败 (repeatedly fighting but repeatedly defeated). His assistant tactfully changed the order of the phrase into 屡败屡战 (repeatedly defeated but repeatedly fighting). With such a change of the wording, he had thus transformed the general from a pessimistic disheartened loser into an unconquerable and tenaciously positive fighter. The tendency of cataloguing an event as positive or negative still prevails in the Chinese media. In reading the translated news, this kind of predisposition can always be substantiated. It has also been investigated by other researchers who delve into the translation of some Chinese news from the RN such as Rudolph (1984) and Sorby (2006).

On the other hand, most of the Western media tradition sticks to the legacy of reporting the negative side of events, holding that negativity makes news, so to speak (Bell, 1991, p. 156). This legacy of different journalistic traditions accounts for the fact that filtered tests have identified more changes in terms of framing tone, meaning and degree in the transframed news on the RN than those on the FTC. One of the reasons behind this effect is that the TF news on the RN is mostly selected from the Western sources, which stays traditionally as well as ideologically apart from the Chinese media. With the sea of negative coverage on China, it is not an easy job for transeditors of the RN to solicit positive evidence from these sources in support of the leadership or the government. Consequently it answers the query of why the RN validates more changes in framing effects than the FTC in the filtered tests. The case for the FTC is easier to comprehend. Both the ST and the TT are managed under the same British institution with a uniform journalistic tradition, which explains why the FTC effects fewer changes through transframing. With these fewer changes, the transframing effort is also very conspicuous. It is mostly concentrated on the issues of high sensitivity such as politically sensitive issues concerning Taiwan, Xinjiang and democracy, economically sensitive issues concerning the economic data, row of anti-dumping cases, etc. Therefore, different media traditions also contribute to explain the cause behind the effect that the negative coverage of China has been neutralized into something less tarnishing to the image of the country in the TF news on the RN. The FTC, taking stock of this media tradition in China, is carrying out its transframing effects through the writing style of *chunqiu bifa*, which can avoid its direct conflict with the Chinese authority given its hard-line of self-censorship.

However, the tradition is also gradually dissolving with the development of modernity and globalization. Guo (2012) has performed research in *Perceptions of Western Media Coverage of China* regarding the Chinese scholars and foreign correspondents based in China, concerning the three major news events in the year 2008: the 3/14 Tibetan riots in March,⁴ 5/12 Wenchuan earthquake in May

in the Sichuan province in central China and the Olympic Games in August, by retrieving data from the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) database and interviews of Western correspondents in China. The study has demonstrated that attitudes of the Chinese scholars toward the Western media coverage of the events changed from negative to positive with their general tones from defensive and argumentative to explanatory and narrative, which means a higher degree of tension around the topic of Tibetan riots and with the tension eased from the earthquake to the Olympic Games. On the other hand, perceptions from the correspondents of Western media reveal that they did not purposefully play up critical or negative news reports about China and the Chinese government; they were just focusing on what is newsworthy or eye-catching in China, instead. They also expressed the view that “the Chinese audience should understand that the universal nature of media is to communicate facts and should learn to get to know the different media traditions in other countries” (p. 181). In China, media organizations constitute a part of the government machine that is supposed to promote a harmonious and stable society while the media in a Western society is considered as a watchdog. Guo concludes that there was a clear tension between the Western media coverage of China and the perception of the Chinese scholars, while both sides realized that the tension existed and that something must be done to alter the status quo. As the exchanges between the two sides grow in the context of academic activities and exposure to different traditions, the perception is changing from one of mistrust and confrontation to one of understanding and tolerance. All these contribute to the fact that the Chinese government could no longer dominate news coverage of significant news events in China and that Western media in China provides a different media scenario for the Chinese public and the world to consume. As the “interactive pattern” continues, it will be beneficial to both sides. For example, in the Crosstabulation analysis of the data set, although coverage with a positive story tone about China makes up a very small proportion, there exist one or two stories with signs of positive orientation. The one from the website of the *Indian Christian News* on 22 March 2013 is among one of the small numbers as in Example (6). The transframed news is trimmed into evidence of more positive support from outside the country for the new leadership.

Different social contexts produce different linguistic styles within a given culture. By and large, the Chinese journalistic language is more characterized by explication and straightforward language than the Western counterpart. English news titles tend to adopt more rhetoric devices such as puns, implicit meanings and metaphors, while in translation into the Chinese titles, the strategy is to make them more explicit and unambiguous (Xu, 2003, p. 242). In comparison, language of the Chinese news is more explicit than the English language. The practice is also reflected in the TF news. In the coverage of the “left-behind” children, who are left at home mostly in rural areas because their parents work as migrant workers in cities, the ST just mentions this phenomenon by bringing the attention to who will take care of them, while the TT explicates it into something more pressing by adding the figure of “60 million.” Facticity of the news

is more stressed by using the numbers. Figures are regarded as a rhetorical device, a means to the end in telling good news stories (van Dijk, 1988, p. 90). Thus the transframed story better serves the human-interest frames by the factual depiction in explication.

Metaphors, common within a culture and closely related to narratives, are central to a frame by representing significant concepts and are especially efficient in making meaning. “They are widely shared and understood within the culture, and are especially prone to drawing in a wide array of additional beliefs, feelings, expectations, and values;” hence, each frame has its own vocabulary (Hertog & McLeod, 2001, p. 148). For example under the topic of abortion, the use of *baby* or *foetus* each signals a different approach. Metaphoric language can sometimes create a sensational effect. In covering the ageing issue in China, the FT compares the Alzheimer’s disease to a “time bomb,” which is, for one aspect, eye-catching, and for another exposes the extent and scale of the acuteness of the issue. At the same time, it also achieves the framing effect of a negative tone in reporting the economic development in China, which is accompanied by an acute rise in ageing population, dementia and unhealthy lifestyle. In the TF news, the bomb is defused into “British media: number of Alzheimer cases in China tops the world,” which is also alarming but sounds less dangerous. Given the fact of the huge population base in the country, having the highest number in the world is not surprising. Hence the content is more neutralized into something in the report of figures, which sounds more persuasive in its factual depiction.

8.6 Transframing strategies

News transframing which involves both translating and framing goes through the same process of editing that includes changing, adding and removing information from the source text by converting it into a new target text. In the gate-keeping process of news transframing into a new context, it entails story selection as well as detail selection in order to serve the framing agenda of an issue. The strategies of transframing exercised on the discourse level also include both transfer and transformation. While transfer means keeping the form and context of the source text, transformation encompasses changing the source text in one way or another. Whichever strategy is adopted, it is to serve transframing effects. As evidenced in the discourse analyses in the previous chapters, besides stories with neutral tones and soft news type as well as non-sensitive topics, by and large stories with negative frames in relation to the country’s ideologically opponents are transferred directly in mostly hard news types and stories with high sensitivity. In the meantime, positive stories in both hard and soft news types, as well as partially sensitive and sensitive stories related to China, tend to be transframed with strategies of transformation through reorganizing and restructuring the information contained in the ST. All in all, strategies adopted in transframing are largely in conformity to achieving overarching framing effects within given contexts.

8.7 Summary

This chapter has further analyzed the contexts that contribute to transframing practices in news translation. These contexts in terms of politics, ideology and economy, as well as journalistic practice are the causality of effects that transframed news strives to achieve. While translators are the conduit through whom the effects are achieved, their institutions within the contexts are the shaping hands behind the scene whose intentions are hidden in the guise of translated news. They are the “magician” whose sleight of hands direct translated news in the realization of objectives.

Notes

- 1 <http://www.chinanews.com.cn/shipin/2010/12-07/news20537.html>, 社科院：中国经济总量首超日本成世界第二大经济体 (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: Total Volume of Chinese Economy Exceeded Japan, Ranking the Second in the World), retrieved 7 December 2010.
- 2 http://www.ce.cn/xwzx/gnsz/gdxw/201412/08/t20141208_4065641.shtml, retrieved 12 August 2014, summarized by the author.
- 3 A Confucian writing style used in the classic *Chunqiu*, a chronological record of the Lu Dukedom between 722–481 B.C., which Confucius helped in compiling. Wordings with this writing style are not only succinct but also have derogatory or complimentary connotations (Xia, 1999).
- 4 The event was known in China as such like many historic events. The tradition in China is that important events are recorded by the month/date numbers.

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9 Conclusions

This chapter concludes the book by summarizing the theoretical model of transframing; then it will move on to more thoughts on the investigation and will discuss the significance and application of the new model in research, practice and training in news translation. Future directions of work will also be pointed out.

9.1 Theoretical model of transframing

In conclusion of the investigation, indicators of transframing in the proposed research model work very well in gauging changes of transframing effects in translated news. These indicators include framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree, framing device and framing strategies, which are measurable in the TT through comparison with the ST. They are correlated with such features of news stories as story tone, story type and story sensitivity of the source text. Specifically, ST story tone plays a decisive role in shaping the indicators of transframing. The hard news story type contributes significantly to transframing while soft news' contribution is insignificant. Sensitive and partially sensitive stories affect transframing effects considerably while non-sensitive stories have little effect on transframing.

Results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses both validate the applicability and practicality of the research model of transframing. ST story tones in terms of positive or negative tones play a decisive role in shaping the indicators of transframing, while neutral framing tone plays a relatively lesser role. The soft news story type does not contribute significantly while hard news is one of the main contributors to transframing. Regarding story sensitivity, the influence of non-sensitive stories does not affect transframing significantly while considerable influences are verified in partially sensitive and sensitive stories. Therefore, results generated by adopting the research model are developed into a theoretical model as is shown in Figure 9.1.

The theoretical model of transframing can serve to interpret, describe, explain and predict the phenomenon of translation behaviour during the process of news translation. This theoretical model can not only explain and describe transframing practice; it can also predict transframing practice within different contexts. Once the influencers of transframing related to a ST story such as story tone, story type

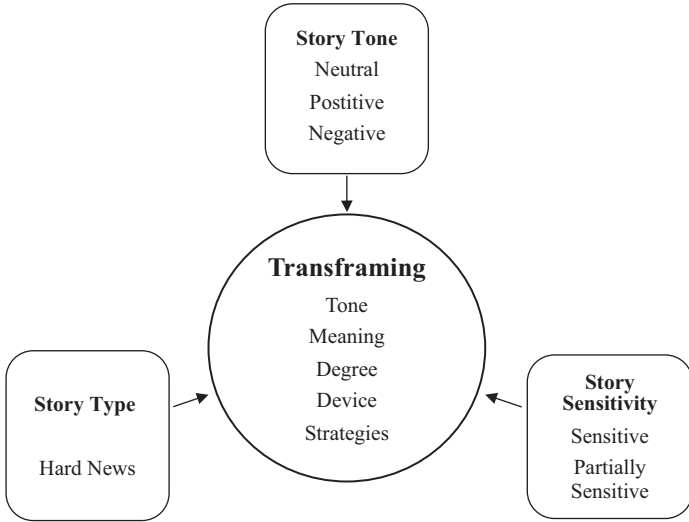


Figure 9.1 Theoretical model of transframing

and story sensitivity on an issue are perceived by the translator, the indicators can be subsequently decided according to the context of the story to be transframed. In practice, once the framing agenda on some events and issues by a certain institution are perceived by the translator, the model of transframing can guide news translation practice so that the effects will be assured. Regarding research, equipped with this model, researchers will have little difficulty in digging out the root cause of various changes that happen on textual levels in news translation. Once the frames of some issues are understood, the model of transframing will serve to better explain the causes behind the effects of translated news. The model can also provide a useful tool for training in news translation by directing the attention of trainees to wider contexts of social reality with regard to specific issue framings instead of focusing solely on linguistic aspects.

Furthermore, through examination on the TT in comparison to the ST under the specific context of Chinese media under globalization, it also proves that transframing effects are in conformity with frames found in media studies, which include attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences, and morality. Together these frames intermingle with the specific media, which exhibits unique characteristics of a society. These unique characteristics decide the diversified effects of transframing within a context, in which the local interacts with the global while competing frames coexist. While context accounts for the causality of the *Reference News* in its transframing the ST to consolidate the framing effects of the government in its intention of either praising the leadership or disparaging its opponents, it also explains the fact that the *Financial Times*

Chinese softens the negativity of its transframing effects by accommodating to the frames of the targeted market. Consequently, the theoretical model of transframing is largely validated in its applicability, practicality and replicability in interpretation and description of transframing practice. Once the frame on certain issues in a given context is set on the agenda of a news organization, the model can also serve to predict the practice of news translation in terms of what strategies to be adopted in practice. Discourse strategies, no matter the form of direct transfer or transformation such as deletion, addition, substitution or reorganization, are the outcome of the realization of the transframing effects of translated news in framing tone, framing meaning, framing degree or framing devices. Therefore paradoxically, “global news is a local product” (Bellos, 2011, p. 244).

The proposed and tested new theoretical model of transframing defined as translation-mediated framing will serve as a bridging concept that provides an explanation of the selection of news to be translated, by answering the question of why such approaches as transediting, rewriting or adaptation are adopted in the process of new translation. This model, being an integration of framing studies in journalism and news translation studies, reconnects news translation to features born by news itself. These features including story tone, story type and story sensitivity are the influencers of transframing. These influencers, upon meeting demands of the agenda-setting programme of a news organization, will fall under the editor’s pen of selection. Once selected, the transframing process will be guided by framing effects that a story is designated to achieve or are deemed acceptable in the target market in terms of framing tone, meaning, degree and framing devices. The model thus provides answers to questions of *how* a news story is translated.

9.2 More thoughts on the investigation

Transframing contributes to the framing process in terms of frame competition, frame selection and modification, frame dynamics and frame consistency (Matthes, 2012). The existence of competing frames in the transframed news is consistent with the characteristics of development frames in the cascade model developed by Entman (2004), where a frame in the general public can have impact conversely on the elite and further up to the governing body at the top. Furthermore interestingly, the transframing process not only exists in the slanting vertical manner, which functions in both top-down and bottom-up modes, but also in a reciprocal horizontal fashion. The horizontal pattern acts upon frames of each actor who may possess different cultural or ideological standpoints in the global context. This reciprocal nature of transframing explains the fact that the FTC transframes its coverage of some stories to fit in with the dominant frames in the target context or power, where self-censorship is in place. It also explains the fact that the RN, being a mouthpiece of the Chinese government, sometimes is more out-spoken than its counterparts under the same context on the account that its news sources are selected from outside the country.

Competing frames in transframed news stories also contribute their share as one of the forces for social transformation. For example, in the story about “China’s

changing Internet landscape,” translated from *The New York Times* (6 May 2013), the RN kept the analogy of referring to the Chinese Internet as a “giant cage” as quoted in Chapter 8. In this sense, transframed news executes its role both as a mediator and a mentor. It carries out this double role by abiding by the rules and regulations set by the institution or authority, while conveying information into the Chinese society, perhaps gradually and surreptitiously. Other features of frames in terms of selections and modification, dynamics and consistency are also exhibited in transframed news stories as exemplified in the investigation. One salient example recently is coverage on the trade war over tariffs between China and the US. In one report, the RN (14 July 2018) is under the heading: 外媒: 中方批美打贸易战危及全球 美以一己之私四面树敌 (According foreign media: China criticizes the US on starting the trade war, saying that while damaging global trade, its self-centeredness is embattled on all sides.). The article is translated from assorted sources, one of which is the Politics Column from the USA Today saying that the trade war unilaterally started by the US does not have any international legal basis while other sources from France and Russia point towards similar frames that the US bears the full responsibility of the tariff war. The claims all echo similar frames in the domestic media.

Transframing provides another conduit of framing events and issues by contributing to reinforcing or deemphasizing some frames through a different angle that is transplanted from mostly abroad. It adds to knowledge by bridging the gap between framing in journalism and news translation studies. Transframed news will provide another ground for looking into framing of events from an institution. Translator is another social actor who contributes to framing through translated news. Translators possess part of the power of speech in selecting frames from the source text, although mostly indirectly under the influence of the agency manual or overarching framing of a society. They should be counted as one of the media actors who contribute to news-making besides “journalists, editors, printers, news-readers” among others listed by Bell (1991, p. 33).

The undisputed fact is that although news stories go through various transframing processes; these results are not necessarily or entirely attributed to the translator, language or context themselves. “Linguistically constructed representation is by no means a deliberate process, entirely under the control of the newspaper” (Fowler, 1991, p. 41). Sometimes, the practices of news selection and presentation are habitual and conventional as much as they are deliberate and controlled, which are independent of the journalist or reader, but are predetermined by the mode impregnated in a society, the inclination of telling a story either in a complimentary or derogatory tone in the Chinese tradition, for example. Transframing contributes to selection and modification of frames through translated news. Although the selection is mostly carried out by the editors, the modification efforts are something incorporated in translators’ practice through their organization manuals. In so doing, they make some frames dynamic while conforming to frame consistency within a given context.

The advantage of the study of news from the perspective of frames rather than bias is that it “opens the discussion to examining unintentional and even

unconscious, as well as selective presentation” (Joseph, 2005; Schudson, 2003, p. 37). Tactics of transframing vary according to different framing effects of a story against a given context. This existence of transframing in the translated news does not come out of the blue. It is invariably embedded in a given society in terms of politics, ideology, economy and journalism which all serve as the root cause of effects. By breaking the fragments of the “vase” of the news story in the source text, translators reassemble it into another story by serving the purpose of its designated framing effects. The transframing phenomenon’s existence invariably in two of the ideologically apart newspapers further attests to the findings that translators have a routine or pre-set way of dealing with various topics guided by the overarching framing of events or issues in their organizations within a given context.

News translation is closely related to language, for, by nature, translated news stories are published versions transformed from another language. However, its translation may be more complicated than that can be represented by typical dichotomies such as visibility and invisibility or foreignization or domestication among others. In the era of globalization, news translations encompass almost all the factors within a certain society in its wider context. In this globalized context, news translation has to fit in with the overall global system, while catering to the needs of a local market. News translation in attaining various framing effects under globalization in fulfilling a certain localizing mode of intentions has inevitably resulted in a genre of hybrid text, which also explains the reason why previous studies into news translation are becoming increasingly fragmented. A link is needed to build between these fragments. Frames in news stories are just the fabric that provides causes for explaining the designated effects in any piece of translated news by navigating news translation into an integrated scholarship. In the era of globalization, while fitting into the overall global system, and catering to the needs of a local market, news translation has to accommodate to the political, ideological, economic, as well as journalistic and linguistic contexts in a given society. These contexts provide answers to expose the factors of framing through translation as indicated in the changing or non-changing of frame tones, meanings and degrees as well as adoption of the same or differentiated framing devices, all of which are embodied in the transframed news and which can be compared to those borne by the source text, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

9.3 Significance and application of the theoretical model

The theory of transframing can better interpret, describe, explain and predict the phenomenon of translation practice in news translation. As long as the framing agenda on some events and issues is determined by certain institutions, the model of transframing can guide news translation practice so that the effects will be guaranteed. It is applicable to different contexts of news translation practice. In terms of research, equipped with this model, researchers will have another tool in their possession that can dig out the root cause of various changes happening on the discourse level in news translation. Once the frames of some issues are

understood, the model of transframing will serve to better explain the causes behind the effects of translated news.

The development of the transframing model is also significant in terms of adding more research work to production frames and mixed frames as was problematized by Borah (2011). It also contributes to the study of frames towards an integrated process model beyond the lab to explore framing in the real world using non-experimental methods as was envisaged by De Vreese (2012).

The model can also provide a useful tool for training in news translation by directing the attention of trainees to wider contexts of social reality with regard to specific issue framings other than just language itself in news translation.

9.4 Further thoughts for future work

The development of the model in transframing is by no means to make news translation normative; it is only in the effort of levelling the ground that various approaches have been tried out in search of an explanation for the phenomenon of deviation from the source text in news translation. Frame can be the binding principle that draws the gazetted research in news translation studies into a more coherent scholarship. Further, linking news translation to features of news itself is more pertinent in explaining the characteristics of translation in this genre. The endeavour in developing this model serves to better describe, explain and predict news translation practice.

This investigation, restricted by translation only in the study of news, has limited itself by confining to texts solely. As is known, text itself is far from accounting for the whole of news framing accomplishments, and other instruments such as images and positioning in the pages in news coverage are also important tools that contribute to framing effects. They are indispensable in constructing frames of a news story, which also leaves space for future investigations.

Taking examples from the Chinese context with regard to only the English to Chinese news transframing also leaves room for future investigation. More countries and language pairs may be included to further validate the transframing effects. Also stories synthesized from multiple sources might be looked into in detail to consolidate more of the transframing effects through translated news. At the same time, in the process of analysis, news stories in the sampled data comprise such a myriad of content, it is impossible to present the bodies of each piece of news within the limited space. This leaves more room for further investigation.

Another direction of future work will be fieldwork of interviewing news translators, which may disclose more stories behind the words. Also incorporating the audience into future research work will yield more findings for the fact that all newspapers, no matter hard copy or online version, publish for the sake of the readers. They are the final judges of what effects news stories have achieved.

Finally drawing a link between framing studies and news translation studies may promise another interesting field for interdisciplinary study. Media and translation scholars in related areas can adopt the transframing model and the approach

to evaluate the consistency and validity of the conception through repeated works and possible readjustments. Differentiated framing effects can be investigated not just in translated news texts, but can also be extended to other media such as translated television news frames and broadcast news frames, as well as the burgeoning mobile journalism studies.

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Appendix

Coding schemes

- 1 Story code (start with 001, followed by 002, 003 and so on)
- 2 Newspaper code
 - 1=Reference News (RN)
 - 2=Financial Times Chinese (FTC)

<i>Source text</i> <i>Independent variables</i>	<i>Target text</i> <i>Dependent variables</i>
3. Story tone	1. Framing tone
1 = neutral	1 = neutral
2 = positive	2 = positive
3 = negative	3 = negative
4. Story type	2. Framing meaning
1 = Hard news	1 = same
2 = Soft news	2 = added
5. Story sensitivity	3 = reduced
1 = sensitive	3. Framing degree
2 = partially sensitive	1 = same
3 = non-sensitive	2 = strengthened
	3 = weakened
	4. Framing device
	1 = same
	2 = partly changed
	3 = totally changed

Index

Page numbers in *italic* indicate a figure on the corresponding page. Page numbers in **bold** indicate a table or chart on the corresponding page.

- “accommodationist” foreign policy 110
actors 16; of framing 15; relationships among 16
addition 37, 64, 74, 83, 98–99, 103; in the *Reference News* 109
agenda-setting 7, 109; factors 6
analysis: method of 49–55
attribution of responsibility 18
audience: effects of framing on 15–16; interest 18, 110; interpretations and attitudes 6
audiovisual translation 19
Australian media 108–109
- bridge/bridging concept 8, 12, 17, 19–23, 22, 129
- Cankao Xiaoxi (the Reference News, RN)*
see Reference News
- cascade model 16, 129
CCTV (Chinese Central Television) 3
censorship 113–114, 118
Chinese economy 118–120; differentiated framing of 119
Chinese media 2, 4, 108; cautiousness of 111–112; commercialization of news media 114; diversity of 120; news media 3; positive coverage of government 111; structural reform strategy 114–115
chunqiu bifa 121
coding: and inter-coder reliability 54; reliability of 44; and word count 103
coding scheme 49–54; design of 43–44, **134**
cognitive paradigm 6
Cohen’s kappa 54
competing frames 115–116, 117–118, 129–130
conflict frames 18, 112, 116
conjunctive experiences 20
constructed month 11
content analysis 10, 43, 49–54
context: defined, 24, 107; economic 118–120; ideological 114–118; journalistic 120–123; political 108–114; and transframing effects 128–129; and transframing strategies 123
critical discourse analysis 5, 10, 43, 44–45, 55
cultural turn 5–6
- data collection 10–12
deletion 37, 59, 61, 79–80, 103; in domestically related stories 58, 62, 74; and framing degree 68, 69; and framing device 101–102; and framing meaning 65; in the *Reference News* 109, 128
dependent variables 18, 56; coding 51–52, 54
diplomacy **42**, **43**, 51, 58, 110–111
direct transfer 52, 62, 74, 104, 123; and story type 86, 87
discourse analysis 44–45, 49, 56; and framing strategies 55; qualitative 44, 73–74, 103; *see also* critical discourse analysis
discourse devices 36, 39
discourse presentations 35, 41
discourse strategies 20; and transframing effects 129
domestic issues 16
double coding 44, 54
DPRK 81, 94, 110
- economic consequences frame 18
economic context 25, 118–120
English names 3, 7

- Entman's framing model 16, 39, 129
 experts: use of frames 16
 explication 37, 54, 68, 86, 102, 103; in Chinese journalistic language 122–123
- filtered tests 50, 104, 121
Financial Times (FT) 2
Financial Times Chinese (FTC) 10–12, 104; and context 128–129
 four-way framing network 17
 four-way system of framing 23
 frame competition 17–18; *see also* competing frames
 frame consistency 17–18
 frame dynamics 17–18
 frame selection 130; and modification 17–18, 130
 frames: aligning 20; changes in 35; in communication 15; competing 115–116; as dependent and independent variables 18; of economic consequence 18; focal points to locate 40–43; fully developed frame example 41–42; identification of 39–43; influencers of 8; list of 40–41; localizing, simplifying, and stereotyping aspects 7; moral 18; and presentation of political reality 7–8; principles to identify 39–40; and transframing effects 105
 framing 7–8; added 52; and context 107; contradictory 115; contrary to source text 4; and political alignment 16; principles 17–18; research 17; strategies 38, 55
 framing analysis 44
Framing as a Strategic Action in Public Deliberation 16
 framing degree 8, 21, 35, 36, 37–38, 48–49; coding 53; remaining the same 67, 82–83, 97, 100; and story sensitivity 96–100; and story tone 48, 66–70; and story type 82–84; strengthened 53, 67–68, 83, 97–98, 100; weakened 53, 68–70, 83–84, 98–99, 100
 framing device 8–9, 19, 21, 35, 36, 37–38, 44, 48–49; coding 53–54; partly changed 54, 71–72, 85–86, 101–102, 103; remaining the same 71, 85, 101; and story sensitivity 100–103; and story tone 70–73; and story type 84–86; totally changed 54, 72–73, 86
 framing effects 90; achieved through news translation 21; on audience 15; disparate 3
 framing meaning 8, 35, 36, 37–38, 48–49, 87; added 52, 63–64, 65–66, 79–80, 93–94, 96; coding 44, 52–53; reduced 52, 64–65, 80–81, 94–95, 96, 110, 112; remaining the same 62–63, 78–79, 93; through sources outside the country 111; and story sensitivity 92–96; and story tone 62–66; and story type 78–81
 framing studies 15; in journalism 9; and news translation 5–8; and news translation studies 9
 framing tone 8, 19, 35–36, 37–38, 44, 48–49; coding 52; negative 61–62, 77–78, 91–92; neutral 57–59, 75–76, 78, 88–91; positive 59–61, 76–77, 78, 91; and story sensitivity 88–92, 104; and story tone 57–62; and story type 75–78
FT Chinese (FTC) 2; *see also* *Financial Times Chinese*
 FT Chinese.com 2
- Glasgow University Media Group 8
 globalization 23–24, 24, 55, 112, 116, 131; context 23–24, 24; and journalistic context 120–121; and transframing effects 128
- hard news 34, 51; and framing degree 82–85, 87; and framing device 84–86, 87; and framing meaning 80–82, 87; and framing tone 75–78, 87; and transframing 105, 127; and transframing strategies 87, 123
 headlines 4, 42–43; Chinese leaders in 4
 human interest frame 18, 110, 123
 human rights stories 34
 hybrid text 45, 131
- ideological context 25, 114–118; competing ideologies 115; opposing ideology 116
 ideology 22, 33; and writing style 121
 independent variables 18, 56; coding 50, 54
 indicators of transframing 8, 35–37, 45; correlations with influencers 48–49, 105; and story tones 105
 influencers of transframing 33–35, 37, 45, 129; correlations with indicators 48–49, 105
 integrated approach 23–24, 55
 inter-coder reliability 54
 intercultural communication 20
Internazionale 20
 Internet 1, 112, 114, 115; “cage” analogy 115, 117, 130; censorship 113
- journalism: framing studies in 9
 journalism studies: link with translation studies 9, 10

- journalistic context 25, 120–123
journalistic traditions 121
journalists: use of frames 16
- lingua franca 1
linguistic shifts 24–25
linguistic turn 5
- marketization 114
media frame 6, 17
media framing 21
media studies: key terms 7
media traditions 120–122
mediated frames 8
metaphor/metaphoric language 72, 78, 85, 91, 97, 123
model of transframing *see* theoretical model of transframing
“mode of intention” 21, 23, 37
morality 111
morality frame/framing 18, 110, 116, 117, 118
- narrative theory 6
negative framing tone 61–62, 77–78, 91–92
negative story tone **58**, 62, **63**, 70; and indicators of transframing 127; and *New York Times* 118; and framing degree 66–68; and framing meaning 64–66
negativity 3, 70; of Western media 121
neutral framing tone 57–59, 75–76, 78, 87, 88–91
neutral story tone **58**, 62, **63**, 65, **66**, 70; and indicators of transframing 127
New York Times 33, 94, 115, 118, 130
news frames 108
news selection and presentation 130
news transframing 21; macro framework of analysis of 23–25; translation strategies 37
news translation studies 9, 19; and framing studies 9; and journalism studies 10
news translation: 6; communications perspective 19; contending examples 4–5; deviations in 6, 55, 7, 9; frames 6; framing and adaptation in 7; and framing studies 8; strategies 36–37, 45; and transframing 22–23; translational approach 19
news values 3
Newsweek 1
newsworthiness 9
non-sensitive case: and framing tone 91, 104
non-sensitive story 38; and framing degree 97; and transframing effects 127
non-sensitive topic 35
partially sensitive story 38, 51, 89
partially sensitive story: and framing degree 97; and framing tone 88–89; and transframing effects 105, 127
partially sensitive topic 99
pattern frames 39
People’s Daily, The 2, 3, 120
policy-makers: use of frames 16
political context 25, 108–114; and positivity 110; and projection of a positive image of China 108
political judgements 7
positive framing tone 59–61, 76–77, 78
positive story tone **58**, 62, **63**, **66**, 70; and indicators of transframing 127
“predictive” articles on translation 23
presentation styles 15
priming 7
propaganda 90, 108
public censorship 113
public opinion 16
- Reference News* 2, 10–12, 129; and context 128; and faithful translation 4; headlines 4; substitution in 109; training system 5; uniqueness 3–4
reorganization 55, 62, 66, 74, 103, 123, 129; and added framing meaning 79–80; and positive framing tone 60; and story sensitivity 103; and story type 86
research methodology 10–12
research model 37–39, 38, 105, 127; *see also* theoretical model of transframing
responsibility frame 111, 116–117; attribution of 18
Reuters 1
rewriting in translation 20
RN *see Reference News*
- scope of the book 9–10
selection process: news story 33–35, 37
self-censorship 113–114, 117
sensitive story 38; and framing degree 97; and framing tone 92; and framing meaning 95–96; and transframing effects 105, 127
sensitive topic 34–35
Shanghai Free Trade Zone (SFTZ) 79, 83, 85; framing tone in coverage of 120
Skopos theory 6, 19
Snowden documents 51, 52, 63, 101, 116
Snowden, Edward 63, 64, 67, 93–94, 98, 102
social context 6, 117; and linguistic style 122

- sociocultural contexts 24, 55
 sociological turn 6
 soft news 34, 51; and framing degree 82–85, 87; and framing device 84–86, 87; and framing meaning 82, 87; and framing tone 75–77, 78, 87; and transframing 127; and transframing strategies 87, 123
 source text: English proper names from 3; fully developed frame in 41–42
 SPSS 56
 state media 3
 state-owned media 4, 108
 story sensitivity 9, 10, 22, 33–35, 37–38, 38; coding scheme 51; correlation to transframing 48–49; crosstabulations **89**, **92**, **96**, **100**; and framing degree 96–100; and framing device 100–103; and framing meaning 92–95; and framing tone 88–92; and transframing 104; and transframing strategies 103, 104; *see also* non-sensitive story; partially sensitive story; sensitive story
 story tone 9, 10, 22, 33–35, 37, 38; coding scheme 50–51; crosstabulations **58**, **63**, **66**, **71**; correlation to transframing 48–49; and framing degree 48, 66–70; and framing device 48, 70–73; and framing meaning 48, 62–66; and framing tone 48, 57–62, 74; and indicators of transframing 127; and transframing strategies 48, 73–74; *see also* negative story tone; neutral story tone; positive story tone
 story type 9, 10, 22, 33–35, 37, 38; coding scheme 51; correlation to transframing 48–49; crosstabulations **76**, **79**, **82**, **84**; and framing degree 82–84; and framing device 84–86; and framing meaning 78–81; and framing tone 75–78; and transframing strategies 86; *see also* hard news; soft news
 storytelling 15, 120
 strengthened framing degree 53, 67–68, 83, 97–98, 100
 structural censorship 113
 subframes 40
 subjectivity 6, 22, 33, 41
 substitution 37, 55, 73; in the *Reference News* 109; and self-censorship 114
 summary 58, 62, 95
 target text: transframed story in 42–43
 TF model *see* Transframing (TF) model
The Wall Street Journal 1–2
 theoretical model of transframing 105, 127–129, 128; significance and application of 131–132; summary of 127–134; thoughts for future work 132–133
 think-aloud protocols 6
 transediting 19–20, 21, 22
 transfer 36, 37, 52, 55, 123; *see also* direct transfer
 transformation 37, 55, 123; and story sensitivity 104; and story type 86; strategies of 103
 transframed news 20
 transframing (TF) 8, 9, 19–25; bridge concept in news translation 19–23; indicators of 8, 35–37, 45; influencers of 8, 33–35, 37, 45, 129; reciprocal nature of 129; research model of 37–39; study of effects 11
 transframing effects 105, 107, 112, 127, 129; and discourse strategies 129
 transframing model 15–25, 132; application of 48–56; operationalization of 33–35; *see also* theoretical model of transframing
 transframing strategies 8–9, 87, 123; and story sensitivity 103; and story tone 73–74; and story type 86
 transframing strategies 8–9, 87; and story tone 73–74; and story type 86
 translation studies 36–37, 74
 translation studies (TS) 5, 19; and framing analyses 21; and framing in journalism 6; link with journalism studies 9–10; and news framing 21; overlaps in 6; sociological approaches in research development 23
 translation study 5–6; cultural turn 5–6; dichotomies 5; linguistic turn 5; sociological turn 6
 translation: and related disciplines 5
 translators 130, 131; as institutionalized professionals 4; names of 2–3, 7; role of 16–17, 23
 Two Sessions 4, 80, 109
 two-way framing model 16
 weakened framing degree 53, 68–70, 83–84, 98–99, 100
 Western media 122; and negativity 121
 WikiLeaks 7
 word count 103
 Xinhua News Agency 2, 11
 Xinjiang 3, 51, 59, 115