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“Police Procrastinated”

Ideological Reframing in Finnish Online News on Terrorism

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ABSTRACT

Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan suomenkielisiä verkkosivuilla julkaistuja terrorismiin liittyviä uutistekstejä, jotka on käännetty englannin kielestä. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, Mona Bakerin soveltamaan narratiiviteoriaan pohjautuen, miten uutistekstejä on muokattu käänösprosessissa suomalaisen ideologiseen kontekstiin sopiviksi, sekä kartoittaa mahdollisia syitä muutoksiin. Tutkimuksen materiaalina on 20 suomenkielistä uutistekstiä ja niiden englanninkieliset lähdetekstit. Mona Bakerin teorian analyysin kohteena on narratiivi- eli kertomuselementit, joten se keskittyy käännöksen laadun arvioinnin sijasta vain ideologisten näkökulmien tutkimukseen. Baker esittää kirjassaan *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account* (2006) tekstien ideologisen kannan tutkimista neljän narratiivielementin avulla: ”järjestyksen ja ajallisuuden muokkaus” (spatial and temporal framing), ”valikoiva mukauttaminen” (selective appropriation), ”nimeäminen” (labelling) ja ”osallistujien uudelleenasettelu” (repositioning of the participants). Tämä tutkimus pohjautuu siis Bakerin käsitykseen kääntämisestä aktiivisena toimintana, jossa lähdetekstejä muokataan tai ne muokkautuvat ideologisesti, sekä Bielsan ja Bassnetin teorioihin uutiskääntämisestä tekstejä muokkaavana ja monivaiheisena prosessina. Tutkimuksen aineistoon liittyen erityisen relevantti termi on myös Karen Stettingin kehittämä ”käännöseditointi” (transediting) eli teoria tietyistä käännöstyypeistä, kuten uutiskäännökset, joissa kääntäjä kokoaa ja tiivistää yhden käännöstekstin useasta lähdetekstistä. Tutkielman tulokset osoittavat, että uutistekstejä on käänösprosessissa ”uudelleenkehystetty” (reframed) ideologisesti käyttämällä kaikkia neljää Bakerin narratiivielementtiä. 20 tutkitusta artikkelista 16 on uudelleenkehystetty käännettäessä. Melkein puolet käänösprosessissa uudelleenkehystetyistä artikkeleista on vähemmän kriittisiä viranomaistoimintaa kohtaan kuin niiden lähdetekstit.

KEYWORDS: news translation, ideology, framing, reframing, transediting, journalism

1 INTRODUCTION

Even these days with the mobility of people globally as effective as it has ever been, most people rely on the media for information about the world beyond the place they live in because they do not have the opportunity or means to travel far or often. As most people never go to places like Nigeria or Afghanistan to see firsthand what life is like there, they have to rely on secondhand information from the media. The way things are framed in the media can then be very consequential as it has a huge impact on the world view of the majority of people in the world. While the kind of manipulation of translation that is discussed in this thesis can and does occur in many kinds of translations, it is particularly important in the context of news translation because most people are unaware that the news they read or watch have even been translated in the first place. Ideology in translation – especially in news translation – is an important topic of study as the manipulation of translations can have great and lasting consequences. To quote Jeremy Tunstall (1996: 341): “While a single foreign news desk in a single daily newspaper is unlikely to rewrite the world international order, the long-term drip-drip-drip of newspaper foreign coverage may gradually wear away some prevailing assumptions while encouraging others.”

The purpose of this study was to find out whether news narratives dealing with terrorism have been reframed in translation in Finnish online journalism. In particular, the aim was to see if the framing of the Finnish articles was different than the framing of the original English language news articles and the possible reasons for that. Ideology in news narratives is an interesting and worthwhile subject to study, even though one must be cautious about generalizing the results due to the nature of textual analysis. Ideology in news writing is especially interesting because news are often seen as factual and strictly objective, while language use can never be objective simply because of the fact that no language user - no human being - can be totally objective.

News translation is not something that has been much studied. In media studies the focus has been on single language news texts and in the field of translation studies on other types of texts. A reason for that may well be the fact that news translation is quite different from what is generally understood by translation which is evident also in the way that most journalists dislike being called translators as they do not consider that to be an adequate term for what they do (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 15). However, news translation has as much to do with rewriting and editing as translation. In translation the focus is usually on the source text in the sense that the objective of the translation is usually foreignization, whereas in news translation the focus is always strictly on the target text. The style of the original does not matter, as the aim is to rewrite the information specifically for a particular target audience so only the news style of the target culture matters. In news translation the aim is to make the translation look like an original.

A further complication to studying news translations is that there might not be an original source text as such. A journalist often compiles her narratives from several different sources and this goes against some of the fixed ideas in translation studies about the concepts of *source text* and *target text* and even *translation* itself. In traditional translation studies research the notion of equivalence has been a central theme, although translation scholars have long argued over the definition. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 96) cite Dorothy Kenny who considers equivalence to be such a lax concept that it can be seen as merely as a relationship between two texts. While this view can be problematical it is a rather vague view that lends itself nicely to the study of news translation, which often does not have the so called word-for-word equivalence. However, it also often does not have a relationship between just two texts.

Juan Gabriel López Guix (in Bassnett & Bush 2007: 95) also has a very loose way of defining translation, which is more in line with the hybrid nature of news translations. He states that translation is nothing but a matter of reading and writing. “The reading that a translator makes of the original is a very intensive one; and the writing is also curious - he

or she has to write a text that has been written before in another language.” The reading and the subsequent writing that the translator does will affect what others in the target culture read – and possibly limit it as well, as in the case of news translation where omissions tend to be significant.

The Skopos theory concerns the idea of the source and target text having the same effect on the audience, instead of them having exact textual equivalence. That is why it is a useful approach in studying news translation. However, it has its limitations when it comes to studying how different news organizations have presented the same translation of a particular news item differently. These significant differences in presentation take the study beyond just the aspects relating to the transfer between different languages and into the things which affect the textual manipulation in the target culture, such as ideological constraints. (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 117-118)

Sujit Mukherjee (cited by Lakshmi Holström in Bassnett & Bush 2007: 34) stated that “faced with such a variety of material, the translator must edit, reconcile and transmute; his job in many ways becomes largely a matter of transcreation”. Mukherjee coined the controversial term ‘transcreation’ to describe the way a translator must sometimes function as an editor while translating and how she could translate creatively and produce a new, different version of the original work. Karen Stetting (1989) came to the same conclusion and coined the term ‘transediting’ to deal with the issue of practical types of translations that are not translated according to strict equivalence. This term is especially useful when discussing the complicated process of news translation, in which several source texts are often compiled into a single target text for a culturally different audience.

Naturally with the issue of editing the texts while translating comes the issue of ideology and unintentional as well as intentional manipulation of the meanings and implications of the text during the translation process. Teun van Dijk (1996: 7-16) defines ideologies as “basic systems of shared social representations that may control more specific group beliefs

(knowledge, attitudes)”. He states that ideologies are assumed to organize and monitor the 'attitudes' of a social group. Groups which share these attitudes, share general opinions which may then be applied to individual social situations. Despite the personal and contextual variation, it seems that opinions regarding a specific situation may in the end be controlled by an overlaying ideology.

Ideology has also been studied in the field of translation studies. André Lefevere was one of the first people to write about translation from the point of view of ideology. His ideas are best explained in his book *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992). In it Lefevere focuses on ideology, power and manipulation, and the institutions that are sometimes behind that manipulation. Lefevere (1992: 9 & 42) states that studying rewriting is important for learning to see through manipulation in texts. Translation is always just one of the many possible interpretations of literary works, and for those unable to read the original text the translation effectively becomes the original while projecting a particular image of the work that is in line with a particular ideology. He points out that while studying rewriting will not tell you what to do it could show you how to not let other people to tell you what to do.

Lefevere argues that people in positions of power interfere with the public's consumption of literature by rewriting it. He states that while translation is the most noticeable type of rewriting his theory is also applicable to historiography, anthologization, criticism, and editing. However, he argues that rewriting in translation is quite possibly the most influential type of rewriting as it can transmit an image of an author or a text to another culture (Lefevere, 1992: 2-9). In the context of news translation rewriting can have significant consequences which is why it is an important subject of research. An understanding of an event, or a sense of the political atmosphere of a country, can be transmitted from one country into another in a translation, and that understanding can be easily manipulated for a political purpose.

For Lefevere the ideological consideration is the most important one when studying translations and he does not limit his concept of ideology to political issues. His main point is that whenever linguistic factors clash with ideological issues in a translation, it tends to be the ideological consideration that ends up winning (Lefevere, 1992: 39). Since Lefevere's work others have also focused on the ideological aspect of translation by using (critical) discourse analysis and narrative theory for example. In *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology, Ideologies in Translation Studies* (2003), María Calzada Pérez edited a collection of papers on different kinds of ideological research within the translation studies community. It includes chapters on various topics from Bible translation and media interpreting to the ideological issues of translating of conceptual art. *Political Discourse, Media and Translation* (2010), edited by Christina Schäffner and Susan Bassnett, contains articles dealing specifically with different kinds of studies on news translation. For example one on Italian news translations by Federico Federici who uses the term "translation-reporting" for what is in this thesis referred to as 'transediting'.

Studies into news translation can be fairly limited in scope as they are often based on a particular newspaper and language pair. Also some of this research has been done with the aim of studying the quality of the news translations (for example see Kadhim & Kader, 2010) or by focusing mostly on the syntax and grammar (see e.g. Valdeón, 2005). There is also research on how political speeches are presented in the media (see e.g. Holland, 2006) but these studies do not focus on the translation of news articles specifically. Research into ideology in news translation is in the minority in translation studies, but there are interesting studies concerning it. For example, Alberto Orengo (2005) discusses the political stances of the Italian press, Ji-Hae Kang (2007) studies the translations of articles of the U.S. magazine *Newsweek* into Korean and Azodi & Salmani (2015) investigate the ideology in Persian translations of English news items. Ya-mei Chen (2009) focuses on quotations in news articles and has conducted an interesting analysis of how the news concerning China's anti-secession law is manipulated in the transediting process in the

Taiwanese press. Mona Baker (2010) also discusses translators' positions in the distribution of materials (e.g. news articles) which present Arabs and Muslims negatively.

As mentioned, the aim of this thesis is to investigate if the translation of news items about terrorism from English into Finnish has affected the ideological stance of the narratives. I argue that even though Finnish journalists generally take care to be as objective as possible, there is reframing going on in the Finnish news translation, and that in fact occasionally in Finnish journalism the idea of being neutral might even be taken too far in an effort not to give offense. There are three questions I aim to answer in this thesis. First of which is: Are all of Baker's four reframing strategies used in the transediting process of Finnish online news and if so, to what extent? And secondly and more importantly: What are the reasons for the reframing? And finally: Are the headlines of news articles in a particularly significant position when it comes to reframing? A fourth question would be whether or not the reframing is consciously or unconsciously done, but it is mostly beyond the scope of textual analysis and thus cannot be thoroughly answered in this thesis.

In the following subsection the material and method of this research are discussed. In the second section the news media is discussed from an ideological point of view. It also contains a discussion on news translation in general, as it is a rather specialized field of translation with its own conventions, along with a discussion on transediting, which has not been studied much, but is very relevant to news translation. The third section explains the concepts of framing and reframing and specifically Mona Baker's framework for studying reframing in translations. The analysis of the material is presented in the fourth section followed by the conclusions in the fifth section.

1.1 Material

The material of this study consisted of twenty online news articles that dealt with the topic of terrorism. Furthermore, the articles were all related to the events in Garissa, Kenya on the 2nd of April, 2015 and were from different Finnish online news outlets as well as using English language news articles as their sources.

Terrorism was chosen as the subject of the news items used as material for this research for two reasons. Firstly, terrorism has a position of importance in the global news media. Terrorism news is often prioritized over other news, even news about other kinds of conflict. Secondly, news about terrorism provides more fertile ground for studying the ideological slant of narratives than news about finance or other such topics which are usually not as dramatic and emotionally charged. Terrorism is difficult to define and there really does not even exist a single definition of it which everyone would agree with. However, according to Malinda S. Smith (2010: 3-7) in the Western historical thought it has been considered to mean all kinds of political violence, from suicide bombings and political assassinations to governmental brutality, ever since the concept's origins in the French Revolution. Terrorist acts can be committed by an individual or a group; a state or non-state actor. Many scholars have warned against the use of the label as one woman's terrorist is another woman's freedom fighter, but most would agree that terrorism generally refers to the use of violence for political gain.

The materials of this study were Finnish online news articles from *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Yle Uutiset*, *Iltalehti*, *Ilta-Sanomat* and *MTV Uutiset*. *Helsingin Sanomat* was chosen because it is the biggest subscription newspaper in Finland (MediaAuditFinland, 2015). *Yle Uutiset* is the news agency of the Finnish national broadcasting company, which has its own foreign news service and no longer relies on the Finnish news agency *Suomen Tietotoimisto*, or *STT*, for news coverage. *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat* were chosen due to their popularity as well, seeing as they are some of the most popular news websites in Finland, but also due to

the contrast their yellow press house style provides with *Helsingin Sanomat*, *Yle Uutiset*, and *MTV Uutiset*. *MTV Uutiset* was chosen as a fifth source of material, because they do rely heavily on the *STT* news agency for readymade news articles. As mentioned above, *Helsingin Sanomat* is the most widely read newspaper in Finland, so eight news articles they published about the events in Garissa were included in the material. In addition three news articles were chosen for the study from each of these four other news outlets. These articles and the source texts are presented and discussed in the analysis section.

It should be noted that the news items that appear online versions of newspapers may be totally different from the articles which appear in the print version. The online versions are often shorter and more direct translations than the articles appearing in print. The articles appearing in print tend to be more clearly framed for the Finnish audience as they sometimes include a more analytical stance from Finnish cultural point of view due to fact that there is often less time pressure in the writing process. However, that is not always the case as for example *Helsingin Sanomat* devoted a spread on Friday, the 4th of April, 2015 for the events in Garissa which included an article published online word-for-word. It also included a comment and a background report, but these were also already available online on the 3rd of April.

Much of the source texts of these articles come from the three major news agencies in the (Western) world. These huge news agencies like the *Agence France Presse*, *Associated Press* and *Reuters* have published statements on their websites explaining their news writing policies. *AP* claims to “insist on the highest standards of integrity and ethical behavior” and that they “abhor inaccuracies, carelessness, bias or distortions” (Associated Press, 2015). *Reuters* also advertize on their website that their employees must always act with “freedom from bias” (Reuters, 2015). The *AFP* boasts that “truth, impartiality and plurality are Agence France Presse’s golden rules” which “guarantee rigorous, verified news, free from political or commercial influence”. (Agence France Presse, 2015). *Yle Uutiset*, which is funded by the Finnish government, also has a statement to this effect on

their website. Additional sources used by the Finnish journalists were *BBC News*, *The New York Times*, *CNN*, *The Guardian*, *International Business Times*, as well as Kenyan newspapers *The Star* and *Daily Nation*.

1.2 Method

The method chosen for this study was Mona Baker's framework for studying how ideologies of translators and institutions can affect translations. The framework is based on narrative theory. Baker (2006: 19) defines narratives as "public and personal 'stories' that we subscribe to and that guide our behavior". She also adds that they do not only mean the stories we tell other people about the world or worlds that we live in, but also the stories we tell ourselves. From the point of view of news translation public narratives are the most relevant and thus the focus of this thesis. Baker (2006: 10) argues that narratives, including scientific ones, are instrumental in helping us make sense of the world because they organize the world into categories. She states that narratives allow us to comprehend events, relate to them and make moral judgments about them.

Baker (2006: 33) states that public narratives are stories that are spread by and among social and institutional structures that are bigger than just one person, such as a family, a religious community, an educational institution, the media or a nation. Media has a large part in the circulation of public narratives. Individual news stories on the same topic start to circulate and they are elaborated until they might become public narratives. Public narratives can form around ideologies and Baker (2006: 20) quotes Bennett and Edelman who point out that accepting a narrative always involves the rejection of other conflicting narratives. Examples of such conflicting public narratives in Finland would be the narratives about the use of nuclear power or of allowing gay marriage. Baker (2006: 33) adds that public narratives also change over time and this might be quite rapid. She borrows Bruner's example of the change in the dominant public narrative about Native Americans in

the United States. After the Second World War the public narrative was one of a great past and a future of assimilation, whereas according to the current narrative the past was exploitation and the future hopefully an ethnic resurgence.

Translators and interpreters are in a good position to affect public narratives. Taboo or blasphemous references might be omitted from a translation by the translator's personal choice, or because she is ordered to so by an institution or an editor, to avoid undermining dominant public narratives. A translator may also be against a dominant public narrative and thus alter the translation to challenge that narrative. Translators and interpreters spread national public narratives beyond the borders either to promote them or to challenge them and expose them to other audiences that might also be against them. (Baker 2006: 36-37)

While Baker discusses narratives in the broadest possible sense, her framework is very useful for research on ideology as it is focused on how narratives work and the power they have to influence people, instead of their linguistic structure. Baker concentrates her focus mostly on narratives as broad sociological phenomena, but throughout her book she provides examples of how individual stories in public circulation, like news items, contribute to public narratives. Thus she provides a method for the study of individual narratives which is applied to the material of this study. In her book Baker discusses different textual features that can be used to study the ideological stance of the author of the text. Her framework does not limit narratives to textual material and she quotes Donald E. Polkinghorne (cited in Baker 2006: 19) who argued that a narrative plot may be presented in many different mediums, such as a film, a ballet or an oral telling. While news articles often have visual material such as photographs, information graphics, or video in the case of online news articles, this research focuses only on the textual material.

Baker (2006: 105) talks of “framing narratives in translation”, but for the sake of clarity I refer to *framing* and *reframing*. In the context of this study *framing* refers to an action to present a particular narrative in a certain light and *reframing* refers to the act of using

framing in the translation process to go against the original frame of the narrative and present it in a different light. Baker (2006: 50 & 78) discusses the features of narrativity as identified by Somers and Gibson. According to them the four core features of narrativity are temporality, relationality, causal emplotment and selective appropriation. Baker's methodology for studying reframing is based on temporality and spatiality (order of information in a news item), selective appropriation (what information gets included in the article), repositioning (how participants of the narrative are positioned within the news item) and labeling (what the participants etc. are called). They can be used to reframe a narrative and cause the audience of the translation to essentially read a different text with some omissions, additions and lexical choices. These strategies of reframing will be elaborated on in section three of this thesis. All four of them were applied to the material of this study and the analysis will be presented in the fourth section.

Reframing strategies are very much like the *gatekeeping* strategies of Erkkka Vuorinen (1997: 161 & 170), who has been influential in studying news translation. It is similar to Baker's framework for studying ideology in translation as it refers to the "process of controlling the flow of information into and through communication channels" and he argues that gatekeeping is accomplished by deletion, addition, substitution, and reorganization of information. Though he does not refer to it as such his position is very similar to that of Stetting's on transediting. He argues that the gatekeeping strategies are a normal part of any translation process, though especially in the case of news translation, for the finished product to fulfill the needs of the target audience.

Like Vuorinen, Kristian Hursti (2001: 3) also discusses gatekeeping strategies as he investigates news translation from *Reuters* to the Finnish news agency *STT*. He also considers deletion, addition, substitution and reorganization as the methods of gatekeeping, but he investigates news translation from the point of view of its possible effect on the Finnish language. In this thesis Baker's reframing strategies are employed instead of gatekeeping. They are based on the same premise, but offer less of chance of terminological

confusion as in addition to how Vuorinen and Hursti's, etc. understanding of gatekeeping, it is also used to refer to the sequential order of information in a news text (cf. Cheesman & Nohl, 2010).

Some of the instances of selective appropriation, repositioning or labeling which arose from the research material were given as an example of a particular category, but could truthfully serve as an example of more than one category as in practice the categories occasionally blur into each other. The categorizations of this study can thus be argued against (scholarly research is in itself an example of how human beings cannot be truly objective) and the material of this study leaves room for interpretation like in any other qualitative study. The quality of the translations or the changes in the syntax of the translated narrative - such as changes in word order, etc. to facilitate fluent reading - were considered irrelevant to the present research, and thus are not discussed in this thesis.

2 JOURNALISM, IDEOLOGY AND TRANSLATION

This section deals with journalism and news translation in connection with ideology. The first subsection discusses what news translation is and explains its special nature as well as addressing some of the difficulties in studying it. The second subsection explains the term ‘transediting’ and how that relates to news translation. Firstly in this section though, the ideology of the global news media is discussed, after which the two subsections focus on translation. As for the truthfulness of news reporting, it is something which is taken very seriously – maybe even too seriously – and people get outraged when they find out something they saw on the news was not factual after all. Bielsa and Bassnett give the 2004 incident with a British newspaper publishing of fake photos of British soldiers abusing prisoners in Iraq as an example (2009: 117). There have also been several incidents of journalists completely intentionally making up stories and plagiarizing the work of others. Intentional or not, such incidents shake people’s belief in the integrity of the business as a whole and are seen as such grave mistakes that they usually lead to the editors-in-chief in question having to vacate her position in addition to the journalist who actually wrote the story.

However, the ideal that journalism is or should be impartial and objective is not that old and it is still not the ideal in every country, or in every context. Michael Schudson (cited in Street 2011: 24) argues that journalists in the United States and United Kingdom feel the need to be objective more strongly than in China or Germany and that impartiality is also felt to be more important in political coverage than sports coverage, especially when a local/national team is involved. Ken Newton (cited in Street 2011: 27-28) claims that while the ideal situation would be that a neutral media presented “a full and fair account of the facts”, this is hardly possible in practice. First of all, there are practical considerations. The business of news media is to adapt reporting for the specific market of audiences and advertisers and too long articles do not attract readers. Also there are often strict deadlines.

Secondly, there are theoretical problems with neutrality. Newton argues that “any event contains an infinity of facts” so it is just not possible for reporters to report all of them; there must be some sort of selection process on what facts are the most important. Also, the facts which are selected must fit the narrative so that they are linked together to form a coherent story.

Thinking that there needs to be “a full and fair account of the facts” is impractical and an unrealistic ideal. In addition to the problems discussed above, Pilger (2004: xiii) quotes T.D. Allman, an American journalist, who pointed out that contrary to popular opinion, even reporting just the facts is sometimes not neutral and fair. Just giving the readers the facts as they are is seen as automatically being objective, but Allman argues that in order for journalism to be genuinely objective, the journalist must make the meaning of the events understandable for the readers as well as offering the bare facts. Journalism should correct the hidden biases that the reporting of the bare facts often has.

Stuart Allan (1999: 48-49 & 57) asks who gets to define what the truth is and how to separate 'facts' from 'values', if that is even possible in the first place. He quotes Herman and Chomsky who argue against the liberal ideal of the news media being 'free', 'independent' and 'objective'. According to them if the news media has any kind of role in society, it is defending and promoting the economic and political agendas of the dominant groups in that society. Schäffner and Kelly-Holmes (1996: 2) quote Gruber who states that “ideology manifests itself linguistically and is made possible and created through language”. In other words language use is never free of ideology and in fact language use is exactly what creates and spreads ideologies, and news writing is no exception. The values and ideologies of the author(s) always influence the text and while the influence is usually hidden instead of explicit, that does not mean it is not there (Paltridge 2006: 45). Unfortunately in many cultures, for example in Finland, news texts are often assumed to be objective by the readers to such an extent that the worldview they present is hardly ever questioned.

Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 117) also discuss the truthfulness of the press and how that is the fundamental premise of news production. The truthfulness of the press is intrinsically linked with the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press to write the truth without pressure or influence from governments or corporations. However, the end product of the news writing process is mediated through so many filters, such as time and space constraints, editorial policy, and cultural acceptability. Bielsa and Bassnett state that this intervention with the text is complex and always at least somewhat manipulative. There is also of course the additional mediation at least to some degree when the text gets translated as there is always the question of whether any translation can be considered to be a completely accurate and truthful reproduction of the source text.

There is always the question as to whether the objectivity of the press is merely an Anglo American construct and is it really being subscribed to by other cultures, and if not what consequences does that have regarding news that are translated from other cultures. Jones and Salter (2012: 12-13) cite Hallin and Papathanassopoulos who point out that in southern Europe and Latin America the news telling tradition is very different than in the United States and northern Europe for example, because in their journalistic practice news advocacy is perfectly acceptable. Basically all news sources in southern Europe and Latin America frame their news completely intentionally to reflect a distinct political perspective while publicly claiming to maintain the ideals of neutrality. In Italy the press only broke its direct connection with the political parties in the 1990s, and the Italian television still has not done so. British newspapers openly support certain parties as well (BBC 2009).

Bielsa & Bassnett (2009: 122-127) point out that the audience is more easily able to judge whether someone is being truthful in broadcast news when they can see and hear the person speaking for herself, but with transcribed quotes in published news there is the problem of not being able to gauge the sincerity of the person speaking at all based on body language and tone of voice. They give the news coverage of the trial of Saddam Hussein as an example of this. While *Daily Telegraph*, which is “conservative through and through”

(BBC 2009), presented a “blustering, rather coarse man”, *The Independent*, which is center-left (BBC 2009), presented a “more serious, articulate figure who argues a strong case in his own defense”. *The Independent* article also had sentences that did not have to grammatical construction of Standard English, pointedly reminding the audience that the trial was not conducted in English and telling something about Saddam’s own idiolect while emphasizing the idea of authenticity. The *Daily Telegraph* version is a good example of a domesticated translation where the foreignness is erased as much as possible and the text brought wholly into the target culture, by for instance making the judge’s language reflect how a local British judge would talk. These differences make the people in question seem rather different, even if the actual factual information of the quotes remains the same. The framing has been done because of the differences in the editorial policies of the newspapers and the differences in the readers’ expectations of these newspapers.

It is important to remember that what is appropriate in one cultural context may be completely inappropriate in another. The common British press practice of using irony and understatement for example, can be completely out of bounds in a cultural context where hyperbole and assertiveness are the norms. The editing processes are complex and different cultural expectations must be taken into account while accommodating the house style as well as the ideological position of the newspaper. (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 131) In the case of Finnish foreign news sources, the cultural expectations do not differ much as most of the sources are western news agencies and newspapers. Thus in the material chosen for this study, the house style of the newspaper is more relevant. For example, it was found in the material studied for this thesis that the so called yellow press Finnish newspaper *Iltalehti* had reframed a news article from *The New York Times* to better fit their particular house style.

Naturally another problem that can easily affect the objectivity of news is who the news sources are funded by. Jones and Slater (2012: 74-75) discuss the cultural difference between the United States that spends very little on public media funding and the European

countries that are like the United Kingdom and have quite extensive publicly funded broadcasting companies. In 2009 the UK invested 60 times more per capita into public news operations than the US, and Finland invested 75 times more than the US. In the US it was feared that publicly funded news broadcasting would violate the commitment to freedom of speech which is stipulated in the first amendment. However, others have been concerned about the running of newspapers as businesses that need to make money and how that might affect their output. Jones and Slater quote Mahatma Ghandi who said: “It is wrong to use newspaper as a means of earning a living. [...] When a newspaper is treated as a means of making profits, the result is likely to be serious malpractices.”

The special nature of online news needs to be taken into account also. Johnson and Kaye (cited in Abdulla et al. 2005: 148) pointed out that there might be some online news credibility issues as the Internet is by nature a place where anyone can upload anything without much scrutiny. However, Flanagan and Metzger (cited in Abdulla et al. 2005: 149) have studied perceptions of online news credibility and found that online news sites were considered as credible as television, radio and magazines, but not as credible as newspapers. Sundar (cited in Abdulla et al. 2005: 149) found that people rated news stories with direct quotations from sources above those without them in credibility and quality.

A study done by Pew Internet and American Life Project in 2002 found that the use of Internet in the aftermath of 9/11 for searching for information about the attack was significant. They also found that online news was thought to be less sensational than newspapers and television news, more credible, more accurate and more reassuring. This could be more due to the fact that there is a wider selection of news available online, than due to the actual news content itself. (Driscoll, Salwen & Garrison 2005: 178-180) This is a good point, seeing as the production costs of online news is a mere fraction of the production cost of any other kinds of news and the result is that more marginal things may be covered as there is more space and time. As mentioned before online content may thus sometimes differ significantly from print news, and also from television news broadcasts.

Another difference is that news content is also customizable, which can be problematic in regards to neutrality and integrity of reporting, especially as commercial concerns tend to rule online journalism. *Yle Uutiset* is government funded news service so it is free of charge and without advertisements. However, *Helsingin Sanomat* for example only allows people to read a certain number of articles even with the advertizing as most of the content is reserved for paying subscribers. Jones and Slater (2012: 110-114) discuss the customization of news that is possible with the online news content and how the readers can actually affect what is on the homepage of the news sites. If a particular news item that is not already on the homepage gets enough traffic, it will be relocated to the homepage. An example of this is the Naomi Campbell's 2010 testimony in trial of former Liberian President Charles Taylor who was accused of war crimes. It wasn't considered an important enough story to get a spot on the homepage until the page got much traffic (due to Naomi Campbell's involvement presumably). If news sites can and do monitor the number of clicks a link to a news item gets, then there is of course the worry that more clicks will start to mean that the content of the news stories which get published will reflect that. Then more and more entertainment news will be published to get the traffic, because more traffic to the page means that more people have seen the advertisements on that page.

2.1 News Translation

The media impact of 9/11 was very significant as the events were broadcast around the world in real time. Powerful images of significant world events like acts of terror and natural disasters are broadcast all over the world, but it would be a mistake to assume that the same message is understood the same way everywhere. Often the information about these significant world events needs to be modified for each specific audience. The construction of the narratives of these global events is mediated by translation which can produce very different local versions of international events. Sometimes the translations are provided by global media organizations, other times the local media organizations produce

translations of globally circulated narratives. Both global and local media organizations rewrite the narratives so there are an endless number of slightly (or more than slightly) different versions of events which means that while we think we are reading the same account of the events as the people half way across the world, it is in fact likely we are not. (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 72)

News translation is a topic which is not widely studied within the field of translation studies. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 63) argue that the primary objective of news translation is fast transfer of information and that the journalistic aspects of time, space and genre are just as important as the linguistic and cultural features of translating from one language to another. Bielsa and Bassnett quote Maria Josefina Tapia's list of the major features of news translation that distinguish it from other types of translation:

1. The main objective of news translation is to transmit information.
2. News translators translate for a mass audience. Consequently, a clear and direct language needs to be used.
3. News translators translate for a specific geographical, temporal and cultural context. Their job is also conditioned by the medium in which they work.
4. News translators are subject to important limitations of time and space.
5. News translators are usually 'backtranslators' and proofreaders.

Bielsa and Bassnett add to these the versatile nature of news translator's skills, as she often needs to be able to translate texts from a great range of very different topics, everything from sports to economy. The only link between the variety of topics is the norms of the journalistic genre.

However, it can be argued that this list contains many points which are also features of other types of translation activity. For example regarding the fourth point, audiovisual translators are also very restricted by the time and space limitations while subtitling, though it is a fact that that time constraints are especially significant in the case of online news translation. The third point could refer to localization work and the first to any number of different everyday texts which are translated for the sole purpose of transmitting

information and nothing more. While these are good general characteristics of news translation, Bielsa and Bassnett perhaps go too far in claiming that they *distinguish* news translation from other types of translation. Also, when they add that news translators are versatile it seems to contradict Tapia's fifth point about news translators usually being backtranslators and proofreaders.

In news translation the translator is considered to be more active than in the traditional notion of translation. Many journalists do not define themselves as translators at all even if translating is a huge part of their work. Journalists define themselves as international reporters, or often just journalists with knowledge of another language, instead of translators. This causes an emphasis on the target culture and puts the focus firmly on the rewriting aspect of their profession. Knowledge of the target culture norms is then seen as more important than the actual act of transferring the information from language to another. Many journalists feel that a translator would only provide a literal translation of a text that would not be publishable in a newspaper context without the journalist to rewrite it. (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 14-15)

The research into news translation questions the existence of fixed source texts in a way that other translation research does not. News translation is exchanging one language for another and then the material is rewritten, edited and adapted for a new context, going even so far that the concept of a target text always having just one single source text disappears. This is completely different than in the research into translation of literature which depends on the clear binary nature of translated texts, according to which they are always combined of one source text and one target text. (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 11) News translation might not have just one source text and even if it does it might not be the work of only one person. Also the original authors of the source texts are usually not named in the translated news articles, which is a clear indication of the lower status of the source text in news translation when compared with the status of the source text in literary translation. For

example, in Finland news articles often do not reach the status of copyright protected material.

According to Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 34-35) "global news agencies gather, process and transmit news to subscribing institutions around the world" meaning that they are so called news wholesalers. These news agencies deliver raw information for the subscribers to use as they wish. They also supply them with news reports and analysis which are ready for publishing as they are, but which the subscribers are also free to edit or rewrite as they see fit without even having to acknowledge the global news agency as the source. Since this news processing contains a significant amount of translation and as the translation activity is fully integrated into the whole process, Bielsa and Bassnett argue that the global news agencies can be considered translation agencies as well. They produce fast and accurate translations and so have an important part in furthering the global circulation of information. Bielsa and Bassnett also point out that in addition to information, global news agencies – of which the Western ones are the most prevalent – have also circulated the Western news conventions and values across the world. They have taken part in forming the criteria which is used in evaluating what is valuable news content, either directly by their reports to subscribers or indirectly by what they see as newsworthy and what they prioritize.

While in the translation of literature many translators subscribe to Venuti's foreignization hypothesis, its significance disappears with news translation. The strategy used in news translation is domesticating the text as much as possible in order to make it fit the world view of the target culture. (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 10) However, this can also cause problems, for example because news texts often contain direct quotes from officials or witnesses. Direct quotes are used in news translation to legitimize the information in the eyes of the readers, but when the quote is translated to another language it raises the issue of whether it can still be said to be a direct quote. Christina Schäffner (2010: 8) points out

that the fact that news texts do not mention the translation aspect, and indeed are read like completely original texts, can be problematical regarding correct understanding.

The stylistics aspects of the source material do not matter in news translation like they do in literary translation, as news translation is mainly concerned with transmitting information. However, ideological shifts are important to take into account in all kinds of translations. Often different norms – based on different ideologies – determine how a news story is framed in different countries (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 10-13). Furthermore, often the reactions in one country to statements made in another country are actually just reactions to information given in a translation (Schäffner 2004: 120). Thus it is very important for the news translator to be accurate and try to maintain as much neutrality as possible.

Defining news translation is difficult as there are so many processes involved in it. However, what can be said is that texts are transferred across language boundaries and that it often undergoes all kinds of editing and restructuring, and is often a hybrid text composed of several different sources (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 14-15). In Finland news writing often involves stories that have originated in another country and in another language so there is a lot of news translation done in the Finnish media and most of it is from English to Finnish. According to Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 12) what is usually understood by translation – a direct translation of a text from one language into another while keeping the content and style as similar as possible – is the least common form of translation when it comes to translating news. The most common way of translating news stories is the restructuring of material to fit the target audience's expectations.

Not only is the news story that is published on the news website of the Finnish *Yleisradio* for example most likely compiled from several different sources, those sources may also be compiled from several sources, or at least those stories have very likely already gone through at least one translation process. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 14) use *AFP*'s editor-in-chief Eric Wishart's example of the coverage of a North Korean train explosion to point

this out; the story was first written in Korean by a Korean news agency, translated into English by a Korean journalist, and only then translated into French by a French journalist working in Hong Kong because there were no French journalists in Korea.

A journalist working for *Reuters*, Anthony Williams (cited in Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 15), has said that writing a news story is not "translation pure and simple". However, not many translation scholars would agree that any kind of translation is 'pure and simple'. After all, translation almost always involves at least some editing of the source material in order to make it work for the target audience. News translation simply requires more editing than other types of translation. Karen Stetting (1989) coined the composite term 'transediting' in response to the difficulties in discussing the role of editing in translation.

2.2 Transediting

News translation usually involves a great amount of restructuring the source text or texts and this means that there can be significant variation in news published in different countries even if they are translated from the same sources. News translators often rewrite rather than just translate in order to make the target text suitable for use in the different context of a particular country or publication. The process of news translation is thus not unlike the process of editing in which the article is checked and adjusted in preparation for publishing (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 63). There are areas of translation work similar to news translation, which also fall under both the translation and editing categories, such as simultaneous interpreting and localization. In the late 80s, Karen Stetting (1989: 371-382) came up with the new term of transediting to facilitate discussion about "the grey area between editing and translating":

If the translator decides to take on the more responsible role of 'midwife' to see to it that the original intentions are reborn in a new and better shape in the target language, the translator turns into a 'transeditor'. [...] People sometimes talk about

‘faithful translation’. But it is worth remembering that writers are not all perfect communicators and that a translation can be totally faithful to a text, while at the same time being totally unfaithful and disloyal to the writer of this text.

Stetting (1989: 371-372) discusses the connection between translation and editing and calls the “muddled area” transediting. Her main point is that editing has always been a part of translating and that when translating, finding the equivalent meaning of words is not enough. The cultural aspect needs to be taken into account also. As the new readers can be assumed to have different background knowledge than the original audience, changes due to cultural factors are often necessary. Stetting points out how translators often have to make choices such as whether to change *miles* into *kilometers* etc. in order to domesticate the text, or to leave it either because they assume the target audience’s familiarity with the English mile or because it does not make a difference in the context. She also adds that translators often have to edit texts either by adding explanations to things such as the names of institutions that do not exist in the target culture, or by omitting things that are not relevant in the target culture even if it is seen as being unfaithful to the original.

These three things are the same ones an editor does in her work - changes, additions, and omissions. Thus Stetting (1989: 372-373) argues that translators act as editors by cleaning up the text while translating, as they do not normally transfer spelling mistakes, poor expressions or other such grammatical or stylistic inconsistencies. An editor who works with practical everyday texts makes sure the text conforms to the norms of the text type and improves clarity and relevance, while keeping the character of the text intact – just like a translator does. With the term transediting Stetting puts more focus on what the target culture readers need than strict equivalence and she argues that transediting – rather than translating – is done for example by audiovisual translators who often abbreviate what is said on film, so that the main point will fit within the limited space for subtitling.

The author is of utmost importance in the literary field. However, regarding journalism Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 65) concur with Stetting’s point of view on being loyal to the

text without necessarily being loyal to the author of said text. They state that the importance of the author is not relevant in the field of journalism:

The news translator, unlike the literary translator, does not owe respect and faithfulness to the source text but is able to engage in a significantly different relationship with an often unsigned piece of news, the main purpose of which is to provide information of an event in a concise and clear way.

The question of whom or what the news translator should be faithful to and the question of equivalence are critical when comparing news translation with other forms of translation. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 65) cite Pablo García Suárez who also argues that news translators must be more concerned with maintaining objectivity than with being faithful to the source text. He states that faithfulness to the narrated facts needs to surpass the faithfulness to the original text.

Presenting the text from a different point of view is often referred to as “changing the news angle” by professional journalists. The news angle is the theme or the focus of the news story. The journalist (or the editor) chooses the angle - the point of view - of the story, and then writes the news item according to it. Thus at least in the context of this study, the concept of a news angle can be considered the same as the concept of a frame, which will be elaborated on in the following section. Changing the news angle is a perfectly normal practice in journalism, provided it is justified by relevance and the background knowledge of the readers, but it does mean that the traditional notion of the importance of equivalence in translations cannot be applied to news translation (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 67). This raises the question of whether a translation that is not strictly equivalent can still be a good translation. Additionally, this point of view connects transediting with localization, though Alberto Orengo (2005: 175) argues that news translation is a genre somewhere in between localization and cultural mediation.

Anthony Pym (2004: 55) discusses the localization of translations and he argues that the strict equivalence had its use in technical domains where the reader just needed to be made

aware of the correct buttons to push. However, in literary and religious texts the concept of equivalence becomes problematical as the form of the text is also seen as having value in itself instead of just content. Pym argues that the notion of strict equivalence in translations made the users of texts to trust the work of translators and it also gave translators the opportunity to abuse that trust by making significant changes into the texts when they are published in the target cultures. However, even Pym does not consider all alterations in the translation as abusing the trust of the target culture readers; he acknowledges that the idea of equivalence also provided translators with room for creative license while not breaking the trust of readers. Pym argues that translations should be considered as new texts that are filling new purposes:

The sheer quantities of weakly authored material now being translated have brought about significant differences in the professional tasks of many trained mediators, who are writing summaries, revising, providing linguistic consultation services, producing new texts for new readers, post-editing controlled translations, or managing language services. [...] Translations are thus to be assessed as new texts designed to serve new purposes, without any necessary constraint by equivalence.

Pym argues that the logical problem with the concept of equivalence is that it promotes the idea that everything that does not follow equivalence strictly is either a bad translation or some kind of hybrid that does not belong in any category.

Stetting (1989: 378) argues for the use of the term *transediting* precisely because she wants to categorize the nameless hybrid texts which are better described as edited rewrites than strict translations. Hursti (2001: 2) is also in favor of using the term *transediting* to depict the process of news translation. His definition of *transediting* as the “composite term used to refer to work done in the realm of ‘practical texts’, such as news items, in which both the processes, editing and translating, are not only very much present but also equally important and closely intertwined” is in line with that of Stetting’s (1989: 378-379), who posits that translation and *transediting* are two connected areas with blurred borders. She suggest that translation may be thought of as a spectrum with *transediting* at one end and

sound-by-sound transliteration at the very other end. In the middle would then be dynamic translation, close translation, word-to-word translation and morpheme-by-morpheme transference. When a translator strives for optimal equivalence and also for a natural sounding idiomatic style, changes in word classes and number of words and phrases most often occurs. This is however, not what Stetting means by transediting. It is just translating as it does not make any kind of changes into the content specifically.

Stetting divides transediting tasks into three different types:

1. Adaption to a standard of efficiency in expression: ‘cleaning-up transediting’,
2. Adaption to the intended function of the translated text in its new social contexts: ‘situational transediting’,
3. Adaption to the needs and conventions of the target culture: ‘cultural transediting’

The first type, cleaning-up transediting, is communication oriented, as both the needs of the receiver and the sender’s style are taken into account. It is also not discussed much as the good quality of the original texts that are to be translated is often simply assumed. The second type, situational transediting, is distinctly receiver-oriented. It considers what the new audience of the text will use it for, whether they need an introduction to the topic and further information on some things in the texts, and also whether they would find something in the text self-explanatory. The third type, cultural transediting, is also very much receiver-oriented. Cultural adaption has been a stable in translation studies discussions for a long time, but could be put under the term of transediting as it is performed in a way that an editor performs her work – by making changes and adding and omitting things as necessary for clarification or due to irrelevance or fear of confusing the new audience. (Stetting 1989: 377-378) News translation can thus be considered to include both situational transediting and cultural transediting.

Stetting (1989: 376-377) points out that while cultural texts, such as literary or historical ones, sometimes require some transediting, it is mostly the practical everyday texts that

really need it. According to Stetting these are “reports, memos, business correspondence, instructions, brochures, advertizing and public relations materials, articles for newspapers, specialized magazines, professional journals etc”. Like mentioned before, in cultural texts the original author of the text is more important because it is his or her views that the reader wants to get to know. However, when it comes to practical everyday texts the translator – or transeditor - is more important, and a competent transeditor can significantly improve international communication.

Transediting is thus the best way to describe news translation and news texts are indeed very practical everyday texts that are normally never read more than once. In a news context it is extremely important for the translator to edit while translating. For example when a TV journalist has to interview someone in a language that is a foreign language for both parties, the translator must make sure that the translation is correct, idiomatic and well-structured, even if the original is not. Otherwise both the journalist and the interviewee can seem unintelligent and the reliability of the journalism suffers. (Stetting 1989: 372-373) As discussed previously, changing the angle, or point of view, of a news article in translation is a common practice in journalism and often different news organizations have slightly different angles when they publish the same story. According to Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 67) this also happens within the same organization with the types of translations in which several different source texts are utilized in order to rework them into a single target text. In the context of news translation, in order for the target text to be effective it does not need to be equivalent to the original or cause the equivalent effect in its audience, it just must be able to successfully communicate across the specific linguistic, cultural and geographic boundaries in order to inform the audience of something.

Some of the alterations that news translators make most often are changes in headlines and leads (informative subtitles), omissions, additions, changes in the order of paragraphs and summarizing information. The changes in headlines and leads are very common as they are very important in drawing in the reader and so they must be appropriate for the target

culture audience. Different publications also have different stylistic norms regarding headlines and leads which the journalists must observe. (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009: 64) Thus it is safe to say that choosing a good headline is a very important aspect of news writing. Mona Baker (2006: 130) emphasizes that with a shift in the title there are often also subtle changes in the story itself that line up with the new narrative point of view of the title. One example of this is a translation of a detective novel with a male hero called Peter, originally called *Mystery in Kensington*, was published in Germany in the 1930s. This title was translated to German as *Gore/Hilf mir, Peter!* (Help me, Peter!) and in addition to the change of title the translator added a line about the female character fainting among other changes which reframed the content. This new frame was in accordance with the Nazi propaganda narratives about proper gender roles of strong and heroic men and passive and weak women.

During the process of transediting the news articles there is a particular chance of manipulation as they are often compiled from several sources, and thus do not have a clear source text for easy comparison. It is however, important to distinguish between manipulation – reframing – and the different news conventions of different cultures and also of different publications within the same culture. Reframing can thus be compared to localization, but the latter is only concerned with adapting the text so it is culturally appropriate for the target audience. The difference between reframing the narrative in translation and localization seems to be the ideological aspect.

3 FRAMING AND REFRAMING

In this section the concepts of framing and reframing are explained and Mona Baker's methodology for studying reframing in translations is presented. Framing can be a difficult concept to define as it is used differently by people doing different kinds of research. However, Robert M. Entman (2004: 5-6 & 26) writes about framing of political news events in the U.S. media and he does provide what he calls a "stab at standard definition of framing", which reads as follows: "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution". Entman argues that through framing a particular focus is put on the way the author of the text comprehends reality, and the text then helps the reader come to the conclusions the author desires. The words and images making up a frame for a particular event or issue are the ones that are especially noticeable in the text. They are the key words that are noticeable, memorable and emotionally charged and can thus evoke support or resistance in the audience. How noticeable the framing words are in the text, as well as how often they get repeated, has an effect on the success of the framing.

Entman (2004: 23-24 & 27) argues that frames in the news are usually found in three different categories of objects: political events, issues and actors. Frames are used for pointing out problems with something, assigning blame, promoting a solution and conveying moral judgment. Word choices can be used to frame something in a way that the audience makes an association between an item highlighted in the framed text and another concept. Entman gives a classical experiment on framing as an example. Kahneman and Tversky performed an experiment by telling people about a hypothetical public health crisis and proposed solutions to it and they found that the solution that was framed in terms of the lives that would be saved was far more popular than the solution that was framed in terms of deaths avoided – even though the solutions were virtually identical. They showed that it is relatively easy to make people support or oppose something by using words to create

certain associations in the minds of the audience. The discussion about the spread of AIDS can also be used as example on framing. If the proposal of mandatory testing is written about in terms of what the implications of people's civil liberties are, it will most likely gain opposition. However, if the issue is written about in terms of public health concerns, in other words if the danger is highlighted in the framing of the issue, mandatory testing will gain supporters.

Todd Gitlin was one of the first scholars to apply frame analysis to news coverage. Gitlin (cited in Allan 1999: 63-64) defines news frames as “principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters”. According to him once a certain frame has been applied the information must be seen as appropriate and legitimate for that selected definition of newsworthiness in order to be added to the narrative. In news translation framing can be accomplished in several different ways including the selection of quotations as well as headlines and leads. Meifang Zhang (2013: 396) argues that headlines “are the first and most important framing element in news reports”, but Roberto Valdeón (2014: 56) points out that while headlines are often the most likely element to be changed in the translation of news items due to the different cultural conventions, it does not necessarily make them the most important factors in framing. This question is of particular interest in this thesis and the importance of headlines is discussed in the following analysis of the material.

As stated previously in the method section, in this thesis “framing in translation” is referred to as *reframing* for reasons of clarity and brevity. Baker's methodology for studying reframing is based on temporality and spatiality, selective appropriation, labeling and the repositioning of participants. They can be used to reframe a narrative in translation and cause the audience of the translation to essentially read a different text with some omissions, additions and lexical choices. These features and how they can be used in reframing are explained in the following subsections.

3.1 Temporality and Spatiality

Temporality refers to the way that elements of a narrative are always placed in some order and the order in which they are placed always carries meaning. Temporality does not mean that the events of a story are necessarily always told in chronological order reflecting the order they happened in, just that there is always an order, and that order will direct and constrain the interpretations of the narrative. This means that no matter in what order we place the story elements in a narrative, whether temporally or spatially, the order creates connections and relations which turn isolated events into a coherent account. Space (spatiality) is also an aspect of temporal ordering, and Baker quotes Jerome Bruner's example of "the 'left-to-right' and 'top-to-bottom' conventions of cartoon strips and cathedral windows". (2006: 50-52) However, it should be mentioned here that Bruner's examples of spatial conventions are far from universal, and in fact only apply to the Western culture, as for example in Japanese most comics, or *manga*, are read from right to left.

Another especially relevant example in this context regarding spatiality is of course the spatial order of news items. It is also not universal, but when it comes to the spatiality of news items the "inverted pyramid" structure is the model which is to be observed most often in most of the Western cultures. A news story is written according to a hierarchy of importance, meaning that the most important details come first and the less important ones follow in a descending order (Cotter 2010: 139). Disregarding the use of the inverted pyramid structure was used to reframe two of the twenty articles studied for this thesis. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 107) argue that the inverted pyramid structure of news items is ideal for translation as the length of translated news texts is often reduced drastically and thanks to the inverted pyramid structure the least important information which is in the last paragraphs is often easy to leave out.

Baker (2006: 112) states that temporal and spatial framing can be accomplished by selecting a particular text and embedding it in a temporal and spatial context which highlights the story it tells and makes the readers establish links between it and other current narratives, even though the original text may have been set in a completely different temporal and spatial framework. This kind of framing by changing the setting of the narrative is sufficient on its own. It does not require any further meddling with the text itself, though that can also be done simultaneously.

3.2 Selective Appropriation

Baker (2006: 71-72) quotes Somers and Gibson who argue that in order to turn an experience into a narrative evaluative criteria is needed. These criteria are used in the selective appropriation of certain elements from a large selection of open-ended and overlapping events which make up an experience. Selective appropriation then means excluding some events and privileging others in order to form a coherent narrative of events. Baker also quotes White who stated that even if a narrative seems "full", it is still formed on the basis of elements that could have been incorporated but were not. Baker notes that the selection process is thought to be thematic by Somers as well as Polkingthorne; they both argue that certain themes facilitate the selection of certain events and elements into the narrative. The narrative – for example a news story – is built around a central theme, such as "women's independence", which then allows the narrator to portray separate elements of a story as part of the narrative that ends in some kind of an outcome. However, selective appropriation is not just about the theme of the narrative, it is also related to our location in time and space and what kind of public narratives we have been exposed to.

According to Cotter (2010: 67-69) news values shape texts by “reinforcing an 'ideology' about what counts as news and consequently by organizing story design”. So in addition to

determining what is newsworthy, news values also affect the form of news stories. Cotter sums up what journalists and journalism textbooks most often deem as news values; meaning qualities that a narrative must have to be viable for publication. The most important news values are often considered to be timeliness, proximity and prominence. Timeliness simply means whether the story is new or old, or has a relevant timing in some way, for instance by relating to an anniversary of an important event. Proximity refers to the location of the event, which is important as the nearer to the target audience the event took place, the more relevant the story is, though there may also be reasons why some events that took place elsewhere would be relevant to the local audience. Prominence refers to an individual who has something to do with the narrative. The more well-known that individual is, the more newsworthy the story is. Stuart Allan (1999: 62-63) also listed some of the most common news values. In addition to conflict, which is the first one on his list, he also mentions relevance (of which proximity is a relevant factor), timeliness, simplification, personalization, unexpectedness and references to elite nations/persons etc.

News values are what determine the “newsworthiness” of events. These news values that journalists are taught are closely linked with the concept of selective appropriation and an awareness of them is important as they limit the possibilities in news coverage and frame news stories by reinforcing the journalist's and editor's values of what is news. News values regulate what and who gets covered as well as how the narratives are covered and how they are placed in the newspaper (or the webpage). In other words, journalists use news values as the evaluative criteria mentioned above, which they use to select what to privilege or “front” and what to ignore or bury. (Cotter 2010: 67, 74-75 & 87) This applies to news translators also. A news translator often compiles a story from several slightly different narratives and she also has to use these news values as the criteria of selective appropriation in order to decide what should be included in the article. Holli Semetko (cited in Street 2011: 28) argues that in fact 'objectivity' and 'balance' in reporting actually require contradictory practices. According to her, news values are journalists' working assumptions about how significant events are. Thus in order to be objective, a reporter must let news

values dictate what events are covered, while in order to be balanced a reporter must give equal coverage to all factors of an event despite the news values of those factors. Some kind of compromise is thus imperative.

John Street (2011: 22-23) discusses how in journalism the more rare events, unusual deaths for example, get more coverage than the mundane events that take place every day, such as people dying of cancer. He cites *The Guardian* which made the point also when they brought up the fact on a single day seven astronauts died in space, seven schoolchildren died while skiing in Canada and seven migrants, desperate to get out of Africa, washed on the shore in Spain and only one of these incidents was reported in the UK press. In principle each of these incidents is an equally tragic loss of life, but the news values of prominence and unexpectedness dictated that only the astronauts were newsworthy in the UK. Street calls this (of which there are countless examples) “selective reporting” which is in line with Baker's framework of selective appropriation.

Selective appropriation is like other types of framing in that it can be conscious or unconscious, but it still affects the audience's perceptions of the world. There are countless examples of selective appropriation being used. A well-known example would be the erasure of Jewish narratives in Nazi Germany. Every work of literature, including translations, that were to be published were screened strictly and the author's racial background among other things had to be divulged. This *deselecting* allowed the Nazis to make sure the narratives of the Jews did not affect the German public narratives. Another news translation example would be a translation in the Pakistani newspaper *Dawn* which wrongly quoted Bin Laden as saying that al-Qaeda was planning on attacking the US with nuclear and chemical weapons. Tabloid press tends to highlight the sensationalism of public narratives and in this case the tabloid reaffirmed the public narrative that the Pakistani government was also promoting, according to which the US's 'War on Terror' was completely justified. (Baker 2006: 73 & 118-119)

In the context of framing a news article, selective appropriation means adding and omitting certain available things from a narrative in order to influence how that narrative is understood by the readers. The elements which are chosen to be included in the narrative accentuate and elaborate certain aspects of the story, while omitting elements can be used to suppress some aspects of the story. (Baker 2006: 114) In a news writing context it can mean the selection of news that gets told in a particular news outlet as well as the selection of details within a news story that gets reported. The following example from one of the source texts from the material of this thesis is an example of selective appropriation, more specifically of omission. In an article published by the CNN on their online news website the reader is told that a terrorist suspect Mohamed Mohamud has three wives and three siblings (Purefoy, Botello, Fantz: 2015). However, in the translation only the three siblings are mentioned which reframes the article to fit the ideological context of the new Finnish audience.

Schäffner (2010: 8) concurs with Baker by also pointing out that since newspapers rarely if ever provide readers with complete transcripts of interviews, the readers have to put their trust in the journalist and hope that she has not significantly rearranged or omitted relevant information. As mentioned before Bielsa and Bassnett (2009: 64) state that one of the most common alterations news translators make to news texts are omissions and additions. They often have to omit information that is considered irrelevant to the target audience, either because the audience already knows it or because it is too detailed for the culturally and geographically remote audience. Addition of relevant background information is also frequent in news translation when it can be assumed that the target audience might not know something that is important for the correct understanding of the situation being described. However, there were only two instances of addition found in the material of this thesis while there was a considerable amount of omissions.

3.3 Labeling

Labeling refers to the discursive process of identifying a person, place, group, event or another key element in the narrative by using a lexical item, term or phrase. Any type of label used in defining a key element of a narrative frames the story in some way and shapes our understanding of the narrative. Euphemisms are frequently used to frame things in a way that makes readers more comfortable with them, like using the label *food biotechnology* instead of *genetically modified food* to make it sound vague and less controversial. In the War on Terror master narrative in the media the *hired guns* or *mercenaries* are usually labeled as *civilian contractors*. (Baker 2006: 122-123) Armed forces also often have to admit that there was some *collateral damage* by which they of course mean that innocent civilians died.

Using labeling to reframe a translation is then rather easy to do as it is based on changing a label of something or someone to cause readers to react to it/them in a different way than intended in the original narrative. Baker (2006: 123) points out that labeling might also be unintentional as translators do not always fully consider the impact of their work. A translator does not always take into account the social and political setting in which her work will be used and simply takes pride in her creativity when dealing with demanding textual features. She gives an example of labeling by the UK newspaper *The Sun* which in 1991 described the extensive bombardment of Iraq as a *blitz on Baghdad*. It could be that the journalist just did not consider it, as they wanted the alliteration there, but such headline devalues the death of numerous people. Baker argues that while activist translators can use counter-naming as a reply to widely circulated euphemisms, this technique is out of bounds for news translators. An example of counter-naming would be calling the Israeli Defence Force the IOF, meaning the Israeli Offence Force.

Labelling extends also to names. In areas with several overlapping languages and cultural identities, there cannot always be agreement on names. Rival systems of naming can cause

difficulty for translators. According to Baker (2009: 124), place names in areas with more than one official language are one example of rival systems of naming. The same place can have several different names depending on the language and rival traditions. As Baker states, the translator will then have to choose what name to use when referring to that place and most likely none of the options are neutral. When one name is chosen it disclaims the social and political legitimacy of the other options so when one label is chosen the text is geared toward the people who label the place with name and thus it can alienate other groups.

Vesa Heikkinen (2007: 41) also argues that labeling is used in public discourse for reframing purposes, as the author of the text does it in order to make people see the reality from the point of view she wishes to present. Heikkinen states that when discussing labeling, what the truth actually is should not really be the focus. What should be considered is what the underlying message of the text is, what the intention of the text is and why. Every time something is labeled it presents a value judgment by necessity, as the chosen word carries certain associations. As an example of labeling while writing this thesis I have deliberately chosen to go against to norm of using *he*, or even *they*, in certain situations where a hypothetical person is being referred to. Instead I have labeled all hypothetical people as *she* even though they could naturally also be men. This is a purposeful labeling which brings attention to the fact that all human beings are still frequently referred to as *he* in the English language which reinforces the idea that males are the norm and females are a deviation from the norm.

3.4 Relationality and Repositioning

In this section relationality, and more specifically repositioning, are explained. Relationality is important in analyzing the framing of narratives. It means that we cannot

make sense of isolated events that are not constructed as a narrative, meaning that all singular events need a larger context to be understood (Baker 2006: 61).

Repositioning is one way to use relationality in reframing. According to Baker (2006: 132) repositioning is an aspect of relationality and it refers to the way the participants of any kind of interaction are positioned (or how they position themselves) in relation to each other as well as to the people outside that particular interaction. Alterations in these positions change the dynamics of the particular narrative that is in question as well as the wider narratives there are a part of. Baker argues that the translator can reposition the participants in relation to each other, some group of other people, or the reader by making changes in certain linguistic aspects of the text, for example time, space, deixis (meaning words or phrases that require context to be understood), dialect, register, epithets, as well as numerous different kinds of self- and other identification.

Baker (2006: 132 & 135) claims that the range of these aspects that can be used in repositioning is "open-ended in principle", meaning that there is basically no end to the textual features which can be used here. She points out that any or several of these aspects can be used to change a text quite easily in the translation process by making subtle choices in expressions which then aggregate and change the relationship between 'here' and 'there', 'them' and 'us', or 'reader' and 'narrator'. In news translation the translator can easily create distance between the events and the reader by repositioning. In the material analyzed for this thesis some of the news articles were found to be repositioned for example by distancing the reader from what had happened and by repositioning the participants in a way which obscures or outright changes the source of the information.

Baker (2006: 134-136) argues that repositioning can be accomplished through the paratexts as well. The participants of a narrative can be repositioned in time, in social space, or political space through introductions, prefaces, footnotes, cover designs, blurbs and other paratexts. However, Baker states that most of the repositioning in translation, and almost all

of it in interpretation, happens within a text or utterance. She claims that "almost any textual feature can be renegotiated at the local or global level to reconfigure the relationship between participants within and around the source narrative". An example of this Baker provides is Mustapha Safouan's 1998 translation of *Othello* to Arabic. He has chosen to use 'amiyya, the Egyptian vernacular of Arabic, in his translation including using it in the translator's introduction. This places both the translator and the audience in the same social and political space and can make the author more approachable. Safouan wanted millions of Egyptians to be able to read Shakespeare in the kind of language they really speak and in so doing he also questions the existence of a homogenous Arab identity.

4 REFRAMING FINNISH ONLINE NEWS ON TERRORISM

In this section the analysis based on the chosen material is presented and explained. The analysis is divided into four sections, which cover reframing through spatiality, selective appropriation, labeling, and repositioning. The following list contains the headlines of the translated news articles which were analyzed and the publisher in the parenthesis. HS stands for *Helsingin Sanomat*, IL for *Iltalehti*, IS for *Ilta-Sanomat*, MTV for *MTV Uutiset*, and YLE for *Yle Uutiset*. A backtranslation of the headline by me is provided in square parentheses. The translations are presented in the order of publication:

- Article 1:** Kenian terroriuhan pelätään kasvavan (HS)
[Terror threat feared increasing in Kenya]
- Article 2:** Isku yliopistoon tappoi ainakin 147 Keniassa (HS)
[University attack killed at least 147]
- Article 3:** Verilöyly jätti jälkeensä 147 ruumista – Opiskelijat heräsivät pahimpaan painajaiseen (IL)
[Bloodbath ends with 147 bodies – Students awoke to a worst nightmare]
- Article 4:** Kenia julisti ulkonaliikkumiskiellon koillisosaan – omaisia saapuu tunnistamaan verilöylyn uhreja (HS)
[Kenya orders curfew in northeastern parts – relations arrive to identify victims of the bloodbath]
- Article 5:** BBC Kenian terroriteosta: Ampujat valitsivat kohteiksi kristittyjä (IS)
[BBC on Kenyan terrorism attack: Shooters targeted Christians]
- Article 6:** Keniassa kiihtyy arvostelu yliopiston turvatoimista (MTV)
[Increasing criticism about university security in Kenya]
- Article 7:** Kenian verisessä yliopistoiskussa kuoli 147 – useita ihmisiä yhä kateissa (HS) [147 dead in a bloody university attack in Kenya – several people still missing]
- Article 8:** Viisi pidätetty epäiltyinä yhteyksistä Kenian yliopistoiskuun (HS)
[Five arrested with suspected connection to university attack in Kenya]
- Article 9:** Nainen piilotteli kaksi päivää kaapissa Kenian verilöylyä (MTV)
[Woman hid from the Kenyan bloodbath in a closet for two days]
- Article 10:** Kenialaisesta yliopistosta löytyi kaksi päivää piilotellut nuori – Al Shabaab uhkaa uusilla iskuilla (YLE)
[Youth found in Kenyan university after two days of hiding – Al Shabaab threatens new attacks]
- Article 11:** Keniassa arvostellaan viranomaisia: ”Hutilointi melkein rikollista”(MTV)
[Kenyan critical of officials:”Negligence almost criminal”]
- Article 12:** Kenian massamurha: toimittajat ehtivät paikalle ennen erikoisjoukkoja (IL) [Kenyan massacre: reporters at the scene before Special Forces]

- Article 13:** Piileskeli kaksi vuorokautta kaapissa – Cynthia selvisi silmittömästä verilöylystä (IL)
[Two days hidden in a closet – Cynthia survived a senseless bloodbath]
- Article 14:** Kenian hallitus nimesi yliopisto-iskun (sic) suunnittelijan – lupasi 200 000 euron palkkion (IS)
[Kenyan government names mastermind behind university attack promised a reward of 200 000 euros]
- Article 15:** Kenian terrori-iskuun osallistui ”loistava” oikeustieteen kasvatti (HS)
[”Brilliant” law school graduate involved in Kenyan terrorist attack]
- Article 16:** Kenia pommitti al-Shabaabin leirejä Somaliassa (HS)
[Kenya bombed al-Shabaab camps in Somalia]
- Article 17:** Kenian poliisi vitkasteli yliopistoiskussa (YLE)
[Kenyan police procrastinated in the university attack]
- Article 18:** Tätä miestä epäillään Kenian yliopiston terrori-iskusta (IS)
[This man is suspected of the Kenyan university attack]
- Article 19:** Sata loukkaantui, kun räjähdys vauhkoonnutti opiskelijat Keniassa (YLE)
[Hundred injured as explosion panics students in Kenya]
- Article 20:** Yksi opiskelija kuoli ja 150 loukkaantui muuntajan räjähdysten aiheuttamassa paniikissa Keniassa (HS)
[One student dead and 150 injured in an electrical transformer blast]

The following **Table 1**. contains the number of occurrences of the use of each of Baker’s four reframing strategies in each translation. The articles are referred to by the numbers (and the publisher) provided in the list above. The second column contains the number of English language sources the translation had. The following four columns display the instances that contributed to the reframing through the categories of spatiality, selective appropriation, labeling, and repositioning respectively. The first category, spatiality, is presented with either a dash (-), for no reframing through spatiality, or an X, meaning that the news item has been reframed through spatiality. In the other categories the instances contributing to the reframing are presented numerically. Additionally, the table also includes a final column which shows whether the headline of the translated article was changed as part of the reframing. This was included because of the special interest paid in this thesis to the question regarding the importance of the headline in reframing. Some of the headline changes are discussed in depth on the following analysis as they were significant part of the reframing of several of the reframed articles. If there are several

sources, the headline has not been considered changed if one of the source articles has a corresponding headline.

Table 1. Number of source texts, occurrences of reframing strategies, and headline changes

Article	Sources	Spatiality	Selective Ap.	Labeling	Repositioning	Headline Changed
1. HS	1	-	0	0	0	X
2. HS	3	-	2	0	0	-
3. IL	1	X	7	3	2	X
4. HS	2	-	0	0	0	X
5. IS	1	-	0	0	2	X
6. MTV	2	-	1	5	3	X
7. HS	4	-	2	0	0	X
8. HS	5	-	0	0	0	-
9. MTV	2	-	0	0	0	-
10. YLE	3	-	0	1	2	-
11. MTV	1	-	2	0	1	X
12. IL	1	-	2	0	1	X
13. IL	2	X	1	6	0	X
14. IS	1	-	3	0	0	-
15. HS	3	-	0	0	1	X
16. HS	1	-	2	0	1	X
17. YLE	1	X	3	3	3	X
18. IS	3	-	1	1	0	-
19. YLE	2	-	1	2	0	X
20. HS	2	-	4	0	0	-

Due to the nature of this research being an analysis of the ideology of individual news translators, this limited empirical data does not lend itself to a general conclusion about framing in Finnish online news coverage. It does support the general notion that nearly all news translation contains framing at least to some extent, but the tables cannot be viewed separately from the written analysis, as the numbers may be misleading in some cases. Both the previous **Table 1.** and the following **Table 2.** are rough categorizations aimed to provide an easily readable overview of the results of the analyzed material. The nature of the study of ideology causes difficulty in collecting reliable empirical data. Thus the highest number of the occurrences of reframing in **Table 1.** does not automatically mean that the article in question was reframed most drastically as even one occurrence of reframing can change the text very significantly. The table simply helps to illustrate how the different strategies were utilized in the reframing process of those articles which were reframed, and the severity of the reframing is discussed in the written analysis. Only in four of the twenty analyzed articles it could be said that there was no reframing of any kind.

The second aim of the study was to find out the reasons for the reframing and those are illustrated in the following **Table 2.** The first column provides the article in question, the second shows whether it was reframed for the Finnish audience due to cultural differences and the third one whether it was reframed due to the house style of the publication the translation was published in. The fourth and fifth columns show whether the article was reframed to be less or more critical of the Kenyan authorities respectively. As mentioned it is important to note that the **Table 2.** is also not sufficient data on its own as to the severity of the reframing. For example Article 17 seems to contain the most reframing as it has been reframed for three different reasons, but the number of reasons it was reframed for does not correlate with the severity of the reframing. The following written analysis must be considered alongside the table. The Xs again signify that there was reframing for that reason, while the dashes mean that there was not reframing for that reason in the article in question.

Table 2. Reasons for the reframing

Article	Finnish Audience	House Style	Less Critical	More Critical
1. HS	-	-	-	-
2. HS	-	-	X	-
3. IL	X	X	-	-
4. HS	-	-	-	-
5. IS	-	X	-	-
6. MTV	X	-	X	-
7. HS	X	-	-	-
8. HS	-	-	-	-
9. MTV	-	-	-	-
10. YLE	-	-	X	-
11. MTV	-	-	-	X
12. IL	-	-	-	X
13. IL	-	X	-	-
14. IS	X	-	-	X
15. HS	X	-	-	-
16. HS	X	-	X	-
17. YLE	X	X	-	X
18. IS	-	-	X	-
19. YLE	X	-	X	-
20. HS	X	-	X	-

As mentioned previously, only in the case of four of the twenty analyzed articles it could be said that they were not reframed at all. Of the sixteen articles which were reframed, nine were reframed for the Finnish audience and four were reframed due to the different house style of the new publication. Seven of the sixteen reframed articles were reframed as less critical while four were reframed as more critical of the Kenyan authorities. This is discussed further in the following written analysis.

In the following analysis the articles are referred to by the numbers assigned to them in **Table 1**. instead of the names of the articles as the names tend to be quite long. The translated articles will be referred to as Article 1, Article 2, and so on, in the following analysis. The examples given in the analysis contain a quote from the source article(s) with the name of the publisher of that article in parenthesis at the end. This/these are followed by a corresponding quote from the translated article in Finnish, also with the name of the publisher in parentheses, and lastly a back translation of the Finnish translation into English by me in square parentheses.

4.1 Reframing Through Spatiality

Spatiality is an aspect of temporality, which means what order the events of a narrative get told and what meanings that carries. Events always have to have some type of a sequential order – it does not need to be a chronological order – for them to form a meaningful narrative. (Baker 2006: 50-51) In the case of news translation, spatiality refers to the spatial conventions of the news article. The Western culture's convention for news writing dictates that news articles should be written using the inverted pyramid structure which means that the most important information should be presented to the readers first. Usually this means that the chronological order of events needs to be ignored as the ending of the narrative needs to be told immediately. Three of the analyzed articles have been reframed through spatiality, two of which are discussed in this section.

Article 3, which was published by *Iltalehti*, has been reframed through spatiality to have a more dramatic narrative arc. The source article follows the Western news convention of inverted pyramid structure, meaning that the most important information comes first after which the story is elaborated further with more details and relevant background information, and possibly additional witness statements and expert opinions, etc. The translated article has been reframed and does not follow the inverted pyramid structure. As can be seen in the following example, the first sentence of the article does provide the main point of the article (though accompanied with a typo and an incorrect number of deaths):

- (1) Kenian koillisosassa sijaitsevaan [sic] Garissan yliopiston kampusalueella todistettiin torstaina silmitöntä verilöylyä, joka vei hengen ainakin 137 [sic] ihmiseltä. (Iltalehti)

[On a Garissa university campus in northeastern Kenya, there was a senseless bloodbath on Thursday which claimed the lives of 137 people.]

However, the following paragraphs tell the story in chronological order, not in the order of importance. The article has been reframed through the change in the spatial convention of Western news reporting. The translation presents the narrative in a way which is more conventional for fictional narratives as the recounting of the events begins with the following example:

- (2) New York Timesin mukaan synkät tapahtumat saivat alkunsa varhain torstaiaamun sarastaessa. (Iltalehti)

[According to The New York Times the grim events began at the crack of dawn on Thursday.]

The source text begins with a brief summary of events, followed by a significant amount of background information, and only then is this information, about the attack beginning on Thursday morning, given in the ninth paragraph. The translation reads like a story with a clear beginning, middle and end and not like a traditional news item. Like the example

above shows in the translation the news story starts with a sentence that could be the beginning of a novel disregarding the “according to The New York Times” part. The translation describes the events in the order they happened and includes a witness statement in the beginning of the story, which only appears in the 14th paragraph of the source text. This reframing is clearly done on purpose in order to give the story as dramatic a narrative arc as possible in compliance with the house style of the publication. *The New York Times* is a well respected news paper which publishes more analytical news articles than *Ilta* which is a yellow press publication that leans toward entertainment.

Article 17 has also been reframed through spatiality. The demands of the protesting students is considered the most important information in the translation, and thus put in the beginning of the translated article. However, in the source text that information is only found at the very end of the article which is well over thousand words long. The translation reframes the article to reflect what the Finnish journalist considered to be the most important information for the new audience, and the most effective order to present that information in. Also in the source text the arrival of the Recce Squad, which is the police department’s paramilitary tactical unit founded to deal with terrorist attacks, is said to have taken “almost 12 hours”. In the translated article however, it is definitively stated immediately in the lead that it took 12 hours for the Recce Squad to even make it to the scene. It contributes to the reframing which is more critical of the Kenyan authorities.

4.2 Reframing Through Selective Appropriation

Selective appropriation refers to the manipulation done by additions or omissions which reframe the narrative in translation. Things can be added to the narrative to put the focus on certain aspects of the narrative, or omissions can be made to suppress certain things (Baker 2006: 114). Some of the articles were reframed for the Finnish audience through selective appropriation. Unsurprisingly the kind of selective appropriation found in the articles that

were studied was most often omission as all of the articles have been shortened considerably. There are few cases of addition, such as the addition of information which arose after the publication of the source article. Only two cases of addition were considered relevant regarding the study of reframing in translation. This section deals with the cases of reframing through omission and addition which could be found in the material. There are omissions in all of the translated articles used as material in this study. The fact that Kenya is not in near proximity to Finland decreases the newsworthiness of events happening there in the Finnish news culture, and thus increases the likelihood of the articles about said events being significantly shortened by omissions in the transediting process. However, in thirteen of the sixteen reframed articles, omissions played a part in the reframing.

In Article 3 the omission is definitely not of simple background information, but something which reframes the article considerably. Article 3 originates from the Finnish news agency *STT*. This particular section of the article presented in example 3 will also be used as an example of reframing through labeling and reframing through repositioning in the following sections. The passage contains three different kinds of reframing in just a few sentences, so it is an excellent illustration of how much texts can be changed in translation through different reframing strategies, even though the information content is virtually the same. In the case of selective appropriation however, the article has been reframed through omissions. In the following example the omitted information is of expert testimony which explains the government's actions and explicitly points out the government's failure in the source text. Without this explanation the narrative is reframed in the translation as one that is favorable for the Kenyan government:

- (3) Within hours of the attack, Kenya put up a 20 million shillings (\$215,000) reward for the arrest of Mohamed Mohamud, a former Garissa teacher labeled "Most Wanted" in a government poster and linked by Kenyan media to two separate al Shabaab attacks in the neighboring Mandera region last year. The government also imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew on Garissa, Mandera and two other crime-ridden regions near the porous border with Somalia. **However, diplomats and analysts say the move effectively concedes the government cannot control those areas, widely seen as**

Kenya's soft underbelly. As such, al Shabaab is likely to continue its strategy of attacking "low risk and high reward" soft targets in marginalized parts of the country, according to Ahmed Salim, a senior associate at Teneo Intelligence. (Reuters)

Hyökkäyksen takia viranomaiset ovat määränneet pimeän ajan ulkonaliikkumiskiellon Garissaan ja kahdelle muulle alueelle Somalian rajan lähellä. Hallitus on myös luvannut 20 miljoonan shillingin (noin 200000 euron) palkkion Mohamed Mohamudista, garissalaisesta opettajasta, joka on Kenian mediassa liitetty aikaisempiin al-Shabaabin hyökkäyksiin alueella. (MTV Uutiset)

[Due to the attack the authorities have ordered a nighttime curfew to Garissa and two other regions near the border of Somalia. The government has also promised a 20 million shilling (about 200,000 Euros) reward for Mohamed Mohamud, a teacher from Garissa, who has been linked in the Kenyan media to previous attacks by Al Shabaab in the area.]

The way the curfew and the reward for Mohamed Mohamud are presented in the translation makes it seem like the curfew is also a useful action on the part of the Kenyan government instead of just the ineffective gesture that the source narrative shows it to be. This omission is very significant. The translation is reframed to convey the narrative that the Kenyan government would want, instead of giving the readers all the relevant information. This reframing is especially far reaching as the translation originates from the *STT* news agency that many of the Finnish news sources subscribe to. This means that the potential audience for this reframed news item is considerably larger than if it was only the translation of one news source.

Similarly, in Article 18 the criticism of the Kenyan government has been omitted as illustrated by the following fourth example in which the analysis of the possible reason for the increase of terrorist attacks:

- (4) Dulyadeyn is rumoured to have built a large network of al-Shabaab sympathizers and operatives in his home country, especially in Dadaab, the world's biggest refugee camp. **A heavy-handed approach by Kenyan security forces in places such as Garissa is said to fuel anger and alienation that makes it easier for al-Shabaab to find recruits. Peter**

Aling’o, a senior researcher at the Institute of Security Studies in Nairobi, said: “Kenya should also look at this as an internal problem.”
(The Guardian)

Mohamudin kerrotaan rakentaneen terroristiverkostojaan erityisesti siellä, missä ihmiset ovat epätoivoisimpia ja menettäneet kaiken: Dabaabin pakolaisleirillä, johon on paennut lähes puoli miljoonaa somalialaista. (Ilta-Sanomat)

[Mohamud is told to have build his terrorist network especially where people are the most desperate and have lost everything: in the Dabaab refugee camp where almost half a million Somalians have escaped to.]

The translated article is reframed in such a way that it only contains information about Mohamed Mohamud, while leaving out the analysis of what leads to the situation where more and more people are recruited to be part of Al Shabaab in Kenya and Somalia. While it could be argued that the omission is due to the yellow press house style of *Ilta-Sanomat*, which does tend to focus on what happened and omit analysis of why it happened, it is still the type of omission which reframes the article as less critical of the authorities.

The source article for Article 14 is by *CNN* and has a section on the side at the beginning of the article with bullet points called “Story highlights”. The first of the bullet points reads as follows: “Government names Abdirahim Abdullahi as one attacker; his father is a government official”. Clearly this information is considered a very important part of the source article; however it has been omitted entirely from the translation:

- (5) Abdullahi’s father, Abdullahi Daqare, **a government chief in Mandera in northern Kenya**, told CNN that his son was missing. (CNN)

Abdullahin isä on kertonut CNN:lle poikansa olevan kateissa [...]. (Ilta-Sanomat)

[Abdullahi’s father has told CNN that his son is missing...]

The fact that his father is a government official is irrelevant from the point of view of the crimes he may have committed, but in the light of the usual practice of the yellow press it is somewhat surprising that a journalist working for *Ilta-Sanomat* did not seize the

opportunity to write the article using more a dramatic news angle by including the fact that one of the terrorists was a son of a government chief. The omission helped to reframe the article as less critical of the Kenyan government.

Article 17 has been reframed through omissions due to the different house style of the new publication as illustrated by the following examples 6 and 7. Finnish journalists do not usually place high news value on eye-witness testimony. It is considered more the domain of the yellow press which sometimes constructs their stories entirely based on eye-witness reports in order to create the most dramatic frame possible. The most reputable news sources in Finland, like *Yle Uutiset*, often go to the other extreme and cut out most of the eye-witness testimony. It tends to reframe the narrative as less emotional and more fact-based and legitimate:

- (6) Questions have arisen that the delayed arrival of the police could have contributed to the high death toll **as the country confronts the threat from the Islamic extremists from the Somalia-based al-Shabaab militant group.** During a demonstration by about 250 students, **they passed a truck carrying security forces with red berets and shouted at the troops: “Where were you?” The troops did not respond. The students also banged on the sides of a police vehicle and converged briefly outside Kenyan police headquarters, again demanding: “Where were you?”** (Associated Press)

Pääkaupunki Nairobissa järjestetyssä mielenosoituksessa sadat opiskelijat vaativat vastausta siihen, olisiko kuolonuhreja ollut vähemmän, mikäli poliisi olisi toiminut nopeammin. (Yle Uutiset)

[In a demonstration organized in the capital, Nairobi, hundreds of students demanded to know if there would have been less victims if the police had acted faster.]

The fact that this tendency to not include most of the eye-witness testimony might make the article harder to relate to should also be taken into consideration, but online news are produced with a tight schedule and all news publications have their own house style which the reporters must follow. In the above example, the scared and frustrated students are

described to have been demanding answers from the security forces as to why they were not there to help the victims even though that is exactly what they were supposed to do, and receiving no answer. In the translation this has been omitted and only the minimum is translated to explain the situation. The article is reframed as much less emotional due to the different house styles of the two publications.

At the end of the source article, the list of the demands of students was included. In this case also there are significant omissions in the translation. The following example 7 illustrates how the interview of one of the protesting students, Ricky Thomas Nyakach, who informed the Associated Press of the students' demands, was omitted from the translation entirely:

- (7) **Ricky Thomas Nyakach, a 22-year-old student who plans to study law this year, said Kenya is struggling with a “badly flawed security system” in which security forces have poor equipment as well as low morale because of inadequate salaries. “I feel vulnerable as a Kenyan citizen,” he said. Wearing a suit and tie, Nyakach stood in a park before the rally and said student demands include “a total overhaul” of Kenya’s security apparatus, the construction of a memorial to honor those killed in the Garissa attack, and the payment of funeral expenses and about \$22,000 in compensation to families of the victims. The protesters presented the petition to the office of President Uhuru Kenyatta, but some were skeptical whether they could achieve meaningful change.** (Associated Press)

Opiskelijat veivät presidentti Uhuru Kenyattan toimistoon listan vaatimuksistaan, muun muassa maan turvallisuuskoneiston uudistamisesta, iskun uhreille pystytettävästä muistomerkistä ja vanhingonkorvauksista heidän omaisilleen. (Yle Uutiset)

[The students took a list of their demands to the office of President Uhuru Kenyatta that included among other things, a demand for a renewal of the country’s security apparatus, a memorial built for the victims of the attack, and compensation for their families.]

As mentioned before, this kind of omission might make the nameless and faceless “students” and what they are going through harder to relate to, but the dictates of house style and limited time for the transediting process tend to mean that this type of content gets

omitted. In the interview Ricky Thomas Nyakach also pointed out some of the reasons why the attack could happen in the first place that were also omitted from the translation. While the demands of house style and time need to be respected, it must be said that Nyakach's point about the inadequate salaries and poor equipment of the security forces could have been included to show the reader of the translation why a lot of people in Kenya are so frustrated, instead of just telling the reader they are.

Several of the articles were reframed for a Finnish audience through omissions by omitting the references to the U.S. Article 16 is one of them as in the source it is clear that Odinga is basing his argument on how the U.S. has handled their military operations in Africa, but in the translation this information is not given as evident in the following example:

- (8) Opposition leader Raila Odinga, who was prime minister when Kenya sent troops into Somalia in 2011 to battle al Shabaab, said the government should start thinking about pulling out, **just as United States withdrew troops after 18 soldiers were killed in the 1993 Black Hawk Down incident in Mogadishu. "The U.S. used to have many soldiers in Somalia, but it recalled them. Kenya should also remove its military officers from Somalia," Odinga said on Sunday [...]** (Reuters)

Kenialainen oppositiojohtaja Raila Odinga haluaa, että hallitus miettisi joukkojensa vetämistä pois Somaliasta, kertoi kenialaislehti Standard maanantaina. Odinga oli pääministeri kun Kenia lähti mukaan operaatioon vuonna 2011. (Helsingin Sanomat)

[Kenyan opposition leader Raila Odinga wants the government to think about pulling their troops out of Somalia, the Kenyan newspaper Standard reported on Monday. Odinga was the prime minister when Kenya joined the operation in 2011.]

The translation only includes that Raila Odinga wishes for the Kenyan troops to be withdrawn from Kenya. This is again is the kind of reframing which is generally considered harmless, as it merely leaves out information which is not important for the understanding of Odinga's position, it is not that relevant to a Finnish audience. The translation simply

reframes the narrative to a Finnish cultural context where the actions of the U.S. are not considered quite as defining and worth imitating.

However, the narrative of Article 16 has also been reframed to support the preferred position of the Kenyan authorities. Reframing articles for the Finnish audience can be considered perfectly acceptable, but this has much more significant consequences. For some reason the opposing view - what Al Shabaab claims - has been omitted entirely as can be seen in the following example 9, which again reframes the narrative in a way which suggest the Kenyan government to be the “winners” of the situation:

- (9) The Kenyan air force has destroyed two al Shabaab camps in Somalia, it said on Monday, in the first major military response since the Islamist group massacred students at a Kenyan university last week. **Al Shabaab denied the camps were hit, saying the air force bombs fell on farmland.** (Reuters)

Kenian ilmavoimien lentokoneet pommittivat kahta terroristijärjestö al-Shabaabin leiriä Somaliassa sunnuntaina, kertoivat sotilaslähteet uutistoimisto Reutersin mukaan. (Helsingin Sanomat)

[Military sources say that Kenyan air force planes have bombed two camps of the terrorist organization al-Shabaab, according to news organization Reuters.]

In the translation only the viewpoint of the Kenyan authorities gets told, and they claimed to have bombed two Al Shabaab camps, but the denial from the terrorist organization is omitted from the Finnish translation. This is unusual because in this situation both have a motive for lying about the events. The terrorist could naturally be lying, as they would not want it known that they have lost camps and troops, but the Kenyan government has an equally good reason for not telling the truth, as it wants to be seen in the eyes of the Kenyan people as doing something concrete in order to stop the terrorists, as well as having the financial motive to convince the people from all over the world who might come to Kenya as tourists that it is safe there. This kind of reframing of the narrative of the officials as more legitimate by ignoring inclusiveness and bringing out the different sides of an

argument is significant, especially from a journalist working for one of the most respected news publications in Finland. Failing to provide the other side of the story entirely is actually considered a violation of journalists' ethics.

Similarly, the narrative that goes against the interests of the Kenyan government has also been reframed in Article 20. It has also been reframed for the Finnish audience, but the following example 10 again shows the Kenyan government's actions framed in a negative light in the source text, and then reframed in a neutral light in the translation:

- (10) Kenya has [asked] the U.N. refugee agency to repatriate hundreds of thousands of Somali refugees by July, **a move criticized by the U.N. refugee agency and right groups. "Instead of making refugees scapegoats, Kenya – which is legally obliged to protect them until they can go home safely – should find and prosecute those responsible for the Garissa massacre," said Leslie Lefkow, Human Rights Watch's Africa deputy director.** Somali refugees number around 450,000, most of them at Dadaab, **the world's largest refugee camp, the UNHCR said. The Kenya government previously sought the closure of Dadaab after Shebab's attack on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi in which at least 67 people dead [sic], saying the camp was a breeding ground for Islamist militants.** (Agence France Presse)

Kenian hallitus kertoi pyytäneensä YK:n pakolaisjärjestöä UNHCR:ää siirtämään heinäkuuhun mennessä satojatuhansia somalialaisia Dadaabin pakolaisleiriltä Keniasta takaisin kotimaahansa. (Helsingin Sanomat)

[The Kenyan government said they have asked the U.N. refugee agency UNHCR to move hundreds of thousands of Somalians by July from the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya back to their homeland.]

The translation has been abbreviated significantly and the criticism of the Kenyan government has been omitted. The omission of the expert opinion of Leslie Lefkow, who is a director in the Human Rights Watch, reframes the narrative as more neutral. This is problematical because the readers of the translation do not get the explanation of what this behavior from the Kenyan government really signifies and that the Human Rights Watch has expressed concern over the Somali refugees' situation in Kenya.

Both Article 20 as well as Article 19 were published over a week after the terrorist attack in Garissa and told of an accidental explosion on a University of Nairobi campus that led to one death as well as over hundred injured students. Both articles have been significantly shortened by omissions. They both contain some selective appropriation, which apart from the previous example, most of it most likely stems from space constraints and the desire to convey things briefly. Unfortunately it does affect the impressions of the reader and can thus be counted as reframing the narrative. Both of the articles contain less eye-witness testimony and almost all the quotes from the different officials have also been omitted, which is a different news angle than the one in the source text. As discussed before the omitting of eye-witness statements makes the story harder to relate to. The direct quotes from the students and officials explaining what happened and how scary the situation was in light of what had happened just a little over a week ago in Garissa, framed the source articles in an emotional way which impresses on the reader the real fear of the students:

- (11) “I could see students jumping and one of them landed on his head,” said third-year student Felix Muriuki. Others said there were three loud blasts, plunging the dormitory into darkness, which heightened the panic among the students. “We thought it was another al Shabaab attack”, said Eddy Capella, a first-year student. (Reuters)
- (12) Student Spencer Kimani said he jumped out of a window, but only sustained minor injuries. “The blast was so loud I had to jump out of bed and run”, he said. (Agence France Presse)

The references to the U.S. have also been removed from Article 20. Information which would be mainly irrelevant for the Finnish audience has been omitted. While the Finnish audience would all know what 9/11 refers to, many Finns would not have knowledge of how exactly the U.S. has changed after 9/11 so that comparison would be lost on many readers. As the articles have to be abbreviated considerably, it is natural to not include something like the following example:

- (13) Ruto [Kenyan Vice President] had said in a speech Saturday that the Garissa attacks would be a watershed for Kenya. “The way America changed after 9/11 is the way Kenya will change after Garissa”, Ruto said. (Agence France Presse)

The way the article has been shortened significantly and all quotes bar one have been omitted from the translation reframes the article for the Finnish readers. However, this kind of reframing could be argued to be done intentionally for the sake of clarity.

The New York Times was the publisher of the source article of Article 3, and the reporter for *NYT* frames the events in Kenya in a way that tries to go against the War on Terror narrative. The beginning of the article (where all the most important information always is in a news article) the War on Terror narrative is subtly criticized with references to everything that is being done in order to fight Al Shabaab and pointing out how useless it has been. However, it is not until the end of the article where it is explicitly stated that Kenya’s incursion into Somalia, which was meant to drive Al Shabaab further away, has in actuality only managed to bring them further into Kenya.

Even though the source article does not promote the War on Terror narrative which by and large gets reframed in Finnish reporting, this article was still reframed. First of all Article 3 has been reframed for the Finnish audience by omitting details about the Kenyan President’s reaction to the attack, which was mainly to threaten revenge. These kinds of vows to retaliate to the attacks seem to be generally omitted in Finnish news reporting, with only the actions that are actually undertaken getting reported. Secondly, the reframing also included omitting the very U.S.-centered perspective of *The New York Times* on the events as seen in the following examples numbered 14 to 17:

- (14) [...] the worst terrorist attack [in Kenya] since the 1998 bombing of the United States Embassy [...]
- (15) The violence [sic] Thursday came just days after President Obama announced that he would visit Kenya in July [...]

- (16) [...] in recent months, the American military has killed the group’s leader and other operatives [...]
- (17) [...] but it [the White House] offered no indication of whether the university siege would change Mr. Obama’s travel plans.

All of the above examples from the *The New York Times* article have been omitted from the translation because they do not have enough news value for a Finnish audience. It is not very relevant for Finnish readers whether this attack affects the Kenyan travel plans of the President of the United States, while that is naturally something the U.S. audience would be interested in.

However, most importantly Article 3 has been reframed through omission for the specific audience of *Iltalehti*. The respectable *The New York Times* differs greatly as a news publication from the sensationalist *Iltalehti*. The headline of the article has been changed and the references for Somalia and Kenya have been omitted as well as who is responsible for the “bloodbath”:

- (18) **Somali Militants Kill 147 at Kenyan University** (The New York Times)

Verilöyly jätti jälkeensä 147 ruumista – Opiskelijat heräsivät pahimpaan painajaiseen (Iltalehti)

[Bloodbath ended with 147 bodies – Students awoke to a worst nightmare]

The drastic change in headline very effectively reframes the narrative. The intention was of course to gain as much traffic to the page as possible by piquing people’s curiosity. The translated headline is also more obscure than the source text headline. The headline of the source text clearly states who did what and where, while the translation does not inform the reader who was responsible and where this event happened beyond the fact that “the bloodbath” took place at some place where “students” would be present, meaning some type of a school. The readers need to click the link and go to the webpage of the news item to find out if this was a school shooting perpetrated by one of the students or a more organized act of terrorism and also to find out where it happened as the headline does not

provide this information. This headline contains both kinds of selective appropriation, omission and addition.

It is important to note that the positioning of the headline on the webpage further emphasizes the second part of the headline, which is illustrated in the following **Picture 1**. Thus the first part of the headline which gives the dead count is actually the less important part of the headline as on the webpage it is written in a smaller font than the second part which is what you first see on the page. Also when the page is accessed through a link on another webpage, only the second part of the headline shows up. This addition makes the headline more attention grabbing and emotional than the fact based source text headline. The added part of the headline conveys the fear of waking up suddenly and having to literally run for your life. Only the lead of the article tells the reader that the event took place in Kenya and that “the bloodbath” was due to a terrorist organization: “Shots fired by terrorists woke Kenyan students to a complete nightmare”.

Verilöyly jätti jälkeensä 147 ruumista - Opiskelijat heräsivät pahimpaan painajaiseen

Perjantai 3.4.2015 klo 06.08   

**Terroristien ampumat laukaukset herättivät
kenialaisopiskelijat täyteen painajaiseen.**

Picture 1. A screenshot of the headline and lead of Article 3

The article has been reframed for a different audience by omitting several paragraphs worth of background information on the situation in Kenya in regards to terrorism and its effects

on the Kenyan tourist industry, religious strife, new Kenyan security policies, as well as human rights concerns, as illustrated by the following examples numbered 19 and 20:

- (19) Kenya's tourist industry, one of the pillars of its economy, has been badly damaged by the terrorist attacks, and the bloodshed on Thursday is sure to make things worse. There are also fears that the Shabab's relentless emphasis on singling out Christians could inflame religious strife [...] (The New York Times)
- (20) President Uhuru Kenyatta vowed to crack down on terrorists, and on Thursday, he abruptly ordered 10,000 police recruits to report to duty despite a court order saying the recruits may have been selected through corrupt practices. Human rights observers have said that Mr. Kenyatta is trying to consolidate control and using fear of terrorism to quash civil rights. (The New York Times)

This is pertinent background information for the readers to have in order to for them to get an actual picture of current events in Kenya. However, the yellow press house style of *Iltalahti* demands that all this type of information is omitted and sensationalism and entertainment is fronted. Thus the translation is reframed to present only the specific events in Garissa on the day of the attack and nothing else. The article has been limited severely to only present the survivor testimony for the shock value:

- (21) Augustine Alanga, 21, an economics student, said he had been asleep in his dormitory when the shooting began. He said he bolted from his room without stopping to put on his shoes, cutting his feet as he sprinted barefoot across the campus and into a nearby forest. "When I looked back, I saw them", Mr. Alanga recalled. "There were five or six of them. They were masked. And they were shooting live rounds." (The New York Times)

Ammuskelu herätti yliopiston opiskelijoita, joiden joukossa oli 21-vuotias Augustine Alanga. Hän ryntäsi paniikissa ulos huoneestaan ja juoksi paljoin jaloin kampusalueen läpi turvaan läheiseen metsikköön. - Kun katsoin taakseni, näin heidät. Heitä oli viisi tai kuusi. He olivat naamioituneet. Ja he ampuivat kovilla panoksilla, Alanga kertasi painajaismaisia tapahtumia New York Timesin mukaan. (Iltalehti)

[The shooting woke up the university students, among whom was the 21-year-old Augustine Alanga. He ran barefoot out of his room in a blind panic into a nearby forest. – When I looked back, I saw them. There were five or six of them. They were masked. And they fired heavy rounds, Alanga recalls the nightmarish events according to The New York Times.]

The survivor testimony is less important in the source text so it comes much later than in the translation, in accordance with the inverted pyramid structure. It is clear in this case that the different house style is responsible for most of the information on the broader situation in Kenya having been omitted for the new target audience.

The following example 22 illustrates how news stories can get reframed as new information comes in whether or not they are translations. Article 6 had already been translated based on the original source texts, and it was not later updated as the story progressed, nor was there another article published later regarding this development. This is most likely due to the fact Kenya is too far removed from Finland to be considered have the kind of newsworthiness that the stories would get updated like they do by the global agencies. The following example contains the headlines of the news items, and the Reuters 1 and Reuters 2 refer to the original text and the updated version respectively:

(22) Somali militants vow to turn Kenyan cities “red with blood” (Reuters 1)

Kenyatta says campus attackers ‘embedded’ in Kenya’s Muslim community (Reuters 2)

Kenya: Extremists vow more attacks; **president responds** (AP)

Kenya vows retaliation against Shebab after university massacre (AFP)

Kenialaisesta yliopistosta löytyi kaksi päivää piilotellut nuori – Al Shabaab uhkaa uusilla iskuilla (Yle Uutiset)

[A youth found in Kenyan university after two days of hiding – Al Shabaab threatens new attacks]

The original article by *Reuters* with the headline labeled Reuters 1 could still be found online, but the original *AP* and *AFP* titles were unavailable. The headline labeled Reuters 2 gives the headline of the article after the article was updated and reframed in the process. As the translated text has not been updated with the source texts after the Kenyan president gave his speech, it seemingly contains major omissions and a complete reframing as the president is not even mentioned in the translation. However, in this case it was actually the source texts in which the news angle – the frame – was changed after to the new information came in. Placing such importance on the president’s response of vowing revenge reframes the source texts in a way which reinforces the War on Terror narrative. The Finnish news article was not updated with this information, nor was another article containing the president’s speech published by *Yle Uutiset*.

4.3 Reframing Through Labeling

Labeling is an easy way to reframe a narrative. It refers to changing a word which describes a person, place or event for example, in a way which will cause the reader of the translation to see that person, etc. in a different way than was intended by author of the source text. (Baker 2006: 122-123) In several cases the labels that the translator has chosen to use were considerably more sedate and neutral, but there were also a few occasions where the Finnish news translator has done the opposite.

Article 6 is one of the articles which have been reframed through labeling and while it was published by *MTV Uutiset* it originates from the *STT* news agency. This is one of the examples of reframing in order to make the translated text more neutral. This passage was already used as an example in the previous section on selective appropriation and it will also be presented in the following section on repositioning as it contains all three simultaneously. The labeling in this article helps reframe the source text’s narrative which is critical toward the Kenyan government into a narrative that is more favorable toward it.

There are two source articles for this Finnish article, one by *Agence France Presse* and the other by *Reuters*. The alleged perpetrator Mohamed Mohamud, as well as the Kenyan regions in question, have been labeled differently in the translation than in the *Reuters* article:

- (23) Within hours of the attack, Kenya put up a 20 million shillings (\$215,000) reward for the arrest of **Mohamed Mohamud, a former Garissa teacher labeled “Most Wanted” in a government poster** and linked by Kenyan media to two separate al Shabaab attacks in the neighboring Mandera region last year. The government also imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew on Garissa, Mandera and two other **crime-ridden regions near the porous border** with Somalia. (Reuters)

Hyökkäyksen takia viranomaiset ovat määränneet pimeän ajan ulkonaliikkumiskiellon Garissaan ja **kahdelle muulle alueelle Somalian rajan lähellä**. Hallitus on myös luvannut 20 miljoonan shillingin (noin 200000 euron) palkkion **Mohamed Mohamudista, garissalaisesta opettajasta**, joka on Kenian mediassa liitetty aikaisempiin al-Shabaabin hyökkäyksiin alueella. (MTV Uutiset)

[Due to the attack the authorities have ordered a nighttime curfew to Garissa and **two other regions near the border of Somalia**. The government has also promised a 20 million shilling (about 200,000 Euros) reward for **Mohamed Mohamud, a teacher from Garissa**, who has been linked in the Kenyan media to previous attacks by Al Shabaab in the area.]

The article has been subtly reframed through labeling to make it less critical. The suspect is labeled simply as “a teacher from Garissa” instead of being labeled “a former Garissa teacher labeled ‘Most Wanted’ in a government poster” as in the source text, which gives the impression that he has been planning attacks instead teaching for a while already. The source text emphasizes how dangerous the suspect is by labeling him as someone who is at the top of the list of people who the Kenyan government wants to apprehend. Labeling the suspect in this way lets the readers know that he is considered the most dangerous man in Kenya right now and someone whose previous actions show that the Kenyan government should already have had him in custody.

The above example 23 also includes another sentence from the article which is important in the reframing. The translated sentence has been neutralized by labeling “the crime-ridden regions near the porous border with Somalia” as simply “regions near the border of Somalia”. All value judgments have been removed and the label which was used is as neutral as possible. The reader of the source text is given the impression that the regions in question have significantly higher crime rates than other regions of Kenya and that this is due to the fact that the Somalian border is not effectively guarded by the Kenyan government. The Finnish audience is simply given the information that Al Shabaab has organized attacks in this region previously which effectively neutralizes the tone of the text and changes the frame to one that is less critical of the Kenyan government.

The following example 24 further demonstrates how the article has been reframed to be more neutral. This sentence has been included in the translation from the *AFP* source article:

- (24) **Visiting the scene of the carnage**, Kenyan Interior Minister Joseph Nkaissery vowed his country would not give in to the Shebab, who despite losing territory inside Somalia have stepped up operations in Kenya. (Agence France Presse)

Garissassa vierailut Kenian sisäministeri Joseph Nkaissery vakuutti, ettei Kenia aio taipua terroristien edessä. (MTV Uutiset)

[The Kenyan Interior Minister Joseph Nkaissery **who visited Garissa** vowed that Kenya will not bow to terrorists.]

Garissa, the town where the attack took place, has been labeled very differently in the translation than it was labeled in the source text. The source text labeled Garissa as “the scene of the carnage”, which is a very strong and vivid label, while the translator has again reframed this as neutrally as possible by simply using the label “Garissa”. These examples illustrate how the narrative has been reframed in the Finnish article to be less critical of the Kenyan government.

Labeling has been used a reframing strategy in Article 17 also. In the following example 25 from the article, a passage from the source text has been transedited in the translation and the label “dawdling” has been used to describe the actions of the Kenyan authorities:

- (25) The Kenyan military, which has a barracks in the town of Garissa, was the first to respond with some help from local police, the government has said. The police department’s paramilitary tactical unit, known as **the Recce Squad, was briefed about the attack but put on standby** because the military said it could handle the attack, said **a senior police officer who was involved in Thursday’s actions**. (Associated Press)

Viranomaisten mukaan **kuhnailu** johtui siitä, että paikallista poliisia auttoi ensin armeijan sotilaita, ja sen uskottiin riittävän. (Yle Uutiset)

[According to the **authorities**, the **dawdling** was due to fact that the local police was getting assistance from the military at first, and that was believed to be enough.]

This elaborates the narrative angle about the Kenyan authorities making a mistake and it promotes a narrative about the Kenyan people being justified in their protests. It must be pointed out that there was also a strong label “vitkastella” (to procrastinate) used in the headline of the article. It is a very strong label for *Yle Uutiset* to use. It has a considerable reframing effect when the actions of the police are described as “procrastinating” in the headline and then by another similar label “dawdling” in the body text. The news angle chosen for the translated article is one that is more obviously critical of the Kenyan government than the source text. Example 25 also shows how the source of the information has been changed through labeling. In the source text, the information is credited to one senior police officer involved with the operation. In the translation the information is said to have come from “the authorities”. The reference to “the authorities” as the source instead just one police officer reframes the information as more legitimate than in the source article.

There were also cases where the transeditor has used labeling to reframe the texts in a way that is more dramatic than the source text narrative. For example, in Article 13 the narrative

was reframed to give the most dramatic picture of the event as possible. It tells of one more survivor being found on campus. Cynthia Ceroitich was found hiding in a wardrobe two days after the attack. The article describes what she went through and while in the source articles what happened is labeled as “the attack”, “the assault”, “the massacre” and “the university atrocity” in addition to the following example 26 which describes the killing of the students as “slaughter”:

- (26) [...] the Garissa attack, which occurred Thursday when four **gunmen** entered a campus and **slaughtered** students. The military moved in hours later and the **gunmen** were killed. (Associated Press)

Alkoi **piinaava** odotus **terroristien** edetessä yliopiston opiskelija-asuntolassa huone huoneelta **lahdaten** kristityt opiskelijat **kylmäverisesti** hengiltä. **Verilöyly** kesti tuntikausia ennen kuin Kenian turvallisuusjoukot saivat **massamurhaajat** hengiltä. (Iltalehti)

[A **tormenting** wait began as the **terrorists** moved through the university’s student housing, advancing room by room and **slaughtering** the Christian students **in cold blood**. The **bloodbath** lasted for hours before the Kenyan security forces killed **the mass murderers**.]

The Finnish article was also reframed through spatiality as it was rewritten in a way that puts the events in chronological order instead of using the ‘inverted pyramid’ structure of a news item. However, the labeling choices are even more significant in the construction of the new frame. In the translation the attack has been labeled as “a shooting”, “a bloody university attack” “a bloodbath” as well as the “senseless bloodbath” label in the headline. The terrorists have been labeled as “mass murderers”, like in the example above, or “Islamists militants” and “terrorists”. In the translation Cynthia’s wait is labeled as a “tormenting” one and the terrorists are said to have killed “in cold blood” in addition to labeling the killings as a “slaughter” like in the source text. The article as a whole has been rewritten and reframed in a way that presents the narrative in the most dramatic way possible which is not the intention in the source narrative. However, as in few of the other *Iltalehti* and *Ilta-Sanomat* articles also, the reframing in this one is done for the purpose of

conforming to the yellow press house style of the publication, so while it is a deliberately chosen reframing strategy, it is most likely not one chosen by the transeditor specifically.

4.4 Reframing Through Repositioning

Repositioning is a way to use relationality in reframing a narrative. Repositioning means the way participants of an event or interaction are positioned or position themselves in relation to each other or people outside the event. This includes how the reader is repositioned in relation to the participants and events. (Baker 2006: 132) In this section examples from the analyzed material containing repositioning of the reader or the participants are discussed.

Three different strategies of reframing were used in Article 6 and the reframing through selective appropriation and through labeling in this passage were discussed in the previous sections. In this section the repositioning which was also utilized in said reframing is discussed. In the following example 27 the reader of the translation has been distanced from the events in Kenya through repositioning:

- (27) Within hours of the attack, Kenya put up a **20 million shillings (\$215,000)reward** for the arrest of Mohamed Mohamud, a former Garissa teacher labeled “Most Wanted” in a government poster and linked by Kenyan media to **two separate al Shabaab attacks in the neighboring Mandera region last year**. The government also imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew on **Garissa, Mandera and two other crime-ridden regions near the porous border with Somalia**. (Reuters)

Hyökkäyksen takia viranomaiset ovat määränneet pimeän ajan ulkonaliikkumiskiellon Garissaan **ja kahdelle muulle alueelle Somalian rajan lähellä**. Hallitus on myös luvannut 20 miljoonan shillingin (**noin 200000 euron**) **palkkion** Mohamed Mohamudista, garissalaisesta opettajasta, joka on Kenian mediassa liitetty **aikaisempiin al-Shabaabin hyökkäyksiin alueella**. (MTV Uutiset)

[Due to the attack the authorities have ordered a nighttime curfew to **Garissa and two other regions near the border of Somalia**. The government has also promised a 20 million shilling (**about 200,000 Euros**) **reward** for Mohamed Mohamud, a teacher from Garissa, who has been linked in the Kenyan media to **previous attacks by Al Shabaab in the area.**]

The reader of the translation has been distanced from the violence in Kenya by including less detail about the places where there have been terrorist attacks before. Only the name of the town of Garissa has been retained along with a more vague reference to other places where there have been attacks. The name Mandera does probably not mean much to a Finnish-speaking audience so the new frame for readers does not include it. The translation also only refers to “previous attacks in the area” that Mohamed Mohamud has been linked to, while the source text specifies that there were “two separate Al Shabaab attacks [...] last year”, which again demonstrates the reframing for a new audience who is distanced from the events happening in Kenya by the vague reference. Also, interestingly, in the source text which is published by the British news agency *Reuters*, the amount of the reward money is stated in the shillings used in Kenya and then in parenthesis in U.S. dollars. In this instance the reader of the source text has been positioned in a way that assumes a U.S. based point of view, while the reader of the translation has been repositioned to a European one.

The frame of Article 6 has been changed so that the focus is only on the one event in Garissa. The terrorist organization Al Shabaab has been repositioned in target text as illustrated by the following example 28. The translated news article is specifically about this one terrorist attack on the Garissa university campus, while in both of the source articles the situation in Kenya is discussed more broadly, referencing previous attacks and possible future attacks as well, and including expert analysis on the situation in Kenya in general.

- (28) Al Shabaab says **its recent wave of attacks** are retribution for Kenya sending troops into Somalia to fight alongside other African Union peacekeepers. (Reuters)

Shebab spokesman Sheikh Ali Mohamud Rage said **the killings** were in revenge for the presence of Kenyan troops in Somalia as part of the African Union's force supporting the internationally-backed government in Mogadishu. (Agence France Presse)

Somalialainen ääriryhmä al-Shabaab on ilmoittanut olleensa iskun takana. Al-Shabaabin mukaan **isku** oli kosto siitä, että Kenia on lähettänyt joukkojaan Somaliaan taistelemaan ryhmää vastaan. (MTV Uutiset)

[A Somali extremist group al-Shabaab has announced that they are behind the attack. According to al-Shabaab **the attack** was a revenge for Kenya sending its troops into Somalia to fight against the group.]

The example above is a sentence that in both of the source texts follows a discussion about previous attacks in Kenya by the Al Shabaab. However, in the translation that sentence has been transedited so that it immediately follows the fact that Al Shabaab has taken credit for the Garissa attack. This repositions the Al Shabaab organization in the translation in a way that implies that their revenge-motivated attacks are something new instead of just something that has not had enough news value in the Finnish news context – meaning enough victims – to get news coverage in Finland before.

In Article 2 the narrative has also been repositioned in relation to the reader. This seems to have been done for the purpose of making the article more dramatic and thus more newsworthy in the Finnish news context and especially in the context of the house style of the *Ilta-Sanomat* publication. The new angle of the story is obvious already in the headline:

- (29) Kenya al-Shabaab attack: **Victim's bodies sent to Nairobi** (BBC News)

BBC Kenian terroriteosta: **Ampujat valitsivat kohteiksi kristittyjä** (Ilta-Sanomat)

[BBC about Kenyan terrorist attack: **Shooters targeted Christians**]

The source article is about the bodies of the students who died in the attack being transported to the capital, Nairobi, so that they could be identified and how the Nairobi mortuaries are at full capacity. The source article also features statements from witnesses and their families. The reader has been repositioned in the translation which has been elaborated entirely about one thing mentioned in the source text, which is that the Christians were separated from the Muslims and killed. Probably in order to legitimize the information, the source of that information has also been repositioned:

- (30) They [the gunmen] singled out Christians and shot them, **witnesses said**. (BBC News)

Yleisradioyhtiö BBC:n toimittaja kertoo, että terroristit etsivät uhreikseen kristittyjä. (Ilta-Sanomat)

[**A journalist of the public broadcasting company BBC says** that the terrorists targeted Christians.]

The translator has repositioned the source, making it seem that the *BBC* journalist witnessed this herself during the attack. It would have been more natural to translate the information as it was in the source text; that this information came from the eye witnesses to the attack. The *BBC* journalist was present in Garissa, but most likely she was not in the dorms during the attack to witness this herself. Furthermore, the source text also says that one of the witnesses quoted in the *BBC News* article gave their statement to the *Associated Press* and not the *BBC* journalist.

In Article 10 the participants have also been repositioned to give a different picture of what the source of the information is. This makes the new frame of the article significantly less critical of the Kenyan authorities. The following example number 31 is of a passage explaining how the bodies of the alleged attackers were presented for the crowd in Garissa and what were the motivations for doing that. The *Reuters* and *AFP* articles include a police statement on the subject, while this is not mentioned in the *AP* article. The *AP* article includes an interview with a local spectator.

- (31) Four attackers died at Garissa [...] The authorities put their bullet-ridden, swollen bodies on display on Saturday, **hoping that crowds coming to view the corpses might identify them.** (Reuters)

[...] police in Garissa paraded four corpses of the gunmen piled on top of each other face down in the back of a pick up [sic] truck followed by a huge crowd. **Police insisted the grim display was to see if anyone could identify the assailants,** but some onlookers threw stones at the bodies as they passed, while others jeered and shouted at the dead. (Agence France Presse)

Authorities displayed the bodies of the alleged attackers before about 2,000 people in a large open area in central Garissa. The bodies lay on the bed of a pickup truck that drove slowly past the crowd, which broke in to a run in pursuit. [...] **Spectator Yusuf Mohamed applauded the display, saying authorities wanted to “win the hearts of the people” and clear any doubts that the attackers had been killed.** (Associated Press)

Hyökkääjien ruumiit on tuotu näytteille Garissan keskusaikioille. [...] **Viranomaisten mukaan ruumiiden esittelemisellä halutaan valaa ihmisiin luottamusta ja saada heidät vakuttumaan siitä, että hyökkääjät ovat kuolleet. Viranomaiset toivovat myös, että joku tunnistaa heidät.** (Yle Uutiset)

[The bodies of the attackers have been brought into the central square of Garissa. for public viewing [...] **According to the authorities the bodies are shown in order to gain the people’s trust and to convince them that the attackers are dead. The authorities also hope that someone will recognize them.**]

There are three different source texts for this article and in two of them, the *Reuters* and the *AFP* articles, it is mentioned that the officials said that they hoped that someone would recognize the bodies. In the third source text, which is from *AP*, there is a quote from a spectator who speculates about the intentions of the officials. In the translation the information has been transedited in a way that significantly repositions the participants. The reader of the translation is made to believe that all the reasons given for the showing of the bodies were stated by the authorities, while in actuality the police only stated that the purpose was to see if someone in the crowd could identify the alleged attackers.

The comment about winning the trust of the people back and convincing them that the alleged attackers had really been killed, was only the speculation of one of the spectators interviewed at the scene. That information has been legitimized in the translation by claiming that it came from the Kenyan authorities. The translation is thus reframed to be less critical of the officials than the *AFP* article, which clearly questions the motives of the officials for putting up this gruesome display of dead bodies. The translation is reframed as less critical of the Kenyan authorities than the source text through repositioning and also selective appropriation. Firstly, in the translation the behavior of the authorities is legitimized by the repositioning of the participants, and secondly, by omitting detailed descriptions about the showing of the bodies which makes it seem less objectionable.

Somewhat surprisingly, Article 14 which is by *Ilta-Sanomat* has been reframed in way which casts more doubt on the word of the Kenyan authorities and thus makes it seem more critical of them. As illustrated by the following examples number 32 and 33, the information has been made less legitimate in the translation by repositioning the reader. While in the source text two of Mohamud's siblings are stated to have links to Al Shabaab, in the translation they are told to be suspected of having links to the terrorist organization. The same reframing has been done in example number 35 also, so it not an isolated incident.

- (32) [...] three siblings, **including two with links to Al-Shabaab**, the document says. (CNN)

[...] kolme sisarusta, **joista kahdella epäillään olevan yhteyksiä Al Shabaabin toimintaan**. (Ilta-Sanomat)

[... three siblings, two of whom **are suspected of being connected with Al-Shabaab operations**.]

- (33) Also Sunday, Kenya's Interior Ministry **identified another terrorist involved in the Garissa University College attack** as Abdirahim Abdullahi. (CNN)

Mohamudin lisäksi Kenian sisäministeriö nimesi toisenkin terroristin, Abdirahim Abdullahin, **jonka epäillään olleen mukana Garissan kampukselle tehdyssä iskussa.** (Ilta-Sanomat)

[In addition to Mohamud, Kenyan Interior Ministry named another terrorist called Abdirahim Abdullah, who is **suspected of being involved in the attack on the Garissa campus.**]

This could be a case of unconscious reframing as the translator may have questioned the validity of the “ministry document given to CNN” which is stated to be the source of the information in the source text. Whether unconscious or not, it does reframe the information as less credible in the eyes of the target audience and make the article seem more critical of the Kenyan authorities and their ability actually catch the perpetrators.

Articles 11 and 12 have been reframed by the repositioning of participants and thus shifting the focus of the article. These two articles are identical – excluding the headline – as they both originate from *STT*. Both *Ilta-Sanomat* and *MTV Uutiset* are subscribers to the *STT* news service which means that they can publish the articles translated by the *STT* as they are. The only difference in this case is that both have chosen their own headlines. In both the headline is used to dramatize the events.

As illustrated by the following example 34, the *Ilta-Sanomat* headline says that this supposed special force unit designed for exactly these kinds of situations where swift action is needed to save lives, was in fact so slow that several reporters were present at the scene before they were. *MTV Uutiset* uses the headline to inform that there is criticism toward the Kenyan authorities. While the original article tells of the Kenyan government response to the accusations against them and its headline reflects this, the translation contains the same information, but the headlines are changed to inform the reader that the response was slow in the first place. In the translation it is only in the body of the text that it comes across that the Kenyan officials have denied the accusations.

- (34) **Kenya rejects university massacre “slow response” criticism** (AFP)

Kenian massamurha: **toimittajat ehtivät paikalle ennen erikoisjoukkoja**
(Iltalehti)

[Kenyan mass murder: **reporters at the scene before Special Forces**]

Keniassa arvostellaan viranomaisia: “Hutilointi melkein rikollista” (MTV)

[**Kenians critical of officials: ”Negligence almost criminal”**]

This kind of repositioning in the headline reframes narrative in a way which is more critical of the Kenyan government, as the backlash against them is brought to immediate attention with the titling, while their side of the story only gets told much later in the article in the translation than in the source narrative. These articles are excellent examples of how the change of the headline is sometimes enough to reframe the entire narrative whether that is the intention or not. Choosing the headline is very important as it sets the tone for the entire article as the readers read the rest of the text through the point of view presented in the headline.

The following example 35 is from Article 17 and its source text. The article is also reframed to be more critical of the Kenyan government through repositioning. The participants have been repositioned in the headline and the translated headline conveys more judgment toward the authorities:

- (35) **Kenians angry over delayed police response** to deadly attack (AP)

Kenian poliisi vitkasteli yliopistoiskussa (Yle Uutiset)

[**Kenyan police procrastinated** in the university attack]

Unlike the source text the translation does not focus on the anger of the Kenyans by immediately conveying it in the headline. Instead the participants have been repositioned in the headline in a way that reframes the headline, and thus the whole article, as more critical toward the Kenyan authorities, by focusing entirely on the slowness of the police. The

headline of the source text only conveys that the Kenyan people are unhappy with the actions of their government, but in the headline of the translation the Kenyan police are explicitly accused of being slow. This kind of change in the headline is especially effective reframing, and taking such a critical position when choosing a headline is especially notable in the case of a news agency like *Yle Uutiset* that usually chooses as neutral headlines as possible.

5 CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to examine if and how the original narratives get altered in the translation process by comparing twenty Finnish language online news articles with the corresponding English language source texts. All of the four possible strategies of reframing presented by Mona Baker were included in the study, as all of them were found to have been utilized in the studied material. The collected material was analyzed to find out what the reasons for the use of the reframing strategies were, whether or not the headlines of news articles had a particular significance in the reframing, and as far as possible to try to determine if the reframing was deliberate. Sixteen of the twenty analyzed articles had been reframed in the transediting process.

There was a specific trend to be found when studying selective appropriation done in the transedited articles. There were only two cases of addition found, while there were numerous cases of omission. It is important to note that while all of the Finnish articles were shorter than their source texts – several of them significantly shorter – often this corresponds to the practice of leaving out less important information from the end of the source articles in accordance with the common journalistic principle of the inverted pyramid structure of a news item, and it does not necessarily mean that the article has been reframed through the omissions. Often the abbreviating is due to time constrictions, especially in the case of online news which does not have the excuse of the paper having already gone into print if the publishing of an article takes long to publish. However, in two thirds of the articles the omissions were significant enough to contribute to the reframing of the article.

Three of the articles were reframed through spatiality which was unexpected as the inverted pyramid structure is a staple of Western news practice and it is not often ignored. However, three of the sixteen reframed articles contained reframing by changing the order of the events and thus ignoring the inverted pyramid structure convention of news writing.

Repositioning of the participants had been employed in the reframing of nine of the sixteen reframed articles. A trend found in the reframing through repositioning was its use in reframing the article as more critical of the authorities. However, a rather alarming finding was that there was the kind of repositioning in the articles which obscured or even outright changed the source of the information. Labeling was used in the reframing of seven of the sixteen reframed articles, but labeling turned out to be a less utilized strategy of reframing than could have been expected in the light of its effortlessness as a method of reframing.

My second research question concerned the reasons for the reframing. As discussed the reframing could be divided into four categories based on the reasons for the use of the different reframing strategies. The reasons for the reframing are naturally more interesting findings than what strategies were used in the reframing. Seven of the sixteen reframed articles were reframed in a way which was problematical in the light of people's expectations of the objective and inclusive nature of news coverage in Finland.

Nine of the sixteen reframed articles were reframed for the Finnish audience by changing units of measurement into ones used in Finland and omitting information that is irrelevant or hard to understand for the Finnish audience, or goes against the Finnish cultural understanding of certain concepts. Four of the sixteen reframed articles were clearly reframed due to the different house styles of the publications and not due to the content as such or the Finnish ideological context in general. It can be concluded that reframing due to differences in house style is not very common, except for yellow press publications as three out of four articles which were reframed due to the house style were published either by the yellow press publications *Italehti* or *Ilta-Sanomat*. The fourth was published by *Yle Uutiset* and the main difference was that in accordance of the house style of the latter witness statements were omitted, while the two former publications not only included witness statements but virtually based their news angle on them.

Reframing done for specific cultural audience can in most cases be considered to be a more benign type of reframing than the one done in order to make the articles less critical for example. In the case of reframing the texts for a new cultural audience, it can be argued that the reframing is harmless, as it is most likely done to improve the reading experience for Finnish speakers by making the text more readable. The Finnish audience is thus not required to try to identify with the British or U.S. cultural and news perspectives. However, in the case of the yellow press reframing the narrative as more sensational and shocking in accordance with their house style, it could be argued that it is not in fact harmless. It can contribute to the reader's rather narrow framework for making sense of the world as much of the more in-depth reporting gets left out in favor of the more trivial but more sensational details. In the case of reframing done for a new cultural audience or due to the house style of the publication it can be concluded that it is conscious, purposeful reframing.

All together in eleven of the sixteen reframed articles the source article's position regarding the Kenyan government was reframed. These cases seem to have a more substantial correlation with the ideology of particular journalists or publication than the reframing for the convenience of a new cultural audience or due to a particular house style of a publication. However, in these cases it is difficult to say whether or not the reframing is conscious or unconscious. Seven of the sixteen reframed articles were reframed to be less critical of the Kenyan authorities. This is mostly done by omitting relevant information, but also by repositioning the participants in a way which obscures or legitimizes the source of the information and by using more neutral labels. The reframing which makes the articles seem more neutral and less critical of authorities is not very surprising and almost half of the reframed articles were indeed reframed as less critical. This is most likely influenced by the ideal of neutrality emphasized in the training of journalists and to some extent also the house style of the newspaper. However, this is the type of reframing which is the most problematical as it ignores the problems and obscures relevant information from the readers.

What was more surprising was that four of the sixteen reframed articles were reframed in a way which made them seem more critical of the Kenyan authorities than the source texts. It is a more surprising finding as the Finnish news culture is perceived to be very neutral. However, this type of reframing can often be argued to be more positive than the reframing toward less criticism as being the watch dogs of society and pointing out faults should be part of journalists' work. Based on the fact in three of these four cases the reframing rested heavily on the change of the headline it can be concluded that the headline can indeed have a significant framing effect, which answers my third research question. The fact in one of the cases *Yle Uutiset* had chosen a very strongly worded headline is especially notable as the house style of *Yle Uutiset* tends to be cautiously neutral as far as possible.

All in all the results of this study are indicative of certain patterns in the Finnish news culture when it comes to transedited news, but as mentioned before, this study is somewhat limited in the sense that the results can be argued to be the ideological translation choices of only a few Finnish journalists. On one hand this means that while the findings could be valid on a larger scale it cannot be concluded definitely based on this study. On the other hand it also means that there are basically limitless opportunities for further study with different materials, and different journalists. For example, in another study it would be possible to collect a larger sample of material from only one journalist in an effort to determine whether she is biased and/or consistent in her bias. It would also be interesting to compare Finnish language translations to corresponding translations to other languages, such as Swedish to see whether there is similar reframing in Swedish reporting, or, for example, Italian for a presumably more noticeable cultural difference. With online news there is also the opportunity for research combining textual and image analysis by also taking into account the pictures and videos included in online news articles and studying how they help to frame the articles.

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