

SOCIOLOGICAL TRANSLATIONS AT INTER PRESS SERVICE (IPS)

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Abstract: Sociological translations at Inter Press Service (IPS)

This interdisciplinary project investigates the extents and limits of alternative news translation in the era of globalization and virtualization and is guided by the insights drawn from actor-network theory, material semiotics, ethnomethodology, anthropology, news sociology, and the philosophy of translation. It visually represents the semiotic, sociological and material components of news translation as well as describes the patterned and concerted actions of human and non-human actors that go into making news stories in the context of IPS, a global news agency. A contribution is made to both theoretical knowledge and the development of the conceptual research method, which is given scarce attention in translation studies as compared to prevailing empirical research.

A *meta-semiotic* concept of *sociological translation* that I formulate helps bridge the gap between tackling ‘translation’ in terms of Jakobson’s triadic classification as either an intralingual, interlingual or intersemiotic phenomenon, and the recurrent metaphorical usage of ‘translation’ in the humanities, social sciences and beyond. The concept is informed by the networked ontology of actor-network theory and embodies the idea that meanings and translation are created by means of social interactions rather than by language alone. It is suggested that *sociological translation* stands for any linguistic, material-semiotic transformations and social articulations, which are all enmeshed with IPS journalistic and interlingual translation practices.

On the other hand, in view of the absence of methodological tools for studying non-language-based translation in translation studies, I have assembled my own methodology drawing on the traditions of the wider humanities and the social sciences. My case study adopts Law’s ideas on method assemblage and Latour’s elaborations on infra-reflexivity which are well-suited for conveying the serendipity and messiness of ‘real-life’ research. It incorporates traditional

ethnography, virtual ethnography and digital methods. Visualizing a network of *sociological translations* at different junctures as well outlining a holistic map of the concept allows one to observe the practices of journalist-editor-translators from both micro- and macro-perspectives.

Finally, the studied phenomenon reflects modern conditions of life: non-stopping globalization and virtualization and is transdisciplinary in nature. Delineating and comparing the articulations of *sociological translation* in a wider connected and virtual context illuminates the concept's mechanisms and contributes to the scholarly awareness of the complexity of news translation in a digital age.

In conclusion, the thesis offers a new conceptual space within TS—*translational sociology*—which would strike up a conversation between TS and other disciplines in the social sciences with the goal of cross-fertilization of knowledge and finding better-informed interdisciplinary solutions to the shared problems including their linguistic, discursive and cultural aspects.

Résumé: Traductions sociologiques à Inter Press Service (IPS)

Ce projet interdisciplinaire étudie l'étendue et les limites de la traduction alternative des nouvelles à l'ère de la mondialisation et de la virtualisation. Il s'inspire de la théorie de l'acteur-réseau, la sémiotique matérielle, l'ethnométhodologie, l'anthropologie, la sociologie des nouvelles et la philosophie de la traduction. Il représente visuellement les composantes sémiotiques, sociologiques et matérielles de la traduction des nouvelles et décrit les actions structurées et concertées des acteurs humains et non humains qui participent à la production des nouvelles dans le contexte d'IPS, une agence de presse internationale. L'article contribue à la fois à la connaissance théorique et au développement de la méthode de recherche conceptuelle qui fait l'objet d'une attention limitée en traductologie par rapport à la recherche empirique qui y est dominante.

Le concept méta-sémiotique de *traduction sociologique* que je formule permet de combler le fossé entre, d'une part, l'approche de la « traduction » selon la classification triadique de Jakobson en tant que phénomène intralinguistique, interlinguistique ou intersémiotique et, d'autre part, l'usage métaphorique récurrent de la traduction dans les sciences humaines et sociales, et au-delà. Le concept s'inspire de l'ontologie mise en réseau de la théorie de l'acteur-réseau et incarne l'idée selon laquelle les significations et la traduction sont créées au moyen d'interactions sociales plutôt que par le seul langage. Il est suggéré que la traduction sociologique représente toutes les transformations linguistiques, matérielles et sémiotiques ainsi que les articulations sociales, qui sont toutes imbriquées dans les pratiques de traduction journalistique et interlinguale d'IPS.

D'autre part, compte tenu de l'absence d'outils méthodologiques permettant d'étudier la traduction non linguistique au sein de la traductologie, j'ai élaboré ma propre méthodologie en m'appuyant sur les traditions des sciences humaines et sociales au sens large. Mon étude de cas

adopte les idées de Law sur l'assemblage de méthodes et les élaborations de Latour sur l'infraréflexivité, qui sont bien adaptées pour transmettre la sérendipité et le désordre de la recherche lorsqu'elle est entreprise sur la "vie réelle". Elle intègre l'ethnographie traditionnelle, l'ethnographie virtuelle ainsi que les méthodes numériques. La visualisation d'un réseau de traductions sociologiques à différents moments et l'élaboration d'une carte holistique du concept permettent d'observer les pratiques des journalistes-rédacteurs-traducteurs des points de vue micro- et macro-sociologiques.

Enfin, le phénomène étudié reflète les conditions de la vie moderne : la globalisation et la virtualisation incessantes; et son étude est transdisciplinaire par définition. La délimitation et la comparaison des articulations de la traduction sociologique dans un contexte connecté et virtuel plus large éclairent les mécanismes du concept et contribuent à la prise de conscience scientifique de la complexité de la traduction des nouvelles à l'ère numérique.

En conclusion, la thèse propose un nouvel espace conceptuel au sein de la TS—la sociologie traductionnelle—qui permettrait d'engager une conversation entre la traductologie et d'autres disciplines des sciences sociales, dans le but d'enrichir les connaissances et trouver des solutions interdisciplinaires mieux informées aux problèmes communs, sans oublier leurs aspects linguistiques, discursifs et culturels.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF MY GRANDMOTHER VALENTINA

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The media organization and information flow between languages have always been an enticing and motivating research topic for me. Having been born and raised in Far Eastern Russia, I have travelled extensively worldwide and have lived in such countries as Australia, New Zealand, Algeria, Colombia and Canada. Through the experience of living abroad, I learnt that the style, selection and framing of news stories varies from country to country. As a Ph.D. student in translation studies, I grew very curious about the international news translation production process as well as associated theories and methodologies.

In April 2018, as a first-year doctoral student, I wrote my final essay for the seminar ‘Theories in translation studies’ where I tested the compatibility of actor-network theory (ANT) with news translation. I was fascinated with ANT’s principle of generalized symmetry—i.e., treating human and non-human actors as equals when describing (i.e., building) a network (the differences automatically surface later when a description is completed)—and the opportunity of recognizing non-human agents (technologies) in translative interactions. More generally, the application of ANT to studying news translation allowed me to see that linguistic transfers and other textual modifications are snapshots of temporary stages and situations in news production and cannot be really isolated from the process as a whole. Actions and languages, technologies and news workers, are all interrelated in constructing the news product, including news translation. Thus, ‘translation’ in news becomes a drive of all the actions and articulations within the network of news production, whereas intra/interlingual and intersemiotic types of translation (i.e., translation ‘proper’) constitute only some of the translative instances.

In order to investigate this phenomenon, I chose as my probe case study the Inter Press Service (IPS), an alternative news agency, knowledge of which I first gleaned from Bassnett and Bielsa (2009). Although *Translation in global news* discusses news translation and associated practices in Reuters and AFP as well—these famous news agencies are state-supported, mainstream news agencies. By contrast, IPS is a lesser known, non-profit, international cooperative that practises humanitarian and compassionate journalism—'global journalism' (Cottle, 2019). In my dissertation, I remained true to the choice of the agency that captured my heart for its noble mission of giving a “voice to those who traditionally have been marginalized by mainstream media” (Giffard, 1998, p. 193) and to the initial research outlines. My project took me on a few overseas journeys and made me resort to various fields of knowledge, such as news sociology, philosophy of translation and other research domains in the humanities and social sciences, which helped me develop and support my ideas. In the end, I let the unique circumstances of my project dictate the steps of my research, of which I was just a faithful performer.

1.1 On the origins of news

In the beginning, news had its roots in “traveller’s tales and gossip” (Machin & Niblock, 2006, p. 9)—i.e., the oral rendition of events and people moving between countries and continents carried with them not only stories but also the cultures crystallized in them. Unfortunately, little or nothing is known about how events were interpreted, or whether ‘news carriers’ had much of a command of foreign languages. The paths that news development took—including the very concept of news reports—are somewhat different around the world.

According to Machin and Niblock (2006), the first attempts to put news into a written format date back to Julius Cæsar’s rule, when political reports were recorded and circulated in Rome’s colonies (p. 10). However, illiteracy and poverty were abundant until the Industrial

Revolution, and written information was accessible only to the nobility, while laypersons were obliged to resort to graphic or verbal means of communication, such as paintings or narrative ballads (Machin & Niblock 2006, p. 10). The invention of printing by the German craftsman Gutenberg in 1456 paved the way for the appearance of the first newspapers and periodicals in the seventeenth century. It was in Germany, too, that mass production of news reports eventually took off (Machin & Niblock 2006, p. 10), where the first weekly newspaper appeared as early as 1605. Then the tradition migrated to other European countries: France, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, England and others. Davies and Fletcher (2014) indicate that printed news was indispensable in supporting trade between European countries by way of informing merchants of faraway events; often news distribution followed the same networks as the goods. Prior to periodicals, news in Early modern Europe took the form of “ballads and plays, plague pamphlets, satirical prints, obituary notices, and even rumours” with the questionable veracity of the reported events (Davies & Fletcher, 2014, p. 9).

On the other hand, pre-Islamic Arabia favoured poetry as a way of disseminating messages about accomplishments and military affairs among its tribes (Mellor, 2005, p. 26). The advent of Islam introduced new channels of communication, when imams, besides preaching and educating people about the Quran, also announced the news from authorities (Mellor, 2005, pp. 26-27). In general, the strong traditions of oral communication in the Arab world put on hold the need for newspapers, at least until the nineteenth century, regardless of the fact that as early as the seventeenth century Christian missionaries in Lebanon had brought with them printing presses, initially used for religious propaganda (Mellor, 2005, p. 27). Interestingly, in Muslim countries, information and communication, like all aspects of citizens’ life, are regulated by the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Syeed Al Seini (1986) who wrote an article “The Islamic concept of news” delves

deeply into the question of acceptable news according to the Islamic canons. First of all, communication should follow the main objectives: “to inform, to teach, to propose or persuade, and to please” (p. 279) while entertainment news is discouraged. News workers need to exercise caution in order to avoid false accusations, unwittingly generating negativity or slander and other undesirable effects. In this regard, Al Seini lists several methods of ensuring truthfulness and (relative) objectivity in news reports: e.g., providing contexts, using testimony and witnesses, producing unbiased accounts, etc.

1.2 Toward a globalization of news

News agencies have been known to have globalizing effects on modernity since the start of the mass circulation of newspapers in the nineteenth century (Giddens, 1990). Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998) assign the following historical roles to global media: “news contributed to processes of the construction of national identity; to imperialism and the control of colonies; it was an essential lubricant in day-to-day financial affairs, both within and between domestic markets” (p. 2). It appears that news is enmeshed in daily aspects of society: from culture to politics and economics. If approached from a different angle, globalization processes keep reshaping the nature of news production and distribution as well as relations with the audience. Globalization of news agencies is, primarily, driven by the convergence of communication technologies and digitalization (Devereux, 2013; Negrine, 1997), while the struggle for the ‘newest news’, in general, puts news agencies at the forefront of technology (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009).

As regards Inter Press Service (IPS), an international and non-profit news agency, the effects of globalization are two-pronged. On the one hand, in response to globalization trends, IPS expanded its mission and philosophy from covering minority voices in third-world countries only to covering socio-economic issues on a global scale (Giffard, 1998). Transitioning into an online

mode in the mid-1990s has allowed IPS to reach more audiences and NGOs and also to save on communication costs. On the other hand, the end of the cold war entailed a dramatic dwindling of donations which supported IPS's communication projects related to third-world countries: the term 'third world' itself became irrelevant. The agency had to cut back on staff and make other structural and operational adjustments to fit a smaller budget while maintaining the product quality afloat (Giffard, 1998).

However, Anthony Giffard (1998), a researcher who was closely affiliated with IPS during his academic career, does not broach the globalization of work routines and related multi-tasking effects, which are determining features of this project.

By virtue of being an intrinsic part of news production, news translation practices have also been affected by globalization. The change manifests itself in the ways the dispersed IPS journalist-editor-translators work and cooperate with each other by means of virtual technologies; they juggle more work responsibilities than ever before, thanks to the sweeping technological convergence and customary budget constraints that IPS has been dealing with since its inception.

Other key points for the development of this project are the concept of 'translation' in journalism and translation studies, and a review of the common approaches used to study news in journalism and news translation research.

1.3 On 'translation' in journalistic scholarship and TS

Journalism as a profession emerged in the eighteenth century in England and required entrance skills in languages and cultures from the outset (Valdeón, 2012, p. 851); its overall emergence was right in step with western societies' industrialization and new technological developments in mass printing. Though little discussed and "relegated to a secondary position"

(Valdeón, 2018, p. 265) in journalism, “translating and recycling information” (Valdeón, 2012, p. 851) has always been present in the exchange of international news. Yet, it was not until the 21st century that news translation received wider scholarly attention (Valdeón, 2012, p. 851) as an object of investigation in its own right.

Here arises a question of differences in the way translation and journalism scholars perceive translation as a concept. To address this issue, Valdeón (2018) compiled a corpus of scholarly texts on journalism in order to explore the meanings the word ‘translation’ can acquire in the journalism field. His findings reveal that, despite an obvious interest in translation expressed by journalism scholars, the term ‘translation’ was discouragingly used in too narrow a sense “as the literal interlinguistic rendition of a foreign text, a process that tends to be rare in news production involving translation” (p.258). Also, journalism scholars seemed to be unaware of Roman Jakobson’s triadic translation (along with translation research in general), which necessitated a distinction between ‘translation’ and other types of textual transformation (Valdeón, 2018). On the other hand, one can encounter a variety of definitions of ‘translation’ in translation research, which is reflective of an approach adopted in undertaking research. Starting from the descriptive approach to studying translation in the 1970s (Toury, 2012), through cultural and sociological approaches to translation in the 1980s and 1990s—together with the ensuing technological turn in the 1990s—the notion of translation kept being challenged and endowed with other meanings, in addition to translation proper. Thus, Toury (2012) defined translation as “all utterances in a [target] culture which are presented or regarded as translations” (p. 27), whereas the cultural approach incorporated other factors in the definition of translation—namely, manipulation and power asymmetries, representation of the Self and the Other, and cultural negotiation, as well as translation agency and ethics (Bassnett & Lefèvre, 1998; Brisset, 2010;

Snell-Hornby, 2006; Wolf, 2014). Similarly, the sociological approach, drawing on sociological theories (e.g., Bourdieu's theory of action, Latour's actor-network theory and Luhmann's systems theory), gave a new understanding of the translation product as not existing in isolation, but rather shaped by various sociological interactions (Brisset, 2010). Bachmann-Medick's (2009) notion of the 'translational turn'—"the translation category's migration from translation studies into other disciplinary discursive fields in the humanities" (p.3)—has also contributed to broadening the concept of translation. In essence, the current "globalization of world society" (p. 2) made translation a visible medium in connecting multilingual societies and cultures. Bachmann-Medick (2009) conceives of this type of translation process as a "transnational cultural practice" (p. 2) that must not be reduced to a specific language, literature, or culture. Although, Bachmann-Medick's conception of translation is very dispersed and vague, nevertheless, she provides possible venues for the reconceptualization of translation and its connection with other disciplines and society. For example, Bachmann-Medick indicates the tendency in the humanities to use the concept of translation to reinterpret far-reaching concepts in a new light. Another perspective is to find links with other disciplines for mutual transformation and enrichment. Discussing the processes of globalization, migration and hybridity happening increasingly in the world, she asserts the "translational character of hybridity" and the necessity for future research to elaborate this approach further—to get across the understanding that the complexity of "interculturality" involves, among other things, "understanding, misunderstanding and resistances" (p. 9). Cronin (2013), in his book on translation and digitalization, argued for the larger concept of translation in a digital age and posited the view that 'translation' represents convertibility to a digital format and that information of all kinds (i.e., sounds, images, texts) is a "subset of translation" (Cronin, 2013, p. 6). Most recently, Cronin (2017), drawing on the philosophy on post-humanity of Rosi Braidotti

(2013), developed an “inter-species” translation which decentres an anthropocentric view of the world and now includes animal and vegetal beings. Comparing the perceptions of ‘translation’ in journalism and in TS indicates that the understanding of the concept is impoverished in the former discipline while the latter is constantly seeking to redefine and enlarge its object of study.

1.4 Confluence of news sociology and news translation research

Language-based approaches remain marginal in journalistic studies (Laura Ahva & Steen Steensen, 2017) despite the fact that they share a common interest with news translation—news texts. In journalism, a current trend is investigating professionalism and its constituents (the roles of news workers, (self-)perceptions of journalistic roles, values, etc.). Recently, more attention has been directed to the material and technological aspects of news production, as was signalled by the declaration of the ‘material turn’ in journalism in 2015. Many journalism scholars turned to actor-network theory (ANT) as a potent tool to studying the heterogeneous, contingent and networked composition of news (De Maeyer, 2016). By contrast, news translation scholars have insufficiently broached ANT as well as the questions of materiality in news translation. So far, only Marlie van Rooyen (2019a, 2019b) has significantly applied the theory to her study of community radio news translation in the context of South Africa. In her work, ANT sociological translation is employed for the description of the interactions between radio news workers and is distinguished by the author from the meanings of translation ‘proper’ (inter/intralingual and intersemiotic). Other scholars in TS seem to hold much the same reserved opinions about ANT’s notion of translation: it is either negotiation, transformation, a factor of hybridity or some other synonymous terms which have nothing in common with the traditional language-based concept of translation (e.g., see Abdallah, 2012; Buzelin, 2005, Chesterman, 2006; Luo, 2020). As a consequence, it appears that Marlie van Rooyen’s approach is much more sociological because the

scholar focuses on ANT's conception of translation, which originates from sociology. The approaches of Wine Tesseur (2015) and Lucile Davier (2017) to news translation are sociological, too, because they supplement their linguistic research with the ethnography of news translators' practices and also illustrate that linguistic translation is either shaped by social factors or is capable of shaping the social (aspects). In comparison, my approach is macro-sociological because it conceives of 'translation' as a sociologically (ANT) and philosophically grounded phenomenon, and as a logical ordering of interactions between disparate entities which transform each other when connected. The practices of journalist-editor-translators, in and of themselves, are *sociological translations*—a superordinate term for all other transformations (e.g., interlingual, intercultural, etc.) occurring in the news production chain.

It follows that, on the one hand, Latour (1987) does not negate the linguistic meaning of ANT translation. This inference is made from his statement that 'translation' has linguistic as well as 'geometric' meanings; however, ANT builds more on the latter instance (p. 117). Also, the philosophy of translation (Basalamah, 2018) expands the view of translation as not confined to inter/intralingual and intersemiotic transactions but includes any instances of connection, transfer and transformation as translative, allowing for a transdisciplinary horizon of research in TS. On the other hand, van Doorslaer (2010) asserts that in news translation, "traditional and popular views of "translation proper" as a purely linguistic transfer are not appropriate to explain the complex processes of change involved in news text production" (p. 186). This statement suggests the need for a more adequate framework to study news translation (NT) than "translation proper" can provide for—the core issue lies in the conceptual definition of 'translation'.

On the whole, this short review reveals the limitations posed by the very objects of study of journalism and TS. It indicates the possibility of conceptualizing news translation in a *meta-*

semiotic sense that traverses both news sociology and news translation. The definition of news translation grounded in ANT and the philosophy of translation, provides a view of translation which subsumes both translation proper and the sociological assemblage of dispersed and heterogeneous elements into action. The very practices of journalist-editor-translators at IPS are *sociological translations*, comprised of many elements to be investigated in this project. *Sociological translation* is a point of confluence of news sociology and news translation, of the metaphorical usage of ANT translation and Jakobson's tripartite paradigm of translation and the first contribution to the macro-sociological approach designated by Conway in 2015.

1.5 Objectives and outline of the dissertation

In response to the ubiquitous globalization/virtualization and 'translation' in society, this project will seek to test the boundaries of 'translation' in a globalizing era and illustrate the fact that news translation has a dual nature—it is simultaneously both an interlingual transfer and a sociological translation of human beings and technology and other non-human agents into action, leading to news production and inseparable from the news product.

Chapter 2 (Literature review) summarizes the approaches to studying news in news sociology and presents new trends in the field. Then follows a discussion of the classifications of news (journalistic) translation research by Kyle Conway (2015) and Roberto A. Valdeón (2015a), which is meant to display the methods that translation scholars have used so far, in order to define the core of my research. Though often inconsistent and overlapping, these approaches aim to highlight a certain aspect of news translation (e.g., translation as a product, process, culture, etc.) with resulting conclusions. In this chapter, it will also be argued that news translation scholars have not yet regarded materiality in all its forms as a factor directly contributing to the process of

news production. Comparing reviews on news sociology and news translation research allows us to delineate the positioning of the proposed research and formulate research questions.

In *Chapter 3*, I will delve into the ontology of actor-network theory and outline the reasons why I chose this approach over other sociological theories. The concepts of globalization, virtualization and convergence will be discussed here as well; they form the context of my case study. Then, based on these theoretical observations, I will formulate the hypothetical notion of *sociological translation* that I will seek to corroborate through the reality and circumstances of IPS I have observed.

Chapter 4 sets out to build a qualitative methodological design for studying *sociological translation* at IPS, which is equally a translative and sociological phenomenon. I will draw on the wider humanities and social sciences in this pursuit on both theoretical and methodological fronts. In fact, it is neither possible to limit this research to the confines of TS nor is there a unique methodology in TS that could fit the demands of my project. On the whole, conceptual research methods in TS remain marginal (Basalamah, forthcoming). In this chapter, many theoretico-methodological questions will be discussed: is ANT a theory or a method? What is reflexivity in research? What is the difference between a case study and ethnography? How to define the quality of a qualitative research? And so on. The ‘method assemblage’ (Law, 2004) will be a guiding reference in constructing my own methodology, which encompasses traditional and digital ethnography as well as visualizing techniques.

In *Chapter 5* I will describe the findings of my observations that include the journalistic practices and trans-editors’ practices at IPS. As ANT favours bringing multiple perspectives into research (Tyulenev, 2014), I will provide both micro- and macro-outlooks on the aforementioned practices (i.e., *sociological translations*). The patterning design (Law, 2004) highlights the

similarities and differences (the relations) in global journalist-editor-translators' practices, whereas Callon's (1986a) four moments of translation give a general view on the news production network. Then I will proceed to the description of heterogeneous actors accompanied by their visualizations (using NVivo-enabled word clouds and word trees which are derived from my interviews with IPS affiliates). As any rendition of findings inevitably tends to be anthropocentric, in presenting human actors, instead of their elaborate description, I will focus rather on the multiplicity of roles that IPS affiliates daily perform, to foreground the fragmented and fluid nature thereof. Afterwards, I will recount the story of IPS creation in terms of Callon's sociological grid, which is well suited for describing the formation of networks. In the end, using research observations I will attempt to articulate the concept of *sociological translation* as found in the practices of IPS and present its crystallizations, the varieties, in journalist-editor-translators' practices as a possible contribution to TS and, perhaps, the sociology of news as well.

Chapter 2. Literature review

Conventionally, translation studies (TS) is associated with language transmission and textual transformations, and builds upon the classic Roman Jakobson's triadic division of translation into intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic (Brower, 1966, p. 233). Yet, interdisciplinarity has marked TS research since its inception in the 1970s (Wolf, 2009), and scholars have often turned reflexively to other disciplines in the humanities (e.g., anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, comparative literature, linguistics and literary criticism, etc.) in order to enrich their understanding of interlingual translation and to explain the manipulations done to texts in various settings. The reason of this conceptual quest can probably be explained by the fact that interlingual transfers do not happen in a void but in and among societies. From this reality it follows that translation is always enmeshed with the social—reflecting it and adding to it (Marais, 2014).

One of the biggest paradigm changes in TS was brought about by the introduction of the 'cultural turn' in the 1980s. The insight gleaned from cultural studies provided analytical tools to tackle the issues of cultural asymmetries and differences in source and target texts, representation of the Self and the Other, cultural negotiation as well as translation agency and ethics. Postcolonial translation, gender and translation, power and translation are some of the areas that gained momentum thanks to the cultural turn (Bassnett & Lefevre, 1990; Brisset, 2010; Snell-Hornby, 2006; Wolf, 2014).

The cultural turn was followed by the introduction of other perspectives—e.g., sociological, global, technological, etc.—all of which added to the conceptual repertoire of TS (e.g., see Bassnett & Lefèvre, 1998; Cronin, 2000; Snell-Hornby, 2006). However, despite the obvious broadening of the concept of translation and the inclusion of more factors/actors

influencing translation as a product or a process, its definition still largely remains confined to its natural habitat (i.e., language). This is paradoxical in view of the fact that ‘translation’ has long been used metaphorically in the humanities and social sciences—e.g., sociology (Callon & Latour, 1981/2006; Callon, 1986a, 1986b; Latour, 2005), ethnography (Asad, 1986; Wolf, 1997; Clifford, 1997) and psychoanalysis (Spivak, 2000) and even other more distant disciplines—e.g., biology, medicine, accounting, etc. (Basalamah, 2013; Guldin, 2015).

This paradox could be attributed to the concerns of losing sight of the object of translation and its conceptual dilution, as expressed by some scholars (e.g., Trivedi, 2007; Pym, 2009; Chesterman, 2010). However, the expansion of the concept of ‘translation’ does not in any way presuppose excluding language from TS research but rather broadening the scholars’ purview on the translative phenomenon. There were some efforts to enlarge the concept of ‘translation’; for example, Tymoczko (2007) who conceives of translation as an open “cross-linguistic, cross-cultural and cross-temporal cluster concept” (p. 181), while for postcolonial theorists Salman Rushdie (1992) and Homi Bhabha (1994) translation is the transformation of individuals through culture—i.e., encompassing language, culture and geography (Conway 2012). Yet, these definitions are still reduced to a few parameters, notwithstanding an evident epistemological potential that needs to be embraced by TS scholars. This is one of the tasks of the incipient philosophy of translation (e.g., Bachmann-Medick, 2009; Marais 2014; Basalamah, 2016, 2018; Cronin, 2013, 2017)—to explore an upward causation of semiotic translation and the potential that “new instances of connections, transfers and transformations” (Basalamah, 2018, p. 495), i.e., ‘translation’ in a broader sense, can yield to a whole new stream of research in the discipline and beyond.

Accordingly, research on news translation (NTR), as a subfield of TS, has been dominated by text-based approaches, which will be illustrated in the classifications of Conway (2015) and Valdeón (2015a) to follow. This tendency can also be traced, for example, in the work of Christina Schäffner (2012a), who fleetingly mentions process-oriented research of media institutions and combined textual and contextual analysis but particularly delves into the case studies of text-related NTR (p. 870). Another instance of a text-oriented study in NTR is Bassnett and Bielsa (2009)—although the authors conceptualize a role for translation in global information flows, they yet remain largely engaged with the discussion of translation strategies as if the role of translation were hand in glove with the effects of translated texts on the audience.

There are some approaches that go beyond studying international news texts and their translations in NTR. For example, Bielsa (2019) who voices the need to incorporate a study of foreign correspondents (i.e., cultural mediators) into NTR. Or reception studies of news translation products in general (i.e., studying audiences' interpretations of translated news texts and reactions to translated media products) which remain largely underexplored (Bielsa, 2019). Even though a recent study of Davier (2019) does not broach news translation *per se*, she nevertheless assumes that media partake in “constructing the reputation of translators currently circulating in our societies” (p. 257). Her article investigates the perception of non-literary translators and translations in print media in the multilingual context of Switzerland. Although these studies widen the scope of investigation by the inclusion of more areas or actors related to (news) translation, they nevertheless stay within the bounds of the inter/intralingual and intersemiotic.

The situation in TS is in stark contrast to the situation in journalism studies/digital journalism¹ which is supposed to share news texts as a common object of study. For example, in a longitudinal analysis of article abstracts published in *Journalism Studies* and *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*, Laura Ahva and Steen Steensen (2017) observe the prevalence of disciplinary perspectives from sociology, political science, and cultural studies, while approaches from humanities are found underrepresented. A similar trend can be traced in journalistic research published between 2013 and 2015 in *Digital Journalism*: only 1 per cent of the articles are dedicated to language, whereas the vast majority draw on theoretical perspectives from “sociology and STS [science and technology studies] . . . political science and cultural studies” (Ahva & Steensen, 2017, p. 31). If journalism studies position their research in broader theoretical frameworks, it often takes mediation of multilingual news content for granted; the related scholarly discourse on translation between languages is either absent or tackles only a narrow, interlingual sense of translation, disregarding the fact that intralingual and intersemiotic transformations are also part of ‘translation’ (Bielsa, 2019; Valdeón 2018).

That said, the difference in approaches employed in translation studies and journalism studies can be attributed to the origin of the disciplines. Translation studies had roots in applied linguistics and comparative literature (Snell-Hornby, 2006). On the other hand, media and communication studies (including journalism studies—its branching) “has evolved beyond, and orthogonal to, more traditional disciplines such as sociology, economics, political science, or

¹ Marcel Broersma (2019) argues that all contemporary journalism is digital in the sense that all media production processes have been digitized over a decade ago. The author also advises to study the ways journalism is being integrated into the digital (and not vice-versa) to account for the variety of “social and techno-material structures” (p. 523) it is embedded into.

social psychology” (Buhmann et al., 2015, pp. 267-268). The approaches from cultural studies were adopted by ‘media research’ in the 1960s when an “influential humanities body of work” emerged (Corner, 2013, p.1013). In contrast, the 'sociological turn' in TS happened in the 1990s (Brisset, 2010), two decades after establishing the discipline. Therefore, one may conclude that the discipline of translation studies has interlingual transfer (language) as a primary focus of investigation whereas communication studies has a historical predilection for employing approaches from the social sciences. Hypothetically, the boundaries between the fields of translation studies and communication studies are porous due to the fact that both fields span over the humanities and the social sciences. However, the interaction between these fields appears asymmetrical. If translation studies scholars display a “healthy interest in media”, then media scholars have not yet sufficiently engaged with the topic of translation in media (Conway 2017b, p.711).

In regard to communication studies, even the naming of the discipline seems to cause some confusion for an outsider, let alone the definition of the field. For example, we find that Jan Fernback (2014) writes about communication and media studies; John Hartley writes about communication, cultural and media studies whereas Barton and Beck (2005)—communication studies—which is not an exhaustive list. These labels are rather conditioned by various national and institutional contexts (Buhmann et al., 2015).

Another case in point is the definitional status of the field. Interestingly, in 1995, the Association for Communication Association (ACA) organized a “defining the field conference” (Yi, 2000, p.42) gathering dozens of communication scholars. As a result, the following common definition had been produced:

The field of communication focuses on how people use messages to generate meanings within and across various contexts, cultures, channels, and media. The field promotes the effective and ethical practice of human communication. (Yi, 2000, p.44)

Yet, despite its unifying ambitions, some respondents in Yi's (2000) study observe that the definition is too broad and does not convey the specificities of the disciplines under the umbrella of communication studies. On the other hand, Fiske (2011) asserts that "communication is not a subject, in the normal academic sense of the word, but is a multi-disciplinary area of study" (p.1). In this regard, Fernback (2014) notes that the scope of the field is so extensive and quickly growing that it risks developing a "schizophrenic identity" (p.3). At the same, an excessive fragmentation of the field, has brought about a meta-discourse on media, which attempts to discuss and delineate a field of its study (Buhmann et al., 2015). A similar situation awaits translation studies, considering all the ramifications of knowledge that the discipline has recently inquired into. A growing specialisation and fragmentation of TS has challenged the cohesion of the interdiscipline, overall calling for a meta-theory of TS (Basalamah, 2016).

In continuation and drawing on the broader definition of translation—as any instance of "connections, transfers and transformations" (Basalamah, 2018, p. 495)—this project will focus exclusively on the sociological meaning of translation as formulated in actor-network theory (e.g., in Callon, 1980, 1986a, 1986b, 1991; Latour, 1987, 1993, 2005) and will explore the potential of the notion of *sociological translation* for news translation research—taken here primarily as "making someone do something" (Latour, 2005, p. 58). *Sociological translation* cuts across news production networks and effects involving human, material and semiotic actors brought together by the common goal of news making. In this view, linguistic translation of news text is but one of the instances of the larger *sociological translation* of news.

Since my research adopts a sociological perspective and tackles news translation as a sociological phenomenon, besides aiming to shed light on the sociomaterial networks the texts travel through before ending up on the user's screen as a final (translated) product—the first step will be reviewing past and present trends in the sociology of news—a field which dates back to the first half of the twentieth century, thanks to the early contributions of Robert Park (1923), Max Weber (1909/1989) and Helen MacGill Hughes (1940) on the subject.

Secondly, I will dwell on news translation research (NTR) or journalistic translation research (JTR) done in the field of TS since its inception in the 1970s. Although several scholars who write on news translation (NT) have tried to map out past scholarly inquiries on the subject, an analytical stance will be taken to review the classifications of Kyle Conway (2015) and Roberto A. Valdeón (2015a), who represent communication studies and translation studies (TS) respectively. These authors offer divergent topologies of news translation research (NTR), and thus deserve our attention. While the former scholar sees past research in terms of methodological trends in tackling NT, the latter tries to reconstruct fragments of what has been done and by whom, in areas ranging from news production to news reception in multilingual settings. Interestingly, among all the approaches, that of cultural studies is exclusively dedicated to Conway's contribution on this aspect whereas Conway (2015) attributes his cultural studies approach to the broader *sociology and cultural studies*' group.

To get a more comprehensive picture of past NTR, I will sketch out the classifications drawn up by both Conway and Valdeón in sections 2.2 and 2.3, respectively. While trying to highlight elements and works within the scholars' reviews deemed important for my project, I will also complement these scholars' maps with my own additions and observations.

Thirdly, I will examine the past translation and journalistic research on Inter Press Service, a global news agency which is at the heart of my research. The present literature review will conclude with a brief peek into “*citizen media* and related *participatory journalism, radical and community media, social and digital media*” (Baker & Blaagaard, 2016, p. 1, emphasis in original) to indicate possible future venues for NTR and to question the traditional definition of ‘news’, as well as to illustrate the ambiguity of ‘news translation’ as a concept. Afterwards, I will locate my own research within both Conway’s and Valdeón’s classifications and sociology of news research and expound on its objectives.

2.1 A brief outlook on past research in the sociology of news work

Although the first research on journalism appeared in nineteenth-century Germany, scholars were then more preoccupied with journalistic norms and “what journalism ought to be” (Paul & Berkowitz, 2019, p. 1431). Regardless of the few attempts to introduce sociological approaches to news studies by Max Weber (e.g., 1909/1998), Robert Park (1923) and Helen MacGill Hughes (1940), early research² mostly dealt with the effects of media on their audiences and used surveys and experiments as research tools. At that time, news was rather tackled as “a closed container”, a message uprooted from its production context (Paul & Berkowitz, 2019, p. 1431). A similar kind of research exists in NTR as well (exploring people’s reactions to translated

² A vast body of scholarly work on the sociology of news has been produced in the U.S.A. and Europe. This consideration runs by default in this work. A comparative analysis is more popular nowadays (Schudson, 2011) but is “cumbersome...and... conceptually bedeviling” (Schudson & Waisbord, 2005, p. 363); there is no accepted framework for a comparative research.

news), and Valdeón (2015a) groups it under the category of reception studies (see section 2.3)—although it is not popular in the discipline, as alluded earlier.

In the 1950s, journalism scholars shifted attention to journalists and journalistic values, specifically, to studying news editors' motivations behind selecting or rejecting certain news stories. Journalism scholars employed a *gatekeeping* framework borrowed from Kurt Lewin (Lewin, 1943/1997)—a German social psychologist who investigated food distribution networks (Paul and Berkowitz, 2019; Erzikova, 2018; Schudson, 1989). White (1950) and Gieber (1964) are classic examples in this strand of research which inquired into gatekeeping processes in news organizations by watching editors' work and eliciting explanations for each refused or accepted news item.

Overall, the *gatekeeping*³ approach cannot offer consistent explanations of the editors' choices. While it points to the connections between news organizations and news products as well as to the social control exercised by various news stakeholders (e.g., publishers, editors, etc.), the problem is that it “leaves ‘information’ sociologically untouched, a pristine material that comes to the gate already prepared” (Schudson, 1989, p. 265). The *gatekeeping* approach is silent about news making practices as well as the actors engaged in the production process.

If sociologists of news commonly treat *gatekeeping* as a selection process and a precursor to other more comprehensive approaches, to be discussed next (*the political economy of news, the*

³ Currently, the ‘camp’ of researchers is divided into those who believe that the *gatekeeping* is an outdated concept, in view of the fact that in the Internet era every reader can function as a gatekeeper by commenting on online news or by reposting it, and those who see the potential in the concept and try to revamp it to reflect audience's possibilities in news construction enabled by the Internet. (e.g., Bruns, 2008; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

social organization of newswork, and *cultural approaches*), then for news translation researchers the term *gatekeeping* acquires a slightly different connotation—that is, the adaptation and rewriting of news items. Besides selecting which articles to translate and ‘let through the gates,’ journalists also often perform interlingual and intralingual textual transformations and reframe news stories to suit different audiences. In Conway’s (2015) NTR classification, gatekeepers’ actions are tackled at the micro-level of political economy approaches examined in section 2.2.1.

Interestingly, the sociology of news seems to encompass approaches which are not sociological in the strictest sense. They are described as ‘sociological’ because they examine how politics, economics, culture, technology and organization, etc.—each with a different focus—interact and shape media organizations and their products and, foremost, because they investigate “journalism as a social institution” (Schudson, 2011, p. ix).

Below I will sketch out three classical approaches to the sociology of news that featured in the oft-cited article by Michael Schudson “The sociology of news production” (1989), accompanied by some illustrations. Knowing the past trends of news sociology contributes to a better understanding of why journalism scholarship is the way it is today. Although, I will describe only the ‘three pillars’ of traditional news sociology, it should be noted that they underwent subsequent revisions (e.g., Anderson, 2013; Schudson, 2005, 2010). Thus, Schudson splits the *political economy of news*⁴ category into the political and economic approaches in 2005. In 2012,

⁴ This decision, a scholar explains, was based on the belief that the *political economy of news* categorization (initially developed by communications studies and drawing on Marxist vocabulary) conveyed a counterintuitive message that economics is more fundamental than political institutions.

Anderson, who advocated for the sociology of computational journalism,⁵ proposed an “institutions and fields” category (p. 1012)—which incorporates approaches using Bourdieu’s field theory, largely popularized by Benson (1999, 2004) as well as Benson & Neveu (2005)—and a “technology and the news” category, that gives fair consideration to technologies in structuring computational journalism (Anderson, 2012, p. 1016).

Notwithstanding these alterations to the original classification — one that can reflect the developments journalism and journalism scholarship are currently undergoing — my focus in the concluding part of the news sociology review will shift to the description of the new and more encompassing understanding of journalism—as a networked and sociomaterial practice. This insight is necessary for shaping the current project on news translation as a sociological practice—a blended phenomenon that occurs in both the physical and virtual worlds and involves both human and material actors.

2.1.1 The political economy of news

Scholars practising this approach often focus on the broader picture of the news and draw on “normative theories of media and society” (Hardy, 2019, p. 1215). This type of research explores the interplay between external forces (e.g., the macro-political economy of a given society or internal institutional factors of media agencies) and the news (or news workers) and underscores the questions of “ownership, institutions and regulations” (Teurlings, 2013, p. 101). Notably, researchers in this stream focus on the connections between the general outlines of news content,

⁵ By ‘computational journalism’ Anderson (2012) means “the increasingly ubiquitous forms of algorithmic, social scientific, and mathematical forms of newswork adopted by many 21st-century newsrooms” (p. 1005).

its quality and various “institutional arrangements” (Hardy, 2019, p. 1215) rather than delve into textual analysis or news reception.

While focussing on the connections between institutional forces and the ways they shape news, the politico-economical approaches tend to overlook the disconnect between social institutions and media (Schudson, 1989, p. 270). Overall, the influence of journalism goes both ways: from media on the social institutions and vice-versa and can be positive or negative. For example, some news sociologists might claim that news making helps empower the government and system, or (more rarely)—that news can be subversive (i.e., promoting crime, negative images of governmental institutions, etc.). A classic example of a politico-economic study of news would be Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky’s work *Manufacturing Consent* (1988), where the authors treat American mass media as a vehicle of propaganda attending to the interests of certain corporate bodies which support its well-being and well-functioning in many ways (e.g., provide news sources, financial backup, etc.) and is attuned to “anti-communist ideology” (Schudson, 1989, p. 269).

What is not accounted for are other possible factors participating in news making, such as media activism, events or public opinion shaping media releases, which is well explicated by Schudson (2011) on the examples of the Watergate scandal case and the coverage of the Vietnam War. In the first instance, journalists Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein took on responsibility to break a story on the Watergate activities, which became possible with information leaked from some high-ranking officials. The journalists publicized their report in *The Washington Post*, which eventually led Richard Nixon to resign from his presidency. In the second instance, the public’s disagreement with the long-lasting and atrocious war in Vietnam (according to the 1967 poll) was

voiced by anchor Walter Cronkite on CBS News in 1968, which might have influenced the U.S. army's withdrawal from Vietnam (Schudson, 2011, pp. 11-13).

Overall, the politico-economic perspective has been blind to other participants in news construction in all their heterogeneity (e.g., daily journalistic practices and routines, cultural factors, news production processes, audience, news sources, etc.) and served to make scholars turn to the analysis of the social organization of news in the late 1960s (Belair-Gagnon, 2019; Schudson, 1989).

2.1.2 The social organization of newswork

This strand of research gained momentum in the 1970s-1980s and remained popular with sociologists of news. It takes interest in how journalists' "educational background, workplace arrangements, and interactions with the larger society" define news, moving away, on the whole, from the perception of news "as a fully formed and stable thing" (Paul and Berkowitz, 2019, p.1431). Scholars employ ethnography and participant observation methods in their research which mostly focus on news gathering procedures rather than the exploration of news rewriting aspects and how stories "'play' in the press" (Schudson, 1989, p. 272). Conversely, in NTR the focus is rather on the rewriting, and ethnographic research is sometimes done by researchers, only to triangulate their findings about translation (e.g., see Davier, 2015).

In the social organization of newswork, Schudson (1989) distinguishes two opposing theoretical angles: the first is based on the "symbolic interactionism and social constructionist view of society" (p. 272) and the other is "organizational or bureaucratic" (p. 273). The difference is

this: the former theories treat news as a socially produced reality⁶ while the latter tackle news as a socially manufactured organizational product similar to any other commercial product. The organizational/bureaucratic approach foregrounds various constraints (e.g., organizational, economic technical, etc.) and in this sense ‘objectifies’ journalists by relegating them to an unimportant role in news production — as in the case study of Jay Epstein (1973) (Schudson, 1989, p. 273). Both are underpinned by the belief that news workers’ actions are restricted by organizational needs and purposes. Another related approach is social-compositional, but it puts forward a different claim that runs counter to the professional journalistic value of dispassionate reporting: it is the individual journalistic intentions, points of view and biases that shape the news product (e.g., Lichter, Rothman, & Lichter, 1986) (Schudson, 1989), which is not a sustainable conclusion inasmuch as journalists are bound by overriding professional standards.

The other feature of this newswork exploration is pinning down the “complex role of occupational values” (Belair-Gagnon, 2019, p. 4) such as objectivity, impartiality, facticity, ethics, fairness, etc., which is also quite a common pursuit for other approaches in news sociology. In NTR, the question of news translation ethics—raised so far only by Floros (2012)—is an “uncharted territory” (Bielsa, 2019, p. 368), while translation objectivity has been discussed by Bassnett and Bielsa (2009) drawing on news workers’ opinions. Through interviews with journalists-editors-translators, Bassnett and Bielsa (2009) found that objectivity in news translation means faithfulness to the facts rather than a text (p. 65), which can be recontextualized for specific audiences and markets. Also, objectivity was linked by some interviewees to the notion of impartiality—a balanced representation of events/reality. One of the expressions of objectivity

⁶ News sociologists generally do not pursue construction/distortion of reality claim anymore (Schudson,1989).

in news agencies is stylistic rules which subject “translator’s creativity to strict norms” (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 69).

Conversely, ideology, occupying the other end of the spectrum, had been taken up by many translation scholars—for an example, a book *Apropos of ideology: translation studies on ideology—ideologies in translation studies* edited by María Calzada Pérez (2014) contains various debates on the subject. The book’s contributions by Christina Schäffner (2014) and by David Katan and Francesco Straniero-Sergio (2014) specifically deal with issues of ideology in translating/interpreting media discourse.

As for the “symbolic interactionism and social constructionist view of society” approaches, Molotch and Lester (1974), early sociologists of news, contend that news is a constructed reality rather than an unmediated representation of the “objective world” (p. 101) by reporters. The three agencies that participate in the process of constructing reality are roughly news promoters, news assemblers and news consumers—all having the power to select events (whether to promote, cover or consume events) and construct reality depending on their purposes; however, each successive agency gets a smaller pool of possibilities to choose from. Also, Molotch & Lester (1974) suggest that to understand why the news product is the way it is or why we are getting it, one needs to look for the “event needs” (p. 111) of media, or perceived public interest, and for the methods of access to events (habitual, disruptive and direct) by news workers. The authors put forward a typology of public events based on the circumstances as they become available to the audience. They discern routine events, accidents, scandals and serendipity—reflecting/meaning various levels of involvement of events promoters and news assemblers into the dynamics of news construction. Interestingly, they compare mass media to “bad clinical records” (Garfinkel, 1967) in the sense that what is delivered by media is a result of its social organization.

Similarly, Tuchman (1978) states that news is a social institution because it “imparts a public character to occurrences”⁷ (p. 4) by turning them into events and then into news discourse—which represents an act of intersemiotic translation. Secondly, news is a social product because it is made by “newswriters drawing upon institutional processes and conforming to institutional practices” (p. 4)—i.e., routinized practices that facilitate hectic workflows. Tuchman’s *Making news: A study in the construction of reality* (1978) is based on an extensive ten-year fieldwork conducted at a television station, a few newspapers and a press room and draws on several theoretical concepts derived from ethnomethodology (Garfinkel’s (1967) twin concepts of “indexicality” and “reflexivity”⁸) and sociology (“the social construction of reality” by Berger and Luckmann (1967) and “frame” and “strip” by Goffman (1974)). Framing, on the one hand, is deeming an occurrence newsworthy (which is institutionally defined), and, on the other hand, attributing meanings to it. For Tuchman (1978), news is a depletable product and a window-frame through which people learn daily about themselves and the world they inhabit. On the one hand, news imposes order on the world, on the other—it is but an impoverished representation of daily life as only some news stories make it to the public’s end, due to the routinized selections and decisions made on various levels in news organizations.

⁷ Tuchman (1978) argues that the less efforts are required to witness occurrences or learn about them, the more potential they have to become news (p. 22) and that classification of occurrences as news stories (i.e., soft news, hard news, spot news, developing news and continuing news) is a practical measure to control and facilitate the journalists’ work (pp. 47-58).

⁸ News stories are made from the same reality they describe (reflexivity), and people may imbue them with different contextual meanings (indexicality).

It follows that traditional scholarship situated in the social organization category can be characterized by the frequent claim that news is a constructed reality or a manufactured product, by dwelling on occupational values and norms, as well as by projecting a political or ideological bias on journalistic values and routines. Besides, early scholarship in this strand of research also paid little attention to the individual agencies of human beings and technologies engaged in news making processes (Hemmingway, 2006). The focus was placed on news gathering and source-reporter relationships rather than on editor-reporter relations (Anderson, 2013). Culture and its role in news production were not on agenda and left to be tackled by cultural approaches.

2.1.3 Cultural approaches

The cultural approaches perceive news work and all its values and norms as a result of “relations between ideas and symbols” and also appeal to the history of journalism to uncover “cultural givens” (Schudson, 1989, p. 275), which are frequently overlooked or taken for granted by the socio-organizational framework. Cultural theorists shifted attention from traditional content analysis to the “linguistic and ideological structuration” of media texts (i.e., analyzing the relation of form and content to ideologies/cultural trends—i.e., performing discourse analysis) (Hall et al., 1991, p. 105). Here news is tackled rather as a literary genre, and studying journalistic “conventions of storytelling, picture making, and sentence construction” (Schudson & Waisbord, 2005, p. 362) and their interplay with journalists’ cultures and beliefs about the world in general helps to unravel the delicate cultural aspects of news.

On the other hand, cultural sociologists also attended to the role of audiences in reading and interpreting media messages. For example, the Media Research Group and Stuart Hall developed the famous encoding/decoding communication model, where the audience’s ability to interpret the media messages are expressed by such terminology as operating with a “negotiated

code” or “oppositional code” (Hall et al., 1991, pp. 126-127). Stuart Hall (1997) opened an encoding/decoding paradigm⁹ in opposition to the linear sender-receiver framework by Shannon and Weaver (1949). The new model represents a circuit model of culture, that views culture (‘shared meanings’) as being shaped by the recursive processes of interconnected representation, identity, production, consumption, and regulation. Together with the textual analysis tools from translation studies the circuit model of culture forms the foundation of the works on cultural translation in news and media written by Kyle Conway (e.g., Conway 2011, 2017a)—the premises of Conway’s approach will be discussed later in this literature review.

2.1.4 Beyond traditional sociological approaches to newswork

The above-described approaches—*the political economy of news, the social organization of newswork, and cultural approaches*—though more comprehensive than *gatekeeping*, tend to ignore comparative value (e.g., in terms of geography of news production, news agencies, etc.) and historical perspective (Schudson, 1989), and are “embedded in static rather than changeable practices and norms” (Belair-Gagnon, 2019, p. 1456). Importantly, economic, political, technological, social, and cultural forces do not construct news but act on events and occurrences happening in the world (Schudson, 2010).

As to the social-organizational approaches, Anderson (2013), following Hemmingway (2006), observes that traditional newsroom ethnography had paid little attention to the involved “raw materials” (p. 169) including the factors external to news organizations (e.g., news sources). The focus was rather placed on the process of news manufacturing itself. However, in the era of

⁹ It was later reworked by Julie D’Acci (2004).

increasingly decentralized news production (Cottle, 2007), a distinction between external and internal actors in the news process is often nonexistent or irrelevant.

Overall, any individual sociological approach foregrounds either politico-economical, socio-organizational or cultural aspects of the news. In this regard, while Schudson and Waisbord (2005) call for an integrated framework that could also be sensitive to comparative and historical analysis, Brian McNair (2006) uses a cultural chaos paradigm (drawing on the concept of chaos from natural sciences) to address “ideologically realigned, hyper-adversarial, decentralized and demand-driven media environment of the twenty-first [century]” (p. xi). Traditional control/dominance theories focus on social order, stability and ideological homogeneity but are hardly applicable to “progressive cultural, political and social evolution, as well as trends towards social entropy and disorder” (p. xii) which characterize modern globalized media. In contrast, for Cottle (2019), journalism is primarily associated with its historic democratizing mission and is more than:

...the political economy of dominance, the sociology of routines and elite access, the culture of contending discourses, and the suturing of news consumption and its new technological dispersal within the temporal and spatial flows of everyday life. (Cottle, 2019, p. 104)

In Cottle’s (2019) opinion, journalism is yet to become truly global—more compassionate, treating ‘others’ as equal human beings and embracing common humanity. Although it is a dimension of journalism that I do not address in this project, it certainly served as a factor in choosing the object of my current case study—Inter Press Service—the international alternative news agency whose mission is to give voice to those who do not have it in the mainstream media.

Proceeding further, in this scenario, besides an apparent need for a comprehensive approach, scholars also need to address changes in the media ecology and media fluidity brought

by globalization and the emergence of the Internet in the 1990s, along with its sweeping adoption by news agencies. On the one hand, technological advances have contributed to “the emergence of new news values: immediacy,¹⁰ interactivity, and participation” (Usher, 2018, p. 5). Although Revers (2017) asserts that audience has always been participatory in the sense that people have always been able to communicate their concerns to the news agencies through correspondence, phone, etc., the Internet has allowed the audience to engage with production and distribution of the news content in a more pro-active and immediate mode. On the other hand, Web 2.0 brought to the scene new human actors—not only citizens, activists and amateur journalists but “coders, Internet intermediaries...and web applications designers” (Belair-Gagnon, 2019, p. 1456), as well as non-human actors—for example, computer programmes in robot journalism (Montal & Reich, 2017) algorithms in computational journalism (Anderson, 2012; Dörr, 2016), or software in digital media (Rodgers, 2015). These new human/non-human actors participate directly or indirectly in online news production and circulation and hence need to be included in the sociological purview.

To address the complex reality of multimedia populated with multiple actors along with politico-economic, organizational, cultural and material factors, news sociologists “began to move toward a networked understanding of news work” (Belair-Gagnon, 2019, p. 1451). Concepts of contingency, chaos, hybridity, heterogeneity and network have inspired more recent works on the

¹⁰ However, Usher (2018) remarks that although the value of immediacy has always defined news, in online journalism immediacy has become an “overarching...feature” that orients contemporary journalistic practices (p. 11).

sociology of news work,¹¹ whereas professionalism,¹² in the opinion of Laura Ahva and Steen Steensen (2017), has currently become “a dominant theoretical sociological framework” (p. 29) in both journalism and digital journalism studies.

An example of a network-informed study situated in the sociological organization of newswork approaches is a book on news aggregators—*Rebuilding the news* by Anderson (2013). Here the author explores changing journalism in Philadelphia and its self-image in difficult times of newspapers’ transitioning to an online presence and news workers’ adaptation to the “new ecosystem” (p. 4). Anderson (2013) conceives of journalism as a materially based process and as a “practice of *assemblage*...of a variety of objects, big and small, social and technological, human and non-human” (p. 4) and uses actor-network theory as a guide to a *network ethnography*, which takes him beyond newsroom walls. Another example of the ‘networked understanding’ of news is Revers’ book *Contemporary Journalism in the US and Germany* (2017). This cultural and sociological study investigates the self-conception of journalistic professionalism in Germany and the USA through the lens of field theory (Bourdieu 1993, 1996; Fligstein & McAdam 2012) and theoretical premises drawn from the work of Rodney Benson (1999, 2013; Benson & Neveu 2005) with a focus on the position and logic of journalistic fields (p. 6). In order to understand the notion of ‘journalism’ as perceived by journalists in those countries, the scholar has recourse to comparative analysis: he delves into the history of journalism, examines journalists’ discourse

¹¹ For example, see the works of Appelgren (2018), Anderson (2013), Borges-Rey (2016), Chadwick (2017), Braun (2015), McNair (2006), Schmidt & Lawrence (2020), etc.

¹² The term refers to various components of journalism: e.g., journalistic roles and practices, (self-) perceptions of journalistic roles, values, and norms, etc.

about their colleagues in award statements and obituaries (which reflects “good journalism” (p. 11) and journalistic values), and also draws on extensive ethnography of journalistic practices conducted cross-continently. Although Revers’ (2017) study does not use an actor-network theory approach, his study, nevertheless, is networked by virtue of exploring adoption rates of Twitter by journalists in the U.S.A. and Germany, which he connects to the “features of occupational cultures” (p. 212) in the respective countries. Also, Revers (2017) weaves together dispersed elements (discourses, history, professional differences in Twitter adoption rates, journalistic cultures and practices) into a single narrative (*network*), communicating, on the whole, the assembled nature of journalistic professionalism.

Finally, this section has outlined the premises of the traditional approaches as well as some of the reasons as to why they are not quite sustainable nowadays. However, technological advances have brought new human/non-human actors onto the journalistic scene and contributed to the decentralization of news production, which required a change in theoretical and methodological frameworks. In what follows, I will delve into the characteristics of *digital journalism*, a focus of my inquiry, as well as discuss the role of materiality (sociomateriality) in journalistic research and the ways it is commonly tackled theoretically (by means of actor-network theory with its emphasis on the heterogeneity of any assemblage).

2.1.5 Features of digital journalism

Steensen et al. (2019) argue that “the study of “digital journalism is predominantly a post-2010 phenomenon” (p. 322) when discussing the development of digital journalism. Previous journalistic studies were rather concerned with online, multimedia, web, cross-media or convergent journalism (Deuze, 2008; Steensen et al., 2019)—nonetheless, all defined by using digital technologies and the Internet for making and reporting the news.

Furthermore, according to Marcel Broersma (2019), all contemporary journalism is intrinsically digital because it depends on digital technologies for either production or dissemination. As such, the claim that Deuze made back in 2008 that sooner or later through the process of convergence “all journalism will have a multimedia component or defining characteristic, in that it will be possible to gather, edit, and deliver the news through all kinds of platforms using the same digital language of zeroes and ones” is more relevant today than ever (p. 201).

New media journalism has its idiosyncrasies, and, according to Eldridge II and Franklin (2019), the tripartite approaches (i.e., producer-, product-, or consumer-focused) or their combinations—common in journalistic research—are not as helpful nowadays in view of an “increasingly complex society” where journalism thrives (Eldridge II & Franklin, 2019, p. 3). The same can be stated about the distinctions between “sources, journalists and audience members” (Turner, 2005, p. 322). Clear-cut divisions of past research became insufficient to describe contemporary journalism which keeps accommodating a growing array of (hybrid) actors. If one, for instance, refers to journalists as central news producers, where then can one allocate “programmers, technicians, data visualization experts, bloggers...” (Boczkowski, 2015, p. 67) within these tripartite divisions? Are the bloggers considered sources, producers, consumers or all of the above?

On the whole, digital journalism, a sub-area of larger journalism studies, is stated as placing its primary focus on “technology, platforms, audience and the present” (Steensen et al., 2019, p. 320) and as having a strong empirical inclination in its research agenda. It is also marked by an increasing hybridization of news practices (Hamilton, 2016). However, Ahva & Steensen (2017) see the main difference between digital journalism and legacy media in a deconstructed producer-

consumer paradigm in the former: digital journalism had to embrace the interactivity of new media from the very start. This applies, for example, to the culturally informed analyses of how audiences adapt to and shape their multimedia environment (Ahva & Steensen, 2017), and to reception studies in general. In this remodelled view, journalists and audiences cooperate and complement each other in crafting news stories and need to be incorporated into a single study.

Mainly, the current discourse on digital journalism seeks to deconstruct its shifting object of inquiry in order to redefine it in a digital age (Ahva & Steensen, 2017). The tendency, however, was different in the 1990s-2000s,¹³ when scholars predominantly dwelt on the technological revolution and possible effects that online technologies can have on journalism and society at large (Boczkowski, 2004). As an example of technological determinism, John Pavlik (2001) and Nicholas Negroponte (1995), early researchers of new media, wrote on the transformational influence of technologies on news production and consumption. That period is also dubbed “*online journalism utopias*” by Domingo (2006: 18, emphasis in original) who illustrates the point that adoption of technologies is not a seamless process but is negotiated by both human and material actors.

Consequently, this discourse was remedied by pioneering studies of Boczkowski (2004), Domingo (2006), Hemingway (2008), Plesner (2009) and the like who made clear the mutual shaping of journalism and technologies. These scholars drew on STS inflected approaches and, particularly, on ANT in their news ethnographies.

Despite ongoing discussions about technological innovations in journalism and the fact that journalism has always been “a deeply material practice” (Kreiss, 2015, p. 155)—even in the

¹³ Coincidental with the advent of new technologies and the World Wide Web.

analogue era with less sophisticated journalistic tools at hand—officially the ‘material turn’ was announced only in 2015. The Special Issue of *Journalism* named *Objects of Journalism: Media, Materiality and the News* featured articles on the objects of journalism, marking a general paradigm shift in thinking about journalism. The concepts of “‘materiality’, ‘sociomateriality’, and ‘socio-technical systems’ [began to slowly replace] the simple concern with ‘technology’” (De Maeyer, 2016, p. 460). As to digital technologies and software, seemingly virtual on the face of it, they are rather material in the way they contribute to news production and impact the world as a whole, including human perceptions, among other things (see section 3.4.2)

2.1.6 The ‘material turn’ and sociomateriality of journalism

Interestingly, in the afterword to the Special Issue on materiality in journalism studies, Daniel Kreiss (2015) draws bold parallels between cultural¹⁴ and material objects. There is a striking similarity between the objects of culture and materiality in several respects. Both have permanent presence in our daily lives, both actively shape our world, and both are often taken for granted. Only unlike ‘cultural givens’, the ‘material culture’ had not been fully captured by any traditional approach to news.

For the reasons outlined, in order to grasp and explain the ways in which materiality shapes “journalistic practices and products” and is in turn shaped by social practices (Kreiss, 2015, p.155), the ‘objects of journalism’ must be integrated into the purview of journalistic scholars. However, the material lens does not presuppose “a pernicious form of technological determinism” (Anderson, 2012, p. 1016) but, on the contrary, “opens us up to a relational understanding of

¹⁴ Kreiss (2015) refers to the ‘cultural givens’ discussed in culturological approaches in Schudson (1989).

technology” which permeates journalistic reality (Anderson & De Maeyer, 2015, p. 4). Also, objects are not to be confined to technologies only, but might, for example, include “news buildings, ‘raw materials’ of news, and news products” (Usher, 2018, p. 565) or “at least Inanimate Things and Living Things and Persons” (Schudson, 2015, p. 63).

The materiality-ignited understanding of news benefits both journalism scholarship and journalism. The new lens allows for a more sensitivity “toward complexity and relative indeterminacy in sociomaterial life” (Boczkowski, 2015, p. 66). It exposes the contingency of “news practices and journalism as an institution” (Domingo, 2015, p. 72), reveals more hitherto hidden actors, and dismantles the notion of centrality of the newsroom (Boczkowski, 2015). Journalists are encouraged to take the initiative in their relations with technologies and technological settings (Domingo, 2015). Material objects must work in the interests of journalists, and be adjusted to suit journalistic needs, instead of being seen as impediments and insurmountable obstacles.

In translation studies, the ‘material turn’ has not happened yet, at least, it has not been recognized as a ‘turn’ in TS scholarly literature. However, the interest in technology as one of the forms of materiality is not new and can be traced back to as early as the 1970s when James S. Holmes drew a map of translation studies and placed ‘translation aids’ under the umbrella of Applied TS. More recently, Cronin (2013) emphasized that from ancient times translation tools and translations had always been indispensable in shaping each other. Interest resurged in the 1990s with the advent of new technologies and marked the constitution of a ‘global turn’. It is primarily the scholars in applied TS who turned to studying multimedia translation, localization,

content management, computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools, and machine translation engines¹⁵ as well as audiovisual translation (AVT).¹⁶ Not long ago, Desjardins (2017) examined “how OSM [online social media] is helping to reconfigure important aspects of the profession and the field” (p. 5).

On some occasions, the attitude to technologies in TS seems to be influenced by Marshal McLuhan’s technological determinism. For example, Littau (2016), when speaking about the historical role of translation in the global dissemination of knowledge and culture and information, states that “...it is media technologies, however, which have enabled and decisively changed these processes of dissemination [of translations]” (p. 87). Another example is Pym (2011), who discusses the effects of technology on translation and links technology to the extension of “the ways we interact with the world: our arms, our sight, our capacity to hear, touch, to move over distance” (p. 1). These insights are useful in understanding important role that technologies play in translating, disseminating of translations or restructuring the translator’s profession. However, they tend to ignore, for example, the question of social shaping of technologies (i.e., the influence of translators on the uptake of technologies) or the lack of consideration that translations and translators’ work are products of human/non-human dynamics. This in part echoes back the pre-2000s revolutionary discourse in journalism scholarship concerned with the effects of technologies.

¹⁵ For example, see Bassnett (1998), Cronin (2000) and Snell-Hornby (2006) on the ‘global turn.’

¹⁶E.g., see Pérez González (2014, 2019).

In what follows, I will outline the benefits of using ANT to research the sociomateriality of journalism, as well as discuss frequent criticisms of the theory. Finally, I will briefly look into the recently popularized notion of hybridity, as on some occasions ‘hybridity’ may bring more obscurity than clarity when describing findings.

2.1.7 Pros and cons of applying actor-network theory to study the sociomateriality of newswork

Often, journalistic scholars interested in the sociomateriality of news work draw on actor-network theory (De Maeyer, 2016). One of the first scholars to contemplate the benefits of applying actor-network theory to studying news was Fred Turner (2005). His recourse to STS (science and technology studies) theory was in part prompted by the need to account for the changing journalism landscape and the roles of proliferating “socio-technical hybrids” in the producing and disseminating of public discourse (Turner, 2005, p.321). Another perceived benefit in the use of ANT is in challenging the long-standing dichotomies of journalism such as “news and newsmakers, reporters and audience, press and politics” (Turner, 2005, p.321) and other divisions that became obsolete in view of the emergence of convergent journalism, and also in view of the contemporary “age in which individuals, not social groups, exercise greater power than ever before” (Schudson, 2008, p. 47).

Speaking of divisions, ANT can also offer an alternative to a linear sender-receiver model, according to which studies either analyze how producers or consumers shape the message or delve into the textual analysis of content respectively (Hemmingway, 2008, Spöhrer, 2017, Teurlings, 2013). First, in ANT vision, senders, receivers and messages are symmetrical actors that all support a communication network. Secondly, there are more human beings (all those invisible actors such as technicians, clerks or external agents etc. who even tangentially contribute to news production) and material factors (e.g., technologies, types of media) than anticipated by this functionalist model, which make up a media process. A focus on one aspect of the model at the expense of others has resulted in “the differentiation of distinct fields of study such as media production

studies, Communication Studies, content analysis, narratology, audience reception research” (Wieser, 2012, p. 104, as cited in Spöhrer, 2017, p. 7).

According to Anderson and De Maeyer (2015), the application of ANT to journalism studies is mainly targeted at studying technological innovations and their introduction into newswork but, as the authors rightfully note, the study of innovation is not the only possibility. Latour (2005) himself lists a few more occasions (besides an orthodox focus on ‘visible’ innovations) where ANT could be put to a good use. For example, the researching of past events that has little to do with tracing innovations but produces a sense of novelty by shedding a fresh light on long-gone events and artefacts. The historical perspective used by some ANT-inspired journalism scholars (e.g., Le Cam, 2015; Rodgers, 2015) underscores the contingency of journalism as institution as well as points to the heterogeneity of actors in newswork. ANT also can be useful to explore the plurality of sociomaterial actors in constructing news narratives (Domingo & Wiard, 2016). Regarding digital journalism studies, Stalph (2019) indicates that such ANT concepts as materiality, black boxes, and hybridity, are particularly constructive in exploring “relations between data, computation, and journalism practice, epistemology, reflexivity, and journalistic artefacts” (p. 1) that shape data journalism.

The flat ontology of ANT, its relativism and refusal to impose *a priori* categorizations can also be the source of its weaknesses. For example, Hemmingway (2008) and Couldry (2008) critically underline ANT’s lack of interest in human agency. Human behaviour, unlike computers’ “unmotivated and unintended action” (Hemmingway, 2008, p. 185), is intrinsically intentional and self-reflexive (in most cases). Consequently, human beings, from the outset, might possess greater power in building or maintaining networks, whereas for Latour (1986) power is an outcome of collective performance and is distributed among undifferentiated actors. In contrast to the above

opinions, Domingo and Wiard (2016) consider that ANT concepts of sociological translation and obligatory point of passage adequately address and explicate power relations in structuring actor-networks, perhaps by shifting attention to actors' individual agencies. Other common criticisms are the "absence of explanation and generalization" (Plesner, 2009, p. 624) of findings and "relative neglect of time" (Couldry, p. 2009, p. 100) manifested in ANT's focus on the present, on the making, and its relative silence as to what happens to the networks after they are established, even though networks are evanescent and keep continuously reshaping.

More recent criticisms on the application of ANT to media studies are mostly aimed at the theory's "indifference ...to questions of normativity, variation, and causality" (Benson, 2017, p. 27). Although the discussion of norms is rather scarce in ANT-oriented approaches in contemporary journalism research, there are very few related studies (e.g., Domingo et al., 2015; Domingo & Wiard, 2016). In both works the authors 'problematize' the notion of normativity in journalism and warn against taking it for granted. From the vantage-point of ANT, norms like any other actor are a temporary construction; they get materialized into "books, professional magazines and websites" (Domingo & Wiard, 2016, p. 405). Normativity might seem 'blackboxed' and stable but is nevertheless prone to change in the course of actors' interactions. However, in their recent publication, Witschge et al. (2019) claim that norms in journalism practices and scholarship actually "transcend the interactions between actors . . .because they are shared references that connect present, current practices with ideals, old and new" (p. 655). They are points of departure in (workplace) relationships as they interfere with the way people think, act and work.

As in regard to their disinterest in variance and causality, they can be attributed to ANT's overall reluctance to differentiate outcomes at the systemic level to criticize, to explain, to interpret, and to generalize findings (Benson, 2017). From the start ANT was designed to bridge

an epistemological gap between the empirical ‘how’ and theoretical ‘why’ by way of illustrating various processes through the prism of its networked ontology. Adding an extra layer of explanation is deemed a redundancy. The causes are to be found inside the thick description of the socio-technical networks and should emerge automatically “once the description is saturated” (Latour, 1991, p. 129). Also, since every case is a unique assemblage, categorization is pointless.

Yet some ANT-inspired journalism scholars (e.g., Anderson & De Maeyer, 2015, Couldry, 2008) have an uneasy attitude as to ‘why’ the findings matter and look for ways to enhance their research and go beyond detailed descriptions. This uneasiness may be explained by their exposure to the “risk of reporting trivial findings or simply relaying the narrow worldviews of the actors” (Benson 2017, p. 34) under study. Even Boczkowski (2015), a prominent STS researcher, finds the absence of “causal explanations of variance in outcomes that transcend the particulars of the case or cases analyzed in a given study” (p. 66) as a general limitation of STS-oriented approaches. In order to compensate for this, Boczkowski (2015) encourages journalism scholars to supplement STS scholarship, for example, by insights from traditional sociology with its explanatory tools. In a similar yet more radical way, Benson (2017) advocates for a new descriptivism, which he also dubs “an observant relativism” (p. 35). It draws on ANT in its foundations but links research findings “to the array of political and aesthetic positions potentially at stake” (Benson, 2017, p. 35). As I see it, the willingness to explain findings, to relate them to other categories may not be as contradictory to ANT’s tenets as might initially seem. It is only *a priori* categorizations that are frowned upon by its founders. Otherwise, Law (1994) had already expressed an idea “that though matters are contingent, there are patterns in that contingency” (p. 19), which begs empirical investigation. Overall, the tendency in the wider social sciences to mix ANT with other approaches indicates that the development of ‘post-ANT’ is well underway (Michael, 2017).

Lastly, I would like to touch upon the notion of hybridity in journalism used not only by ANT-scholars but also as a common substitute for everything complex. In this regard, Witschge et al. (2019), although not discussing ANT specifically, emphasize that journalism, like life, is essentially “made up of inconsistencies” (p. 656). While it is useful to point out such inconsistencies, the research would be better served by finding some patterns in that complexity. The authors call for being open to experiment, to expand (rather than cut back) on existing accounts of the world and develop (often marginalized) values to guide researchers’ practices.

As known so far, ‘hybridity’ in the ANT sense refers to sociotechnical assemblages, collectives of human and non-human beings (Latour 2005). However, ‘hybridity’ does not suppose a simple espousal of technical and social things that were previously separate. In this respect, Czarniawska (2017) warns against treating the social and technical as things and reminds us of the ANT credo that the social (or collective) is “but a relation” (p. 1483). And it is exactly these heterogeneous relations, i.e., *sociological translations*, that my project is set to study on the example of work routines at Inter Press Service. Although they are complex and divergent from one location to another, I will be looking for logical patterns that can be stated to describe and connect them despite incongruences.

Altogether, the above review of journalistic research indicates that sociologists of news work, rightly so, treat news and journalism as a social institution which is shaped by numerous internal and external factors. The foundational *politico-economic, social organization of newswork* and *cultural approaches* still hold strong but are increasingly influenced by the networked understanding of news—as a response to the changes in journalism practices brought about by virtual technologies, with their possibilities of simultaneous connectivity across time and space and interactivity. A networked perception of news also relays the material and hybrid nature of

journalism. The main framework to study sociomateriality of journalism is ANT (De Maeyer, 2016).

Whenever possible, in section 2.1, I tried to find common intersections between the sociology of news and related research in translation studies. This focus has helped to identify some similarities and differences in treating, for example, the concepts of gatekeeping, ideology, objectivity and materiality from the standpoint of these fields. It has also been found that, in the sociology of news, textual analysis of news texts is tackled predominantly by cultural approaches, whereas for news translation research in general, news texts are primary sources of inquiry, while analysis of journalistic practices is done mainly for the triangulation of data.

In the following, I will delve more specifically into classifications of news translation in a more direct connection to the field of TS research, as represented by Kyle Conway (2015) and Roberto A. Valdeón (2015a). The former scholar builds his categorization by drawing on communication studies and on the bulk of existing NTR. Conway (2015) integrates social and cultural approaches into a single category and introduces a separate group of linguistic approaches. In contrast to Conway (2015), Valdeón (2015a) organizes JTR according to the focus of scholarly investigation in the field of news translation and allocates existing works to *product-based*, *process-based*, *medium-based* and *cultural studies approaches*, foregoing the sociological aspects of news translation. Both classifications are silent about the questions of (socio)materiality and the networked character of news translation processes. All these considerations will be used for defining my project that straddles the sociology of news and translation studies.

2.2 Kyle Conway's classification of News Translation Research

Conway (2015) draws on the dialogue approach from Vološinov's Marxist philosophy of language (1929/1986). When arguing that news translation researchers have followed three

mainstream approaches, namely, *the political economy approach*, *the linguistic approach* and merged *the cultural studies or sociological approach*, “each responds to a different set of questions, and each relies on different ideas about culture, news, and translation” (p. 521), and each encompasses micro- or macro-levels. When considering Conway’s classification of NTR, it is important, nevertheless, to bear in mind that Conway (2015) looks at news through the prism of “symbolic culture” (p. 527) and locates news in the dialectical “tension between the political-economic, social, and subjective worlds that makes language (and other sign systems) both private and shared” (p. 529). News is one of the many manifestations of symbolic culture; it reflects current beliefs of journalists and of the larger society, and is also subject to further reinterpretations through its circulation.

When mapping NTR done in the past, Conway (2015) is governed by the larger ideas and trends underpinning the research rather than stand-alone works or scholars and notes that NTR rarely draws on a single idea or category, which could prove even contradictory in some cases. As an example, he refers to a frequently cited book by Bielsa & Bassnett (2009), which, according to Conway (2015), contains partly inconsistent theoretical debates existing in NTR. In general, this scholar emphasizes that any single perspective is neither possible nor sufficient to study the complex phenomenon of NT because of its embeddedness in social and political environments. This is well illustrated in Conway’s book *Everyone Says No. Public Service Broadcasting and the Failure of Translation* (2011). Here he points out that the terms ‘distinct society’ and ‘société distincte’, which were supposed to be equivalent, nevertheless acquired different connotations and associations (respectively) for anglophone and francophone populations in Canada through journalists’ circulation (in media and acts of cultural translation) of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords in the early 1990s—showing the interrelatedness of lexical expression and

meaning with social factors. As well, the genre (e.g., hard or soft news) and type of news (i.e., Internet-based, print or broadcast media) can exert an influence on its content and order of presentation, which must correlate with audience expectations (Conway, 2015, p. 530).

2.2.1 Political economy approaches

According to Conway (2015), *political economy approaches* are the most developed compared to other approaches and have a longer research history (starting from the late 1970s)—they are concerned with “how events become stories and how stories move from one place to another” (Conway, 2015, p. 524). The scholars in this stream were frequently inspired by a larger communications research project (known as the MacBride report/Many Voices One World) conducted by UNESCO in the 1980s, which sought to eliminate imbalances and obstacles in global information flows between wealthy and poor countries and to expand communication infrastructure.

On a *micro-level*, some scholars (e.g., Fujii, 1988; Wilke and Rosenberger, 1994) looked at the ways journalist-editor-translators selected and transformed news stories—they exercised a kind of censorship; in fact, they became known in the literature as ‘gatekeepers’ (Floros, 2012; Valdeón, 2015a). Their focus was on ideological distortions in news translations, when “manipulative norms” (Floros, 2012, p. 939) prevailed over translation norms, which Floros (2012) attributes to the fact that “news reporting is almost by necessity a carrier of national ideology” (p. 924). Ideology is tightly intertwined with ethical issues; for example, Floros (2012) called for a “higher ethical awareness” (p. 939) in media.

On the *macro-level*, early scholars in this stream (e.g., Chu, 1985; Henningham, 1979; Lee-Reoma, 1978) examined the dependency between international relations and the choice of events

by international news agencies located in wealthy countries (e.g., Associated Press, Reuters, Kyodo in Japan) and studied the transformations that news stories underwent, where the political climate in those countries was the variable in the ‘equation’ (Conway, 2015, p. 524).

Later on, researchers using political economy approaches began to tackle NT in a more subtle and complex way—their focus shifted from theorizing culture as a homogeneous entity to recognizing individual beliefs of local audiences, or “anthropological culture” (Conway, 2015, p. 525), which according to Collins (1990) embraces both macro-level national governmental institutions and a micro-level of people’s daily routines. This is the case with *Translation in Global News* (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009), whose authors dwell on the role of news translation “in a global context, conceptualizing its analytical place in globalization theory and its key role in the articulation of the global and the local” (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 18) as well as discuss the role of translation in expressing the local in global news flows.

Another example of a *macro-study* is Bielsa (2016) who proposes to study the role of an interlingual translation in news in the context of cosmopolitanism studies, which takes further a previously articulated function of news translation in information flows (in Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009). In this setting, news translation can be viewed potentially as a plurivocal “space of cosmopolitan openness” (p. 197), interconnecting people across various countries, cultures and traditions, bringing together the global and the local.

2.2.2 Linguistic approaches

Linguistic approaches, on the other hand, focus on interlingual transfer and examine original news stories against their translations, although perfect matches rarely exist (Conway, 2015, p. 525). This can be explained by the fact that interlingual transfer in news is part and parcel

of news production, when “information is transposed from one language into another and then edited, rewritten, shaped and repackaged in a new context” (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 11)—making the source and target texts unrecognizable (Conway, 2015, p. 525)—when “the only traceable source is an event” (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 123).

On the *micro-level*, linguistic research tackles semantic inequalities in lexical and grammatical terms; it examines connotations and renditions of politically charged words and analyses the strategies that journalist-translators use in rewriting news stories. Some examples drawn by Conway include: Sorby (2006) for English-Chinese language pairs and Bulut (2012) for English-Turkish pairs (Conway, 2015, p. 525). Here linguistic choices are studied in correlation with community values, and the notion of culture refers to “both the communities and the interpretive horizon they share” (Conway, 2015, p. 525).

According to Conway (2015), *macro-level* research in the language-based approach is rare; it is primarily concerned with the effects that journalist-translators’ linguistic choices bring to bear on the target language and community (pp. 525-526). For example, (McLaughlin, 2011) examined news stories to find evidence as to how the borrowings of English syntax or English words impact or change the French language and culture, respectively. Yet the conclusions are not always valid, because journalists must often follow established terminology guidelines as applied in different contexts.

2.2.3 Sociology and cultural studies approaches

Sociology and cultural studies approaches are basically equated and subsumed by Conway under one group, the reasons being their similarity, and the absence of studies in NT that employ sociological approaches at the moment of writing the article (K. Conway, personal communication,

May 23, 2019). In this regard, I will address some of the sociologically oriented works in NT below to illustrate recent developments in the field.

Altogether, sociology and cultural studies approaches seek to explain how journalists are influenced by their social and cultural environments, and/or how news reports shape society's perceptions of the world—this can be tackled on either a micro- or macro-level (Conway, 2015, p. 526). However, the cultural studies approach (according to the scholar) is more interested in symbolic culture (how and why journalist-editor-translators choose certain words/meanings over others when re-writing news texts) (Conway, 2015, p. 527). Also, the cultural approach in NT matches those approaches introduced to TS a result of the cultural turn in the 1980s—e.g., ethnographic, post-colonial, gender and translation approaches, etc.—which interpret how power relations, negotiation of the Self and the Other along with other hidden cultural meanings get imprinted in the narratives and translations (e.g., Wolf, 2000, 2002; Bandia, 2010, 2012; von Flotow, 2011).

On the *micro-level*, scholars investigate how journalists/translators/editors perceive their roles, how they produce news texts and what they do exactly to carry the message over to the context of another language, culture, and audience. On the whole, they link the sociological to the linguistic, hence rendering this approach *micro-*. Here, Conway (2015) cites Davier (2014) as an example of a participant-observation study (sociological approach) and himself (Conway, 2011) as examples of a “carefully situated textual analysis” (Conway, 2015, p. 526)—representing a cultural studies approach.

Wine Tesseur (2015) and Lucile Davier (2017) adopt a *micro-sociological approach* to their studies on translation of press releases and international news, respectively. Wine Tesseur (2015) examines institutional translation (a close alternative to news translation) at Amnesty

International from a sociological perspective—as a complex activity affected by both participating social actors and institutional regulations (p. 41). The scholar’s work investigates the enactments of translation policy (comprised of translation management, practices and beliefs based on Spolsky’s (2004) concept of language policy) in translation products as well as uses her findings to glean insight into the role of translation in Amnesty’s global communication strategies. The linguistic ethnography the author employs allows one to interpret the results of a comparative linguistic analysis (including French, Dutch and English discourse) in correlation with the data yielded by observation and interviews. Similarly, Davier (2017) employs a corpus analysis coupled with an ethnography of translation practices at Agence France Presse (AFP) and Agence télégraphique Suisse (ATS) in her study on a public problem—a vote to ban construction of minarets in Switzerland. The scholar is particularly interested in the role of “translation in the constitution of a public problem by two news agencies in three different languages” (Davier, 2017, p. 123).

A different *sociological* perspective was offered by Marlie van Rooyen (2019a). She applies “slowciology” (Latour, 2005, p. 122) with the goal of tracking technological convergence (various forms of involved technology) and media convergence (news adaptation to different media platforms) (p. 166) in radio news translation in a South African context. The scholar describes a network of interactions/translations between human and non-human actors comprising news translation while focusing on pinpointing technologies engaged in news production, which she lists in the conclusion. Van Rooyen’s idea is novel to NT and to TS in general in that she puts an ANT translation to use in order to describe workplace interactions and dispenses with textual analysis. In her subsequent Ph.D. thesis, Van Rooyen (2019b) also uses an ANT approach to studying the role of translation in community radio newsrooms in South Africa. However, in both

works, the linguistic definition of news translation is not challenged, which makes her approach *micro-sociological*.

On this level, scholars may also address the questions of the visibility or invisibility of translation and translators in journalistic practices, which Conway connects with journalists' expectations as regards both their audience and themselves (Conway, 2015). In other sources (e.g., Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009; Bellos, 2011; Valdeón, 2012; Davier, 2014, etc.), the issue of visibility versus invisibility is explained by the inseparability of news writing and translating when journalists and translators are the same people with a mastery of more than one language. Interestingly, Bassnett and Bielsa (2009) talk about *double invisibility* in NT, meaning that in addition to the integration of two activities, news texts always adhere to the 'domestication' or 'fluency' principle (p. 73). If the process of translation is invisible, the comparison of a translation with the original news story (provided this is possible) renders the journalist's intervention quite obvious (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 93).

At the *macro-level*, the group of *sociology and cultural studies approaches* takes the concept of translation beyond linguistic manipulation and views it "as a type of mediation or negotiation" (Conway, 2015, p. 527). The concepts of culture and translation are enlarged and can include Jakobson's intersemiotic translation and "non-verbal symbols" (Conway, 2015, p. 527)—as in the case study of Vaskivska et al. (2013) when they describe how Spanish journalists explain (intersemiotically translated) the meaning of *niqab*, a non-verbal symbol of Islam, to the public during debates on the burka/niqab ban in Spain; the authors applied a frame analysis to the newspapers' discourse to draw their conclusions.

That said, Conway remains a major practitioner of the micro-cultural studies approach, and the theoretical premises of his 'cultural translation' in this regard are to be discussed next.

In his book *Everyone Says No. Public Service Broadcasting and the Failure of Translation* (2011), Conway explores the thorny issue of cultural identity in multinational and multilingual Canada in the wake of the so-called “Quiet Revolution” in Québec—based on the television news coverage of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords in the early 1990s. He borrows a circuit model of culture from Stuart Hall (1997) and Julie D’Acci (2004) to examine how *reception* (i.e., viewers), along with socio-historical and political factors, can influence journalists’ decisions in *production* (i.e., news writing) as well as in turn being shaped by journalists’ stories (Conway 2011, pp. 11-12). In this discussion Conway shows how the seemingly identical terms ‘distinct society’ or ‘société distincte’ acquired contrasting layers of meaning with the help of journalists and came to be understood quite differently in anglophone and francophone Canada.

Conway’s findings reveal that news reception is shaped by the same factors that govern its production: political context, economic motivations, and the degree to which journalists are embedded in their immediate environment and follow the format of the programme they represent, selecting the ‘speakers’/leaders of active political confrontation and under-representing minorities. News reports need to appeal to shared values and knowledge (i.e., context) (Conway, 2011), which often provokes recourse to stereotyping or generalizing in reporting.

Elsewhere, Conway tackles the reductionist nature of cultural presentation in media as a “saleable diversity”—i.e., privileging “audiences’ expectations over the work of interpretation” (Conway, 2017, p. 30)—or “cultural resistance” in TV news (Conway, 2010, p. 187), meaning that journalists need to overcome resistance when writing news stories for a different context/audience on the one hand and the impossibility of reducing culture to a text on the other (Conway, 2010, p. 189).

As a concluding remark, the classification of NTR offered by Kyle Conway (2015) is a rich soil for investigating crossings between communication studies, cultural studies, and news translation studies. It also points to the possibilities of employing a wider range of theoretical frameworks and taking advantage of existing research in communication studies, and thus contributes to the development of NTR. The dialectical materialist approach that Conway (2015) adopts additionally illustrates that no individual factors are enough to describe cultural translation in news: it is rather an interplay of political and economic factors and social actors. The classification also beneficially underlines a different focus of research by dividing NTR into *micro- and macro-* levels, with *micro-* always dealing with language issues. For all that, it does not have space for the reception studies nor multimodality of news translation and changes in news translation practices brought by convergence¹⁷ which will be partly addressed by Roberto A. Valdeón (2015a) in his discussion of *medium-based studies*.

2.3 Roberto A. Valdeón's classification of Journalistic Translation Research

Valdeón (2015a) splits JTR into two major categories or approaches — *product-based research* and *process-based research* — and states that coupling those would certainly benefit translation scholars by providing an in-depth knowledge of international news (p. 646). These major categories are not exhaustive, and other aspects could potentially be explored—Valdeón (2015a) distinguishes three additional approaches: *cultural studies*, *reception studies* and *medium-based studies*. Below I will outline *product-based research*, *process-based research* and *cultural studies approach* in view of the fact that *reception studies* and *medium-based studies* in and of

¹⁷ The topic of convergence will be discussed below and also in the theoretical chapter including the discussion of Davier & Conway's (2019) recent contribution, which covers news translation and convergence.

themselves do not represent approaches to studying NT but rather tackle audience feedback and modes of news transmission respectively.¹⁸

It is worth mentioning that the medium-based studies group (e.g., Darwish, 2010; Lee, 2006; Tsai, 2005, 2012), which explores the connections between various media and the design of news stories and/or compares them for discrepancies in the style of representation (Valdeon, 2015a, pp. 650–651) could be allocated to both product- and process-based research—technological advancement affects equally translation as a product and translation routines. Although van Doorslaer (2010) states that multimodal/audio-visual translation is not popular in TS as spoken data are not easily retrievable for textual analysis (van Doorslaer, 2010, p. 176), Davier and Conway (2019) emphasize that in times of converging journalism NT researchers cannot keep ignoring audiovisual translation (Davier & Conway, 2019, p. 9)—global-local news content exchanges are performed and possible only through translational mediation, whether machine or human (Guerrero, 2019).

Convergence, as we know it now, came about with the arrival of new technologies, and its single definition is not achievable, according to Grant (2009), but on a more general and metaphorical note, this “catch-all term” (Grant and Wilkinson, 2019, p. 357) refers to the processes of “a seamless integration of information tributaries that flow into a digital river that is more malleable, more accessible, and more useful than its analog predecessors” (Kornegay, 2009, p. 84). Convergence affects journalistic practices, “media technology, organizational structure, or

¹⁸ Reception studies representatives (e.g., Bulic, 2011; Tian & Chao, 2012; Thiranagama, 2011) delve into recipients’ responses and reactions to translated news reports (Valdeón, 2015a, p. 650), i.e. overall dealing with the finished product, which is not relevant for my research seeking to explain how news translation is created.

audience behaviour” (Grant & Wilkinson, 2019, p. 357) and is also a somewhat of a “chameleon” (Conway & Davier, 2019, p. 1) as it comes in diverse shapes and in various contexts. Nevertheless, the main examples of convergence are “newsroom convergence, cross-media partnerships, and digital news networks” (Scott, 2005, p. 1).

In relation to the product-based NTR, media convergence challenges the traditional understanding of news text—news content might include various extratextual elements depending on the medium (e.g., hyperlinks, hypertexts, hashtags, emoticons, digital video, sound, images, etc.), and in its turn the news medium also imposes restrictions on the news content (e.g., in terms of length, format, etc.)—also, it might help dispel translation invisibility in some cases. For example, Guerrero (2019) writes that social media (like Facebook and especially Twitter) has become indispensable in news work. In her article “The translation of tweets in Spanish digital newspaper[s]” (2019), she investigates strategies used by the Spanish online newspaper *El País* to translate English tweets about Donald Trump into Spanish and incorporate them into news text and discusses the visual representation of tweet-quotes. She finds that tweet translations are often presented together with the screenshot of the original tweets (graphic elements) to gain audience’s credibility and ensure journalistic ethics (i.e., citing news sources) (Guerrero, 2019, p. 7), with the overall effect of making the semiotic translative action visible. Among other questions which need scholars’ attention is how the multilingual news content is adapted and reframed to fit various multimedia platforms (Davier and Conway, 2019). Although Michael Schudson (2011) from journalism studies states that the basics of online news writing are the same as in traditional newspapers dating back to the nineteenth century (p. xx), the merging of various news circulation channels requires a new set of skills and conceptual tools for multimodal data collection and the analysis of interlingual transfers (Davier, 2019).

2.3.1 Product-based approaches

Product-based approaches, according to Valdeón (2015a), examine source and target news texts, using linguistic or discourse analysis methods and, potentially, CAT tools for comparative linguistic analysis of multilingual news corpora. This group is represented in numerous articles and dissertations, although (as alluded to earlier), because of the domesticating tendency of NT, it is difficult to find parallel news texts. Some have analyzed, for example, news headlines instead—as in the case studies of Guerrero, 2004; Kontos & Sidiropoulou, 2012; Sidiropoulou, 1995b, 2004; Valdeón, 2007b; Zhang, 2013 (in Valdeón, 2015a, p. 647) or quotes (e.g., Chen, 2009; Matsushita, 2013; Haapanen & Perrin, 2019), or analyzed comparable news corpora (e.g., Gagnon et al., 2018). Also, in compared sources, one of the languages is traditionally English, which is a limiting factor for making generalized conclusions that would apply uniformly to all language pairs.

Varieties of approach in product-based research can include (but are not limited to): critical discourse analysis (e.g., Chen, 2011; Schäffner, 2005, 2008, 2012b; Valdeón, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a), narrative theory (e.g., Baker, 2006; Carbonell, 2010; Harding, 2011, 2012a, 2012b; Valdeón, 2007a, 2008; van Rooyen, 2011) and the framing/reframing approach (e.g., van Leeuwen, 2006; van Doorslaer, 2010c; Luo, 2014). Some authors have combined their approaches, as may be seen in the examples to follow (Valdeón, 2015a, p. 648-649). The majority of studies in this group focus on ideology, which as a concept is “elusive” (Bell & Garrett, 1998, p. 23), and trace how ideological considerations lead to linguistic, grammatical and stylistic transformations in target news texts.

Christina Schäffner is well-known for her research in the political aspects of media (Schäffner & Bassnett, 2010); she has published and edited many works devoted to this subject. For example, in a 2012 article, Schäffner used political linguistics and critical discourse analysis

to investigate recontextualization of the discourse, following the Sarkozy-Merkel meeting in the form of “joint letter, statements, and a press conference” (Schäffner, 2012b, p. 105) in French, German and English news outlets. She concludes that political actors and institutional policies impact the way texts are selected and translated, relegating translators and interpreters to a secondary role, and underlines the need to complement the analysis of discursive events with an ethnographic study of actual practices and processes of translation (Schäffner, 2012b).

In the same vein, in their article Anneleen Spiessens and Piet Van Poucke (2016) investigate which translation and visual strategies Russian media employees used to translate Western news reports on the Crimean crisis for the pro-government news website *InoSmi*. This was done with the help of corpus analysis, critical discourse analysis and framing (e.g., using moral, military, political, and economic frames). These scholars found that the translation was characterized by a heavy reframing of the discourse, as well as by visual and textual changes—transformations which can all be explained by the pressing political agenda of the given news outlet (Spiessens & Van Poucke, 2016).

Baker (2006), who reconceptualized the typology of narratives (ontological, public, conceptual and meta-narratives) originally developed in Somers (1992, 1994, 1997) and Somers and Gibson (1994) in light of translation studies, has described many case studies on news translation in terms of their political aspect—e.g., Carbonell, 2010; Harding, 2011, 2012a, 2012b; Valdeón, 2007a, 2008; van Rooyen, 2011 (Valdeón, 2015a, p. 647) .

In general, narrative theory allows us to categorize and connect the world and experiences “temporally, spatially, socially” (Baker, 2006, p. 10). Although not addressing specifically news translation, Baker (2006) supported her claims that numerous translations are “designed to contest domestic narratives by challenging them abroad” (Baker, 2006, p. 37) and that translators and

interpreters are “becoming increasingly involved in articulating public narratives of groups located outside their own domestic setting altogether” (Baker, 2006, p. 37), with data drawn mainly from newspapers and politicized websites. All the transformations, suppressions and articulations in the original narratives are done with the goal of pursuing political agendas and resisting mainstream opinions in situations of civic conflicts—albeit translations can also be carried out by volunteers who simply follow a certain group’s interests (Baker, 2006).

2.3.2 Process-based approaches

Under *Process-based approaches*, on the other hand, Valdeón (2015a) lists ethnographic research on news agencies and translation practices (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009; Davier, 2014), a linguistic ethnographic study (Jacobs & Tobback, 2013), and a mixed approach used by Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow (2012), including such methods as “keystroke logging, screen recordings, eye-tracking and cue-based retrospective verbalization” (Valdeón, 2015, p. 648). In other sources the ethnographic approach is rather classified as participant-oriented and the latter as process-oriented by translation methodologists (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014).

The first-of-a-kind comprehensive process-oriented study on international news translation was done by Bassnett and Bielsa as part of the Warwick project (see also Davier, 2017 and Tesseur, 2015 for recent examples). The three-year interdisciplinary project (2003-2006) investigated NT practices, the training profiles of professionals engaged in NT, and the politico-economic role of translation in global media, and brought together researchers from media and translation studies, sociology, linguistics and other related disciplines for several international conferences and seminars; In general, it contributed to the future growth of NTR (Bassnett, 2005, p. 123; Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, pp. 5-7). The research findings were presented in a book titled *Translation in Global News* (2009). There the authors connect globalization and translation—the latter as a

vehicle for global communication neglected so far in globalization theory (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 18). Interestingly, Bassnett and Bielsa's work (2009) on global news translation is also shaped by cultural studies but these scholars' research had not been classified under the *cultural studies approach* (see relevant discussion in the section below).

Besides providing a historical account of major news agencies (Reuters, Agence France Press and Inter Press Service) and describing on-site practices, Bassnett and Bielsa analyze different translation strategies that, they argue, are irrelevant to news translation (e.g., skopos theory, Nida's dynamic equivalence, foreignization/domestication and faithfulness/localization disputes). The related concepts of news translation as localization (Orengo, 2009) and transediting (Stetting, 1989) are also brought under scrutiny; the authors opt out for 'news translation' as it points "to this particular combination between editing and translating, and more specifically to the form that translation takes when it has become integrated in news production within the journalistic field" (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 64). The scholars find that appropriation (or Venuti's acculturation or domestication) is what characterizes translation strategy in news agencies "where the objective is to bring a message to the target audience in a clear, concise and totally comprehensible way" (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 17). The failure of other strategies can be explained not by differences in journalistic practices, stylistic and content expectations across the globe, but rather by frequent rewriting/restructuring of the same news story with the aim of changing the "news angle" (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 67) and by drawing upon multiple sources (i.e., instability of sources).

On a quick note, Valdeón (2015b) underlines that recent developments in technology have made sources more unstable, meaning that electronic formats are easily amenable to manipulation and multimodal news distribution. This trend is also facilitated by current translation copyright

law that protects only the form or “the expression of a work”, and not the ideas (Basalamah, 2012a, p. 199). The news genre, though generally unstable, allows for some exclusions—such as voice-over translations, interviews with famous personalities or columns written by renowned specialists, thus demanding accurate translation (Valdeón, 2015b).

2.3.3 Cultural studies approach

The *cultural studies approach* to news translation borrows initiatives from the cultural turn in translation studies in the 1990s and follows the motto that “translations are made to respond to the demands of a culture, and of various groups within that culture” (Bassnett & Lefèvre, 1990, p. 7).

Both, Conway (e.g., 2010, 2011, 2012) and Bassnett & Bielsa (2009) tackle the questions of culture in news translation; however, Valdeón’s deals with Conway’s contribution in a separate section. Consequently, it seems necessary to define the term cultural approaches as employed by Bassnett and Bielsa (2009)—in contrast to Kyle Conway in his numerous publications on this subject. While the former authors identify news translation rather passively and observably as acculturation (or full domestication to the audience’s expectations), also admitting that linguistic choices of journalist-translators are institutionally limited, the latter bases his cultural approach in the circuit model of culture described by Hall (1980) and D’Acci (2004) (it encompasses representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation) and identifies news translation rather as a *dynamic negotiation* and interrelation between involved parties and social forces. As Conway (2015) explains:

This [cultural] approach treats translation as a type of mediation or negotiation that goes beyond the rewriting of texts. When journalists explain to their audiences how another community sees the world, they make editorial choices, as the other approaches

demonstrate, but they also take an active role in the tug-and-pull over what words mean (p. 527).

Also, Conway draws largely on anthropological and post-colonial studies when formulating his notion of ‘cultural translation’ (Valdeón, 2015a, p. 649) and illustrates the ambiguity of ‘cultural translation’ as a concept and its application (Conway, 2012). Firstly, the term ‘cultural translation’ is equivocal, because the notion of *culture* can, potentially, engender a wide range of meanings—it can signify, among other things, a community’s shared assumptions about the world, about itself or its artefacts (Conway, 2012, p. 265). Secondly, the notion of translation can take on different shades as well, depending on the discipline—for example, Conway (2012) discusses the connotations of translation in anthropology (a living culture gets translated and perpetuated in a text) and post-colonial studies (cultural transformation of individuals displaced from their native soil to a foreign environment) (p. 265).

On the other hand, global news agencies often have their own institutional agendas, norms and writing policies—which can impinge upon cultural translation. In this regard, Valdeón (2015a) notes that the cultural approach to NT can be applied to various contexts when journalists translate or write “for their own culture” (p. 649), which implies a certain degree of difficulty in translating cultural clues for a foreign or unfamiliar audience.

Interestingly, Lucile Davier (2015), in her study of news translation on the minaret ban in Switzerland, covered by Agence France-Presse and the national Agence Télégraphique Suisse, criticizes both acculturation and cultural translation as too prescriptive. However, the works of Bassnett and Bielsa (2009) and Kyle Conway (e.g., 2011, 2017a) are based on ethnographic observation (i.e., they are descriptive) and do not have any pedagogical ambitions. It is true that both notions of cultural translation and acculturation are not “fine-grained” enough (Davier, 2015,

p. 536) to reflect the subtleties of NT and actual practices of journalist-translators. She remarks that “translation is interlingual and intercultural *per se* and does not need to be accompanied by a supplementary adjective” (Davier, 2015, p. 548) and proposes a combination of corpus analysis and workplace research methods to investigate NT in a more comprehensive way, which is becoming a common tendency in NTR.

This section has reviewed Valdeón’s (2015a) classification of JTR. Although the author lists five approaches used to study journalistic translation, thorough attention was given to the *product-based*, *process-based* and *cultural studies* approaches. The reason is that *reception studies* and *medium-based studies* do not tackle translation or production of international news and other related aspects. Rather, they dwell on the reactions of audiences to translation products (in the first case) and the questions of multimodality and, consequently, convergence in news translation, which can be attributed to both translation as a product and translation as a process (in the latter scenario). In the following section, I will broach some instances of research done on Inter Press Service by both journalism and translation studies scholars in order to gauge their similarities and differences in respect to the current project.

2.4 Past research on Inter Press Service (IPS)

The aim of this section is to review previous research on IPS that had been conducted by Journalism/Communication/Media and Translation Studies scholars. Therefore, except for the work done in NTR, I do not claim all-inclusiveness but rather representativeness of the past research.

My current project was inspired by the reading of Bassnett and Bielsa (2009) who investigated the role of news translation in globalization based on the comparative study of

translation (also associated norms, values and strategies) and translation practices across Reuters, AFP and Inter Press Service—i.e., global news agencies. In regard to IPS, Bassnett and Bielsa observed the work of journalist-editor-translators in Montevideo (a regional headquarters of IPS for Latin America) in 2004, and also conducted interviews and online questionnaires. The results of their ethnographical study showed that journalist-editor-translators at IPS have more agency than those working in other agencies under study—besides selecting which articles to translate (that are produced in either Spanish or English) and the relative freedom and creativity in linguistic adaptation of the content for global audiences, they also participate actively in editorial matters; in addition, they have a translation coordinator who represents their interests at editorial meetings (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, pp. 79-84).

The most comprehensive book on IPS is *The Journalists who turned the world upside down* (2012) written by Roberto Savio, the agency's founder and inspired activist,¹⁹ along with a hundred other contributors. It was a fortunate find thanks to Walter Garcia, the IPS's Chief Operations Officer, who pointed to its existence during our interview in Madrid in summer 2019, answering my enquiry as to whether there were a more extensive publication on IPS (none could be found in the library). The monograph starts with background information on the agency and contains a lengthy chapter written by Savio introducing the readers to the history of IPS's creation, its development situated in a socio-political context and articulating the agency's unique objectives—namely, giving “a voice to democratic processes in Third World countries” and bringing about “greater social justice and national modernization” (Savio, 2012, p. 33). From the outset²⁰ IPS has

¹⁹ Roberto Savio, in our interview on November 8, 2019, emphasized that he now perceives himself as an activist (a person who can make changes in society) rather than a journalist.

²⁰ Inter Press Service was established in 1964.

been practising what Cottle (2019) calls ‘journalism coming of global age’—critical and emotionally engaged journalism that reveals “the global interdependencies and inequalities involved” (Berglez, 2013, as cited in Cottle, 2019, p. 102). As such, IPS is one of the rare examples of the truly global journalism—a goal still to be reached by other media agencies—regardless of its historical focus on the information exchange between Latin America and Europe.

On the whole, this book is about the beliefs and struggles expressed through a multicultural mosaic of personal narratives by those who worked with IPS or were associated with it in one way or another (e.g., researchers and supporters). Multiple references to technological factors and materiality (e.g., finances), along with the descriptions of the ways they shape the agency’s daily operations, indicate that “indeed, journalism has always been a material and technological affair” (De Maeyer, 2016 p. 460). For instance, we learn that Roberto Savio mastered the intricacies of wireless transmission since the beginnings of IPS. He took on the role of an engineer due to the lack of financial resources and introduced this innovation to his agency in 1965—a direct connection between Europe and Latin America which bypassed the United States, a common route in those times (Savio, 2012).

What is most striking about the agency is that the noble idea of Roberto Savio and Pablo Piacentini²¹ of establishing a globally conscious, activist journalism had found an enormous resonance with diverse peoples, institutions and governments. It is the idea that translated human beings scattered around the world into action as well as subjugated materiality to serve its goals. IPS is a web, a network made up of associations among human beings, materials, technologies, ideas, politics, bureaucratic delays, news texts, work practices, financial constraints, journalistic

²¹ Pablo Piacentini was an Argentine political scientist and co-founder of IPS.

norms and values and, first and foremost, of human dedication to the utopian idea of democratic society.

Anthony Giffard, a Communications professor from the University of Washington, had been conducting annual studies for IPS for over two decades (Jim Lobe, 2012, p. 243). He also served as a member of the board of IPS directors and, in general, contributed to the agency with his professional insight. Mostly, his research tackles a balanced representation of issues identified by the MacBride Report—e.g., positive talk about developing countries, wider geographical inclusion, giving a voice to the voiceless, gender equality, human rights, globalization processes, etc. and their reflection in IPS journalistic reports. The in-depth account of the IPS structure is often accompanied by a content analysis and is a valuable source for researchers interested in IPS and the operation of alternative agencies more generally, from a sociopolitical perspective.²²

Margaretha Geertsema (2006) conducted a research study on the representation of women in IPS news reports, using a framework of cultural globalization and feminism. She examined the implementation of IPS's gender policy in the agency's practices by means of a content analysis of news stories along with elements of discourse analysis to “describe language, absences, and inconsistencies in detail and to uncover hidden meanings within the text” (p. 60). Geertsema (2005) contextualized her research findings based on interviews about IPS gender policy conducted with the staff at IPS branches in North America and the Caribbean. In contrast to

²² For relevant examples, see the articles by C. Anthony Giffard (1984, 1985) and C. Anthony Giffard and Catherine Van Horn (1992), among others.

Geertsema's work enquiring into the manifestations of gender policies in IPS news, my case study aims at studying the work methods of creating the agency's news stories.

Stijn Joye (2006) from Communications Studies examined the role of IPS Flanders "in the digital Western news market of the 21st century" (p. 14) as a provider of alternative online news in Belgium. The scholar conducted a survey among Flemish journalists working for other newspapers, asking how they perceived IPS Flanders and its online news services. The results of Joye's (2006) study illustrate that IPS Flanders is a valuable actor on the Flemish news scene because it informs the public of "vital global inequalities and injustices" (p. 14), thus covering the gaps in news coverage of mainstream media.

What unites all these specific studies is the particular attention given to the news texts. It is expressed in conducting discursive or content analyses of news reports, followed by contextualization of findings (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009; Geertsema, 2006; Giffard, 1984, 1985) or in investigating how IPS news reports are perceived by professional journalists working for other agencies (Stijn Joye, 2006). However, it is only Bassnett and Bielsa (2009), translation scholars, who focussed on interlingual translation—the main determinant of successful information exchanges on a global scale—as well as enquired into translators' practices. Interestingly, for communications scholars, the issue of language mediation went unnoticed.

Like Bassnett and Bielsa (2009), this project is interested in translation but has a particular focus on 'how' linguistic translations are made at IPS—the sociomaterial networks of news making—rather than translating strategies and/or the role of translation in globalization. What and how material, human and semiotic actors are involved in the process? (Law, 2009). At which point does the process start and end? Motivated by the common goal of news production, of releasing translated news, heterogeneous actors relate to each other and undergo transformation. It is exactly

through this chain of transformative practices, drawing on the ANT concept of *sociological translation*,²³ that I will study the making of linguistic translations. By virtue of grounding the concept of translation in ANT's alternative sociology, the philosophy of translation by Basalamah (2018), and studying journalistic translation in action, situated in the virtual global network, this project criss-crosses the disciplines of translation and journalism studies, sociology and philosophy.

2.5 Alternative media

While IPS is considered an alternative media agency outlet, it may be of interest to shed some light on a more recent and adjacent developing field of research on media in connection to translation studies. To give a fuller picture of this type of research at the crossroads of TS, NT, media studies and the sociology of news, it is worth mentioning the recent concept of *citizen media*, luminously described in Baker and Blaagaard's book *Citizen Media and Public Spaces* (2016). Although this emerging phenomenon touches only tangentially on 'traditional' news translation and (respectively) the classifications provided above, it does refer to the transmission of information via both physical and digital media spaces—where “people express themselves through performances, practices and discourses” (Baker & Blaagaard, 2016, p. 7). In this model, the role of news agencies as news producers is performed by “unaffiliated individuals and collectives” (Baker & Blaagaard, 2016, p. 1), who express their “lived experience” (Baker & Blaagaard, 2016, p. 1) by any accessible means (e.g., tweeting, blogging, creating websites and sharing information and videos through online platforms, drawing graffiti, staging flash mobs, etc.) with the aim of raising social awareness of existing problems, intervening in political disputes,

²³ The concept of *sociological translation* will be developed in the theoretical chapter.

offering alternative viewpoints on various issues and events, expressing concerns, and generally addressing “non-institutionalized agendas” (Baker & Blaagaard, 2016, p. 1). In this respect, the concepts of citizen media and “traditional news casting” are drastically different (Basalamah, 2019, p. 184). The former “does not hesitate to integrate the heavy subjective layer that comes with any lived experience” (p. 184) while the latter is famously associated with impartiality, objectivity and other related professional norms and values.

While the question of interlingual translation is not focal in this work, it does have a research potential for TS because the information can flow in both directions: from global to local networks and vice-versa. For example, Pérez-González (2016) described the case of translating and subtitling the provocative BBC documentary *The Power of Nightmares* into Spanish by activists for their localities as the practice of so-called “prosumption” (Pérez-González, 2016, p. 126). He found that activist translators manipulate “the narrative(s) articulated in the original broadcast” (Pérez-González, 2016, p. 122) to invoke feelings of solidarity and political belonging, and to promote alternative opinions, among other goals. By tailoring the original discourse either to suit the perceived needs of local audiences or to promote individual interests, these translators performed the celebrated role of gatekeepers, albeit in non-institutionalized settings. Their choices were governed by activist enthusiasm and unhampered by institutional norms and values.

Citizen media is related in part to the “*participatory journalism, radical and community media, social and digital media*” (Baker & Blaagaard, 2016, p. 1), in the sense that it is also created by citizens or lay people. However, in contrast to the above phenomena, it dispenses with “third party mediation” (Baker & Blaagaard, 2016, p. 8) (i.e., news agencies) to generate reactive discourse or physical action. Whereas cultural mediation permeates all mentioned initiatives,

language transfers are only performed in multilingual contexts and are subordinated to the overarching purposes of activists' agenda.

For example, linguistic translation is vital in the functioning of international citizen media projects, and Chris Salzberg (2008) writes about the important role of translation in the operation of Global Voices, a citizen media project that draws together digital activists, writers and bloggers from around the world. The team in Global Voices contextualizes and translates user-generated reports into a multitude of languages and features them daily on the non-profit organization's website.

Translation between languages is also indispensable in the "Alter-Globalization movement" (Boéri, 2012, p. 1), and in such initiatives as the Social Forum (an information medium), which owes its success to the Babels, a community of professional translators and interpreters—they enable international communication and solidarity across various NGOs, social movements and activists as necessary and participate in promoting democracy and building a better world.

On a final note, alternative media, in contrast to mainstream media, are produced by amateurs, ordinary people who are moved by the desire to be heard and to improve society. They tend to exhibit greater individual agency and often unite their efforts by forming collectives (or grassroots organizations) in order to efficiently promote their ideas—via either physical or virtual media. Interlingual translation of activists' messages is instrumental in reaching an international public, and some activist projects engage the support of professional translators. In the case of activist translators, as Pérez-González (2016) alludes earlier, content might be manipulated to serve certain activist interests. On the whole, the issue of faithfulness of language translations occurring in alternative media should be examined on an empirical case-to-case basis.

2.6 Situating the present research in the sociological approach

The preceding discussions of NTR have illustrated that any research rarely draws on a single category; in fact, in many cases it may combine several approaches. For example, Bielsa & Bassnett (2009) tackle both the operational side of news agencies and the textual analysis of articles on Saddam Hussein's trial, as well as cultural and political issues. Furthermore, their work is categorized differently in Conway (2015) and Valdeón (2015a)—e.g., while the former author attributes the work of Bassnett & Bielsa (2009) to *political economy approaches*, the latter conflates it with *process-based approaches*. This overlapping in approaches and categorizations is inevitable, since news translation is a complex phenomenon and can be studied from various angles while remaining the same object of inquiry or, in Conway's words, the "same elephant" (he uses the metaphor of the 'blind men and an elephant' to indicate that adopting any specific method obfuscates other phenomena constituting or influencing news translation) (Conway, 2015, p. 522). It follows that a unidimensional approach to the study of NT is questionable, let alone its sociology.

The literature review has shown that so far that Kyle Conway has applied a compounded cultural studies and sociological approach to NT, specifically examining how interactions between journalists and other social and political actors shape cultural and interlingual translation (e.g., Conway, 2010, 2011, 2017). In comparison, the recent works of Tesseur (2015) and Davier (2017) are sociologically oriented because they tackle news translation either as influenced by the social or as influencing it and contextualize textual analysis findings with ethnographic data. On the other hand, van Rooyen (2019b) applies ANT, an STS theory, to her case study on the role/position of news translation in community radio newsrooms in South Africa, foregrounding the previously unarticulated materiality of news production.

Though similar—to the extent that news translation is the result of the interrelationship among various social agents determining the success of the representation of the Other via media—in contrast to Conway, however, my focus is rather on the sociological interactions/translations between the actors (both animate and inanimate) involved, leading to the final output—news production—and journalistic translation as an inseparable part.

The review of past research in news sociology illustrates that news—and, more broadly, journalism—have been studied from the perspectives of *political economy*, *social organization and cultural studies*. These approaches were found rather static and imperceptive to historical and comparative perspectives, and insufficient to transmit the complex nature of news and journalism (Schudson, 1989; Schudson and Waisbord, 2005; Belair-Gagnon, 2019). Traditional news ethnography often disregarded individual agencies of human beings and technologies engaged in news making processes (Hemmingway, 2006). Additionally, the advent of online-based decentralized media reality compelled scholars to re-examine an array of sociomaterial actors participating in news construction and generally challenged the adequacy of classic approaches in addressing a new media ecology. News sociologists “began to move toward a networked understanding of news work” (Belair-Gagnon, 2019, p. 1451), while actor-network theory has become a common framework for studying the sociomateriality of journalism (De Maeyer, 2016).

The anticipated approach roughly places my research at the intersection of 1) Conway’s *sociology and cultural studies approaches* (macro-level, i.e., conceptualization of news translation in broader terms—simultaneously as a sociological assemblage and an interlingual transfer), 2) Valdeón’s *process-based approach* as it explores translation processes and practices as well as employs ethnography as the main methodology, and 3) *networked sociological (sociomaterial)*

organization of news work because it explores news translation as resulting from interactions between heterogeneous actors (dispersed through time and space) and practices and routines.

Notwithstanding, these classifications cannot define my research in sufficient and explicit ways. Below I will resort to a few scholars, facts and references to support my point that news translation is not only an intralingual and interlingual modification (i.e., the initial information gets scanned, selected, cut, translated from one language into others, made coherent and added to the larger context), but is also a *sociological translation* of human and non-human actors into action unveiled through various manifestations (e.g., receiving raw articles through a shared server makes journalist-editor-translators select a story for the local market; they, in turn, run the story through a MT engine as an example, and then the machine output gets edited and enriched with additional information, etc.).

Firstly, Bassnett and Bielsa (2009) have illustrated that competition among news agencies for the ‘newest news’ prompts them to implement the latest technology, which in turn influences and alters the nature of the news itself (p. 34). This means that news has become ‘volatile’ in the way it gets translated and disseminated almost instantaneously around the globe through a wider range of media (e.g., Internet-based platforms installed on personal computers or smartphones and all other conventional means enhanced by the invention of optical fibre and satellite technology). Also, the type of media imposes requirements on the news style, content and the general mode of representation. For example, because Twitter has a limited capacity of characters that one can use, news tweets must be short and catchy summaries of the original articles. A reader needs to be ‘intrigued’ to click the link connecting the tweet with an original story. Additionally, the influence of technological advancements on news production also means that the daily journalist-translators’

routines described by Bassnett and Bielsa in 2009 are no longer relevant in 2021, because of the lapse of time and changes in the technological landscape.

Secondly, Cronin (2013), while conceptualizing a wider model of social development described as a '3T' paradigm (Technology, Trade, Translation), has argued that "the definitional possibilities of medium affect translation in very profound ways" (p. 25), thus stressing the impossibility of studying the different media (tools) and messages (i.e., translation) individually, but rather the ways in which they interact and shape each other. Throughout his discussion, Cronin (2013) shows how from ancient times (with carving tools and stones at a translator's disposal) to the turning-point of printing invention in the fifteenth century and, finally, to the digitalization of media in the twentieth century, perceptions of time and space have been correspondingly modified.

Approximated distance and accelerated time have both contributed to the proliferation of linguistic translations (specifically, the Internet's facilitation of access to knowledge), to the modification of the translators' environment and, generally, to the way people live and think (Cronin, 2013). Consequently, digitalization challenges the "established notions of what constitutes text, knowledge, and identity" (Cronin, 2013, p. 130), and its impact on society is a primary concern of reflections in *digital humanism*. Information of all kinds (i.e., sounds, images, texts) is a "subset of translation" (Cronin, 2013, p. 6) because it gets converted (translated) to a digital format and, in this sense, Cronin (2013) speaks of a "translation society" (p. 103). Digital-human relations are characterized by "bi-directionality" (Cronin, 2013, p. 93) and split agency at the level of authorship (Cronin, 2013, p. 61), leading to variable and unpredictable outputs (Cronin, 2013). In this 'dance of agency' (Pickering, 1995), human beings and technologies are desperately mingled together, engaged in the constant making and remaking of what Latour (2005) calls a 'collective'. Here, Cronin's (2013) idea of translation as any transformation into the digital is

philosophically implicated because it draws on the abstracted features of the translation phenomenon (i.e., a power to connect, to transfer and to transform). ‘Translation into the digital’ is firmly a part of the philosophy of translation, a conceptual and subdisciplinary space of TS recently designated by Basalamah (2018).

Thirdly, my initial research on Inter Press Service (IPS)²⁴ indicates that the translation network it has developed is geographically distributed and exists mainly online. Physical offices of IPS are present only in Belgium, Finland and Sweden (W. Garcia, personal communication, March 5, 2019). To address these practical findings, I will apply the concept of ‘virtuality’ (Lévy, 2001) to describe “geographically dispersed individuals” (p. 86) networked through the medium of virtual reality; these are the people that may change its content and modify the shared environment, as well as the associated perception, which are quite material in their effects.

It follows that when studying news translation, one cannot disregard the technologies involved, as they facilitate the translation process and shape translation as a final product (news). With the introduction of new technologies, the rate of news production has accelerated, which made it difficult to clearly delineate the moments when *translation proper* occurs as well as to distinguish between the agencies of human and non-human beings. Rather, news translation is but a part of larger journalistic production that is performed by the collective effort of human and non-human beings. As a fast-moving industry, journalism is better served by a flexible theory that will allow a researcher to “move between frames of reference and to regain some sort of

²⁴ I chose IPS as an object of study for its fascinating mission of connecting the Global South and the North and “making voiceless people heard in the North” (Gutiérrez, 2006, p. 33).

commensurability between traces coming from frames travelling at very different speeds and acceleration” (Latour, 2005, p. 12), i.e., ANT.

In this literature review, it appears that actor-network theory with its focus on changing situations, innovations and heterogeneity, has found a wide application in the moving field of journalism. However, the theory remains underexplored in NTR. If ANT-followers in journalism are mostly interested in innovations (Anderson and De Maeyer, 2015), my interest for the purpose of this research lies in the reconfigurations of the IPS information network—how the actors (journalists, translators and editors) daily cooperate and maintain a translation network, using the concept of *sociological translation*. To this end, I will couple *actor-network theory* (ANT) and ethnomethodology, which are both relativist and able to withstand generalization. In addition, they are better suited to my research—given that my research aims to illustrate the idiosyncratic and local practices, agendas, and motives of journalist-editor-translators who participate in news construction.

That said, previous TS research on the sociology of NT tackled news translation as predominantly a language phenomenon which is either capable of affecting social reality (more generally) or is shaped/negotiated by various social, cultural, institutional or technological (van Rooyen, 2019a; 2019b) factors. In contrast, this research will develop a non-language based meta-semiotic concept of news translation—drawing, on the one hand, on the broader definition of translation (Basalamah, 2018; Cronin, 2013) and, on the other, the ANT concept of *sociological translation* as “making someone do something” (Latour, 2005, p. 58). Theoretical tenets of ANT and of *sociological translation* will be sketched out in the following chapter.

2.6.1 Research questions

RQ1: What are the sociological extents and limits of the object of study called “news translation” in the context of globalization?

RQ2: What are the sociological and material components of news translation production and how do they dynamically connect to produce news translation?

RQ3: What exactly do translators/journalists do, and how do their concerted actions and use of non-human actors produce translated news?

RQ4: What does ANT reveal about the trajectories news translation network passes through—both humans and non-humans—as they are transformed and integrated into a final news product?

Chapter 3. Theoretical framework

I will start this chapter with a cursory overview of the actor-network theory, whose history spans more than 40 years (section 3.1.). The premise of the theory's vision is to form the basis of my own sociological study of translation; consequently, in section 3.2 it seems necessary to review ANT's theoretical features that set it apart from other approaches. Here, I will also examine Latour's takes on the philosophy of modernity and sociology to better grasp the mechanisms of the networked ontology of ANT and learn how it can benefit my current research.

Mainly, ANT sees reality in terms of heterogeneous networks that thrive on movement—they are constantly being made and re-made by means of (sociological) translation. They are the hybrids, the assemblages of human and non-human actors endowed by the theory with equal agency to act. On the whole, ANT's focus is on 'how' networks are reshaped and articulated, on the specificity and contingency of events at hand. That is the reason why *a priori* categorizations and divisions are not considered by the theory's creators. Instead, an ANT-researcher needs to follow the actors in action—and the traces left by them—to reconstitute their path. It is a prerequisite in reconstructing a detailed ANT account of the network, as well as a matter of size, time, space, and cause and effect.

That said, in section 3.3 I will shift my attention from examining ANT's vision to studying the ways the theory has been used so far in translation studies. Based on the seminal article of Buzelin (2005), I will examine the *skopos* of ANT's application in TS and will extend Buzelin's analysis of Bourdieu's structural constructivism and Latour's strong constructivism. Here, it will be also argued that the application of ANT offers more flexible and empirical tools to identify and describe both the micro-actors in the translation process and the translation network present at a

certain location, as well as to reconstruct a macro-network (in my case study, a network of connected journalist-editor-translators co-operating on a global scale at IPS). This balance of the micro- and the macro-perspectives, arguably, cannot be achieved using systems or structural theories (e.g., polysystem theory, Luhmann's systems theory, Bourdieu's theory of action) since, first and foremost, the operational concepts of the 'system' and 'structure' ingrained in their base prevents one from doing so.²⁵ Besides, none of these systemic(-like) theories are explicitly process-oriented or, as in the case of Luhmann (1995), ignoring the micro altogether. On the other hand, Habermas (2001) connects social order and socio-cultural practices (the macro) to the communicative action (the micro) defining the latter as "symbolically mediated interaction . . . governed by binding norms that define reciprocal expectations about behavior and that must be understood and acknowledged or recognized by at least two acting subjects" (p. 12). In this regard, Habermas' social theory approximates Latour's conceptualization of society as made up of interactions. Only for Habermas they are primarily linguistic interactions carried out by human actors, whereas in ANT the interactions are symbolic relations between human and non-human beings (Cooke, 2001). Therefore, ANT seems more compatible with the virtual. Habermas's (2001) 'universal pragmatics' with its truth and context-transcendent validity claims (Cooke, 2001) is grounded in modernism while ANT is a post-structuralist theory that treats knowledge and society as relative and shifting associations. For these reasons, in my project on the digital news production I chose ANT over any other sociological theories.

²⁵ It should be noted that ANT does not split society in micro- or macro- levels: there are only actor-networks, which constantly make and re-make the category of the social. Rather ANT ranges from the micro to macro and even includes the intermediary meso-level (Tyulenev, 2014).

Hereinafter, in order to delineate my take on ANT translation (specified in section 3.3.2), I will delve into the ways the theory's concepts of translation and network were adapted to the sociology of interlingual translation. It will be illustrated that ANT-inspired TS researchers treat the ANT concept of translation as incompatible with the language-based definition of translation, which is default standard in TS. However, a philosophical take on translation (Basalamah, 2018) allows us to conceptualize ANT translation as a legitimate part of TS. Moreover, Latour himself (1987) has stated in the past that linguistic transformations are often a companion to other displacements and transformations. Thus, the concept of *sociological translation* that I formulate in this project is *meta-semiotic*²⁶ (i.e., able to take many shapes) and treats daily routines of journalist-editor-translators as translational phenomena consisting of many interactions (which include linguistic and cultural transformations as an example).

On the whole, the concept of *sociological translation* is transdisciplinary in nature and reflects modern conditions of life: unceasing globalization and virtualization. For that reason, in section 3.4. I will deal with the milieu where *sociological translations* thrive—namely, *globalization* and *virtuality*. As part of an excursion into the concept of *globalization*, I will review the related notion of *convergence*, which is at the core of *media globalization*, a primary context for my research. The concept of *virtuality* will be reviewed from different perspectives and connected to my study on news translation at IPS, a global and hybrid team. The virtual enabled by new ICTs (information and communication technologies) have impacted the way we live and

According to Williams (2005), the *meta-semiotic* refers to the “form which is ‘objective’ in the sense that it has been taken out of the subjective and removed from its context—spatial and temporal—via a particular semiotic transformation: objectification or commodification” (p.714). Thus, money, science and all communication are considered as *meta-semiotic*—similar to the commodities, they are constituted through exchange.

communicate and created a new venue for *sociological translation* that is increasingly characteristic of virtual networks.

Lastly, in section 3.5, I will elaborate on the *meta-semiotic* notion of *sociological translation* and in 3.6 I will present a snapshot of my case study.

3.1 Origins of ANT

Since the late 1970s actor-network theory (ANT), a part of science and technology studies (STS), has come to be known under various labels, such as “sociology of translation” (Callon 1986a), “actant-rhizome ontology” (Latour 1999a), “sociology of associations” (Latour 2005), “semiotics of materiality” (Law 2009) and “sociology of innovation” (e.g., see Bijker & Law, 1992).

The origin of this diasporic family of “material-semiotic tools, sensibilities and methods of analysis” (Law, 2009, p. 141) can probably be traced to the mid-1970s when Latour and Woolgar, equipped with the ethnomethodology and the semiotics of A.J. Greimas,²⁷ ventured to visit the Salk Institute laboratory to study construction of scientific facts. They found that science is no different from other worldly activities and that both the natural and the social are equally enmeshed in lab work—they shape and translate each other in the course of knowledge construction. From that time ANT began to actively develop. The theory’s initial focus was on the science—the situations, where “it is difficult to separate humans and non-humans, and in which the actors have

²⁷ Latour (2005) calls ANT “half Garfinkel and half Greimas” (p 54, n. 54). On the one hand, an ANT researcher needs to be myopic, needs to follow the actors and document the smallest details (ethnomethodology). On the other hand, on the basis of Greimas’ actantial model, it cannot be stated that there exist objects and subjects in and of themselves—they acquire their properties when related to each other (Law, 1999, p. 3).

variable forms and competencies” (Callon 1999, p. 183). Subsequently, ANT found applications in the wider social sciences and humanities and was even used to reconceptualize the philosophy of modernity (Latour, 1993, 2013) and traditional sociology (Latour, 2005).

3.2 The ANT vision

In his philosophy of modernity, Latour (1993) argues that critics of modernity have habitually used three approaches to talk about the world: naturalization, socialization and deconstruction. E.O. Wilson, Pierre Bourdieu and Jacques Derrida all epitomize these post-modernist trends in succession. What unites these approaches and critics is their one-sidedness, incommensurability and disconnectedness from each other: they dwell solely on either objects of nature, the social or discourse, while leaving the rest unaccounted for—to be further tackled by other disciplines. Also, a combination of these ‘approaches’ in the critique would certainly be grotesque and Latour (1993) is rightly puzzled when asking the following question: “Can anyone imagine a study that would treat the ozone hole as simultaneously naturalized, socialized and deconstructed?” (p. 6).

If ANT does not imply piling up various epistemologies, then something different is at stake—namely, removing “epistemological breaks” (Latour, 1993, p. 94) between sciences, which artificially restricted scholars’ freedom from pursuing multidisciplinary cues suggested by their research. The entities that we study are hybrids themselves, consisting of the trajectories in which they come to our awareness and how we access them (instruments, methods, or concepts) (Latour, 2013, p. 26). This viewpoint makes it impossible to favour some approaches over others but provides fair possibilities to other modes of existence of entities, or of multiple realities. The concepts and objects that we study often do not belong exclusively to our discipline but might be tackled as well by a variety of disciplines. It is important to consider those ramifications and

possibilities of interdisciplinary collaboration. For instance, are translational phenomena characteristic of TS only or can they be traced in other disciplines as well?

The vision of Latour is rather unique in the way that it offers a new ontology to modernity and the social conceived of as networks of heterogeneous associations. These networks cut across all sciences while remaining irreducible to any in particular. They are “neither objective nor social, nor are they effects of discourse, even though they are real, and collective, and discursive” (Latour, 1993, p. 6). They are the interflows between various things (animate and inanimate) and the semiotic²⁸—a wide conglomerate of verbal expressions, texts, codes, visual signs, human behaviour, gestures, work practices and so on—all that communicates meaning and invokes a reaction and response from human/non-human beings. Actor-networks are produced in or by means of those interflows/associations/translations. That is why the primary focus of an ANT investigation is studying and recording those transforming relations in which the ‘things’ and the semiotic are located. Attention is directed to the ways that properties are acquired by human/non-human beings and get distributed among them.

ANT re-endows the objects of nature and culture with the status of full-blown mediators—eradicating since the Copernican Revolution which had split the original world into two poles: nature and society/culture (Latour, 1993). Henceforth, Nature and society were treated as intermediaries or essences which simply transport effects (when output is identical to input). In Latour’s scenario, they cannot be claimed to possess ontological status or true competence.

²⁸ Akrich and Latour (1992) compiled an ANT vocabulary, where they underline that semiotics in ANT is to be taken in a broader sense which subsumes both linguistic and non-linguistic signs/symbols and meaning production. This way, semiotics becomes a “study of order building... and may be applied to settings, machines, bodies, and programming languages as well as texts” (p. 259).

However, many mediators²⁹ and a few intermediaries are exactly what makes ANT distinct from other theories. Intermediaries do exist but are rather an exception that needs to be explained by deploying more mediators (Latour, 2005, p. 40). Mediators are able to “translate what they transport, to it, redeploy it, and also to betray it” (Latour, 1993, p. 81). But one should be careful in interpreting this symmetrical position—dubbed a principle of general symmetry. ANT does not reconcile objects and subjects but refuses to distinguish *a priori* between material (nature) and social (culture) or between human intentionality and material causality (Latour, 2005, pp. 75-76).

As a result of assigning equal agency to the heterogeneous objects of nature and culture, the nature inadvertently stops being a-temporal and transcendent and joins a common history with human beings (Latour, 1993). Time becomes relativist and is based on the connections built among entities coming from different temporalities. Latour imagines time as a spiral where loops of the future and past get mixed up, reshuffled, and assembled anew, and classifies our actions as “polytemporal” (Latour, 1993, p. 75)—i.e., emanating from various times.

The actions and networks are ‘polyspatial’ as well because they get dislocated and redistributed through space, too. Whatever is produced locally is manufactured with the help of elements and tools coming from different localities. Subsequently, a finished product gets distributed to other places via media and transportation channels. In this regard, there cannot not exist a macro or global dimension, which subsumes smaller parts like a famous Matryoshka doll, neither does the local have a “concrete existence” (Latour, 2005, p. 192). There are only active

²⁹ A mediator in ANT is a human or non-human actor whose performances always exceed whatever caused them, in contrast to the intermediary (human/non-human) who is defined by the input. Also, Latour sometimes prefers to use the term ‘actants’ from semiotics to cover both human/non-human mediators and intermediaries instead of the confusing English word ‘actors’—because only mediators actually ‘act’ (Latour, 1999b, pp. 303-307).

links connecting many micro localities. Nothing can be compared in terms of size but “some [places] can be said to benefit from far safer connections with many more places than others” (Latour, 2005, p. 176).

That said, actor-network theory provides a non-reductionist and relative view of reality as comprised of heterogeneous and fluid associations. Size, scale, and time are not absolute and fixed categories, but connections to be traced within a specific network. On the whole, the ANT philosophical premises are luminously depicted in the following seminal works by Latour: *We have never been modern* (1993) and *Reassembling the Social* (2005). They enquire into the well-established concepts of ‘modernity’ and ‘social’ that are used ubiquitously and question the reductionist view of the world which persisted with moderns and post-moderns. The former work deconstructs the notion of ‘modern’ and redefines it in order to complete the Constitution that will re-ascribe a suppressed mediating role to the hybrids of nature and culture. The latter closely scrutinizes the words ‘social’ and ‘social sciences’ along with similar derived expressions (e.g., social context, explanations, forces, factors, etc.), revamps the definition of the ‘social’ and proposes a fully-fledged ANT sociology, *a sociology of associations* as an alternative to (not a refutation of) mainstream sociology. Its features will be explicated in section 3.2.2 after giving a synopsis of Latour’s take on the philosophy of modernity, where he challenges nature-culture dualism.

3.2.1 *New modernity or back to being post-modern*

The notion of the ‘modern’ should characterize two separate sets of practices. The first set, Latour (1993) calls *networks*, which “by ‘translation³⁰ create[s] mixtures between entirely new types of beings, hybrids of nature and culture [society]” (p. 10). The second set he calls “a modern critical stance,” that is, a practice of *purification* that “creates two entirely distinct ontological zones: that of humans on the one hand; that of nonhumans on the other” (Latour, 1993, p. 10). These sets of practices are interdependent: if the first links heterogeneous entities by way of translation, the other demarcates those ‘in-between’ entities—quasi-objects and quasi-subjects—into socially pre-established dualistic categories of nature and society and autonomous discourse.

The mistake of moderns lies in failing to recognize the agency of the hybrids and treating them as intermediaries (unlike pre-moderns)—simply “as a mixture of two pure forms” (Latour, 1993, p. 78)—which transport forces from the nature or culture poles without any transformation or translation. Moderns divide hybrids into subjects and objects, and that is how we come to know about them, instead of starting explanations from messy processes—places of mediation (hybridization) between human and non-human beings where they define each other—and proceeding towards the poles. Considering this inadequacy in the analytical treatment of our blended world that in and of itself has never been pure and divided into clear-cut categories, Latour (1993) declares that “no one has ever been modern” (p. 78). Henceforth, post-modernism becomes a “symptom, not a fresh solution” (p. 46). Post-modernists’ critique is still bound up with

³⁰ Latour (1993) uses *translation* interchangeably with *hybridization* and *mediation* and—in *Reassembling the Social* (2005)—with *association*.

guarantees of modernity, but it occupies an ambivalent position: it simultaneously disbelieves in the purified world but also rejects hybrids along with empirical studies of hybrids' creation.

In journalism, amongst the first scholars who advocated for the adoption of ANT's pre-modern vision was Fred Turner (2005). This event actually coincided with a similar event in TS—the publication of H el ene Buzelin's (2005) influential article where she proposed to supplement Bourdieu's theory with an insight from ANT in studying interlingual translation in the making (to be tackled in section 3.3). In his short essay "Actor-networking the news", Turner (2005) explains that a modern vision with its clear-cut boundaries "between individual and institutions and their respective forms of agency" cannot address adequately "the hybrid actors that are becoming increasingly characteristic of journalism in a multimedia environment" (Turner, 2005, p. 323). He also asserts that application of ANT to journalism is a two-way street, in that it can spur the development of the theory itself in the direction of "media, discourse and governance" (Turner, 2005, p. 323). Adopting ANT to studying the objects of journalism and translation studies helps illuminate the complexity of the studied phenomena and expand on the existing knowledge acquired to date. In general, Latour (1993) does not renounce the existence of the pre-established categories of nature and culture—they cannot be by-passed—but urges us to recognize their heterogeneous character.

3.2.2 Sociology of associations

In *Reassembling the Social*, Latour (2005) argues that sociology (translates from both Latin and Greek as the 'science of the social') has gone through various metamorphoses and is not the same as the sociology of the 19th century—conceived by the discipline's founders such as Auguste Comte or  mile Durkheim. The reasons are accelerated technological progress and the dilution of the notion of the social. For example, would one be able to socialize with friends without a

smartphone or, on the other hand, would the smartphone concept be possible at all without human intervention? The collectors of nature (science) and society, which were coined in the 17th century and served mainly for polemical reasons (Latour, 2005, p. 110), nowadays seem too narrow to accommodate proliferating hybrids such as “the ozone hole story, or global warming or deforestation” (Latour, 1993, p. 50). They are mixtures of society and nature and can be described as both global and local. This consideration makes it impossible to assign these phenomena to any dualistic category.

Latour (2005) reminds us that the word ‘social,’ derived from the Latin *socius*, besides meaning ‘companion, friend, ally, or associate,’ has also forgotten etymology which implies an action or movement—“following someone, then enrolling and allying, and, lastly, having something in common” (Latour, 2005, p. 6). It follows that the social is not something given, some entity existing out there, but it is made and re-made. If it is fine to use the term to refer to something that has already been assembled, a danger may come when we try to explain social phenomena with other social phenomena and thus confuse cause and effect. Society like power is “the final result of a process and not a reservoir, a stock, or a capital that will automatically provide an explanation” (Latour, 2005, p. 64), i.e., it requires explanations first.

By the same token, the sociology of the social³¹ works well with slow-changing and long-lasting situations, but it is not suitable for studying fast-paced events:

...as soon as things accelerate, innovations proliferate, and entities are multiplied, one then has an absolutist framework generating data that becomes hopelessly messed up. This is when a relativistic solution has to be devised in order to remain able to move between

³¹ Latour (2005) calls traditional sociology *pre-relativist*, in contrast with the ANT that is “fully relativist” (p. 10).

frames of reference and to regain some sort of commensurability between traces coming from frames traveling at very different speeds and acceleration (Latour, 2005, p. 12).

With the aforementioned considerations in mind, Latour (2005) proposes a sociology of associations where he rejects social entities and fixed reality. Instead, this brand of sociology allows for a vision of reality as existing in a constant flux, where human and non-human mediators relate to each other (associate) and undergo transformation, displacement and translation caused by the same relation. As he explains himself,

To designate this thing [association] which is neither one actor among many nor a force behind all the actors transported through some of them but a connection that transports, so to speak, transformations, we use the word translation—the tricky word ‘network’ ... is traced by those translations in the scholars’ accounts. So, the word ‘translation’ now takes on a somewhat specialized meaning: a relation that does not transport causality but induces two mediators into coexisting. (Latour, 2005, p. 108)

There is no society, but a collective³² that is held by those associations/translations. Being ‘social’ is a fleeting event (Latour, 2005, p. 159). The exception to being non-social is a tiny period of association, when entities briefly obtain a new configuration and become traceable. The collective, or a “circulating entity” (Latour, 2005, p. 128) can be restored exclusively by means of the ANT account, an accurate and thick description laying out mediators’ consecutive actions (translations), which lead to actors’ transformations and unpredictable results. Empty entities or intermediaries should be omitted or explained by engaging more mediators. It applies, for example, to black boxes—stabilized actor-networks that mainly take the form of technologies and serve as transmitters until they start malfunctioning—or any other smoothly functioning unities (e.g.,

³² According to Latour (2005), the ‘collective’ is made up of both human and non-human beings, whereas ‘society’ refers to human beings only.

various durable organizations) whose networks are “concealed from view” (Law, 1992, p. 385). Blackboxing in ANT is also termed *simplification* and relates to the inability to cope with “endless network ramification” (Law, 1992, p. 385). ANT gives special consideration to the writing conventions because it is only by means of a researcher’s account that we can reconstruct an actor-network; its size, content and form cannot be determined *a priori*. ANT’s account is a cartography, a flat map of the world that captures mediators at work. And network is a guidance for description.

3.2.3 A few words on ANT networks and translation

It appears that ANT builds on the relations between human and non-human beings that alter them—the relations of a bidirectional and performative nature. These transforming connections are dubbed elsewhere as translations, displacements, enrolments, movements, attachments, associations, mediations, hybridizations, drifts, inventions or, in Law (1992), the “local processes of patterning, social orchestration, ordering, and resistance” (p. 386) or even betrayal (when one of the actors changes directions or leaves a group), etc. Speaking of which, the idea that “traduction” is “trahison” is ingrained into the actor-network theory in the sense that “actor-networks may unwind as the entities that make them up go native” (Law, 2006, p. 57). The reason is that actor-networks are not something pre-ordained but are constantly being made and re-made. According to Callon (1986b) a ‘translator-spokesman’ might have detected a common interest, allocated the tasks, and set the group in motion, but other actors too have an agency to influence the group (p. 24). Human and non-human beings might resist the group’s programme or fail to follow its course, disagree with other actors, or altogether abandon the group for unforeseen reasons. For example, in media “viewers [can] flock to the rival broadcaster, or producers [can] sell a format to a higher bidder” (Teurlings, 2013, p. 106), tempted by better options. In this case,

translation is deemed to be unsuccessful and other measures need to be taken to re-align the network. Only technologies and various material objects are more likely to betray the network—if not properly maintained, they can either malfunction or go into decay (Latour, 2013).

Latour (2005) states: “movements and displacements come first, places and shapes second” (p. 204). The actors come second, too, in an ANT account. An actor in ANT is not an independent doer but is always attached by strings—links/connections with other actors. As Latour (2005) puts it, an actor is “something that is ‘triggered into being triggered into action’” (p. 217). But it is only through mediators that diverse events are generated. Mediators have the agency to make other actors displaced, transformed, modified, or, simply, changed. Intermediaries only transport causalities.

Latour’s *network* was inspired by the nomadic philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari and their concept of *rhizome* that describes multiple, heterogeneous and transformational relations: “the assemblages [that] are in constant variation, [that] are themselves constantly subject to transformations” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004, p. 82). Actor-network stands for “flows of translations” (Latour, 2005, p. 131) that make associations visible. There is no distinction between actor and network, an actor is defined by performances or by ‘work’ invested in maintaining relations with other mediators—through undergoing trials and resistances (Latour, 1987). In this sense, an ANT network is radically different from other possible networks—e.g., technological, social, information and others that have gained currency recently—which mean connections and “transport *without* deformation” (Latour, 1999a, p. 15). As such, actor-networks are hardly amenable to visualization—only in a limited fashion so far. Essentially, they are dynamic networks that thrive on constant movement and change (i.e., translations), when a tiny disruption can trigger a network reconfiguration. In this scenario, a static representation conveys only the actors and

connections in the form of nodes and lines but remains silent about how an action is being distributed or redistributed. Another question is rendering actors and networks and “compounding masses of individual profiles” fully reversible, when they are two sides of the same coin (an actor is defined by its network and vice-versa) (Latour, 2011, p. 809).

3.3 ANT in Translation Studies and skopos of application

This section is aimed at reviewing the ways that ANT has been applied in TS and the reasons for engaging the theory to study the social aspects of linguistic translation in the making. However, before doing so, I would like to say a few words about Holz-Mänttari’s (1984) theory of translatorial action, which can be traced back to the beginnings of TS and which in certain aspects bears a resemblance to ANT. Like ANT, Holz-Mänttari’s model views translation as comprised of fragmented actions that are carried out in cooperation among various actors: the initiator, the commissioner, the ST producer, the TT producer, the TT user and the TT receiver (Holz-Mänttari, 1984, pp. 109-111, as cited in Munday, 2016, p. 124). In both theories, the actors are recruited by the shared goal of translation production, which is not monolithic but subsumes subjective goals of the actors involved. While the framework of translatorial action exceeds *skopos theory* (e.g., Reiss & Vermeer, 2013) by treating translatorial action as “*transcultural text design*” (Hebenstreit, 2021, p. 59, emphasis in original), i.e., by considering mediation of cultural differences in transforming ST to TT, nevertheless, the framework is narrowed down to the production of interlingual translation, the TT. In contrast, ANT provides for a broader spectrum of actors (semiotic, animate, inanimate) whose interactions, accordingly, may materialize into endless and also several (fragmented) possibilities rather than texts alone (Callon, 1991; Latour, 1987; Law, 2009).

Against this background, Holz-Mänttari's model is certainly a precursor to ANT and also an indicator that interaction-oriented research existed long before the uptake of ANT by translation scholars in the 2000s. Unfortunately, Holz-Mänttari's influential work has not yet been translated from German into English and one can glimpse only bits of knowledge from various TS publications tackling functionalist approaches (e.g., see chapters on functionalism in Baker & Malmkjaer, 2001; Baker & Saldanha, 2009; Baker & Saldanha, 2020, etc.). On the whole, the approach did not get as much attention as it should have outside the German-speaking world, perhaps on account of its complex terminology or of its limited empirical basis (Munday, 2016).

To pick up the threads of using ANT in TS in the following, I will review the opinions of translation scholars on the actor-network theory and the ways they adapt the theory to the sociology of linguistic translation. Primarily, recourse to ANT was motivated by the need of a more empirically oriented research that could tackle the complexity underlying the production of interlingual translation. As will be illustrated below, translation scholars mostly favoured an ANT concept of network while ANT's translation was found to have nothing in common with *translation proper*. In contrast, based on the broader definition of semiotic translation (Marais, 2018) and on ANT, on the other hand, I will conceive of translation simultaneously as *translation proper* and *sociological assemblage*. However, the focus of my project will be solely on studying the sociological dimension of translation. In the following sections, I will gradually develop my version of *sociological translation* in the context of my case study, which tackles the production of news translation at IPS, a global news agency. It is through this lens that I intend to research how texts, journalist-editor-translators, technologies and other human/non-human actors cooperate and create a linguistic translation of news—i.e., a final news release. It will be suggested that *sociological translation* stands for any linguistic, material-semiotic or social transformations,

which are all enmeshed in practices of interlingual translation. In this scenario, *translation proper* is but only one of several components of a broader *sociological translation*.

Apparently, one of the first translation scholars who contemplated the application of the actor-network theory to TS was H  l  ne Buzelin (2005), but with two specific goals in view. On the one hand, her study was done to enhance research concepts and tools drawn from Bourdieu's sociology in order to apply them to studying the social structuration of interlingual translations in the making. On the other hand, Buzelin intended to overcome the functionalism of the Polysystem approach initiated in the late 1970s by the Low Countries' scholars, Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury but still popular in TS. Within the polysystemic framework, scholars placed emphasis on describing translations as products and the ways they function in the international literary system, governed by norms and translation behaviour. The minutiae of who and what contributes to interlingual transfer and what their relationships are (e.g., translation agents, the process itself or other participating factors) were hardly given consideration until, for example, Casanova (2002) and Heilbron & Sapiro (2002).

However, sociologically informed research³³ was not novel in TS and had started earlier in the 1990s and was partly brought on by globalization trends, increased economic transactions and international communications (Grutman, 2009). Out of a few imported sociological theories (e.g., actor-network theory or Luhmann's systems theory), Bourdieu's theory of action received a wider acclaim in TS and was taken up by scholars such as Gouanvic (1994, 1998, 1999), Simeoni

³³ The so-called 'sociological turn' happened in the 1990s when TS scholars resorted to theories from sociology (see e.g., Brisset, 2010)

(1995, 1998), Sheffy (1997), Wolf (1999), Inghilleri (2003) in their research on interlingual translation and translators (Buzelin, 2005, p. 194).

Still, Buzelin (2005) envisioned ANT only as a supplement to the Bourdieusian tradition that took deep roots in TS—as a potential means to boost research directions taken in the sociology of translation. Inevitably, this position begs the following question: what is indispensable for TS in Bourdieu’s theory of action that ANT cannot provide? A likely answer is the fact that interlingual translation has been seen as a subservient activity since the period of Romanticism (see Lotman, 1977), and translators have to follow a source text, commissioners’ instructions, and translation policies, and are restricted by a limited agency to pick and choose linguistic expressions. This boundedness and consequent power relations make Bourdieu’s theory of field a highly relevant choice for TS. Tentatively, by deploying constricting factors as mediators rather than impediments and focussing on the specificity of tiny translation events at hand, we will get an ANT angle.

In the following subsection, I will address the main arguments in Buzelin’s (2005) article where she juxtaposes Bourdieu and Latour’s theories while extending the arguments deemed pertinent for shaping the current project. Subsequently, in order to delineate my take on the theory, I will review a few TS scholars’ assessments of ANT in section 3.3.2.

3.3.1 Bourdieu and Latour. Points of comparison

The biggest contention between Bourdieu and Latour, according to Buzelin (2005), lies in the inherent concepts of *agency* and *structure*. Whereas dualistic *agency* and *structure* characterize Bourdieu’s field theory, Latour’s post-structuralist theory retains only the notion of agency. On the positive side, the scholar notices that Latour and Bourdieu’s approaches also share a

similarity—both claim that social facts are collectively constructed by numerous mediators and that there is an underlying competition between mediators. Although ethnography inheres in both theories, research methodology and data interpretation do differ, thanks to their divergent views on *agency*.

While Latour's theory is *constructivist*³⁴ and actant-centric (centred on the agencies of human beings and objects), Bourdieu's theoretical position comes across as '*structural constructivism*'. Bourdieu is a structuralist because he admits the existence of objective structures (though they might be not fully conscious) within the social world and symbolic systems that interfere with agents' practices. At the same time, Bourdieu's take on constructivism is explained in his following statement,

By constructivism, I mean that there is a twofold social genesis, on the one hand of the schemes of perception, thought, and action which are constitutive of what I call habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, and particularly of what I call fields and of groups, notably those we ordinarily call social classes. (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 14)

It follows that, according to the theory of action, agents' practices (set of actions/performances) are necessarily a reflection of the agents' habitus and the wider professional field. While ANT jettisons concepts of structures and social classes, as well as throws all other "essentialist divisions... on the bonfire of the dualisms" (Law, 1999, p. 3), Latour introduces the notion of "structuring templates" that prop up networks by helping translations run smoothly

³⁴ Constructivism for Latour means the assemblage of human beings and material objects and should be distinguished from social constructivism (see Latour, 2005, p. 91).

(Latour, 2005, p. 196). These templates circulate materially through inscription devices³⁵—texts and intellectual technologies. Although ethnographic research marks both theories and Bourdieu does not explicitly reject materiality, the ways of collecting and interpreting data are different. In the case of Bourdieu, the *habitus* is an object of empirical and situated research while in ANT it refers to the performances of human and non-human beings through which they obtain their properties.

The concept of *habitus* is ambivalent—it is simultaneously a finalized and internalized “product of history” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54), but is also a source of various “thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 55) conditioned by the same historico-social circumstances. *Habitus* is relatively stable but prone to somewhat controlled changes. Agents’ embodied practices are correlated with the *habitus* that precedes agents’ actions and thoughts. As a consequence, the explanations are sought in a context (macro-structures) and ethnographic findings get correlated with a bigger picture, notwithstanding the fact that any study tackles only a fraction of the macro. What happens is not finding a solution but rather a mingling of causes and effects or, as Latour would put it, explaining social facts with social facts, which is seeking comfort in normative explanations and ignoring the nuances of one’s own data.

On the contrary, in ANT, the actors are social scientists who explain what, why and how they do what they do, while a researcher’s task is to faithfully reproduce their accounts (Latour, 1999a). The explanations of the social are to be found inside the heterogeneous networks and in

³⁵ Latour (1987) coins a concept of *immutable mobiles* to refer to “charts, tables and trajectories” (p. 227)—all the inscribed knowledge that facilitates translation in a network without being itself transformed. In contrast, Law (2009) talks about *mutable mobiles* in the sense that technological objects are capable of reconfiguring themselves through implementation (p. 153).

the length/strength of their connections or, rather, in the accurate descriptions of how actors work, interact and ‘translate’ each other into action (because a network is a description of actors’ performances). This is why Latour (2005) devotes a lengthy part to what a ‘good’ ANT account ought to be—i.e., self-explanatory. While in Bourdieu’s sociology the actors feed off the structures (field and *habitus*) in constructing practices, in ANT neither the “actor’s size, its psychological make-up, [nor] the motivations behind its actions—none of these are predetermined” (Callon 1999, pp. 181-182). There is only a fluid array of interactions by which scientific facts or society (collective) come into being.

The same logic applies to textual ethnography:³⁶ instead of tackling text evidence of superior structures of society and other essences as a pre-given, ANT scholars treat those as effects of complex interactions embedded in production processes. Thus, the emphasis is placed on studying heterogeneous interactions found in scientific inscriptions that can take on a wider semiotic form and circulate, for example, in virtual communications networks (Williams, 2005). In this scenario, the building blocks of ANT (*network*) and Bourdieu’s theory of action (*field* and *habitus*) appear only vaguely comparable if not antagonistic. Primarily, ANT is “a sociology of verbs rather...of nouns” (Law, 1994, p. 15), meaning that the substances expressed by nouns need to be disentangled into a chain of actions that led to their existence. Also, the focus on the process rather than the product shapes the ANT view “that no version of the social order, no organization, and no agent, is ever complete, autonomous, and final” (Law, 1992, p. 386)—they are always in a state of formation. Different asymmetries (e.g., power relations, hierarchies, forms of domination and control and other inequalities) cannot be independent factors influencing interlingual

³⁶ For example, an interesting discussion on a text-based ANT methodology and historical research can be found in Nimmo (2011).

translation—they are composed and produced by a specific actor (Latour, 2005, p. 63). The same can be stated in regard to Toury's translation norms (Toury, 2012), which in their universalizing ambition are not able to explain translation processes, but only contextualize them in a broader socio-cultural dimension.

Although Buzelin (2005) proposes to supplement Bourdieu's concepts of 'field' and 'habitus' with ANT's concept of *network* in order to attend to the multitude of actors engaged in literary translation and circulation of translation products internationally, her idea is not applicable to international news translation, which aims at the fast dissemination of information rather than accumulation of a symbolic capital or consecration (recognition) of literature in international literary space (Casanova, 2002). Also, the notion of capital in ANT is understood differently from Bourdieu's economic, symbolic, social or cultural capital—it is not only the stock or the capital by itself but the ability of those who possess it “to incorporate interests, seek support, intervene, translate and convince” (Callon, 1980, p. 216), i.e., to exert power in making someone do something (Latour, 1986). ANT's capital, an actor among others, is similar to economic resources that can be managed either successfully or poorly. One has to be a good strategist (translator) to create the right conditions in which other actors cannot help but follow your programme of actions. However, ANT does not prioritize any actor (according to its principle of agnosticism), including the economic, which is but one of the other possible forces that structure “relationships in the network” Teurlings (2013, p. 112).

Whereas Buzelin (2005) used ANT to study interlingual translation in the making, my project will tackle *sociological translation*—transforming interactions by means of which linguistic translation is created—a concept which is absent in Bourdieu.

While the notion of translation as a bidirectional transformative action is characteristic only of ANT, it seems to be put aside by TS scholars³⁷ in contrast to some journalism scholars³⁸ (e.g., see Domingo et al.; Hemmingway, 2008; Micó et al., 2013; Neresini, 2000; Plesner, 2009; Teurlings, 2013 etc.) who applied translation to the description of journalistic practices. In the subsection below, I will briefly discuss some of the TS scholars' opinions on the Latourian concept of translation that is scarcely featured in TS research.

3.3.2 What about ANT's 'translation' in TS?

Ostensibly, translation scholars who wrote about the application of ANT or even applied it, favoured other notions than *translation* as a sociological concept. This section is not claiming to offer a comprehensive review of all scholarly works touching upon actor-network theory in TS but is intended to exemplify some of the scholarly considerations on the matter.

Buzelin (2005) reflects on the ANT concepts of *translation* and *network*; yet she apparently sees value for TS only in the latter sociological notion. She proposes 'actor-network' as a means to reconceptualize the 'networks'³⁹ that had been used so far in TS in a somewhat loose or deterministic manner (either social or technological meaning). The revamped *network*, according to Buzelin (2005), allows us to trace linguistic translations in the making—"in various publishing houses, translation projects...from the negotiation of translation rights to the launching of the final

³⁷ The exception is Marlie van Rooyen (2019a, 2019b), who used Latourian translation to describe human/non-human interactions in her study on radio news translation.

³⁸ However, the concepts of hybrids, materiality, and black boxes are found to be more popular in digital journalism studies (Stalph, 2019).

³⁹ Buzelin (2005) refers to Cronin (2003) and Pym (1998) in this regard.

product” (Buzelin, 2005, p. 202)—and, as a result, will comprise heterogeneous elements dispersed in time and space. The research encompasses multiple mediators at work (not only translators), observation of daily practices and analysis of documents, etc.—everything that conditions successful interlingual translation but has been largely hidden from scholarly eyes.

By contrast, ANT’s *translation*—i.e., as a sociological concept—has not been taken up because, according to Buzelin (2005), ‘translation’ does not refer to an interlingual transfer in ANT but is a “factor of displacement, negotiation, change and hybridity” (Buzelin, 2005, p. 201). It does resemble recent post-structuralist thinking on interlingual translation in a way that it also imagines interlingual transfer as a complex and creative practice—e.g., see on *métissage* in Berman 1984, Nouss & Laplantine 1997, *creolization* (Lewis 2004) or on *hybridity* in (Wolf, 2000) (as cited in Buzelin, 2005, p. 202), or on hybridity and translation in Simon (2010). In general, these terms refer to the mixing of cultures and the influence thereof on the language(s) and interlingual transfers occurring often in the post-colonial context. In contrast, ANT translation represents a chain of symbolic interactions between human and non-human beings.

Chesterman (2006), when reviewing various approaches used in the sociology of translation,⁴⁰ makes a similar observation in regard to the application of actor-network theory. He seems to find pertinence only in the concept of *network*, which he revises in view of TS. Thus, Chesterman (2006) argues that unlike actor-networks which characteristically do not have ranked nodes, translation networks do have a central node in the shape of a translator with his/her

⁴⁰ While Chesterman (2006) distinguishes three areas in the sociology of translation, his main interest lies in the underexamined last category: The sociology of translations as products; the sociology of translators; and the sociology of translating, i.e., the translation process (p. 12).

individual tasks, i.e., the networks are translator-centred. Chesterman (2006) describes Latour's translation as "misleading" because "it refers to the way in which each actor has to 'translate' meanings into his/her/its own terms, in order to make sense of them" (p. 22).

Kristiina Abdallah (2012), in her doctoral thesis, investigates translation production networks and their organization principles, as well as related issues of translation quality, translators' agency, and ethics. She does not solely rely on ANT but couples it with general network theory (Barabási, 2002) borrowed from natural sciences and agency theory (Eisenhardt, 1989), which allows her to tackle diverse research interests from different ontological positions (Abdallah, 2012). Abdallah (2012) draws on the ANT concept of network, namely, on the heterogeneous nature of assemblages (human/non-human) and the complexity of interrelations in her ethnography. Although the scholar makes an accurate remark that ANT's translation is at the source of the actor-network's emergence and quotes Callon's (1986a) moments of translation,⁴¹ she rather perceives ANT translation as a negotiation tactic "in which a focal actor, [e.g., a translation company], tries to 'translate' or convince the other actors to accept its definition" (Abdallah, 2012, p. 24). Thereby, Kristiina Abdallah (2012) and H el ene Buzelin (2005) converge in the opinion that an ANT translation represents negotiation and interpretation strategies followed by actors' displacement. Only Buzelin (2005) discusses ANT translation more broadly, while Abdallah refers specifically to Callon's translation model and foregrounds one of the functions of

⁴¹ Problematization, interressement, enrolment and mobilization (Callon, 1986a)

the so-called spokesman⁴² (which she names a ‘focal actor’) to impose Callon’s translations on other actors.

Interestingly, Marlie van Rooyen (2019a) applies actor-network theory to her study on radio news translation in the South African context quite differently from other TS scholars. She conceptualizes actor-network as recorded actions and processes. Thus, the focus shifts from discussion of a network’s makeup (human agents and material factors) to actors’ interactions which lead to the translation of actors and produce meanings. ANT translation concept is used to describe a chain of interactions between actants occurring *in situ* whereas news translation is rooted in Jakobson’s triadic division into the interlingual, intralingual and intersemiotic. On the other hand, in *Tracing the translation of community radio news in South Africa: An actor-network approach*, van Rooyen (2019b) questions the adequacy of Jakobson’s language-based intersemiotic translation in view of her empirical findings and joins similar criticisms expressed earlier by O’Halloran et al. (2016). Van Rooyen (2019b) observes that “a news reporter translated the text based on body language and non-verbal cues of the interviewee” without completely understanding the spoken language (p. 225). This act represents intersemiotic translation. Although this topic is stated to be outside the scope of her study, van Rooyen (2019b) nevertheless shows interest in the possibility of broadening the concept of intersemiotic translation within the field of TS.

⁴² A spokesman is “progressive mobilization of actors who render the...propositions credible and indisputable by forming alliances and acting as a unit of force (Callon 1986a, p. 216). A spokesman can be a single individual or a few who speak and act on behalf of human/non-human actors. In a similar way, Callon (1991) uses a notion of translator and/or translator-spokesman Callon (1986b, p. 24).

In a similar fashion, Wenyan Luo (2020) in her book *Translation as actor-networking* makes use of *translation*^{ANT} (as per the scholar's specification) in exploring "how the categories of actions, as a whole, fuelled the networking process" (p. 163) in the translation project of the Chinese *Journey to the West*. Even though *translation*^{ANT} is based here on Callon's (1986a) moments of translation, in conclusion, Luo (2020) points to Latour's (1987) view on translation which does not separate linguistic from sociological meanings in the definition of 'translation' and suggests developing "further connections" between translation in TS and *translation*^{ANT} (p. 219). This is the direction that the current research pursues, albeit it started in 2018. In general, Luo's statement supports the idea that the indicated potential has always been there but has not been explored until now.

All in all, the observations above indicate that, mostly, TS scholars perceive ANT's translation concept as incompatible with TS, as a confusing homograph with a completely different meaning attributed to it by ANT. As a matter of fact, besides van Rooyen (2019a, 2019b) and Luo (2020) who apply ANT's translation to describe heterogeneous interactions, other scholars seem to conceive of this sociological concept as either a kind of metaphorical interpretation and negotiation of meanings by actants or as a factor of change (e.g., Abdallah, 2012; Buzelin, 2005; Chesterman, 2006).

However, ANT's translation is not only an interpretation, a factor of hybridity or interaction, but a series of nested displacements and movements, connections that transform the mediators and induce them into further actions. Without translation, there is no network—it keeps it together. ANT does not exclude linguistic signs as part of semiotics, but 'language' is not the property of human beings only but of things as well—a road bump can 'tell' drivers to slow down (Latour, 1999b). As Latour (1987) himself explains the meaning of 'translation',

It should now be clear why I used the word *translation*. In addition to its *linguistic meaning* [emphasis added] (relating versions in one language to versions in another one) it has also a *geometric meaning* [emphasis added] (moving from one place to another). Translating interests means at once offering new interpretations of these interests and channelling people in different directions. 'Take your revenge' is made to mean 'write a letter'; 'build a new car' is made to really mean 'study one pore of an electrode'. The results of such renderings are a slow movement from one place to another. (p. 117, emphasis in original)

What I will try to accomplish in the next section is not to reverse Latour's (1987) reasoning—stating that besides a geometric meaning, *translation* has indeed another, linguistic meaning—but to illustrate the fact that translation can be simultaneously conceived of as translation proper and *sociological assemblage*, while focussing exclusively on the latter. That is also to say that my two-fold conceptualization is only one of the many possibilities that a meta-conceptual take on translation (Basalamah, 2018) can engender. The disparate entities that are said to be translated need to be in a dialectical and meaningful relation: there have to be instances of articulation, transfer (ideational or physical) and transformation (Basalamah, 2018, p. 495).

The core meaning of the *sociological translation* concept is taken here as “making someone do something” (Latour, 2005, p. 58), which will be gradually adjusted to my case study on international news translation in Inter Press Service, a global news agency. The agency's team is hybrid, in the sense that they work in both virtual and physical spaces on a global scale. Not only has the internet spurred globalization and convergence, but it has also changed the nature of interactions and work practices, as well as the notions of time and space/place.

The modern milieu where *sociological translation* thrives is my next topic. I will then connect *sociological translation* with its milieu.

3. 4 Defining globalization

In this portion of my theoretical framework, I will scrutinize the multifaceted and interrelated notions of globalization, convergence and virtuality and the ways they are linked to media (organizations). As will be illustrated below, these concepts may manifest themselves quite differently across various fields. However, my specific interest lies in the effects of globalization, virtualization and convergence processes on the practices of media workers. Now that news production is decentralized and, sometimes, uprooted from its traditional settings (i.e., newsrooms), the work interactions tend to be more virtual rather than face-to-face only, and occur in a manner indiscriminative of affiliates' locations or time zones. To glean a better understanding of modern work conditions and the way they shape *sociological translations*, below, I will discuss globalization and then zoom in on the topics of media globalization and convergence and the virtuality and globalization of work in sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 respectively.

As regards globalization, interestingly, economics scholars trace the first stage of globalization back to the nineteenth century when intercontinental trade in such banal goods as staples became profitable, as opposed to the long history of trade in curiosities and luxury goods (Dowrick & DeLong, 2005). This was feasible with the development of international transportation infrastructure, followed by the reduction of shipping fees. Yet, globalization is not only associated with lowering economic borders but shines through many other aspects of contemporary life: politics, technologies, culture, increased migration flows, capital mobility, or in the way ideas and values circulate around the globe, among others.

While there are many interpretations of the concept,⁴³ globalization is notably associated with the notion of *space* and *time* compression (Harvey, 1989). For example, Giddens (1990), a British sociologist, defines globalization as “intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”. Giddens’s (1990) contention is that modern standardization of *time* across borders preconditioned control of *space* and tore apart these previously inseparable notions. As well, instead of the physical and fixed *places*, we now have dispersed and fluid *spaces*⁴⁴ acting at distance and ordering social reality by means of information and communications technologies (ICTs). Interestingly, Gutsche and Hess (2020), in reference to digital journalism, state that digital spaces have broadened” our spatial awareness” and allowed us “to engage with news anytime, anywhere” (p. 587). Here, the authors propose an overarching concept of ‘placeification’ that would designate all the activities through “which digital news spaces transform into places of meaning and significance” (Gutsche & Hess, 2020, p. 586) i.e., get individually appropriated by geographically distributed audiences.

On the other hand, Binsbergen (1998) asserts that *globalization* in the true sense is rather about dramatical reduction of costs “imposed [on social processes] by time and space, and thus the opening up of new spaces and new times within new boundaries that were hitherto inconceivable” (p. 875). On many occasions there is no need for physical displacement, but it remains doubtful whether the virtual can serve as an equivalent to in-person communication. In this respect,

⁴³ For example, see Robertson (1992) and Tomlinson (1999), etc.

⁴⁴ In comparison, agrarian societies counted on calendars for time reckoning, which was very imprecise and had to be rendered through either reference to a place and/or natural occurrences. The notions of space and place were inseparable (Giddens, 1990).

Woolgar (2002) asserts that the *virtual* rather supplements than supplants life and may even stimulate future face-to-face interactions and experiences.

While the post-World War II period witnessed massive economic expansion and reconfiguration of the world map, it was only in the late 1960s that globalization was palpably intensified, thanks to the invention of communications satellites. Relay satellites propelled improvement in existing telecommunication networks (radio, phone and television) and enabled instantaneous electronic communication between various geographic points (Giddens, 2002). Although the Internet first appeared in the 1960s, it was initially used for communication in scientific and technical circles (Dreyfus, 2003). Only from the 1990s onwards, with the development of the World Wide Web by Tim Berners-Lee and the launch of the first web browsers, did the Internet experience its massive uptake and popularity (Flew, 2014).

However, the new media have not only made information exchanges instantaneous but have also altered “the very texture of our lives, rich and poor alike”—both the macro systems and individual perceptions of the world, experiences, and traditional values (Giddens, 2002, p. 25). We find ourselves more informed about thousand-mile away events and people rather than about our neighbours and events in our own community. Moreover, distant spaces happen to associate with localities in intricate and unpredictable ways (Giddens, 1990, 2002). Yet, locales also engage in constructing global practices in their own unique ways. Uptakes and managing information and communications technologies (ICTs) depend on micro-contexts, concrete individuals and interactions. This global-local interdependency is underlined by Woolgar (2002) in his fifth rule of virtuality—“the more global the more local” (p. 19). On the other hand, Castells (2010) speaks of the advent of a new society—*network society*—a product of the new information age and globalized capitalism, which is characterized

by the globalization of strategically decisive economic activities. By the networking form of organization. By the flexibility and instability of work, and the individualization of labor. By a culture of real virtuality constructed by a pervasive, interconnected, and diversified media system. And by the transformation of the material foundations of life, space and time, through the constitution of a space of flows and of timeless time, as expressions of dominant activities and controlling elites. (p. 1)

Despite bringing the perceived advantages and overall reshaping of our society, *globalization* can also trigger adverse effects. For example, Giddens (2002) lists potential global risks for society—climate change and environmental pollution, global spread of diseases, intrusion of science and technologies in natural processes (as in the case with genetically modified crops); uprooting of traditions or, on the contrary, emergence of fundamentalism in various manifestations, etc.. Castells (2010), besides the listed consequences of a networked society, also points to the globalization of crime and social protests, among others. Another important question is the fair distribution of globalization benefits among various countries and layers of society (Calderón, 2014). This is another reason why I chose to study Inter Press Service (IPS): for its dedication to resist the inequalities of globalization (by way of educating Western audiences about socioeconomic and cultural matters in Third World countries).

3.4.1 Media globalization and convergence

Media have been known to directly participate in globalizing processes since at least the nineteenth century—with the start of the mass circulation of newspapers. While today's individuals are more informed about world events than ever before, global markets and other societal institutions also depend on the news in making decisions; furthermore, their extension would not be quite possible without pooling knowledge from various spaces, i.e., news (Giddens, 1990). Globalization in journalism is a two-fold process: it brings far-away events to local audiences and also reaches transnational audiences (McNair, 1998). However, according to Cottle

(2019), journalism has yet to become truly global in the sense that it needs to be more aware of the world as one shared community and better serve its original democratic role.

On the whole, media have globalizing effects on modernity and promote the notion of globalization among people. At the same time, media are also being globalized by the “convergence of old and new media technologies as well as the convergence of old and new media organizations to form immensely powerful transnational media conglomerate[s]” (Devereux, 2013, pp. 56-57). It follows that convergence is at the foundation of media globalization, and more broadly of globalization in general. Although Devereux (2007) mentions only the patterns of convergence—technological mergers and structural changes in media agencies as prerequisites of media globalization—they have repercussions on journalistic practices and values, as well as audience behaviours, among other possibilities. For example, convergence translates into greater multitasking of media employees and higher time demands, separation of audiences into various platform users, and increased cooperation between news makers and their audiences.

Historically, the term *convergence* appeared in dictionaries only in 1972 and in the 1980s the term was mainly applied in reference to digital technology, namely, to the “integration of text, numbers, images and sound, different elements in the media” that previously had been discussed separately (Briggs & Burke, 2009, p. 237). Subsequently, from a technical application, *convergence* has come to represent “a melding of all the other formerly distinct parts to that mediated production equation” (Robinson, 2011, pp. 149-150), but still its many definitions revolve around technology⁴⁵ that is at “at the core of media convergence” (Grant, 2009, p. 5). As

⁴⁵ Media convergence was mainly enabled by the transition of media from analog to digital and propagation of the Internet and computer networks (Grant, 2009, p. 5).

technology is undergoing constant development, “the object of convergence will always be shifting” (Davier & Conway, 2019, p. 3). On the other hand, Scott (2005) calls for a systemic understanding of convergence because convergence in journalism is often dictated by the economic logic, with the quality of the journalism largely deemed an externality. Moreover, the innovations planned by management are not diffused in media organizations by some sleight of hand and perfectly executed in practice but are rather shaped by human factors—“aspirations, power relationships and internal communications within a media corporation”—in this scenario, multiple implications can be better understood if convergence is studied in the making, i.e., on the micro-level by means of ANT (Micó et al., 2013, p. 118).

Even though journalism went online⁴⁶ in the 1990s after the launch of the earliest web browsers, Netscape and Microsoft Internet Explorer (Scott, 2005), and was further facilitated by the wireless broadband technology from 2002 and onwards (Deuze, 2008), no one broached the highly relevant questions of translation and cultural translation of news in convergent journalism until the recent publication of *Journalism and Translation in the Era of Convergence* in 2019. The World Wide Web is populated with many languages and cultures other than English, and the book focusses on the challenges of convergence faced by journalist-translators in translating and adapting news across media platforms, in re-purposing news for various audiences, in framing events for a variety of formats and adopting new practices conditioned by innovations. News translation is far from being transparent: it is textual, intersemiotic, cultural and multimodal. The book’s contributors address its complexity through the lens of convergence, which seems more appropriate for understanding news translation practices in decentralized and dispersed newsrooms

⁴⁶ The first online content was simplistic and was often dubbed “shovelware”—“text/video/audio that have been “repurposed” from the original form for web publication without changing substance” (Scott, 2005, p. 93).

than the lens of localization that presupposes having a central spot where a global product is adapted for distribution to other markets. As well, focus on *convergence* foregrounds the issues of multilingualism, multiculturalism and, importantly, of often dismissed audiovisual translation. (Davier & Conway, 2019). Although my study is likewise about news translation, it conceives of news translation in a different light—as a process and result of interactions among concrete and various human, non-human and semiotic actors based on ANT’s network ontology and the abstracted abilities of translation to connect, transform and shift heterogeneous entities through time and space (Basalamah, 2018). In this view, the work of journalist-editor-translators is in itself a *sociological translation*, a network that encompasses more than interlingual, cultural and other related transformations alone. Consequently, *convergence* here will be studied in correlation with the effects it produces on the routines of journalist-editor-translators (to be tackled in the empirical part—see below).

3.4.2 Virtuality and globalization of work

As evident from the previous account, the new media or, as Woolgar (2002) puts it, “virtual technologies” (p. 19) are the primary movers of *globalization*—if conceptualized in terms of a spatial trope as the “rapid movement and spread of symbolic and financial capital” (Woolgar, 2002, p. 19). Organizations, too, have been progressing towards *virtualization-globalization*, which has a direct impact on the work management in international teams and on the increase of social interactions in the ‘spaces of flows’ (Castells, 1989).

*Virtuality/Virtual*⁴⁷ is not a new concept, its history can be traced back almost to the dawn of Western civilization (Grimshaw, 2014), or, arguably, to the Renaissance when Gerardus Mercator invented the atlas, scaling down the whole world to its small representation on paper (Latour, 1998). *Virtuality* and its history are defined by the meanings attached to it, but it is only with the advent of digitalized society that the term obtained its “modern incarnation” (Grimshaw, 2014, p. 1) and applications to refer, for example, to virtual reality, virtual society or to Second Life (Rogers, 2013)—a conceptual space where diverse groups of people share common experiences. The approximations to the modern use of the concept can be seen, for instance, in the asynchronous and remote communications warranted by post offices and early telecommunication systems (Lévy, 2001). Also, the *virtual* in the reincarnated version is materially based: “there is no GPS without three satellites; collective games without fast connections; drones in Pakistan without headquarters in Tampa, Florida; bank panic without Reuters screens; and so on” (Latour, 2011, p. 802). Enabled by materiality, the *virtual* is far from being illusory as it is amenable to both

⁴⁷ The interrelated terms *cyberspace* and *virtual reality* were popularized in the 1990s and used in reference to the new media enabled by digital technologies. In the beginning, these terms were used interchangeably to describe online communities. However, they have different connotations. *Cyberspace* properly denotes an online space in which people meet and communicate via computers (Jones & Holmes, 2011). Taken more profoundly, *cyberspace* is an assemblage of “hardware, data, and human beings...[and] programs” (Lévy, 2001) that encourages an almost synchronous cooperation between geographically remote individuals. By contrast, *virtual reality* is more related “to the interface between an individual’s senses and a media environment” (Jones & Holmes, 2011, p. 55). Yet *virtual reality* and *cyberspace* have become so much of our ‘staple diet’, so naturalized and unnoticeable that the popularity of these terms has declined; instead of *virtual communities*, preference is often given to the term *online communities* abundant in the social media (Flew, 2014; Jones & Holmes, 2011).

qualitative and quantitative analyses. Users' profiles, google searches, interactions, number of clicks on web pages, etc. can be probabilistically located or retrieved and taken up for scientific investigation. It also became possible to conduct research via the Internet (e.g., doing surveys and interviews using different online platforms) yielding 'material' data. Merriam-Webster's online dictionary provides two definitions of *virtuality*—as “essence”, and, secondly, as “potential existence” or “potentiality”. From the philosophical perspective, anything can be said to be *virtual* “if it is “deterritorialized”, capable of engendering several concrete manifestations at different times or places, without being attached to any particular place or time” (Lévy, 2001, p. 29). In this broad view, the words are *virtual* until they are pronounced, a seed is a *virtual* representation of a tree, and information in a digital network is *virtual* until it gets actualized at some network junction. The *virtual* is said to be *real* because *reality* is seen as composed of two dimensions: the *virtual* and the *actual*—the *virtuality* actualized in unforeseeable ways. It follows that *virtuality* is thus deeply ingrained in human consciousness—it is “*an effect of human perception*” (Kreps, 2008, p. 255, emphasis in original)—while virtual technologies constitute its new manifestation. At the same time, the *virtual* cannot be accessed directly but only through its manifold enactments in various times and spaces (Lévy, 2001). In digital technologies we access the *virtual* via user interface, be it a smartphone, iPad, or computer, etc.

In a similar way the neighbouring notion of *simulacrum* (image, representation of someone or something) has also been taken up by a number of philosophers starting with Plato. Simulacrum shares an affinity with *virtuality* in terms of real/phantasmagoric and true/false opposition. According to Baudrillard, (1994) simulacra are pseudo-objects, signs and symbols that do not have referents in reality. Simulacra form hyperreality (an illusion of reality), which in its turn produces more simulacra by means of semiosis. Media construct and promulgate hyperreality, a simulation

of the real world, which replaces reality in human consciousness and shapes one's understanding of life. Hyperreality is bound together with post-modernity and globalization with its information overflow, for example, fake news (e.g., Lazer et al., 2018) that misinforms the public, or the fact that many feature films are products of pure imagination. In contrast, Deleuze (1990) argues that there is no sense in opposing an original with its copy any more as everything has lost its authenticity and become nothing but simulacra—images without resemblance (like an icon depicting God, who has never been eye-witnessed by anyone). The question of similarity is out of discussion; instead, difference is at play here. Simulacra are defined by Deleuze (2004) as “those systems in which different relates to different by means of difference itself” (Deleuze, 2004, p. 372).

Returning to the discussion on *virtuality*, Latour (1998) challenges the above-mentioned view of *virtuality* as being part of reality (i.e., real) based on Deleuzian philosophy. The reason is the inherent calculability of the actual which is supposed to be unpredictable. The seed of a tree will grow to become a tree in any case. In his view, *virtuality* is “more material than real”—it is a society materialized into cables, data and networks which render its contours visible (Latour, 1998, p. 10).

Websites produce tangible effects rather than disembodiment or dematerialization—they make us do things and experience emotions. With a mouse click, the circulating *Virtual Society* can be effortlessly traced and located. Similarly, in journalism, digital objects are considered to be far from immaterial because they “make a difference in newsmaking” (De Mayer, 2016, p. 461). Moreover, digital technologies make us realize that we should stop taking the society for granted

any more—“if we don’t re-do it, it stops existing”⁴⁸ (Latour, 1998, p. 9). Websites hosted by servers located in geographically different places on the planet, contain individual elements connected by means of hyperlinks to a series of other associated elements. Apart from the web, the same principle is true of any human/non-human assemblages, which represent a collective (actor-networks). Only this collective is a simplification of the real state of affairs, considering the complex and varying qualities of individual elements which, in principle, cannot be subsumed under a singular model. In this regard, the idea of an overarching and powerful society, such as Emile Durkheim’s *sui generis* society, vanishes into thin air.⁴⁹

The precise nature of *virtuality*, in fact, is predominantly elusive. Any single definition “may constrain what virtuality is, has been, and may become” (Panteli & Chiasson, 2008, p. 8). In respect to organizations, the understanding of *virtuality* is commonly defined in terms of spatial distribution of co-workers and use of electronic communication tools. However, Gibson & Gibbs (2006) add two more dimensions to *virtuality* in organizations—“structural dynamism” and “national diversity” (p. 451)—although these four characteristics may not be present all at once or be evenly interrelated. Every organization is unique and gradient in its *virtuality* and some virtual teams are hybrid (Oshri et al., 2008). For example, people might work remotely but sometimes interact physically regarding shared projects or attend seminars and briefings in person; or have

⁴⁸ Here Latour (1998) restates Margaret Thatcher’s notorious claim that “there is no such thing as society” (it should be made).

⁴⁹ Latour (2010), actually, reverses the famous statement that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts (indicating a two-level society) and asserts that there is only a collective phenomenon whose individual parts (by virtue of the complexity of their connections/combinations) exceed that collective.

face-to face interactions with each other at work but maintain virtual contacts with customers and so on.

To sum up, this section has illustrated that information and communication technologies (ICTs) invented in the 20th century have directly contributed to the processes of *globalization* and *virtualization* of organizations and the rest of the world. Media have had an important role in promoting *globalization* in society and are at the same time globalized by means of technological and organizational *convergence* taking place in media organizations (Devereux, 2013). Also, because technological evolution is an ongoing process, the concepts of *globalization*, *virtualization* and *convergence* are bound to remain elusive in nature and to be continuously redefined. However, both *globalization* and *virtualization* are found to be commonly associated with breaking down the barriers of time and space, instantaneous communications and effortless information flows. In a similar way, “professional ideology of news is geared towards an ideal collapse of temporal and spatial difference” (Hemmingway, 2006, p. 139), which is reaching geographically dispersed individuals in the fastest way. Philosophical discussions surrounding *virtuality* converge in the idea that the *virtual* is either real (Lévy, 2001; Kreps, 2008) or material (Latour, 1998), giving it a status of corporeality. By contrast, *virtuality* in organizations is characterized mainly by two determinants: spatial distribution of co-workers and the use of ICTS. *Virtuality*—a constituent part of globalization and media-convergence—affects the nature of *sociological translation*, by means of which I intend to study the production of news translation at IPS. *Sociological translations* are increasingly happening in the ‘spaces of flows’ (Castells, 1989) and thus acquire meta-semiotic qualities (to be discussed next).

3.5 Sociological translation in the era of globalization

The philosophical conceptualization of *translation* (Basalamah, 2018) exceeds *translation proper*, including inter/intralingual and intersemiotic—it is conceived of as a wider *meta-semiotic* translation, the instances of which might represent miscellaneous material and virtual⁵⁰ translations as well as their movements across different “modes of existence” (Latour, 2013). In relation to the texts as objects of translation, “the supposed death of the book as a physical object” (Littau, 2016, p. 88) in a globalizing age, signifies that textual translations are progressively becoming virtual artefacts which circulate in the depths of the Internet and materialize on demand. On the whole, this meta-stance allows us to view any act as translational if there is evidence of connection, transfer, and transformation. In this scenario, ANT translation represents one of the possible configurations of *meta-semiotic* translation and deserves to be studied by translation scholars on equal terms, alongside *translation proper*.

Interestingly, Mike Michael (2017) considers that ANT translation “might be material as well as social, physical as well as semiotic” (p. 41). On the other hand, the behaviour of *sociological translation* needs to be established empirically and may vary from case to case. For this reason, it is better characterized as *meta-semiotic*, i.e., able to take on multiple forms. At Inter Press Service (IPS), a global and hybrid team, news translation is produced by means of physical and virtual interactions using ICTs. In the case of IPS, sociological translations through which news is produced are *meta-semiotic* by content (they might be associations of the physical, virtual, semiotic, etc.) and by form—as news is produced for the immediate audience consumption and exchange (Williams, 2005).

⁵⁰ Although, as alluded to earlier, the virtual is material in its effects (Latour, 1998).

That said, this research borrows the tenets of ANT that Bruno Latour and colleagues used to demystify scientific innovations in laboratories and extends them to the conceptualization and study of *sociological translation* processes in the newsroom that might occur in either virtual or actual newsrooms. Latour sees reality through the lens of the concept of network, which is never a pre-given scheme. According to Latour (2005), a network is a tool for describing reality and tracing imprints left by an actor. ANT's main principles are *agnosticism* (not giving priority to any one actor), *free association* (abstaining from the reduction of an object to either natural or social) and *generalized symmetry* (treating human and non-human actors equally) (Callon, 1986a). These principles urge us to pay equal attention to all the components participating in news translation, without relegating technology to a secondary position. The role of any actor should be measured, rather, by the impact it exerts on news translation.

Latour's collaborator, Michel Callon (1986a), discerns four stages of *sociological translation* in a group formation: *problematization*, *interessement*, *enrolment*, *mobilization* (Callon, 1986a). To put it in a nutshell, the goals need to be identified as well as the actors defined (*problematization*); the interest has to be placed in between them (*interessement* and *enrolment*), and the group activated (mobilized) for future displacements. *Enrolment* happens automatically if the *interessement* moment is successful. The outcome of these processes is the selection of a spokesman for a group who represents its interests. Altogether, *translation* in ANT is characterized by the logical flow of events that Callon (1980) dubs "socio-logic", according to which "problems are directly associated with groups" and groups get mobilized into action (p. 210).

However, *sociological translation*, according to ANT, is not always an untroubled process and may require detours and additional negotiations to find a common denominator. Also there is a possibility that one of the actors may 'betray' other actors and change directions, or even exit the

network—in this case translation becomes a “treason” (Callon, 1986a, p. 224). These tactics of translation are not easily discernible in reality as they can be spatially and temporally removed from each other. On the other hand, it is the actors’ job to decide “what comes before what” (Latour 1991, p. 119), create their own measurements of time and sizes, etc. while a researcher’s job is to follow the actors and their narratives (Latour, 2005). Common local constructions like space and time are said to be made of reversible displacements (in case of space) and irreversible displacements (time) (Latour, 1987).

(Sociological) translation is a “continuity of displacements and transformations” (Callon, 1986a, p. 223). It is a recursive process that keeps going after a group has been created and the actors set in motion. Additionally, accounts of those transformations must be empirically based, because translation is always a “contingent, local, and variable” process (Law, 1992, p. 387). In this work, my interest lies in exploring how the actors maintain their network and their daily efforts to keep it up and running—with a specific focus on news translation production and situated work practices (drawing on ethnomethodology). That said, the actors in ANT are not independent doers but are partially determined by past *translations* which have to be accounted for (Callon, 1980). Also, every *translation* is a triangular process: it includes a translator/translators, translated actors and media of inscription (material and virtual media). *Sociological translation* is not to be confused with an action—it is characterized by “mutual definition” (translated actants are never the same) and “inscription” (into the *meta-semiotic*) (Callon, 1991, p. 143). Take, for example, the current project. On a basic level, it is a *sociological translation* between a research proposal and me, a researcher, with a thesis in a Microsoft Word format being its outcome. A research plan has made me follow certain paths and focus on certain things at the expense of other possibilities. Now a translator (research proposal) is an executed plan, and a researcher is not the same person she was

before the interaction—she has accumulated knowledge and different research skills. However, the researcher did not act alone but in association with her supervisor and other important and numerous human and non-human resources.

Viewing translation from the ANT perspective, i.e., as sociological translation, adds another dimension to thinking about news translation. It is a *sociological assemblage* of many translational types of action—the speed of the news translation process and fusion between human beings and technology make news translation a collective endeavour, where raw⁵¹ news stories and published articles are primarily a conglomerate of statuses and situations. Significantly, Bruno Latour, a renowned anthropologist, urges us to disbelieve the ‘facts’ found in scholarly papers and visit the places where the papers originated (Latour, 1987). Latour insists on studying science and technology in action: shadowing actors and watching unfolding events and decision-making processes. This is the only key to disentangling the mystery and re-opening the ‘black box’—the mechanisms of *sociological translations* at IPS—to reveal its components (Latour, 1987). In my project, the IPS newsroom and virtual space of translator-journalists is my ‘laboratory’ or ‘cyberfactory’ (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2011), where I intend to study the components constituting news-translation production through the lens of *sociological translation*.

This project couples ethnography (as prescribed by ANT) with ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967, 2017; Liberman, 2013; Rawls, 2008) to acquire a more comprehensive knowledge of news translation—comprised of various actors as well as unique translation practices. Although both methods imply ethnographic description, they follow different research objectives (to be discussed next).

⁵¹ In this project a ‘raw’ news story is the one that has not yet been translated into other languages.

3.5.1 An ethnography of sociological translation

Ethnography is “part philosophy” (Geertz, 1973, p. 346), as it implies a reflective interpretation, a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973, p. 6) of ‘others’ and their modes of thinking. Also, if one follows ANT, one needs to present only actors; empty entities or intermediaries are to be omitted, although Latour (2005) equally stresses the importance of notetaking in the unfolding experiments to facilitate their ‘thick description’. The assisting tool in describing reality and tracing imprints left by the actor is the network (Latour, 2005, p. 131). That said, ethnographic accounts convey a mediated reality: the task of an ethnographer is symbolic interpretation and description of entities (cultures, texts, people, and their traditions). In supplement to the ethnography, I will use *ethnomethodology* which “is not in the business of interpreting signs” (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 97): its task is to observe and put down the patterns and coherencies of people’s actions (the methods) by which they produce “their own reality” (p. 97). Along these lines, my research will follow the precepts of ethnography in that it will aim to delve deeply into the nature and inner workings of *sociological translations* at IPS. At the same time, I will attend to the heterogeneity of actors and their patterned actions (including coherencies and incoherencies) involved in news translation. In my narrative I will employ the ‘language’ of my research participants and will follow faithfully their takes and reflections on the ‘methods’ of news production in conformity with ANT and ethnomethodology.

On account of the meta-semiotic nature of my sociological translation approach and its common occurrence in the virtual networks, I will follow the prompt given in Bruno Latour’s (2012) article, co-authored with P. Jensen, T. Venturini, S. Grauwin and D. Boullier, who follow “digital traces” (p. 591) left by actors. The article’s authors argue that “the more you wish to pinpoint an actor, the more you have to deploy its actor-network” (p. 592). By the same token, I

will seek official permission to access journalist-editor-translators' inner communication channels (e-mails, chatrooms, etc.) at IPS, in order to help define the actors and the way they interact, as well as to reconstruct their work practices in light of ethnomethodology protocols.

3.6 The theory of my case study

According to available resources on international news translation, typically,⁵² there are no 'translators' as such in news agencies—translators and journalists are the same people, and the agencies prefer to hire specialists who know several languages (Bellos, 2011; Bielsa, 2007; Valdeón, 2012). So far, based on the ANT and readings on international news translation,⁵³ I have been able to build a preliminary definition of news translation—namely, that *sociological translation* in news production is a collective force that passes through both human and non-human actors, and is transformed and integrated into the final news product. It is a complex process that results in a final output and is inseparable from it. In my interpretation, a news agency is a grouping, an information network, that can be delineated against its competitors (other news agencies). An information network is represented by its 'spokespersons', a news agency's executive committee, which defines the objectives of the network (*problematization stage*), provides resources (*interesement*) and translates or mobilizes every actor into action. The actors in the envisaged news translation network are 'raw' news stories, local audiences, journalist-

⁵² However, there can be some exclusions as in Tsai 's work (2005) on television news translation or in Matsushita (2019), among others.

⁵³ News translation is by no means a faithful rendition of original news stories but is adaptation on multiple inter/intralinguistic and intersemiotic levels, rewriting and cultural negotiation (e.g., see Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009 and Conway, 2015). Also, van Doorslaer (2010) considers the procedures of news gathering and handling of news texts to be part of news translation.

editor-translators, and technology. Although they have different functions in the network, yet they are enrolled by the common goal of news production. Individual agency interests can include but are not limited to: profit, production efficiency, professional recognition, news agency reputation, national solidarity, or just staying informed. They can be classified as actors or mediators since they undergo transformations, modifying each other in moving towards a common goal—i.e., a final news release. Linguistic/translation policies and other work guidelines function as *structuring templates* (Latour, 2005), *immutable mobiles* (Latour, 1987) or in a case where they undergo updates and local adaptations—*mutable mobiles* (Law, 2009)—they support the smooth operation of the news agency and help in enacting reality.

By *sociological translation* I mean in this case study a logical ordering of interactions between disparate entities that were brought together by the translator-spokesperson (Callon 1986b, p. 24) in order to achieve a common goal of news production. These interactions represent any transfers and transformations of the network of news production taken in the broadest meta-semiotic sense. For example, an unplanned conversation with a stranger can inspire you to write a news article, but to be written and translated into other languages, the idea has to pass through the collective of other actors (including non-human) which all define the final product—oral/written approval by the editorial office that it is a worthy news piece, transformation of the audio-recording into a Microsoft Word file, collection of additional sources on the Web and so on. The ‘translator’ or the ‘author’ of the group triggers a continuum of interactions—he/she/they may have delegated the action some time ago but *sociological translations* change over time, as does the medium into which they get materialized—e.g., “round table discussions, public declarations, texts, technical objects, embodied skills, currencies” (Callon, 1991, p. 143)—or the *virtual* in the era of globalization.

Sociological translation is not to be confused with the sociologies that study the sociological course of translated products from the social conditions of their inception to their various economic, cultural and political effects on societies (e.g., as in Even-Zohar, 1979, 1990; Gouanvic, 1999; Casanova, 2002; Heilbron & Sapiro, 2002; Wolf & Fukari, 2007, etc.). The concept of *sociological translation* is also different from that of “social translation” developed by Basalamah (2012b) with the goal of “resolving social conflicts... proposing mechanisms for social dialogue, participation and rapprochement with a view to living in harmony and to social peace” (p. 98). Although *social translation* addresses social groups, it presupposes that efficient translation (regulation of conflicts) can be achieved only if individuals are transformed from within (their model of thinking). As such, it has a psychological or even spiritual dimension that I will not address in this research.

As to the Inter Press Service, the context for *sociological translations* in my project, the agency represents a hybrid team (Oshri et al., 2008)—its branches and associates are geographically dispersed. The team works and coordinates its tasks by means of electronic devices (phones and computers)—the *virtual*, and also in-person. It should be noted that IPS “has been ‘digital’ for quite a long time” (W. Garcia, personal communication, August 20, 2019) thanks to the popularization of the Internet in the 1990s and the introduction of new ICTs. Broadly speaking, *convergence* at IPS manifests in publishing news across various platforms (the news agency’s website, Twitter and Facebook) and, on the whole, translates into greater multitasking of the

agency's affiliates. The IPS website is an *obligatory passage point*⁵⁴ for translator-journalists and also for the agency's corporate clients—they pick and choose and/or buy articles from there.

All in all, the *objective* of this study is to test the boundaries of news translation in the era of globalization and articulate the dual notion of translation in the newsroom, while focussing exclusively on the sociological dimension of translation.

⁵⁴ Callon (1986b) defines an obligatory passage point as “a geography of necessary points of passage for those elements who wish to continue to exist and develop” (p. 27). Another example in the context of this project is an editor/editors—through whom news articles need to pass before getting published on-line.

Chapter 4. Research methodology

“Research is a craft. I’m not talking *analogy* here. Research isn’t *like* a craft. It *is* a craft” (Bernard, 2011, p. 1, emphasis in original).

When I started the current research, the questions of methodology seemed crystal clear: you choose what is appropriate for your own scenario and situation. However, when I looked closer at some methodological sources in TS (which is an interdisciplinary field in and of itself) and beyond, it became evident that no methodological design could perfectly fit the questions I am asking here. On the one hand, conceptual research methods are marginalized and scarce in TS (Basalamah, forthcoming); on the other hand, there is no explicit methodology that could tackle a translative but sociological phenomenon of meta-semiotic *sociological translation*—only its approximations. For example, the multi-sited ethnography of Marcus (1995) suggests following logically connected sites, ideas, people. etc. But what if there are no apparent relations among those things? They are just there under the umbrella of a news agency. Another case in point is arriving at the conclusion that my study is a single embedded case study, but finding Yin’s (2018) other recommended methods (research and analytical ones) as not applicable to the circumstances of this project.

The task of this chapter is to locate and delineate a methodological blueprint that could serve best in the context of my research. In section 4.1 I will consider adopting Law’s (2004) ideas on the method of tracing social assemblage and Latour’s (1988b) elaborations on infra-reflexivity which are well-suited for conveying the serendipity and messiness of ‘real-life’ research as viewed through the framework of ANT. The latter, in general, recommends using ethnography and spending a considerable time in the field observing objects of scholarly interest. However, employing ethnography ‘proper’ (*in situ* observations and interviews) is not always possible, due

to various extrinsic factors. Section 4.2 covers the implications surrounding ethnography and case study research uptake and explains the reasons why I was left with the latter option. In 4.2.2, I recount the criteria and procedures for selecting my research participants and my actual related experiences. Then in section 4.2.3, I make a methodological disclaimer announcing in advance which methods had been initially planned and why they could not be carried out in practice. Here, I also broach the questions of the quality of the qualitative research and whether rigorous methodological triangulation can affect the quality standards of my project. Section 4.2.4 is dedicated to describing the data collection methods used and 4.2.5—the analytical strategies of data analysis. I will review some pertinent ethical considerations in 4.2.6, while a full spectrum of relevant documentation will be presented in the Appendices (A-D).

4.1 ANT as a method of assemblage

The term ‘actor-network theory’ (or ANT) contains an apparently confusing word ‘theory,’ which suggests that ANT (like any other conventional ‘theory’) should help with explaining and contextualizing findings. However, this is not the case here. Instead, ANT favours *description*—of material and discursive relations between heterogeneous actors through which big and small things (actor-networks) are produced (Law 2009). It is a material-semiotic method (or methods), or to re-state John Law’s words (2009), “a disparate family of material-semiotic tools, sensibilities and methods of analysis” (p. 141), insinuating an open-endedness, multiplicity and flexibility of one’s ‘toolkit’. Despite Latour’s overt dislike⁵⁵ for ‘theory’, given that one cannot

⁵⁵ As an example, in *The Pasteurization of France* (1988a) Latour claims: “There are no theories. There are texts to which, like lazy potentates, we respectfully attribute things that they have not done, inferred, foreseen, or caused” (Latour, 1988a, p. 178).

deduce a whole field from a theory, ANT nevertheless assigns a certain view of reality—as existing in the form of fluid heterogeneous associations, an ‘ontological prescription’ that “helps scholars to attune to the world, to see and hear and feel and taste it” (Mol, 2010, p. 262). This feature makes it in part a ‘theory’—so much despised by its creators. On the whole, the term ‘actor-network theory’ stood fast because the acronym A.N.T., as Latour (2005) explains, is a perfect fit “for a blind, myopic, workaholic, trail-sniffing, and collective traveler” (p. 9)—an ANT follower. At this point, a theory-versus-method conundrum will be left in peace and, in the following, I will broach the question of ANT methodology.

Juliette De Maeyer (2016) brings to the table an interesting discussion about what ANT has in stock in terms of methodology. Allegedly, ‘methodology’ refers to various stages of the research process, from theoretical underpinnings to rules and technicalities concerned with data collection and analysis. With this specific interest, De Maeyer (2016) examines some of the works of ANT originators: Callon, 1986a; Latour 1987, 2005, 2010; Law & Hassard, 1999, etc. She observes that research strategies appear sparsely in the accounts. If mentioned, they come across as generalized recommendations similar to “avoid exotism”,⁵⁶ “follow corpus of precedents” (Latour, 2010, p. 295, as cited in De Maeyer, 2016, p. 464) or “the observer should not exercise censorship” (Callon, 1991, p. 143), or the well-known slogan “follow the actors” (Latour, 2005, p. 68). Given this, the scholar concludes that ANT methodology is more theoretically inclined (it is grounded in empiricism), while the techniques of research remain underdeveloped. In journalism, ANT has given rise to the ‘material sensibility’ (De Maeyer, 2016) which is broader

⁵⁶ *Exotism* relates to the unproblematic and singular interpretation/representation of the Other and stands in opposition to a researcher’s reflexivity (Woolgar, 1988).

than an ‘ecological view’ (awareness of social and technical elements only) recently promulgated by Annette N. Markham (2017) in her paper on digital ethnography.

Another question to consider is if the relational ontology and constructivism epistemology of ANT could be in principle reduced to a few rigid methods of inquiry. Take, for example, a remarkable book *After method: mess in social science research* (2004) written by John Law, a prominent STS scholar. There, as well, one finds no exception to the aforementioned reluctance of ANT to provide techniques of research; rather it appeals to a broader understanding of ‘method’. Precise step-by-step instructions (methods) guarantee goal achievement only in a “normal science” (Ingold, 2014, p. 390) with controlled variables but unfit to deal with the serendipity of ethnographic research, which depends on human participants and real-life circumstances.

According to Law (2004), methods are directly implicated in producing “the reality that they understand” (Law 2004, p. 5). They are by no means innocent and objective tools for capturing and describing ‘the world out there.’ In fact, they are political (discriminatory) in essence—they perform certain accounts in favour of the Other—thus fulfilling the role of an actor, which is to translate others into their will. For example, the Euro-American mode of inquiry can be said to be characterized by determinism/positivism (there is a static and objective piece of reality waiting for a researcher to be explored), by dualism/reductionism (nature-culture, singularity-plurality, individual-collective, logical-irrational, etc.), and by a straightforward/unequivocal representation of reality (describes what it sees). It creates a corresponding view of the world.

Alternatively, Law (2004) advocates for a ‘method assemblage’ which engages more generous means of knowing the world: for example, emotions and bodies (embodiment). This method is capable of better capturing the subtleties and complexity of local situations, in which a

researcher is immersed. However, these aspects tend to be often repressed—disavowed by academic circles as being too subjective and unscientific. Importantly, method assemblage does not pretend that the research process is a smooth endeavour but acknowledges or even foregrounds “the ‘raggedness of...knowledge production” (Plows, 2018, p. xvi). In other words, a researcher is held accountable for both the ‘how’ and the ‘what’ of whatever he or she constructs.

Although Law (2004) relentlessly elaborates on the rich meanings of the ‘method assemblage’ throughout his monograph, I find the most telling to be the following pithy definition of the concept—as “a combination of reality detector and reality amplifier” (Law, 2004, p. 14). It signifies that the ‘method assemblage’ finds patterns amongst the ‘noise’ (condenses reality) and brings them into the ‘loud’ presence. It is better thought of as an ‘in-between’ that works on the principles of inclusion (see Mol & Berg, 1994 in this regard) and of partial connections (Haraway, 1991; Strathern, 2004). For instance, the individual is included in the collective and vice-versa without falling back on reductionism; yet it is not a matter of subsuming one thing under another but rather of partial connections, collaborations or even contradictions. Although “othering is inescapable” (Law, 2004, p. 147), ‘methods assemblages’ value allegory—reading (seeing) between the lines, “multiplicity, indefiniteness, and flux” (Law, 2004, p. 14) and seek for more creative forms of representation. Similar to cultural anthropology and ethnography, a postlude to anthropology (Ingold, 2014), they are interested in the heterogeneity and reflexivity (self-reflections) of actors, cultural relativism and in relaying multivocality in (textual) representations. In contrast to the ‘sensibility to materiality’ (De Maeyer, 2016), a perspective adopted by journalism scholars, ‘method assemblage’ is open to wider semiotic perspectives (which might include references to immaterial things—feelings, ideas, thoughts, spirituality, etc.).

The connection between the methods that we employ and the scientific realities that we obtain—this loop of causes and effects raised by Law (2004) for discussion—leads us directly to the questions of reflexivity of the researcher and, tangentially, to those of ethics. Reflexivity, after all, is not only about ensuring “the epistemological aspects of rigorous research” but also about making delicate ethical choices when doing research (Guillemin & Gillam, 2016, p. 277). In the next section, I will overview the notion of reflexivity from the standpoint of ANT/STS, the tradition of which I follow in his project, while ethical considerations will be taken care of later in section 4.2.6.

4.1.1 Behind the curtain: reflexivity of the ethnographer

Reflexivity is an important (though thorny) question for researchers—it comes in many varieties (Woolgar, 1988). In ANT (and STS), reflexivity appears to relate to a few possible (and sometimes disputable) aspects. I will describe several important kinds of reflexivity from their larger continuum. First is the recognition that methods are reflections of the specific discipline that we practice; they also shape our realities/representations (e.g., Law, 2004; Woolgar, 1988). So, a method is a mediator between a discipline (or a narrower object of inquiry) and its final portrayal. Next is the self-reference of a researcher that she is indeed part of the activities she is investigating. However, because a researcher occupies a distinct, analytical position in relation to the other people (those under study), the so called ‘disengaged reflexivity’ is recommended, “to be carried on separately from sociological research practice” (Woolgar, 1988, p. 24). Contrarily, Latour (1988) ridicules self-reference as ‘meta-reflexive’ because it rejects a semiotic symmetry of actors. If the personality of a researcher is inseparable from the accounts (translations) she produces (Latour, 2005), her role should be no more superior or more scientific than the scientists she investigates. While Latour (2005) recommends “to set up as the default position that the inquirer

is always one reflexive loop behind those they study” (p. 33), Callon (1980) aptly plays on the etymology of the word ‘parasite’ (to create a difference while maintaining connections) when colourfully relaying the position of a sociologist:

The sociologist adds one more translation to those produced by the protagonists. He is a parasite living on other parasites. In this respect he is like all other actors. He cannot differentiate his enterprise in principle from that of the scientist. He differs only in that his practical focus of interest is that of translation - the sociologic of parasitisms. He is nourished by the eternally recurring parasitism he studies round about him. (p. 217)

Consequently, I should admit that my account of sociological translations at IPS will inevitably be an interpretation, a translation and another layer to the stories narrated by IPS journalist-editor-translators about their practices. It is a representation of a representation—an incomplete knowledge because “knowing is constitutively incomplete” (Law, 2007, p. 601). Another hitch is that my original discipline is translation studies—I am uninitiated in real-life journalistic practices—but I learned about them from academic publications and my informants from IPS who often juggle multiple roles.⁵⁷ The lack of journalistic experience, according to Hemmingway (2006), could be a hindrance in ANT-based research, since for a novice it is difficult to recognize invisible translations in a journalistic network, especially if one occupies an etic (outsider) position (Stake, 1995). To which I would counter that, while difficult, it is not impossible. After all, Latour and Woolgar were not experienced scientists when they carried out their research at the Salk Institute laboratory in the 1970s, but sociologists curious about the science in the making. Although I based my research questions on the literature review, in

⁵⁷ My research indicates that there are various combination of roles and duties at IPS worldwide—a translator can be a journalist and an editor, a photographer, a specialist in multimedia or finances, a branch manager or a board director, etc.

designing my methodology and directing the steps of my project, I heeded the many clues⁵⁸ “indexed in interviews” (Burrell, 2009, p. 192), as well as sought to “gain emic [insider] insights” (Salmons, 2016, p. 101) by being an observer in inner communication channels/virtual work exchanges. Also, an ANT-researcher is not supposed to be a ‘know-it-all’ but needs to appeal to the “metalanguage [of actors], a reflexive account of what they are saying”, which Latour (2005) calls an infra-language (Latour, 2005, p. 49). Thus, I will give informants the freedom to describe their worlds, and in the elaboration of their ethnography (‘pattern-building’), I will try to ‘speak their language’. In accordance with Latour (1988), my project is inherently infra-reflexive by virtue of its hybridity—cutting across the disciplines of journalism, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and translation studies. As Tim Ingold (2014), a British anthropologist, puts it eloquently in regard to anthropology: “a discipline confined to the theatre of its own operations has nowhere to go” (p. 383). It means that in order for a discipline to develop, it needs to interact with other branches of knowledge.

Lastly, there is another kind of reflexivity that I would like to mention, one that Law (2004), Woolgar (1988) and Latour (1988b) seem to agree on: (infra)-reflexivity in ethnography. It is maintaining uncertainty in constructing a text (i.e., abstaining from using pre-fixed categories and concepts), trying to make an account as “lively, interesting, perceptive, suggestive” (Latour, 1988b, p. 170) as possible. The meta-reflexive (‘boring’) texts are associated with excessive

⁵⁸ For instance, the occurrences of covert translation (House, 2006, 2010) in the production chain—when non-native speakers of English or Spanish produce news in either of these languages, which are perceived as original writing, or follow the categorizations of news production provided by Estrella Gutiérrez process (although with some alterations), etc.

“methodological precautions” (Latour, 1988b, p. 170). After all, reading a novel (or journalistic article) is more pleasant than reading a tedious scientific text (which is read only for the end result) (Law, 2004).

Following the footsteps of Law (2004) and considering Latour’s (1988) gradients of infra-reflexivity, in the next sections I will assemble my methodology drawing on the wider humanities and social sciences in my sociologically and philosophically oriented project. Although “there are no anthropological or sociological or psychological methods” (Bernard, 2011, pp. 1-2) as such, one can nevertheless glean knowledge from their different usages in various contexts. If taken abstractly, the reframing of methods resembles the case of travelling literary theories described by Susam-Sarajeva (2002)—their particulars depend on the country of reception (a discipline).

In my project, I will try to recreate an animated world of sociological journalistic translation using a variety of methods. Yet, the final model is in no way a straightforward projection of all the techniques that I intended to use initially, and which were all guided by my research objectives. It was continuously shaped and re-shaped by where I could get my access to and put my hands on as a researcher, as well as by the serendipity present in any research undertaking. Speaking of which, emergent research design is a known characteristic of the qualitative research process, meaning that a research design can undergo various modifications in respect to the types of participants, research sites, methods of data collection, etc. (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

The following section 4.2. will be dedicated to discussing the model of my qualitative research on global and virtual news production, which is a case study. Often, ‘ethnography’ and (qualitative) ‘case study’ are used synonymously and interchangeably when speaking about qualitative research—in view of the similarity of the research techniques involved. In this regard,

I found it necessary to start with explaining the rationale behind employing a case study approach versus ethnography in this project.⁵⁹ Next (in section 4.2.2), I will describe the procedures of participant recruitment; and in the ‘methodological disclaimer’ (section 4.2.3), I will go over all those research methods that were planned initially but whose implementation had stalled due to the virtual nature of IPS or other reasons (to be specified). Here I will also review some aspects of the qualitative research quality in relation to my case study. In contrast, section 4.2.4 will expand on the methods actually used for collecting data on the global translation processes at IPS followed by the approaches to data analysis (section 4.2.5) and ethical considerations in research (section 4.2.6).

4.2 Methodological design. Ethnography or a case study?

Ethnography, according to Alexandra Plows (2018), “is perhaps uniquely placed for “adapting to and accounting for the mess of ‘real life’” (p. xiv). It is the path that I envisioned when drafting the current project although with some correctives in view of the fact that IPS is a global news agency. Instead of “social immersion in a particular setting” (Mitchell, 2007, p. 56) and studying a geographically defined “anthropological village” (Platt, 2007, p. 105) in a Malinowskian sense, I planned to conduct a multi-site ethnography (Marcus, 1995; 1998). That meant travelling to a few IPS locations, observing daily journalistic practices, shadowing translator-journalist-editors at work, conducting in-depth face-to-face interviews with the selected participants, etc.,—in other words, using the “direct sensory experience” methods that define traditional ethnography but with a multi-site and a virtual twist (Feldman, 2011, p. 378).

⁵⁹ In a nutshell, it is related to the extent, depth and time length of investigation.

However, the first practical findings indicated that IPS global teams were not necessarily interconnected: mostly, they appeared to be functioning independently of one another. There was no such a thing as ‘a typical route of news production’. Rather, there were ‘bits and pieces’ scattered around the world—individual trans-editors, the branches that make original news pieces or those that combine journalistic and translating work; yet they shared the common denominators of the agency’s mission and the website. This fact made it impossible to focus on a few ‘strategic points’—they did not exist as such. Secondly, the agency mostly operates virtually, which eliminated the possibility of direct observation and participation. Hypothetically, journalist-editor-translators can work from anywhere: their house or the back yard of a house (if the weather is inviting), a coffee shop, while staying overseas, etc. All they need to be able to work is a secure Internet connection, a laptop and a smartphone.

Basically, I had to research a ‘non-local’⁶⁰ (Feldman, 2011) phenomenon of *sociological translation* that was both invisible to the eye and spread throughout diverse time-zones and localities which at times seemed to be only vaguely related⁶¹ but still constituted an object of inquiry. Yet, it was not the impossibility of being physically present to observe work practices in sites that are logically connected or associated that stood in the way of undertaking an ethnography ‘proper’ (Marcus, 1995, p. 105). Arguably, some ethnographies can be based exclusively on interviews (Hammersley, 2006). Furthermore, there was a looming possibility of undertaking a

⁶⁰ In the sense that a holistic understanding of the phenomenon is greater than a particular location.

⁶¹ Feldman (2011) makes a conceptual distinction between a connection and a relation, where the former involves “direct, immediate contact between people” whereas the latter means “indirect, mediated contact” (p. 379). While connections imply stability, the terms ‘relations’ is more suitable to characterize the conditions of globalization, of the world in flux.

virtual/digital ethnography (e.g. Hine, 2000; Murthy, 2008; Pink et al. 2016) (to be discussed later). Instead of following connections, I had to ‘make’ the connections by way of “gathering the phenomena together” (Strathern, 2004, p. 53). It means that I strived to embrace numerous sites in order to create a wider context for *sociological translations* at IPS—a ‘starfish’⁶² (decentralized) organization with the “power and knowledge” distributed along its various channels (Brafman & Beckstrom, 2006, p. 49). Thus, my research sample incorporated IPS senior officials and their takes on IPS news production and organizational practices as well as diverse and often self-sufficient agency branches and their mode of working.

The dispersal of sociological translation at IPS, along with the time constraints for completing the project, did not allow for a sufficient degree of “immersion in the context and/or data collection” in each individual site to be called an ethnography (Parker-Jenkins, 2018, p. 24). As a result, I had to resort to a case study—a less intensive and alternative option which nevertheless drew on related ethnographic techniques to conduct research in the context of globalization.

⁶² In their innovative book, the authors make a distinction between ‘spider’ (traditional) organizations where the power is concentrated in the top management and ‘starfish’ organizations with a decentralized model of operation.

4.2.1 A ‘messy’ case study

There is no single understanding of a case study methodology⁶³: it might include both qualitative and quantitative techniques and its interpretations⁶⁴ and applications might cut “across disciplines and fields of study” (Schwandt & Gates, 2018, p. 600). On the other side of the camp, one can find some scholars who claim that the case study in itself is not a method but a deeper focus on a particular object that one chooses to study (e.g., Stake, 2005; Thomas, 2016). The “choice of what is to be studied” (Stake, 2005, p. 443)—or, in my scenario, an adapted ‘mini-version of ethnography’,⁶⁵—may require recourse to eclectic approaches which are nonetheless aimed at studying a certain event, phenomenon, person/people, etc. in depth. However, despite the multivocality of interpretations, there exists a common thread which unites all of them: “the centrality of contextualized deep understanding” (Ramírez, 2016, p. 69) which is achieved through learning about a phenomenon in correlation with its immediate surroundings.

For example, in sociology, that traditionally values quantitative methods (surveys and experiments), the case study emerges as an antithesis to the more scientific and ‘closed’ methods of inquiry (Platt, 2007). Social science scholars usually resort to the case study approach in order

⁶³ Case study is the most popular form of study at the post-graduate level in TS (Susam-Sarajeva, 2009) and at a doctoral level in general (Grix, 2010).

⁶⁴ For reference, see a list of various definitions of the case method compiled by Schwandt & Gates (2018, pp. 602-603) or Platt (2007).

⁶⁵ I call it a ‘mini-ethnography’, mainly because as an ethnographer or a cultural translator (Conway, 2012), I had to be sensitive and responsive to the cultural nuances (provided that my research participants come from diverse countries/cultures) and also to interpret the meanings of my interviewees’ statements: the same ‘thing’ could be referred to by different names.

to qualitatively investigate a smaller number of social phenomena but in natural settings. The scientific focus shifts from treating social phenomena “as distinct and isolable from the social contexts in which they emerge” (Mitchell, 2007, p. 56) to researching those contexts: yielding rich data and “personal meanings” (Platt, 2007, p. 101) to the collected data. On the whole, case study design in sociology went through many modifications since its adoption by American sociologists during the inter-war period. However, because the case study operates with hardly generalizable data, there are continuing debates about the method’s suitability “for central social-scientific goals” (Platt, 2007, p. 102). By the same token, my project seeks to investigate a social phenomenon of *sociological translation* in its immediate environment—Inter Press Service and the conditions of globalization and virtualization which shape the agency’s practices.

In regard to translation studies, Saldanha and O’Brien (2014)⁶⁶ state that in translation studies a case study method is associated with either cultural or sociological frameworks. Its main purpose is to unveil the context, the naturalistic settings, in which interlingual translations occur, which goes beyond a DTS paradigm with its descriptions of translational norms in the literary systems or of textual/paratextual features. So-called “context-oriented research” tackles the external influences (politics, ideology, economics, society, etc.) that affect translators and translations, or it can address more particular and individual circumstances (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, p. 205). Alternatively, “context-oriented research” can also help shed light on the ways “translations influence the receiving culture” in view of specific socio-cultural factors (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, p. 205). However, the understanding of a context as something intrinsic to the situation at hand has become problematic in a globalizing age when the distant and the local continuously shape each other by means of communication media (Giddens, 1990; 2002). In this

⁶⁶ The authors draw on the previous work of Marco (2009).

scenario, the immediate socio-cultural context of interlingual translations appears to be complex and to be heterogeneously ordered: it is the whole world that now constitutes an “ethnographic context” (Hannerz, 2002, p. 34).

In respect to the present project, the context of *sociological translations*, by means of which news is produced, is represented by Inter Press Service (network) on a global scale. Descriptions of processes in a single location will not suffice to relay a comprehensive view on the *sociological translations* which occur along the various arms of this ‘starfish’ organization (Brafman & Beckstrom, 2006) and take on different shapes. Instead, the phenomenon’s ‘multi-sitedness’, its simultaneous presence at different locations, needs to be embraced. In line with Marcus’ (1995) suggestion to follow things, people, ideas and metaphors in various settings, expressed by the notion of ‘multi-sited ethnography’ (MSE) and the ANT slogan “follow the actors” (Latour, 2005, p.68), in my project I will follow *sociological translations* in the context of the global IPS—which will help illustrate the method, the ‘how’ of alternative news translation making (Garfinkel, 1967) and, as a result, recreate the virtual network of IPS journalist-editor-translators. On that account, my case study is both exploratory and descriptive as it seeks to investigate the extent of alternative news translation networks as well as to describe them (Williams and Chesterman 2002).

MSE shares an affinity with ANT in the way that it challenges the notion of boundary and compels us “to look beyond the single, bounded site” (Tummons & Beach, 2020, p. 291). In contrast to MSE and other traditional ontologies that “[view] matter as passive” (Savolainen, 2018, p. 113) by way of attributing agency to human beings only, the method of assemblage (and ANT) is based on a networked ontology (comprising both animate and inanimate things, as well as the wider semiotic). This distinction, notably, is at the foundation of my ANT-inspired work that will

trace logically ordered interactions between humans, things and the semiotic—which in the end are defined and constituted by the same interactions.

According to Yin (2014), my case study is a single embedded case study of *sociological translations*, meaning that the integral understanding of the phenomenon is derived from its enactment in various scenarios. Based on my research questions (Yin, 2014) and in line with ANT's credo stating that 'the actions and performances come first', I will start discussing my findings with the descriptions of transforming interactions between humans and non-humans. Then I will proceed to the examination of engaged actors which, on some occasions, may well assume the role of a medium of inscription (Callon, 1991). For example, a published article is a medium of inscription and the result of multiple and heterogeneous interactions. At the same time, for an IPS trans-editor, an article is what makes him or her perform textual transformations and also perform other actions. That said, this focus will help elucidate the extent of alternative news translation in the era of globalization, its sociological and material components, the concerted actions of divergent actors and the socio-material trajectories that news translation goes through before becoming a final news release.

I have chosen different parts of the network—as they all illuminate different asynchronous stages of news production, although in a disconnected fashion. Tracing the production of a single interlingually translated story was not feasible due to the absence of rigid and fixed production routes. In this project, I will study the *sociological translation* of interlingual translations (translators' practices) and journalistic practices (which does not include language translation) at various IPS locations. As part of the analysis, I will attempt to compare those diverging practices in "a wider connected [and virtual] context" (Thomas, 2016, p. 178), thus making connections

between them (Strathern, 2004), carefully plaiting the weak ties (Latour, 1996) or building a network.

In the course of the preceding discussion, it has been identified that my research is a single embedded case study of *sociological translation* comprised of various global (and also patterned) articulations. In what follows, I will detail the criteria, methods and steps of enrolling participants for this study.

4.2.2 Participants and recruitment

The criteria for including participants in the research were: age (over 18 years old), length of employment at IPS (over 3 months), type of involvement in various rewriting practices—ranging from interlingual translation to complete text transformation, where “the only traceable source is an event” (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 123), the ability to communicate in either English or Russian and willingness to participate in the research.

The first step was contacting the IPS Director-General and Editor-in-Chief and the Chief Operations Officer, the ‘gatekeepers’ of the agency (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). They were my entry point to the organization (Burrell, 2009). Their e-mail addresses had already been obtained through prior contact with the agency that happened at the research proposal writing stage. I managed to secure a personal appointment with the Chief Operations Officer, Walter Garcia, who later took on the role of Director-General of IPS. I also had a few e-mail exchanges with the former Director-General, Farhana Haque Rahman, who now serves as senior Vice-Chair of the IPS Board of Directors, with the aim of meeting her. Our correspondence was rather formal in nature, and, as a result, I was referred back to Walter Garcia as the right person to follow up on my research agenda. On the whole, during my initial attempts and the first interview (in Madrid, Spain, August

2019) I got the impression that the agency was then in a transitional state with positions and roles being reshuffled, which left little time to deal with a researcher such as myself.

I had a scheduled interview with Mr. Garcia in my pocket and this gave me great enthusiasm and hopes to be able to actually conduct the planned research and do the fieldwork. However, the thought that I was going to travel all the way from Canada to Europe (Spain) and not visit the IPS headquarters in Rome felt like I was missing an opportunity to get to know the agency better. After some consideration and in line with a professor's advice, I decided to go to the headquarters and introduce myself and my research to the IPS affiliates at IPS headquarters in Rome on the spot. Consequently, my first research route became Italy-Spain.

In Rome, I went to the IPS address indicated on the agency's website. However, it turned out to be either some worn down, fenced and locked college/school or simply did not have a material existence. After this occasion, it felt extremely uncomfortable to ask if the physical headquarters actually existed (which I did not do) or ask why my interview in Madrid was arranged in a coffee shop instead of an office.

Nonetheless, I finally met with Walter Garcia on August 20, 2019. During our appointment, the certificate of ethics approval, consent forms and other relevant documentation were presented for his review and the overall agreement covering the research design, duration, access and strategies achieved. Also, Mr. Garcia gave me some suggestions regarding the contents of the *Survey Monkey*, which I modified correspondingly. At this point, using a chain-referral sampling (Bernard, 2011, p. 159), I asked for the e-mail addresses of the firm's journalist-editor-translators, as well as of all IPS employees worldwide who are involved, closely or remotely, in translation. It was agreed that their contacts would be sent to me via e-mail as there was no computer at hand. Subsequently, the interview went ahead as planned.

On my return to Canada, Walter Garcia gradually introduced me to the prospective participants via e-mail while copying me on the e-mails. I contacted the prospects, explaining the purpose and nature of the research, including guarantees of confidentiality, anonymity and security of data, emphasizing the voluntary aspect of participation (the project is designed in accordance with the University of Ottawa's ethical guidelines).⁶⁷ Upon receipt of the signed consent forms, preliminary *Survey Monkey* questionnaires with the embedded options of participation in a Skype interview and in an online discussion group were electronically distributed to everyone who agreed to participate in the project.

Anyone who expressed interest in having an interview was put on an interviewees' list and assigned a convenient time slot. It became clear during my research that the number of translators was around 20 in total (many of them are part-timers or casually employed), and the interviews were held with all the available journalist-editor-translators. However, this process did not always happen in a linear fashion but had a rather messy character. The value was that I had been introduced to some senior managers who gave me a panoramic view of IPS's inner workings and the agency's history.

As I am writing the current chapter post-factum (after completing my empirical research), I found it necessary to spell out upfront the limitations and the realities that prevented me from adopting certain research practices, as well as to briefly introduce associated but 'lost' techniques. My methodological disclaimer consists of two parts. Section 4.2.3.1 briefly discusses the quality of qualitative research and attempts to delineate the criteria applicable to my case study. The

⁶⁷ REB approval is attached in the Appendix A.

remaining subsections zoom in on the specific techniques and the reasons why their application became unfeasible.

4.2.3 Methodological disclaimer

The purpose of this section is to give a summary of all those research methods that were scheduled but could not be implemented due to various obstacles. Since methodological triangulation is often one of the defining attributes of the quality of the qualitative research, first, I will briefly review several quality assessment criteria and their relevance to my case study. Then I will proceed to the brief descriptions of unused techniques (*in-situ* observation, ethnography of virtual worlds, conversational analysis, and running an online forum) as well as outline the circumstances that stood in the way of fulfilling my plans. In the end, I will touch upon the communication aspects during the whole process of data collection.

4.2.3.1 On the quality of qualitative research. One can find a cornucopia of opinions on what is a high-quality case study or qualitative research and the parameters of assessment. For example, the TS scholars Saldanha and O'Brien (2014) examine quite a few criteria for evaluating the quality of research existing in the social sciences and humanities. Nonetheless, they emphasize that it is methodological triangulation that is “the backbone of solid, high quality research” (p. 5) in TS. On the other hand, Robert Yin, a social scientist, proposes four tests for measuring the quality of a case study: (1) construct validity, (2) internal validity, (3) external validity, and (4) reliability. In his model, ‘internal validity’ (i.e., trying to define causal relationships) refers to explanatory studies and is inapplicable to descriptive or exploratory case studies (they have different agendas) (Yin, 2018, p. 87). Alternatively, Sarah J. Tracy, an organizational communication scholar, suggests sophisticated “Eight ‘Big-Tent’ Criteria for excellent qualitative

research”: (1) worthy topic; (2) rich rigour; (3) sincerity; (4) credibility; (5) resonance; (6) significant contribution; (7) ethical; (8) meaningful coherence (Tracy, 2010, p. 840). While ‘using multiple sources of evidence’ (i.e., triangulation of data) is addressed by Yin (2018, 87) in the ‘construct validity’ criterium, in Tracy (2010), general ‘triangulation’ appears under the ‘credibility’ parameter. Another observation is that Tracy’s model does not feature the ‘validity’ and ‘reliability’ dimensions of the research quality. This absence can probably be explained by the fact that these criteria have endured some scholarly critique “as not being applicable to qualitative research and an interpretivist stance” (Saldanha & O’Brien, 2014, p. 27). As Thomas (2013, 2016) explains, the criteria of reliability and validity were both imported from psychometrics, where psychological measurement tests have to be reliable as instruments and where validity is an estimate between research intentions and actual findings. In regard to case studies, Thomas (2016) notes, both mentioned parameters are not as relevant if applied to evaluate case study research—it does not involve probabilistic sampling but is something unique and incalculable, which is a well-justified position.

That said, my project follows the line of ANT and adheres to Law’s (2004) ideas on ‘method assemblage’ and Latour’s (1988) elaborations on infra-reflexivity (previously specified in section 4.1). In a nutshell, both scholars refute excessive methodological rigour but highlight transparency and reflexivity in research. As well, the engagement of complementary perspectives is recommended:

He [Latour] looks at science allowing the interplay of multiple views: that of involved actors, sociological perspectives, such as symbolic interactionism together with ANT, and the ethnographic perspective... (Tyulenev, 2014, p. 165).

This ‘multiperspectivism’ of views regarding the same phenomenon can be attributed to what Denzin (1978) labels a ‘theory triangulation’, only that ANT suggests combining theoretical elements rather than trying on different theoretical lenses. Pursuant to ANT, my project incorporates (triangulates) insights from actor-network theory, material semiotics, ethnomethodology, anthropology, news sociology and translation philosophy. It additionally provides both micro and macro perspectives on *sociological translation*—as situated, ordered and patterned practices of journalist-editor-translators (Garfinkel, 1967; Law, 2004) as well as in broad terms of Callon’s (1986a) moments of translation.

In respect to data triangulation (Denzin, 1978), first, I collected my data on the *sociological translation* from IPS affiliates who hold different positions at the agency and who come from a variety of global locations. Secondly, I used various material and virtual sources (including my fieldnotes and other documents from the fieldwork) to glean a better knowledge of the company. Concerning methodological triangulation (e.g., Braun & Clarke, 2013, etc.), i.e., applying multiple methods to enrich the understanding of the topic at hand, there is an alternative position from ethnomethodology that I adopt in this research. According to this position, the application of multi-research methods in various research settings in order to get a holistic picture of a certain phenomenon represents a source of controversy: “what goes on in one setting is not a simple corrective to what happens elsewhere—each must be understood in its own terms”. (Silverman, 1985, p. 21). Inherently, each ‘real-life’ situation is unique and measuring it with different research tools is nonsensical.

In conclusion, it appears that there are no universal rules or parameters for assessing the quality of qualitative research. As described earlier, my project follows the lines of ANT and method assemblage and satisfies the requirements of theory and data triangulation while

methodological triangulation, ‘validity’ and ‘reliability’ are found irrelevant in the context of my case study. In what follows, I will detail the approaches that I could not carry out, interspersed with explanations and descriptions of my initiatives.

4.3.2.2 Co-located observation, shadowing and ethnomethodology. Both participant observation and ethnomethodology call for immersion in the circle of people one intends to study, “making them feel comfortable enough with your presence” (Bernard, 2011, p. 275), to help with data collection and recording. However, participant observation approaches and ethnomethodology are somewhat divergent in the way a researcher should direct his/her attention and describe the events and people observed. Ethnomethodology stresses the importance of non-verbal behaviour (e.g., miniscule details, gestures, sounds, words, people’s mimics, etc.) and asks for noting everything in its entirety and orderliness on paper; only in this way, it argues, can one thoroughly understand the studied “common sense knowledge and common sense activities” (Garfinkel, 1967, p.75).

That being said, I could not make co-located observations of journalist-editor-translators’ work practices. The first reason is that the agency operates mostly online, which became clear after my interview with Walter Garcia, IPS Director-General, and also after contacting some of the branches that, supposedly, had an office space switched recently to a virtual work-mode. Secondly, although I was able to subsequently visit IPS branches in Cuba⁶⁸ and at the UN in New York, USA, I could not witness much of the affiliates’ routines in action. Thus, in Cuba, I briefly

⁶⁸ According to the Cuban journalists, they do not know if there are any other physical IPS offices (except, possibly, in Brazil).

observed how Luis, a recently hired employee, was publishing the links to IPS news stories⁶⁹ on IPS Twitter and Facebook via a laptop computer (while waiting for my scheduled interview with Ivet González, a seasoned journalist). Luis kindly contextualized his actions and explained the essence of his ‘24/7 work’ (according to his words) as well as the guidelines he followed (e.g., news selection criteria, inserting short URLs, limitations in headline space, etc.). Apart from this, it was a small square-shaped office whose simple equipment consisted of a few desks and drawers. IPS Cuba had two more part-time employees who were away at the time of my visit: another correspondent and a photographer, a rare species, in view of the perceived convergence of job roles at IPS.

The IPS office at the UN was practically identical to its Cuban counterpart. The difference was that in the latter location, an office wall was decorated with some memorabilia, happy pictures of the multinational intern teams who used to work there.⁷⁰ Viewing the prints instead of the real people invoked feelings of nostalgia about bygone times of bustling off-line work environments when everyone was privileged to be employed full-time. Secondly, there were no part-timers working at the time of my visit: Thalif Deen, the director of IPS at the UN, travelled to the office only for our interview.

In both cases, the action, the work, was happening somewhere else, outside the bounded office spaces and was not amenable to immediate observation. However, the increasing unobservability of work processes in newsrooms is quite a common hindrance for researchers.

⁶⁹ Besides IPS news, Granma, a main newspaper of Communist Cuba, is another source of daily (‘día a día’) news at IPS Cuba.

⁷⁰ The internships at IPS UN take place during the summer (T. Deen, personal communication, February 17, 2020).

This topic has been broached by journalistic scholars (e.g., Anderson et al., 2010; Mabweazara, 2011; Reich & Barnoy, 2016, etc.) and often related to the pervasive adoption of ICTs which allow journalists to work from many locations. Unobservability coupled with the realities of the gig economy (Plows, 2018), progressively render workplaces “less researchable by traditional research methods” (Reich & Barnoy, 2016, p. 479).

Alternatively, I planned employing *shadowing*, a mobile method (Buscher et al., 2011)—observing journalistic work on the move—at press conferences, panel meetings, etc. However, this required accreditation as a journalist, which I did not have. An ethics board approval alone could not guarantee access to media events.

Further, in response to early indications that the majority of IPS journalist-editor-translators are geographically distributed and based online (W. Garcia, personal communication, March 5, 2019), I also intended using the Internet for conducting observations of journalistic practices. However, this could not be accomplished for the reasons to be described next.

4.3.2.3 Doing virtual/digital ethnography. The advent of the Internet and ubiquitous digitalization not only have driven work online but have also challenged “traditional notions of ethnographic research” (Lupton, 2014, p. 50), opening the opportunity to conduct virtual/digital ethnography (e.g. Hine, 2000; Pink et al. 2015, etc.) or do digital sociology (e.g. Lupton, 2014). Across the disciplines, this type of ethnography is practised and defined in different ways (Pink et al., 2015). Confusingly, it appears to be all-inclusive: from digital methods of data collection to observing Internet-based groups and running online forums or using digital tools for data analysis.⁷¹ Notably, virtual/digital ethnography traverses online and offline worlds (Hine, 2000;

⁷¹ For a fuller discussion, see Pink et al. (2015).

Murthy, 2011; Pink et al. 2015), it is “interstitial” because it is one among other non-virtual activities of both researchers and participants (p. 65).

Considering the ambiguity surrounding the term and drawing on Salmons (2016), it deemed important to make a conceptual distinction between researching the Internet (or doing the ethnography of virtual worlds) (Boellstorff, 2012) and using the Internet as a tool for conducting research (i.e., using digital methods). Moving forward, my project had been devised to cover both: studying online communities of journalist-editor-translators by means of participation in their communication networks and studying about them by means of the Internet (using online survey and interviews and running an online forum) (Salmons, 2016).

In regard to researching virtual worlds, I heeded the advice given by Latour et al. (2012) to follow “digital *traces*” (p. 591) left by actors—learning about their online networks and performances. Since the e-mails and chatrooms have become popular media of communication (Iimuro, 2006) in professional life, I intended to seek permission from IPS officials to access journalist-editor-translators’ inner communication channels. The observation of their online exchanges is instrumental in yielding intimate knowledge of virtual news production networks as well as in reconstructing journalist-editor-translators’ practices in light of ethnomethodology. It could also potentially help contribute to filling a “glaring” gap in journalism scholarship on the subject of “the internal reportorial digital transactions” (Robinson & Metzler, 2016, p. 456). This omission is notoriously associated with the complicated process of negotiating access and also with the difficulty of observing surplus communication flows.

In the case of IPS, a unified global communication system did not exist. According to Walter Garcia, the attempts to implement Slack, a workplace communication platform that would connect globally dispersed IPS teams, did not work out for unspecified reasons (W. Garcia,

personal communication, August 20, 2019). On the other hand, the IPS virtual team in Belgium, for example, in their daily interactions uses Signal, an encrypted messaging application, in a language inaccessible to me (Dutch) (S. Elst, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

Thus, it was infeasible to trace the development of either a single story or translational articulations down to a certain juncture in a network, or to observe the associated efforts of journalist-editor-translators that go into creating a linguistically translated story. Moreover, the choice of which story to translate is left to the sole discretion of IPS virtual teams (or individuals); as it turns out, their decisions are mostly driven by market logic. This finding cancelled an opportunity to conduct a conversational analysis of the virtual discourse (anchored in ethnomethodology) that could illuminate the ways how journalist-editor-translators organize their daily practices.

4.3.2.3.1 Conversational analysis. Although conversation analysis has been developed by ethnomethodologists to study the structures of spoken speech (Benson, 1983, p. 155) and the “grammar of ordinary discourse” (Bernard, 2011, p. 448) on the basis of recorded video/audio and transcribed conversations, its concepts can be extended to the analysis of online conversations as well. According to Yates (2001), e-mail represents a combination or hybrid of oral and written communication (as cited in Iimuro, 2006, p. 79).

In this scenario, we cannot witness or even describe the intonations, pauses, emotions, interruptions, etc., present in natural dialogue, although, on the other hand, we can analyse non-verbal symbols used in e-mails to express the above events—for example, “smiley faces, emoticons, and written pauses (in the form of dots)” (Golato & Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006, p. 318). This can be done along with ethnomethodological descriptions of how e-mail conversations open

and close, of “adjacency pairs” (Benson, 1983, p. 173) (i.e., turn-taking in e-mails) and of topic organization—all done with the goal of learning about translation practices at IPS.

In the context of IPS, I planned to apply conversational analysis (Garfinkel, 2017) to work e-mail exchanges⁷² and/or to the work chatrooms’ exchanges. This meant sorting out virtual discourse into one-on-one and group messages and also organizing them in accordance with the themes. Secondly, describing how the sender and addressee take turns in online conversations and which verbal and non-verbal resources they use to communicate assignments, give advice and other information. And, finally, detailing the structure of the messages (i.e., topic, body, and signature, along with other distinct features). Yet, as mentioned earlier, there was no central communication network at IPS, while available local networks used languages unfamiliar to me.

Apart from being an insider in the online communications channels of IPS affiliates, there was another method in stock—setting up an online discussion group—an enacted approach to data collection which was supposed to generate rich material concerning research objectives. This method is interactive in the sense that data is elicited from the asynchronous collaborations between the researcher (who sets the virtual environment and creates prompts) and other participants, who engage in virtual discussions around research questions (Im & Chee, 2006; Salmons, 2014). That said, I could enlist only two participants for the online forum via an online survey, which is an inadequate number for this kind of activity (Bernard, 2011).

4.3.2.3.2 *Launching an online discussion group.* Before spelling out the purposes of implementing this qualitative research method, I would like to address the virtual versus digital methods quandary. According to Rogers (2013), the methods for “Internet-related research” in the

⁷² It was supposed that the affiliates would be permitted to remove sensitive information in advance, if applicable.

humanities and the social sciences can be either virtual (or digitised, repurposed for the new medium) or “natively digital” (p. 19). However, this distinction is not that simple, and Salmons (2016) argues that technologies are directly implicated in the ways a researcher communicates with participants (considering its unique opportunities as well as limitations) and which types of data are collected. For example, an online survey (a digitized method) can reach people globally while it is problematic with a traditional paper-based survey. It also provides quantifiable digitally data/results which can be easily converted into diagrams and charts. Considering a fundamental departure from “real-world” methods, Salmons (2016) justifiably opts for a singular/neutral ‘digital method’, a terminological preference that I adopt here as well (p. xiii).

To continue, the creation of a virtual discussion group was intended to invite and unite like-minded specialists to share and exchange opinions centred around research questions. Launching a discussion was planned to be carried out in conjunction with Phase 3 (Skype interviews). Participation was supposed to be comment-based, and participants were to be asked to post approximately three 5-15 minutes long comments to the researchers’ questions within three months. The virtual discussion group was supposed to be private and to be hosted on the ProBoards platform (an American platform), meaning that data are subject to the Patriot Act of the United States of America. The inspection and visualization of data were expected to yield a greater understanding of the micro-level of translation (its human and non-human components, translation strategies and other local procedures, etc.) as well as to help conceptualize news translation in a broader sense—as a sociological translation of human beings and technology into action.

According to Bernard (2011), an ideal range of participants in focus groups is 6-12 persons. Although my design made provisions for accommodating 16 participants, I intended to split them into two private subgroups in order to get comparative data on the same topics. However,

considering the fact that IPS operates on a reduced scale now compared to several years ago (F.H. Rahman, personal communication, November 14, 2019), the pool of participants was limited. As a result, I obtained just a couple of positive replies regarding online forum participation and in the remaining research I had to rely on the interviews to reconstruct the method of news making.

That being said, there is another topic that surfaced during the research—the multilinguality of IPS affiliates, which had to be considered when crafting the steps of the project. IPS production languages are Spanish and English while the agency’s trans-editors translate Spanish or English news stories into their niche languages and markets. Thus, my research targeted the affiliates who could speak English as my mastery of Spanish is rather weak.

4.3.2.4 Language barriers. Another limitation is the language barrier. A traditional Malinowskian ethnographer would be bound to one place and exposed to a single language which he/she masters prior to any travelling and during a lengthy stay at the field. By contrast, most of the time, I was not able to physically travel but rather was displaced experientially by means of the Internet and other ICTs (Hine, 2000). The new communication media allowed for encounters with a multitude of languages and cultures: Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Arabic, Swedish, Finnish, Swahili, etc. However, as I am well versed in only Russian and English, my options from the beginning were restricted to informants who could speak in at least one of these languages, ruling out other valuable sources. Consequently, all my interviews were held with non-native speakers of English including myself, whereas translation into English, a *lingua franca*, facilitated our conversations and, on the organizational level, connected geographically remote IPS branches (Marcus, 1995). As an ethnographer-translator I had to be delicate and perceptive when interpreting the cultural Other (Wolf, 2014), the cultural clues, to ensure mutual understanding at both ends.

Finally, given that I could not apply some of the intended methods, I thought it was necessary, first, to consider if the absence of rigorous methodological triangulation can have detrimental effects on the quality of my research. It has been determined that triangulation of methods is one of the many possible dimensions of the quality of research but is superfluous according to the ethnomethodological tradition.⁷³ Secondly, I have displayed the methods that I intended but could not use along with practical explanations. In contrast however, my next section will be dedicated to the research methods that I could actually use.

4.2.4 Conducting structured and semi-structured interviews

4.2.4.1 Online questionnaire. To begin with, after I found it impossible to make co-located observations of news workers' practices, I used an online questionnaire in a qualitative manner—to glean preliminary knowledge about the networked journalist-editor-translators and the way they perform their daily tasks versus collecting numerical or demographic information and interpreting it based on comparisons. Yet, an automatically generated survey report (in the Appendix E) is represented quantitatively and features charts.

When embarking on this project, I implicitly assumed (from the literature review of NTR) that journalists, editors and translators are the same people and that my survey was supposed to cover the indicated associates. However, later it turned out that at IPS journalists never translate news stories. It is only those affiliates with the function of trans-editors who translate—to whom I forwarded identical self-administered interviews in the form of an online *Survey Monkey* questionnaire. The 'Translation in Inter Press Service' survey consisted of the combination of

⁷³ This understanding is derived from Silverman (1985), where he discusses “the implication of Garfinkel’s position” (p.21), who is a founder of ethnomethodology.

open-ended and closed questions, and revolved around three major topics: occupation, education and work. The survey's data was supposed to either give directions for my future interview discussions or to learn about the translator-editors whom I could not interview.

Also, the online survey served as a recruitment tool for the online discussion group and interviews. The IPS individuals who expressed their interest in having an interview were subsequently contacted and an appointment was scheduled at a convenient interview time. The choice of interview media (Skype, phone, e-mail, etc.) was left to the participants' discretion (Hanna, 2012). Alternatively, face-to-face interview apportionments were negotiated by e-mail.

4.2.4.2 Semi-structured interviews. In my research, I used a combination of synchronous approaches (Skype, face-to-face and telephone) and asynchronous e-mail correspondence (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Salmons, 2014). If necessary, I sent follow-up e-mails to the interviewed participants in order to clarify some ambiguities or ascertain some research aspects, granted that I had a prior approval to do so.

Considering the fact that my interviews were held with diverse representatives of IPS across different cultures (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015), I often had to tailor my questions to address specific participants' roles. I developed separate interview lists for the IPS founder, its director, and the coordinators of various branches and for IPS journalists and trans-editors (see Appendix D). I also did a lot of 'homework' prior to meeting IPS high officials by way of learning about the agency, its historic figures and milestones from various publications. On the whole, the semi-structured interviews were based on a guiding list with prompts and questions, taking the online questionnaire results into account (if applicable), and, in my opinion, were quite efficient in probing into interesting clues (Guest et al., 2011). The discussions were oriented around the

reporting of work experience and sharing opinions. Participants were encouraged to take an active part in the conversation and introduce topics they considered important for this research.

4.2.5 Approaches to data analysis

In my project, I used a couple of approaches to analyse my research data: namely, thematic analysis and visualization. Survey Monkey results only give a snapshot of the participants' qualifications, working environment and routines—they will be covered in the next chapter (also attached in the Appendix E).

4.2.5.1 Thematic analysis. In the words of Braun and Clarke (2012), thematic analysis (TA) is a “method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set” (p. 57). The choice of TA over other analytical strategies (e.g., grounded theory or interpretative phenomenological analysis, etc.) appeared very pertinent for the purposes of my case study that follows the precepts of ANT, material semiotics and ethnomethodology. It means that, on the one hand, news production is envisioned as heterogeneous networks and, on the other, as comprised of ordered and patterned activities. The application of TA to my data analysis was deemed helpful in bringing clarity to the sequences, similarities and differences of *sociological translations* at IPS as well as offering nuances about the studied phenomenon as a whole.

TA is an iterative and discursive process of engagement with data consisting of six steps: (1) familiarizing yourself with the data; (2) generating initial codes; (3) searching for themes; (4) reviewing potential themes; (5) defining and naming themes; (6) producing the report (Braun &

Clarke, 2012). The approach to generating codes can be either inductive⁷⁴ (data-based) or deductive (theory driven) (Boyatzis, 1998). In my analysis, the initial codes were generated both deductively (based on ANT and research questions) and inductively (based on the recurrent or even idiosyncratic but interesting events). In NVivo, a software which is “specifically designed for thematic analysis of qualitative data” (Lapadat, 2010, p. 926), I created a project termed *Sociological Translations at IPS* and imported all transcribed interviews. Each interview was autocoded by the speaker’s name and assigned to a ‘case’ (each participant is a ‘case’ in NVivo) in order to eliminate the interviewer’s (myself) questions and other interventions, and to keep only the segments pertaining to the participants (Edhlund & McDougall, 2019; Jackson & Bazeley, 2019). The first nodes were ‘heterogeneous actors’, ‘production steps’ and ‘convergence’ (an aspect of the inquiry, too). Upon learning more about my data, the codes got diversified as I tried to capture interesting details about IPS using the techniques of descriptive and axial coding suggested by Saldaña (2016). Below is a screenshot of my codes:

⁷⁴ However, there is always some pre-established scholarly focus despite the open-endedness of the inquiry (Morse & Mitcham, 2002).

Name	Files	References	Created on	Created by	Modified on	Modified by
About translation	11	33	2020-12-14 10:12 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 2:48 PM	E.C.
Convergence	5	18	2020-12-12 11:06 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 1:56 PM	E.C.
Covert translation	5	13	2020-12-12 2:16 PM	E.C.	2021-03-08 2:48 PM	E.C.
English Service	1	1	2020-12-17 1:08 PM	E.C.	2020-12-17 1:08 PM	E.C.
heterogeneous actors	0	0	2020-12-12 10:54 AM	E.C.	2020-12-12 10:54 AM	E.C.
IPS unqieness	6	25	2020-12-12 11:05 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 2:48 PM	E.C.
Linguistic translation	9	20	2020-12-12 11:08 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 2:48 PM	E.C.
Other News	1	3	2020-12-18 10:21 AM	E.C.	2021-03-07 12:31 AM	E.C.
Portuguese Service	1	1	2020-12-16 3:57 PM	E.C.	2021-05-20 11:13 AM	E.A.
Production steps	12	139	2020-12-12 11:12 AM	E.C.	2021-03-09 9:40 AM	E.C.

Figure 1. NVivo nodes.

Some of the nodes were divided into further subcategories and were related to new findings. For example, the node ‘heterogeneous actor’ contains other child nodes:

Name	Files	References	Created on	Created by	Modified on	Modified by
heterogeneous actors	0	0	2020-12-12 10:54 AM	E.C.	2020-12-12 10:54 AM	E.C.
audience	7	48	2020-12-12 11:10 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 2:48 PM	E.C.
Balance	6	8	2020-12-15 11:48 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 2:48 PM	E.C.
budget	3	9	2020-12-12 1:40 PM	E.C.	2021-03-08 1:50 PM	E.C.
community manage	1	2	2020-12-17 2:46 PM	E.C.	2021-03-05 4:28 PM	E.C.
coordinators	2	11	2020-12-14 10:06 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 1:50 PM	E.C.
editor	6	39	2020-12-12 11:18 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 1:59 PM	E.C.
journalists	10	56	2020-12-12 10:54 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 2:48 PM	E.C.
other constraints	4	7	2020-12-14 9:36 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 1:34 PM	E.C.
sources	8	67	2020-12-15 9:46 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 2:48 PM	E.C.
stories	11	100	2020-12-12 11:09 AM	E.C.	2021-03-09 9:40 AM	E.C.
stringer	2	5	2020-12-12 1:45 PM	E.C.	2020-12-17 1:12 PM	E.C.
team spirit	3	8	2020-12-12 1:44 PM	E.C.	2021-03-08 1:08 PM	E.C.
technologies	12	103	2020-12-12 2:00 PM	E.C.	2021-03-08 2:48 PM	E.C.
theme	7	28	2020-12-15 9:50 AM	E.C.	2021-03-08 1:56 PM	E.C.
time	6	18	2020-12-12 1:43 PM	E.C.	2021-03-08 1:59 PM	E.C.

Figure 2. A conglomerate of actors.

On the whole, coding data was a recursive process when codes got renamed, split, merged or deleted as the work progressed while close examination of data was very instructive in elucidating the components of news production. In line with TA, ANT and Law’s (2004) idea of discovering patterns amidst the ‘noise’, it was decided to start reporting findings with the descriptions of journalists’ and trans-editors’ routines organized around distinct production stages, followed by the descriptions and visualizations of the actors in the production process.

4.2.5.2 Visualizing qualitative data. The topic of qualitative data visualization has received rather disproportionate attention as compared to the approaches to quantitative data visualization. In fact, it might seem like a daunting task to try to represent visually complex phenomena or concepts (Henderson & Segal, 2013). However, in the context of my study,

visualization aims to illustrate the working patterns at the news agency as well as to emphasize the multiplicity and fluidity of the actors' roles. In my opinion, creating visuals was an important step in revealing complexity and, on the one hand, condensing it to something that can be gauged. Three types of NVivo-powered visualizations were used: concept-maps, word clouds and trees. I built concept-maps, free-form visualizations (Edhlund & McDougall, 2019), to synthesise the stages of news production. The shades of blue and yellow, which are the IPS's brand colours, were used in this respect. Conversely, word clouds and tree words were generated automatically by NVivo (under controlled conditions). Word clouds which display the most frequent words occurring in the coded nodes are used here to describe complex ANT actors and their many characteristics. The word trees are based on the text search query and are used to illustrate the phenomena referred to by the exact name but in a variety of contexts (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019).

4.2.6 Ethical research

The current project has been designed and conducted in compliance with the guidelines of the Research Ethics Board (REB) of the University of Ottawa. The approval of the ethics board was granted on July 11, 2019. Subsequently, I applied for the endorsement of some modifications to my research and also for an extension of the original REB certificate.

Information (recruitment) letters and consent forms were developed for every kind of research activity (attached in Appendices B & C). In general, all the participants were advised about the topic of the research, the voluntary nature of participation in the project and associated but mitigated risks. For example, the online questionnaire participants were guaranteed confidentiality by way of anonymizing names, e-mails and personal characteristics. The consent forms for the interview participants, importantly, provided for the disclosure of the participants' names and their roles within the news agency with a view to elucidating and disseminating the

knowledge about IPS's unique role in connecting the Global South and the North. The informants were given an opportunity to revise interview transcripts and make necessary changes. Access to research data is limited to the principal investigator (PI) and her supervisor.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to formulate a methodological framework for studying the interdisciplinary concept of *sociological translation* occurring in the context of IPS and of a globalized dispersion and virtualization of work sites and practices. As there is no conceptual method in TS suitable for my purposes, I had to assemble my own methodology that would guide me in terms of data collection and analysis, and representation of findings. The current methodological design is underpinned by the philosophical assumptions of John Law (1994, 2004, 2009) and ANT in general. It incorporates the elements of traditional and digital ethnography and anthropology and seeks for alternative ways of representing findings.

In the next chapter, I will actually apply the above-elaborated methodological design to describe the work procedures at IPS and the components of the production process. Mainly, I will rely on the data gathered from my interviews and, occasionally, e-mail exchanges with IPS affiliates, which followed interviews and served clarification purposes. In total, I conducted twelve interviews: in-person (4), by skype (6), by-email (1) and by telephone (1). Also, I will use the results of an online questionnaire for describing human actors (section 5.4.3).

As the reduction of reality's complexity is inevitable (Law, 2004), I will build my narration around the work patterns that connect IPS affiliates around the world. Apart from the micro-outlook on the *sociological translations* at IPS (i.e., comparing news workers' practices), I will also apply Callon's (1986) macro-grid to the same phenomena, affording a distant view of the

same network. Finally, some interesting semiotic and material actors will be represented visually while human actors (who already feature prominently in the account) will be considered from the stance of convergence and its effects (multi-tasking).

Chapter 5. Presenting the case study

Previously, it was determined that the concept of *sociological translation* is heterogeneous and stands for any logically ordered linguistic, material-semiotic transformations and social articulations. In this part, I will display the concept's inner workings on the examples of journalistic practices (section 5.1) and trans-editors' practices (section 5.2) at the Inter Press Service. The analytical stance to the rendition of my findings is grounded in John Law's (2004) suggestion of detecting patterns amidst the complex reality and bringing them into 'existence'. I organize *sociological translations* in diverse IPS branches according to three distinctive stages, which can be stated to characterize journalistic and interlingual translation practices at the agency.

Alternatively, at the end of the sections 5.1 and 5.2 I will provide an interpretation of IPS practices through the prism of Callon's (1986a) moments of sociological translation. My argument here is that patterning design is more suitable for conveying the messiness and complexity of ethnographic data and presenting the snapshots of journalistic reality. In comparison, the four moments of translation (Callon, 1986a) are too sweeping to capture 'real life' (with its multiple interactions) and tend to reduce it to the chain of retrospectively reconstructed logical strategies. I suggest that Callon's (1986a) sociological grid works better with explaining the 'how' of a network emergence rather than zooming in on the existing networks and their ramifications.

In my descriptions I will also rely on the gradients of (infra)-reflexivity laid out in the methodological part) (see Latour, 1988, 2005; Law, 2004; Woolgar, 1988). In a nutshell, it is about the relativism of knowledge production (admitting a researcher's interreference with the whole process) and also using informants' words, expressions and worldviews when narrating findings (i.e., keeping a symbolic symmetry between a researcher and her informants).

To resume, section 5.3 will briefly deal with instances of covert translation (House 2006, 2010) initially reported by IPS' trans-editors, that is, translating articles written directly in a non-native language (Spanish or English). These instances are linked to covert translation and cultural translation (in a narrower sense) (Conway 2012; House 2006, 2010) but with significant distinctions to be tackled in the specified section. In section 5.4, I will cast the spotlight on the heterogeneous actors of *sociological translation* at IPS. The descriptions of the semiotic and material actors will often be accompanied by visualizations, a valuable technique for relaying a more comprehensive view of the contexts in which the actors appear. In contrast, human actors (who never lack scholarly attention) will be discussed from the standpoint of convergence and its effects and with the help of the insights gleaned from the *SurveyMonkey* questionnaire. Section 5.5 will feature the history of IPS's creation in Callon's (1986a) terms, while the final section 5.6 will assemble an articulated understanding of *sociological translation* at IPS as consisting of diverse macro- and micro- articulations in the IPS information network.

5.1 Sociological translation of journalistic practices

Estrella Gutiérrez, the editorial coordinator of the Spanish service (representing a substantial segment of IPS), splits the process of making journalistic stories into four distinct stages: *pre-writing*, *writing*, *post-writing*, and *trans-editing*. Various 'informative pieces' of IPS

in the Spanish service, which subsumes Latin America⁷⁵ and some European capitals,⁷⁶ carry out three or four stages of news production while other globally dispersed IPS branches might be responsible for the *trans-editing* part only. Below, I will avail myself of the first three stages outlined by Estrella Gutiérrez in an attempt to systematically group, describe and analyze the sociological translations of journalistic practices based on the examples of the Spanish service, IPS Cuba, IPS at the UN, the Arabic service, IPS Flanders and the accounts of the agency's high officials. The *trans-editing* stage will be discussed in detail in section 5.2, which deals with interlingual translation processes.

5.1.1 Pre-writing stage

An ongoing *dialogue* between editorial coordinators/editors and journalists is a likely starting point in the chain of news production. Ideas on projects are exchanged and suggestions offered by both parties. This horizontal collaboration, this back and forth between editors and journalists, results in defining topics of articles, approaches to writing stories, the kinds of sources⁷⁷ that will be sought, and the deadlines for submitting news stories.

⁷⁵ IPS in Latin America is represented in the majority of Latin American countries except for Guatemala, Dominican Republic and Panama, where IPS has trained stringers to cover special occasions. It should be noted that there is no content originally produced in Portuguese. In Brazil, the articles are written in Spanish.

⁷⁶ Apart from Spain, IPS in Portugal, for instance, has a journalist who writes in Spanish. It should be noted that there is no content originally produced in Portuguese. It also concerns Brazil where two journalists who are well versed in Spanish write articles in this language.

⁷⁷ IPS stories emanating from the Spanish service must have at least three exclusive and varied sources. However, at IPS Cuba, five sources or more is desirable, besides official data, while at IPS at the UN two exclusive sources are sought; IPS Flanders has some flexibility in this regard. This refers to the source-persons.

Notably, reports of a greater scope are planned in advance. For example, the journalists in the Spanish service send a weekly e-mail of proposals for the following week to the editorial coordinator. Proposals of ‘big’ reports are discussed, approved or rejected by the editorial coordinator. Currently, the Spanish service produces approximately 130-140 feature stories and analyses per month, which equals 35-40 weekly articles. The service also has about four monthly videos and several podcasts. Within this context, IPS Cuba, one of the ‘informative pieces’ of the Spanish service, wires an outline of three to four stories to Estrella Gutiérrez, the editorial coordinator based in Caracas, Venezuela, on a weekly basis. These are stories intended for a wider international audience, while the news stories for IPS Cuba website are handled by the local editor.

As IPS was born to specialize in human and social development issues, the range of topics that it covers is fixed (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 02, 2019). The agency’s great thematic umbrella is subordinated to the larger *IPS agenda*⁷⁸ and also falls within the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set in 2015 by the United Nations General Assembly. On a related note, IPS, whose notable focus is on the Global South, received a ‘South-South Leadership Award’ in 2008 for promoting “stronger ties among developing nations and media outlets” from the U.N. (Deen, 2021, p. 96). IPS practises an interpretive journalism which concentrates on the processes in which the facts are inserted. The agency does not produce spot news that will soon be depersonalized and lost in the sea of information. On the contrary, all IPS

⁷⁸ Giving a voice to those who generally do not have it in the traditional information agenda: women and gender equality, climate change, sexual minorities, inequalities, indigenous people, farmers, people in poverty, marginalized communities, etc. (E. Gutiérrez, December 19, 2019).

articles are lengthy⁷⁹ and created to last over time and to be universally understandable. Its features, analyses and multimedia content always carry additional values:

We feel, in short, that with our contents we contribute to the change of perceptions about the reality of the South, we are in that sense ‘agents of change’ with our contents, through quality information, that tells the stories from the real protagonists of countries of the South, so that there is a new and more balanced information order (E. Gutiérrez, personal communication, December 19, 2019).

Estrella Gutiérrez defines the concept of IPS as a ‘journalism of solutions, of hope’ which empowers people all over the world by illustrating, for instance, that affected communities and people in the poor countries are capable of generating solutions to their problems when there is no one else to help. As a rule, an IPS story does not even have to be an actual event, but something that everyone thinks is happening (W. Garcia, personal communication, August 20, 2019).

While this is broadly true, the choice of topics might vary depending on the IPS location as well as personal specialization. For example, while IPS at the UN covers socioeconomic issues strictly within the agenda of the UN, an individual journalist from any other IPS location might have more flexibility in choosing the topics in which he or she has expertise and interest. The so-called “IPSic” style follows certain approaches, style and data formats but, at the same time, gives space to the author’s creativity and self-expression. (E. Gutiérrez, personal communication, December 19, 2019) Thus, Ivet González, a journalist from IPS Cuba specializes in social inclusion and local development while Joren Gettemans from IPS Flanders—covers mainly international politics⁸⁰ and science. Furthermore, there is an agenda that is prepared weekly with the scheduled

⁷⁹ They might be a few thousand words.

⁸⁰ In terms of human rights, climate change policy and consequences of the political events for the society.

IPS does not cover strictly political issues or war conflicts.

stories coverage of each region. It especially concerns Africa, Asia, Latin America and the United Nations offices. The editorial boards in English, Spanish and other languages are regularly informed about what will occur during the week beyond current events and are given priorities in terms of reporting.

Apparently, a pre-writing stage is not a straightforward process and might include a few variables that influence the choice of the story. However, all the decisions derive from the IPS mission. In order to get a better sense of the complexity of negotiations and the actors involved, I will focus next on the individual ways of initiating ideas for the articles, starting with the Arabic service.

5.1.1.1 Pre-writing in the Arabic service. Chiefly, the Arabic service does not normally generate news from the Arab region for audiences in other parts of the world, but provides the news that could be of interest to the Arabic speaking countries:

“The Arabic service, in my case, and agreed by our peers of course, would not provide the Arabs with news about the Arabs because they would have it, but news that could be of interest...we'll give them what is going on in Latin America, Africa, what's going on in Asia, the Caribbean, so that they will understand that there are similar problems, similar solutions” (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 02, 2019).

Its main task is the translating of IPS articles from English or Spanish (the IPS news production languages) into Arabic, for Arab countries. The reason is twofold. First is the time issue: it would take longer to translate articles originally written in Arabic into the IPS working languages. Second is budget: hiring local⁸¹ journalists who can write directly in English or Spanish is costly, and the majority of highly skilled professionals prefer to work for the big agencies like

⁸¹ IPS hires solely local journalists or the journalists who have lived a considerable amount of time in the country and who can provide perspectives from the ‘ground’.

Reuters, Associated Press, etc. That said, the Arabic Service still covers major events and issues in the Arab region with the help of IPS network of stringers,⁸² collaborators or, occasionally, by commissioning travelling freelancers who might offer their services from the place of an event. Or, on some occasions, the coordinator of the Arabic service would travel to places of interest, various conferences and summits, etc., and would then come back with quite a few stories. In the majority of cases, a dialogue, a discussion of the story proposal occurs between IPS stringers and the director of the Arabic service, based on the perceived importance and newsworthiness of an event.

5.1.1.2 Pre-writing at IPS at the UN. By contrast, IPS at the UN does only journalistic work. Due to the financial crisis, the bureau has lost some seasoned journalists⁸³ in the past few years and also had to cut back the hours. IPS at the UN is supervised by Thalif Deen, a long-serving professional⁸⁴ who is currently its Director and Senior Editor. There are two other newly hired part-time correspondents working in the bureau, but in the summer, interns⁸⁵ also join the team. As the staff is small, the correspondents need to ‘pick and choose’ what is deemed relevant news. Often, Thalif Deen or senior directors give a heads-up on upcoming press releases, launches of reports, and meetings that need to be covered by the IPS journalists at the UN. The ideas for articles can also arise from connecting and networking with numerous people involved in different

⁸² Freelance journalists.

⁸³ For example, Jim Lobe who covered politics in Washington and who now runs his own blog. (T. Deen, personal communication, February 17, 2020)

⁸⁴ Thalif started covering United Nations news in the late 1970s.

⁸⁵ Often, half-a-dozen of them. Interestingly, one of the interns came up with an entertaining idea to rename the agency Intern (N) Press Service (Deen, 2021).

UN missions, who usually send out a list of their events scheduled in the coming days. Furthermore, conferences can be attended. For example, Thalif Deen is invited every year to an international conference on development and disarmament held by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). The choice of what to write about is guided by the IPS at the UN agenda, the prompts given by Thalif Deen and/or the senior off-site management and discussed locally. There is also a trend for balancing out topics:

“For example, if I have covered the Rohingya crisis last week, it is unlikely that I will do Rohingya story this week, I will keep that for later next week” (S. Sadeque, personal communication, February 19, 2020).

5.1.1.3 Pre-writing at IPS Flanders. IPS Flanders, perhaps, occupies a unique position in comparison with other IPS branches. Starting, predominantly, as a translation service translating stories written by the IPS network in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and North America, it has diversified its operations over the last decade. Currently, it is subsidized by the Flemish government with which it has a yearly target of a thousand articles. According to Sigyn Elst, the coordinator of IPS Flanders, the three ‘pillars’ of the branch are a) foreign translations from IPS International, b) translations from other collaborators, mobile websites and other news websites such as The Conversation, Thompson Reuters, U foundation and Climate Home News that are interested in getting their news to the Dutch market (which is a ‘pretty niche language’); and c) making their own articles, given that all IPS Flanders affiliates are professional journalists. The articles are based on independent sources, press conferences, press releases, and reports, although a majority of them are also partial translations, mainly based on English articles. However, articles written by the journalists at IPS Flanders are always aligned with the global mission of IPS and touch on related themes, such as the impact of the North, the way(s) of living in the South, etc. (S. Elst, personal communication, September 18, 2020). For instance, Joren, a part-time journalist-

editor-translator at IPS Flanders, writes at least one article per day. First thing in the morning, he does an Internet research: he scrolls over 10-15 websites and blogs those that feature international political news; he also checks EurekAlert!, a website that aggregates press releases about science. Joren looks for press releases that are in the sphere of IPS, something about the environment or human rights, or new technologies related to energy, etc. It is something that could be of interest to the Belgian Flemish and Dutch readers, as IPS Flanders provides information services to the Netherlands market as well. Then follows a brief virtual meeting during which ideas for the articles are discussed collectively, and choices made. For those approved, more information as well as sources are collected by means of virtual media. Interviews 90% of the time are done by e-mail or, alternatively, by video or voice calls. On some occasions, ideas for articles can stem from physical attendance at interesting press conferences and symposia held by international organizations, NGOs, and universities.

5.1.1.4 Pre-writing in the Spanish service. Conversely, the Spanish service favours research on the ground. “We are not desk and phone journalists”, states devotedly Estrella Gutiérrez, its editorial coordinator, in our e-mail interview (E. Gutiérrez, personal communication, December 19, 2019). Here, research is important, and the production of a single story may take a few months and involve conducting repetitive interviews. Also, in the Spanish service, once or twice a month, special features are carried out with trips outside the capital, to the communities and places where issues related to the IPS agenda take place. Projects and approaches get prior approval by the editor, also, journalists pre-arrange interviews with sources. But features that emanate from trips to the countryside, including their amount or whether the videos will be added or not, are not set in stone. This will be decided later in the discussion between journalists and the editorial coordinator upon completion of the trip. It can be a very intense trip for the journalists

(and, sometimes, even fraught with risks) when during a few days' stay they interview many people. On the other hand, the unexpected is a source of wealth for journalists, as is vividly expressed by the following interview excerpt:

I've written a story about ... It's a candy. Sweet, it's a sweet candy. Traditional sweet in Guantanamo, in Baracoa. When I arrived to Baracoa, I planned to write about the recovery after the hurricane, Matthew Hurricane in 2017. Matthew Hurricane was in 2016 and I went to Baracoa in February 2017 to see how is doing the recovery [sic], in the first villa of Cuba. Baracoa is the first villa that was founded by the Spanish in Cuba. And when I arrived to this city that is inside the mountains, it's a risk to go there, and I find a man who sells sweets, original sweets, here in Baracoa. He told me, "The sweet will disappear by maybe three years," because we lost all the coconut trees. And for that reason, this traditional sweet that is a symbol of the city, we are losing the sweet maybe by three years, five years. And that was a very interesting story (I. González, personal communication, October 17, 2019).

Based on the description above, it follows that a pre-writing stage is shaped by many factors, and dialogue does not occur only between journalists and editors. In fact, the final choice of an article is the result of negotiations and translations among multiple semiotic and human actors and mediated by virtual communication devices. Below is a rough visualization⁸⁶ of the variables in the network of decision-making. While it might not characterize the whole spectrum of engaged parties, it captures those featured in the preceding description.

⁸⁶ It should be noted that in the current concept-map as well as in the similar maps to follow, the double-headed arrows emphasize a two-way influence between identified areas of concern while simple lines and lines with a single or no arrow signify respectively a one-sided relation or simply the existence of a relation between things.

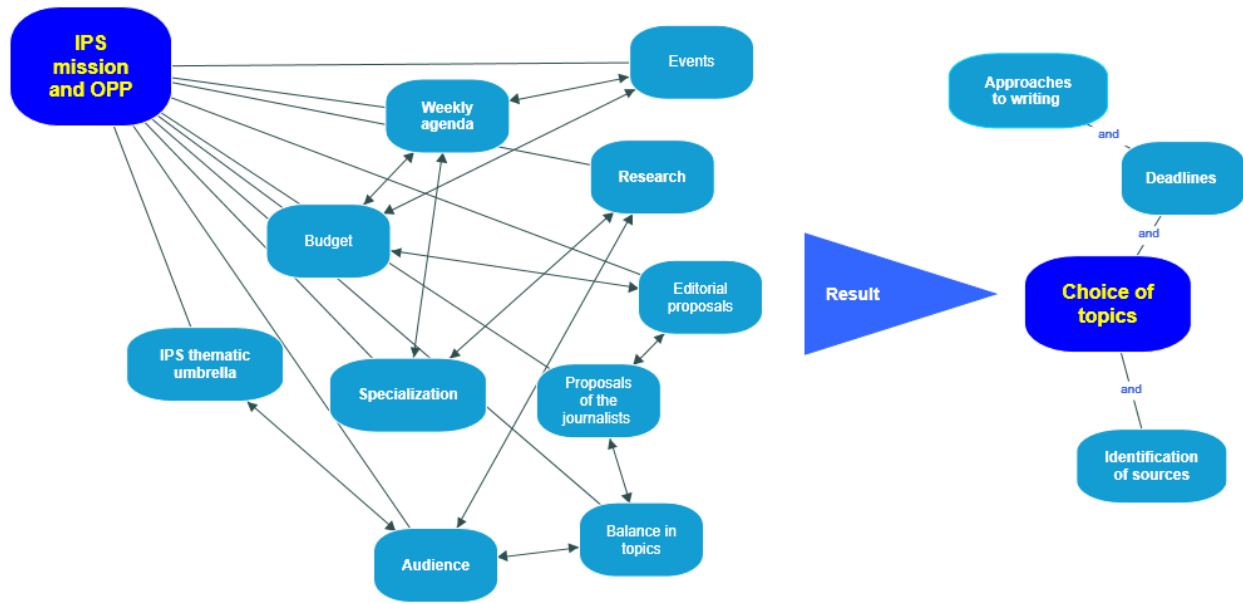


Figure 3. Pre-writing stage.

5.1.2 Writing stage

Broadly speaking, at this stage the journalists act alone, writing and sending written material and photos or podcasts to the editor’s desk (E. Gutiérrez, personal communication, December 19, 2019). The nuanced *sociological translations*, however, hinge on the specificities of the particular IPS branch, as will be displayed in what follows next.

5.1.2.1 Writing at IPS Flanders. At IPS Flanders, a significant part of all the articles is written by journalists. The articles are intended for the corporate Flemish clients in Belgium as well as for the agency’s corporate clients in the Netherlands—newspapers and websites who might later repurpose the stories. Mainly, IPS Flanders produces short informative articles but might also feature longer interviews, analyses or opinion pieces. Alternatively, freelancers can be contracted for special features as in the case of the Flemish journalist who lives and works in Cambodia and occasionally covers Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam for IPS Flanders. The majority of IPS

Flanders' articles are adaptations of open-source press-releases—source texts (STs)—from English into Dutch. They are augmented with extra information from a variety of personal and online sources, whose number depends on the subject of the article:

If the article is about a certain scientific study, then you don't need five sources to confirm it. You just need a press release of the institution, for example, of the university that did it, and it might be interesting to have a perspective here in Belgium, someone who reacts about it or says how the situation is here or an expert that might give his opinion about that. But that's not even always necessarily. If it's a really short piece that says: look there was, for example, an opinion poll there that finds so many people say X about that and Y about that, then you don't really need five sources to confirm that. Then, then of course you have to go to the original site with the original press release and be sure that it's from that source. That's, that might be it sometimes [for the short pieces] (Joren Gettemans, personal communication, October 23, 2020).

There is a local language policy that guides journalists and freelancers in writing articles. It was prepared by an anonymous colleague educated in Dutch and German and contains rules on structure, linguistic aspects, titles and paragraph headings. As IPS Flanders publishes both in the Flemish region of Belgium and the Netherlands, sometimes, they have to adapt the Flemish Dutch. In this case, a final language check is done by the Dutch regular freelancer. The titles of articles are very important in getting articles published and thus deserve special attention. They need to be catchy, not very 'complex or fake' and contain no more than 60-65 signs in length (6-7 Dutch words). The titles are usually discussed collectively. (S. Elst, September 18, 2020).

5.1.2.2 Writing in the Arabic service. The Arabic service produces⁸⁷ articles in standard Arabic. Although there are 22 Arabic-speaking countries in the world with many subregions where a variety of sometimes mutually intelligible dialects are spoken, the articles are written in modern standard Arabic (MSA), an official and commonly understood language in academia, media and government across those countries. MSA is also one of the six official languages at the United

⁸⁷ Mostly, the service translates IPS articles into Arabic.

Nations, although it tends to be marginalized because of budget restrictions. Arabic requires a few interpreters working in the same booth to transform the Arabic into English, French, or Spanish while for the other official UN languages one interpreter will suffice. (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 02, 2019)

In regard to the writing process, Baher Kamal, the former supervisor of the Arabic service, emphasizes that journalists have to be deeply informed about their topics, which was quite difficult before the arrival of the Internet, Wikipedia and Google. One cannot simply draw on underlying tacit knowledge. Also, objectivity in reporting is not possible but there has to be some degree of accuracy:

You are not objective. You will never be...I'm not an object, I'm a subject. But be accurate. Get the full views. Of course, because you have a subject, you will be more inclined to choose this kind of speaker or declaration, whatever... (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 12, 2019).

The turnaround time for producing articles is fast: IPS is “an international news agency, not a weekly, not a bi-monthly, not a monthly magazine”. (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 2, 2019). A 24-hour shift is kept by the regional desks,⁸⁸ each of which works 8 hours in their respective time zones. IPS was decentralized from the beginning for the following reasons:

If you want to set up the real international news network, there is no other way than to decentralize everything. The more you decentralize, the more you have anticipation. Anticipation is essential for communication (R. Savio, November 8, 2019).

However, being spread over various parts of the world implies cultural differences and other nuances that cannot be fully comprehended unless they are experienced first-hand. In this

⁸⁸ In Montevideo (for Latin America), Bangkok (for the Asia-Pacific region), New York City (for North America), and Johannesburg (for Africa) (“Inter Press Service,” 2021) (Savio, 2012, p. 12).

respect, IPS used to send people to work in other regions for six months so they would be more acquainted with the local issues of other regional desks.

5.1.2.3 Writing at IPS at the UN. IPS at the UN, unlike mainstream media, does not cover much in the way of politics, but focuses rather on socioeconomic issues. The correspondents normally have access to the recordings of various events at the UN. Most UN reports come with an executive summary, a covering press release and a link to the report in PDF format (T. Deen, February 2, 2021). Near-verbatim transcripts of daily press briefings (including Q&A sessions) are posted on the publicly available UN website. Summaries, transcripts and notes taken from attending various UN events, as well as research in the ‘field’⁸⁹ and background research on the Internet are the sources of information that IPS correspondents use when writing/producing articles. Each article has to accommodate two exclusive sources—quotes from experts offering independent ideas, assessments and opinions on the materials and issues at hand. In this regard, IPS at the UN has an established global network of organizations with whom they virtually collaborate on a regular basis:

Some of the organizations like Third World Network placed in Penang, Malaysia... We talk to them very often, because they cover the UN in a big way, and they keep in touch. So, we ask for their comments, "What do you think of this?" Or there's something called Global Policy Forum in New York, and also in Europe, they keep in touch with us continued. They are always willing to give comments. Or Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Equality Now, Oxfam... You go to these people to get comments, and they give comments. That strengthens our story and gives it different perspective. (T. Deen, February 17, 2020).

Besides, new contacts are continuously and actively sought after. For example, Samira, a correspondent at IPS at the UN, finds social media (particularly, Twitter) useful for identifying local sources. Profiles of interest can be searched by the name of the organization and often contain

⁸⁹ Talking and connecting with various experts.

contact information including phone numbers. To speed things up, informants can be reached through WhatsApp as well. Alternatively, old connections can be approached and asked “if they can forward [questions] directly to someone who could share.” (S. Sadeque, personal communication, February 19, 2020). An inquiry always contains a deadline⁹⁰ for returning the answers. However, soliciting responses can be challenging as sources may be spread out across different time zones and localities. While the writing itself may take only a couple of hours, waiting for the quotes may take a bit longer. When received, the quotes in the form of two-three paragraphs are cut and inserted in the pre-written story which is by then ready to go out. In addition to producing articles *in situ*, some opinion pieces can be solicited from external specialists or offered *pro bono* by highly professional collaborators and supporters of IPS.

In terms of writing, Samira, an IPS correspondent at the UN, emphasizes fact-checking as part and parcel of the process. When writing a draft, she puts in bold the chunks of the text (i.e., dates, figures, names, etc.) about which she might have even the slightest hesitation. To avoid disruption of the flow, the highlighted passages will be verified later upon the completion of the draft.

5.1.2.4 Writing at the Spanish service. At the Spanish service, all author notes are created with an international projection in mind. The journalists⁹¹ carefully edit the content to make it attractive and understandable to the audiences from various parts of the world—ordinary people and multilateral/individual institutions. From the beginning, IPS articles are conditioned to bring distant realities closer:

We always start with an idea: the reader (or user) does not have to know anything about what we tell him/her and the place or country from which we tell him/her.

⁹⁰ Usually, a few hours.

⁹¹ Spanish service employs 30 journalists.

IPS journalists are specialists in placing the facts in the processes and contexts, locating sources and localities, so that they are understood and “visualized” by a reader (or user) from the Latin American country next door and, equally so, by the audience from Finland, Bangladesh or Tanzania, for instance (E. Gutiérrez, personal communication, December 19, 2019).

The Spanish service features an editorial guide for both texts and images as well as glossaries for some popular topics. The articles are written in neutral and modern Spanish and follow the linguistic norms and rules stipulated by the Royal Spanish Academy. Additionally, every month, common language issues are collectively discussed, and agreements are reached on any updates, improvements and changes in language policies and priorities on the desk of editors and trans-editors.

Each story produced by the Spanish service has to accommodate three sources, but the number of sources might increase if an article discusses sensitive problems. For example, writing about food shortage in Cuba needs the presence of more voices in the story to support the urgency of the matter in the eyes of the government and society.

At the time of my visit, IPS Cuba (in part) employed two correspondents while another new affiliate was in training, waiting for journalistic accreditation from the government, which appears to be an arduous process in Cuba. Together they produce three or four major reports weekly and also publish breaking news on the local website. However, there is always ongoing research concerning one to three big stories, which might involve multiple interviews, and which can easily turn into weeks and months.

Notably, in Cuba, the Internet became publicly available only in December of 2018, making journalistic work easier and faster. Questions related to a report in the making can now be e-mailed to a list of contacts or posted on social media (e.g., on the Facebook page of IPS Cuba, etc.). The Internet has also facilitated gathering of background information for stories and learning

about problems outside the capital, Havana, where the IPS correspondents work. By contrast, the phone is the preferred way to contact informants in case of pressing circumstances:

...We have breaking news, and we need to approach and produce and write about this breaking news.... And also, we have sources, important sources to ask. We just call them, "Please, I need a quote! Please tell me this right now." This, I don't know, maybe half an hour and they respond (I. González, personal communication, October 17, 2019).

IPS Cuba mainly seeks voices from ordinary people, NGOs, activists and government officials.

In closing this section, I would like to offer a visual summary of the *writing stage* and its components along with the actions involved. The actors indicated associate with each other and together create a news story. However, the visual is predicated on informants' accounts and may be incomplete. Each specified actor hides a swarm of other actors. One may also observe that 'having in view' the audience or an international projection is suggestive of cultural translation that occurs at this stage. The journalists write about local realities in such a way that would, supposedly, be explicit to global audiences—they re-write symbolic culture (Conway, 2012). Interpretation and explanation of foreign realities (events, traditions, modes of thinking, etc.), providing plentiful context, connecting the global and the local, etc. affect the choice of the re-expression language, among other things. However, cultural translation is better illustrated if based on individual empirical cases. Certainly, journalistic life is closely associated with the interpretive role (Weaver et al. 2007 as cited in Conway, 2012) and the following excerpt from the interview illustrates this:

...sometimes the people want to say something, and they don't express completely. And we need to complete that. And this is something that we improve every year in this profession because you sometimes have some instinct to capture this kind of important message, the important details of the culture. ((I. González, personal communication, October 17, 2019).

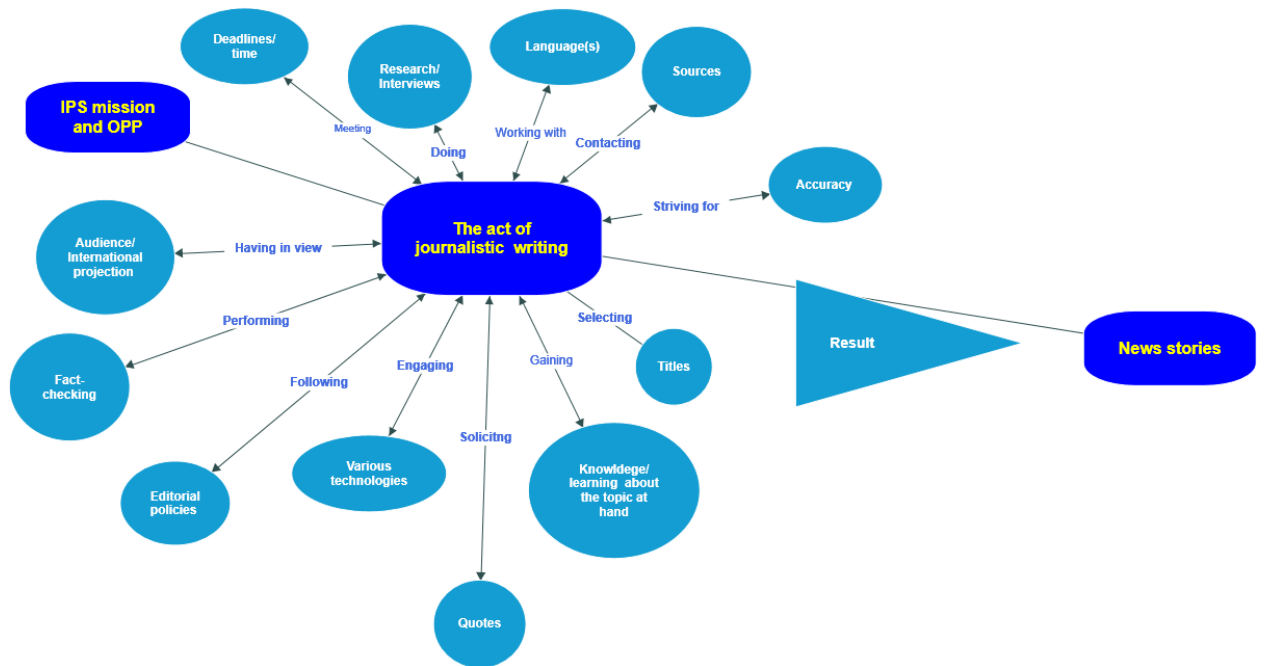


Figure 4. Writing stage.

5.1.3 Post-writing stage

The previous section has described the writing stage patterns of the selected IPS branches. In the following, I will continue to relay in the same fashion the work procedures journalists follow after a news story has been written and published online.

5.1.3.1 Post-writing at the Arabic service. As stated above, the Arabic service specializes in translation of IPS articles into Arabic. However, in the case of major events and issues in the Arab region, either IPS stringers would be contracted to write features or Baher Kamal, the Arabic service coordinator, would travel to cover events singlehandedly. The ensuing articles would normally be produced in Spanish or English and would then be wired to the respective editors for a check-up. Now that the agency’s operations have been scaled down, each working language (Spanish / English) has one or two editors, depending on the volume of articles. By contrast, in the

1980s when Baher Kamal started at IPS, there were several editors for Spanish and English, mainly concentrated at the agency's headquarters in Rome, who would split shifts to make a 24-hour uninterrupted news flow. Yet, this was also a pre-Internet era when unwieldy Telex machines were in use and news production was more labour-intensive.

Normally, a story written by a correspondent affiliated with an Arabic service goes to a geographically remote editor's desk. An editor's role is not about proofreading *per se* (as might be misunderstood, sometimes by many). Mainly, an editor is responsible for checking whether the story is politically correct, whether it is a balanced story⁹² and whether it contains enough context that better explains local experiences to international audiences. As the work pace at the news agency is fast, there is not much time for editor-correspondent dialogue. An editor works quickly to check the facts, to edit the texts and to erase redundant sentences. A dialogue usually occurs in the case of a feature story—a less time-sensitive news piece. Remarkably, writing techniques are not debated: “you don't question the writing style, the literature. If you don't like [a story] this way, either you tell him or her to stop or you write it yourself” (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 19, 2019). Personal style of writing is rather evaluated during a recruitment process. When along a CV, journalists are asked to send samples of what they had published so far. Also, there is a ‘written’ rule at IPS that editors and correspondents should be from the South to facilitate understanding between them. This criterion is practically a necessity for IPS, which aims to write deeply informed articles about the South.

Next, after the review is done, an editor places a story on virtual platforms—ipsnews.net, and/or IPS's Facebook or Twitter page—and then assumes full responsibility for the story. On the

⁹² i.e., it includes two or three parties—‘real’ people.

other hand, neither translators nor editors work with a Meta Language or search engine optimization:

There is some one extra layer that we add after the story has been published and that's maybe some part of technology that we should integrate somehow in their work, but it hasn't been done yet (W. Garcia, personal communication, August 20, 2019).

IPS has a specialist team of community managers⁹³ responsible for the dissemination of IPS content in English and Spanish across social networks. In general, news distribution in communication media is a controlled process that follows certain “steps, filters and decisions” to ensure the quality of news production and is done only by affiliates who have been granted personal access codes (E. Gutiérrez, personal communication, December 19, 2019).

Globally, IPS has approximately two thousand subscribers. First, the agency has active agreements with the customers authorizing them to republish IPS stories free of charge. Conversely, a paywall is in place for customers who wish to repurpose and change the content (W. Garcia, personal communication, August 20, 2019). However, this scenario can be different in individual branches, where a paywall might exist for all clients.

5.1.3.2 Post-writing at the Spanish service. The Spanish service is not to be confused with the IPS regional headquarters for Latin America in Montevideo, Uruguay, described by Bassnett and Bielsa in their pioneering book *Translation in Global News*⁹⁴ as IPS's “world centre for translation...from and to English and Spanish” (p. 79). The features and analyses emanating from Latin America are important, but the Spanish service has an international projection. The

⁹³ Unfortunately, I could not get more information on the identity of community managers as my attempts failed to connect with the agency affiliates who could provide more details regarding this.

⁹⁴ One also cannot discount the passage of time and the associated changes that might have taken place since 2004 when the famous scholars did their research.

service has an equal sharing of IPS content in Spanish and English.⁹⁵ Also, it benefits from the content of the allied information organizations with which it has specific agreements, and which is meant to “complete and complement the offer of IPS content”, particularly in relation to sustainable development goals (SDGS). (E. Gutiérrez, personal communication, December 19, 2019).

At the time of my interview, the Spanish service employed three editors who, importantly, have the capacity to be translators whenever translation skills are needed. Often, the editors cooperate with each other when editing texts and video scripts with the support of an editorial coordinator. However, each story has an editor in charge, who pre-edits a wired article by way of verifying data, figures, names, and places, by occasionally adding some enriching elements and contexts, and by making related enquiries to the journalist. If the process entails many transformations of the story, then the edited text is sent to the journalist for verification and approval. It is thanks to this editor-journalist dialogue that a final edition is created and disseminated online. Although it sounds like a time-consuming enterprise, in practice, a journalist can expect a feedback from an editor within one or two hours (I. González, personal communication, October 17, 2019).

That said, any individual journalist is well informed of IPS’s editorial standards and initially strives to write an article in a way that would be accepted by the respective editor with minimal changes. Interestingly, because IPS is so decentralized, the journalists would not often know what happens with the articles they write, whether they will be all translated⁹⁶ or not. Rather, an editor acts as a bridge between a journalist and a translator, and, apparently, their customers.

⁹⁵ Trans-edited into Spanish.

⁹⁶ In the past, the majority of IPS articles were translated but now only some are selected.

5.1.3.3 Post-writing at IPS at the UN. The post-writing phase of IPS at the UN follows a similar route: a journalist e-mails an article to a remotely located editor when it is ready. In the case of IPS at the UN, the article is sent to Nalisha, who used to be based in Johannesburg, South Africa, which implies a significant time difference with New York in the USA. Samira, an interviewed correspondent, comments that although the editor generally works very quickly, sometimes geography can pose challenges. For example, on Fridays by the time Samira’s story is ready, Nalisha may be already off for the day. On such occasions a story is published on the following Monday by the editor, who makes sure the article is updated to reflect “that all this happened a few days ago”. (S. Sadeque, personal communication, February 19, 2020)

5.1.3.4 Post-writing at IPS Flanders. By contrast, the journalists at IPS Flanders swap roles and edit each others’ articles. There are three fixed contracts making up 1.7 full-time equivalent altogether as well as one permanent Dutch freelancer. The number of edited articles for each affiliate is 2-3 articles⁹⁷ per day, yet the number varies, depending on whether it is a short or long day and on how many journalists are available on that day (S. Elst, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

After an article is rigorously edited and the title proposed by the article’s editor is collectively discussed and agreed upon, it is placed on ipsnews.be—a modern website with a new content management system that IPS Flanders could afford a few years ago. Then one of the journalists takes over and publishes the story on social media. However, IPS Flanders e-mails the stories to its corporate clients (newspapers, website news agencies and other news outlets) who have subscribed to the agency’s news feed and who on the individual level amount to

⁹⁷ Which might include translations.

approximately two hundred journalists and editors (J. Gettemans, personal communication, October 23, 2020).

Receiving an article from a journalist makes an editor proofread the story and publish it online and/or e-mail a copy to customers. That said, the editing process consists of several technology-mediated activities that I have tried to capture in the graphics below.

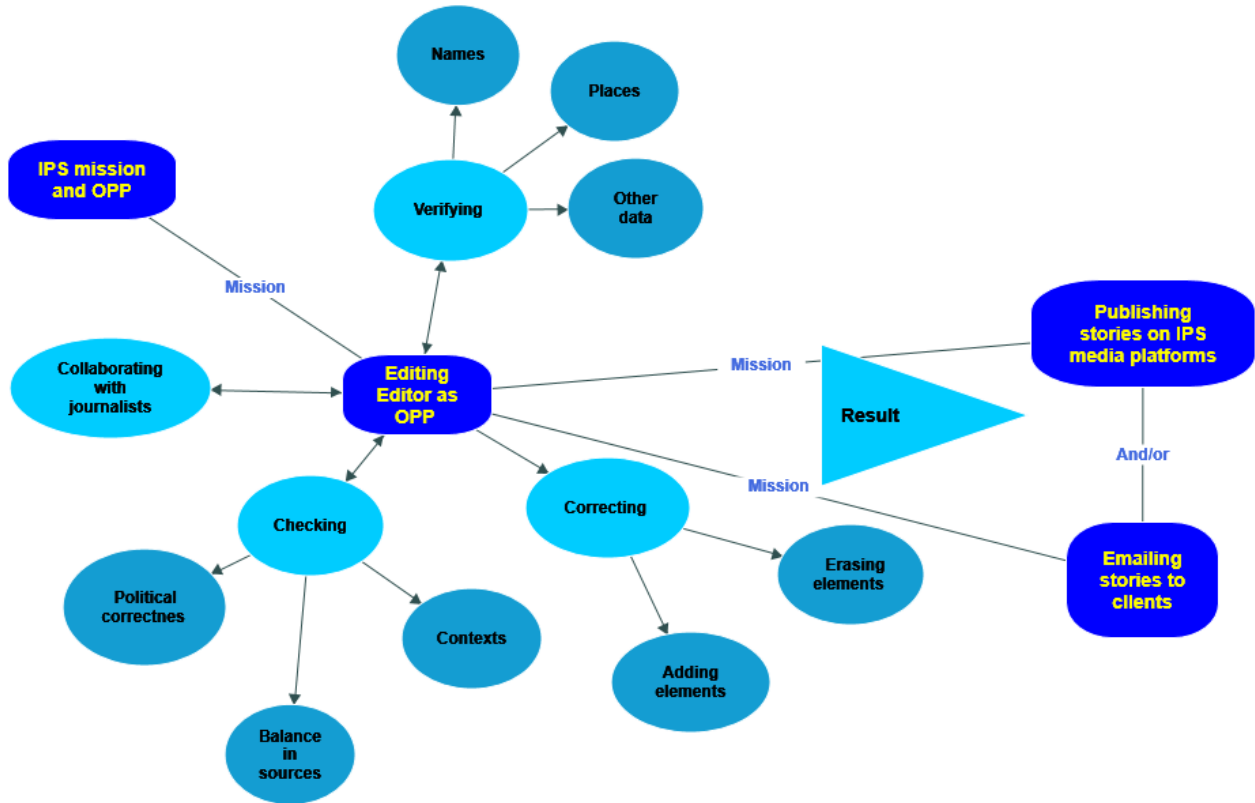


Figure 5. Post-writing stage.

5.1.4 IPS journalistic production in terms of ANT's sociology

The preceding narrative was based on Law's (2004) idea of uncovering patterns in ethnographic data and taking a micro view of the situated journalistic practices at several IPS branches. It has been shown that the Arabic service, Spanish service, IPS at the UN, and IPS

Flanders—all follow the stages of *pre-writing*, *writing* and *post-writing*—although in distinctive fashion predicated on the idiosyncratic characteristics and objectives of each agency’s division.

In contrast, in this section, I would like to view the same journalistic practices from the standpoint of Callon’s (1986a) macro-sociological grid in order to provide an alternative (and general) view on the same phenomenon of *sociological translations* at IPS. Callon (1986a) discerns four moments of translation (*problematization*, *interesement*, *enrolment*, and *mobilization*)⁹⁸ which can be overlapping and dispersed in time. According to this macro paradigm and data at hand, it follows that this research illuminates only the mobilization stage—the multiple displacements involved in news production.⁹⁹

Thus, *problematization* coincided with agency’s founding in response to the inequalities of globalization and prevalence of (spot) news from the North. To ‘rebalance the news flows’ and ‘to give voice to those who do not have it in the mainstream media’ form the mission and the main drive behind IPS’ operations. In order to realize the mission, the IPS Board of Directors designated the actors and placed *interesement* between them, and also established news production routes by defining and coordinating the actors’ roles (a moment of *enrolment*)—all of which occurred over the course of the agency’s long history. In the IPS news production equation, the indispensable

⁹⁸ As a reminder, *problematization* refers to the identification of goal and actors; *interesement* and *enrolment*—to placing the interest between actors—whereas *mobilization* means bringing actors into action. (Callon, 1986a).

⁹⁹ It should be noted that ANT is a relative theory and provides for multiple interpretations of a network formation. Hence, my perspective here is but one among other possibilities.

actors are its worldwide branches and customers, of which I would like to offer the following concise descriptions:

IPS worldwide branches contribute to the IPS mission by way of writing articles about different countries and their socio-economic problems. They are represented by the branches' coordinators or their 'spokesmen' and were recruited by IPS executives in the past. Their *interesement* is promoting the IPS mission and also receiving monetary profit. On the individual level, the journalists and editors might have varying interests such as pursuing a career in journalism, professional development and recognition, wages, etc.

Customers are the publishers of IPS news. Recruiting more customers means achieving a better implementation of the mission and also getting money profit (either for paying wages or for the development of the agency). The customers are niche customers who are interested in alternative opinions and specialized news (e.g., gender, sustainability, poverty, certain Third World countries, etc.). IPS fits their various needs.

In order to achieve their respective goals, IPS branches worldwide and its niche customers need to work together. If one disappears from the scene, the other will lose its symbolic and monetary profits. The role of the previously discussed IPS branches is to produce news in either English or Spanish. For the journalists and editors, the mission is represented in the annual/monthly/weekly/daily targets. To achieve them, they work in cooperation and transform an idea for an article into a published piece of news, following established production routines. The customers pick up IPS news and, by doing so, contribute to the wider dissemination of IPS's mission. This co-dependence of the main actors is displayed in the following graphics:

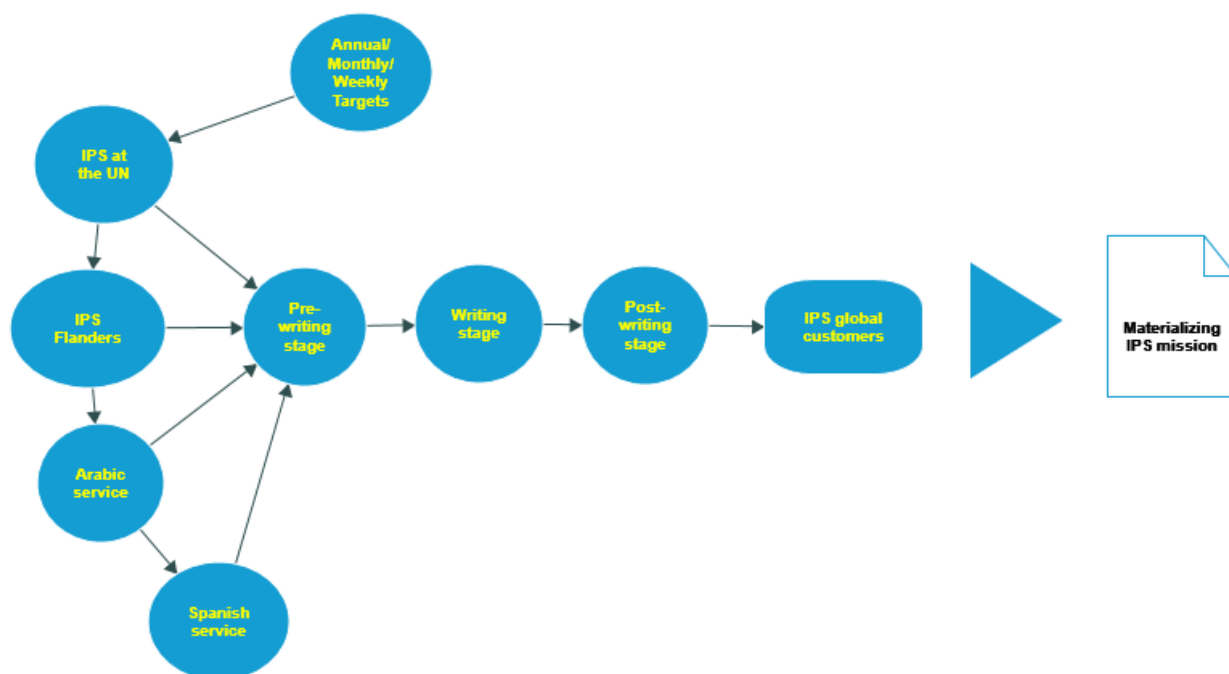


Figure 6. Journalistic production through Callon's (1986a) prism.

5.2 Sociological translation of interlingual translation practices

Before delving into the comparative descriptions of individual practices at the *trans-editing stage*, I would like to pause and speculate about why Estrella Gutiérrez, an editorial coordinator of the Spanish service and also one of the directors on the IPS Board, chose to name the stage this way and who are the people that carry out trans-editing tasks. Are they translators or translator-editors, as the name implies, or journalists, or all of these? In order to glean some understanding of the questions at hand, I will resort to the narratives of the agency's senior staff members. Next, I will chronicle the sequences of *sociological translations* that constitute a *trans-editing stage* at various IPS branches as well as tackle the case of the former IPS intern at IPS who used to translate into Swahili, a minority language.

5.2.1 A trans-editor's identity at IPS

According to Walter Garcia, IPS Director-General, as of 2019 the agency employed globally around twenty translators, the majority being freelancers. Besides Spanish and English, the two key working languages of IPS, the stories are regularly reproduced in Dutch, Swedish, Finnish, Portuguese and, occasionally, in French and Swahili. The number is flexible and depends on the language and the particular moment in the life of IPS. From time to time, the subtitling of videos into various languages is also involved.

Globally, IPS has a trusted team of trans-editors with whom they continually work and who are well familiar with the language and style of IPS articles. Thus, IPS has been collaborating with trans-editor colleagues in Brazil for over twenty years and also used to have an office in Benin that would do translations into French. However, the latter had to close down, and the agency was obliged to look for other options in connection with trans-editors into French. On the whole, IPS works “with people [they] trust most of the time” (W. Garcia, personal communication, August 20, 2019).

Striving to be truly international, at some point IPS used to produce stories in twenty-seven languages—including minority languages such as Nepalese, Pashtu, Maya, Tamil, Quechua, etc., in line with the agency's goal of rebalancing the information flow between the North and the South and reaching marginalized social groups. The idea was to

.. set up a team of people who are partners as an institution with IPS International, but which individually are also member of the World Association of IPS. So, this is what we did, and this is why we have so many languages. Unlike other agencies, who are basically using French, Spanish, English, and we were using so many languages. (R. Savio, November 8, 2019)

On the other hand, it is a very expensive endeavour, as IPS is not “funded by multimillionaires” (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 2, 2019). It is a non-profit,

international, non-governmental association that—according to its publicly available statutes—relies on membership fees and also private and corporate contributions.

In the past, IPS did hire professional translators. This fact was mentioned in Bassnett & Bielsa (2009), who did fieldwork in Montevideo, Uruguay, a regional office for Latin America. In relation to the four IPS trans-editors in Montevideo the scholars report that:

Typically, they started working as translators and have gradually acquired a more journalistic function, which makes their role hardly distinguishable from that of the other news editors (Bassnett and Bielsa, 2009, p. 82).

In this particular instance, one of the translators under study even began writing her own articles, learning from her colleagues. The same can be said about Baher Kamal, a former coordinator of the Arabic service, who started elsewhere as an amateur Arabic-Spanish translator and interpreter but then transitioned to a successful career in journalism with IPS. However, this is not always the case. In our interview, Walter Garcia states that IPS is “looking for some journalists to write original stories, not to translate them”, and that a job application should contain a sample of published articles. Translation done by professionals requires an extra step in the form of journalistic editing, which is time- and cost-consuming. Besides being perfectly accurate, the article should have a journalistic flair:

...the language needs to flow. I mean it needs to be to read like a story. If it reads like a manual, it is boring, and you have to get people excited about what they are reading (W. Garcia, August 20, 2019).

It is a skill that took years to learn. In this regard, the agency’s goal is to have a translator who would publish a story without editing, without any intervention. That is, a trans-editor, a professional journalist capable of translating into their mother tongue and who does not have to be very articulate in the source language. At IPS, a journalist never translated their own story—it was

always done by somebody else. That said, the agency looks after it now and then outsources it to qualified translators.

5. 2. 2 Pre-translating procedures

In the following, I will describe the news production routines of globally dispersed IPS trans-editors starting with Finland and Sweden, the Scandinavian countries. As the *trans-editing stage* itself consists of many messy details and distinct procedures, my narrative will parallel the stages of journalistic production outlined previously. The *sociological translations* of interlingual practices will be organized around the following themes: *pre-translating procedures*, *trans-editing procedures* and *post-translating procedures*.

5.2.2.3 Pre-translating at IPS Finland. IPS Finland is a ‘tiny’ operation run by Matti Ripatti, its only trans-editor, a freelancer who produces four English-Finnish translations of IPS articles per week. His office is in the kitchen of his home. Matti’s starts his day around 9 a.m.; first, he opens his laptop and checks his work and personal e-mails. On a regular basis, Matti receives e-mail notifications of the Spanish and English articles recently uploaded on the IPS website, which is handy because on the website they appear under various categories. From the e-mailed links, Matti picks and chooses the English stories that he would trans-edit during the week. He is at “complete liberty” when selecting the news items as there are no directives or assignments whatsoever; he is his own boss in this sense (M. Ripatti, personal communication, September 23, 2019). In the past year, when he started working for IPS, the trans-editor recounts, he gave preference to stories with appealing and high-resolution photos. Good pictures improve the marketability of news products, and, generally, newspapers “will not look at a piece” if it comes without an attached photo (M. Ripatti, personal communication, September 23, 2019). However,

now he goes to the IPS photo archives on Flickr and finds better alternatives for the Finnish audience if the content is ostensibly good.

A new production cycle re-starts every Monday when Matti e-mails a batch of trans-edited and proofread stories to the branches' customers and also places them on the IPS Finland website. He makes a report of what has been offered to the customers and sends it to the IPS headquarters. Then Matti looks through clients' newspapers and online publications and takes notes of where and which IPS Finland's articles have been published over the weekend. Monitoring clients' media and collecting clippings continues throughout the week as by Friday he has to prepare and dispatch another report—on the stories published from Saturday through Friday. When the compulsory procedures for Monday are taken care of, the trans-editor starts browsing new offers from an e-mail and the IPS international website in English. Tuesday and Wednesday are mostly identical: “it is just reading, writing and thinking” (M. Ripatti, personal communication, September 23, 2019). By Thursday, he would have made decisions on the stories of the coming week: some articles could have already been trans-edited while some remain in the draft state. However, on Thursday, Matti gives a heads-up to his clients of the two most important topics they should expect from IPS Finland on the following Monday. Thus, selecting the articles and rewriting them in a different language go hand in hand and happen over the course of several days. The final news items are the results of an interplay between the trans-editor's best judgement and the perceived market demand.

5.2.2.4 Pre-translating at IPS Sweden. IPS Sweden is represented by two freelance trans-editors who work from a small office in downtown Stockholm. Andreas Lönnqvist, my informant, and his colleague Ida share one full-time position and together produce more or less ten stories per week. On a daily basis, they browse new releases on ipsnews.net and deliberate on the two selected

stories of the day while storing away the ones which have “not the clear news angle” for the rest of the week. On the whole, IPS stories are so diversified that the trans-editors normally have no clue of what to expect each morning. In this regard, Andreas notes that ongoing familiarization with new and interesting topics, even after eighteen years of his work with IPS, is a “genuinely positive thing” in regard to his experience at the agency.

The criteria for selecting the stories to trans-edit and publish on a particular day may vary. First, IPS Sweden has a mission: “to find the stories we haven't heard of in Sweden before” even if they might “be tricky subjects and countries that people don't care so much about here”. These stories are “important in their own way” as they illuminate the Other—the realities and the local voices from the South—and still need to get published. The office has a varied clientele and, generally, trans-editors do not go too deep into clients’ individual preferences: in any case, the stories will be picked in some categories. On the other hand, IPS Sweden has a clipping service that gives an impression of what kind of stories are likely to get clippings and, of course, “the more, the merrier”. The trans-editors are not required to write a formal report on the clippings, which is a mandatory and weekly procedure for IPS Finland. Collecting twenty odd papers and checking what the clients have published during the week is done “out of curiosity but also of necessity”. A clippings report gives a better knowledge of which stories are sought for shaping editorial policy. Also, it is done for accountability reasons, and a report is always available on demand should it be requested by IPS headquarters. This kind of report is useful for tracking down stories on specific topics and is also good for the reporters themselves in case “they would wonder what I’m writing for IPS doesn’t end up somewhere, and we can show them” (A. Lönnqvist, personal communication, September 20, 2019).

The stories of the day are normally selected based on some priority. For example, if there is an important report or a big meeting coming up, it is good to have a story on it as soon as possible. Some of IPS Sweden's clients are traditional newspapers and need an extra day to publish a story, so "in the best of circumstances, we have something today, which is newsworthy also tomorrow or the day after" (A. Lönnqvist, personal communication, September 20, 2019). Or it can be an update and clarification of a story that was trans-edited and published the day before, which needs to go out promptly. Or, if some story is big in Sweden for some reason, the trans-editors would look at the IPS website for a story that has a "different angle".

In the case of IPS Sweden, editorial policy is shaped by the historic mission of IPS but equally so by consumer demand, as it relies solely on customers' subscriptions.

5.2.2.5 Pre-translating into Swahili. Next is Emily Kashangaki, a recent graduate from John Cabot University, Department of Communications, based in Rome, Italy. Emily is a former trans-editor into Swahili, the IPS language "that comes and goes" (W. Garcia, personal communication, August 20, 2019). Emily was introduced to me by the IPS Director General. The case of Emily is rather unique as she was not a regular IPS employee, but a part-time intern working remotely for the agency in her final semester at the University. Translation into Swahili was one among her tasks—such as search engine optimization and research on other news agencies. During her four-month internship, she would receive two or three assignments per week from Walter Garcia, her supervisor. Emily would find the suggested English articles at ipsnews.net and would translate them into Swahili from there. There was no space for her to make personal choices of the stories due to the limited nature of her temporary role at IPS.

5.2.2.6 Pre-translating at IPS Flanders. IPS Flanders is a part of the IPS family that became semi-independent from IPS International in 2012, when Sigyn Elst, its supervisor, joined

the team, replacing a senior colleague. Around this time, IPS International lost some essential funds and subsidies, whereas IPS Flanders managed to secure a grant from the Flemish government which allowed the operation to survive. There is not much information available about the preceding years of the bureau, but according to Sigyn, the connections with IPS International were much stronger in those times. For example, they used to have a clippings service and report on a regular basis to IPS International's, Walter Garcia in Spain. However, the communication has ceased over the years and now "there is no weekly communication or briefing... well, they're just there, and we can use their articles...it is just cooperation" (S. Elst, personal communication, September 18, 2020). IPS Flanders pays a flexible contribution to IPS every year.

In general, there is no "official number" or a target to reach in terms of translations to do from ipsnews.net. The number can be either several pieces daily, depending on how many part-time affiliates are available on a given day or on whether it is a long or short day for them. Also, some affiliates tend to do more translations from other news outlets with whom IPS Flanders cooperates, such as The Conversation, The U Foundation, or Climate Home News. A choice of which articles to translate is always derived from the "organic discussion" among the colleagues (J. Gettemans, personal communication, October 23, 2020). Every day at 9 a.m. the team members meet in the Signal chat room, make suggestions, set priorities and exchange links to the IPS articles on which they plan to work. The trans-editors take articles which they deem interesting from the IPS international newsfeed to their Flemish and Dutch news markets. On the other hand, they have to keep a balance in their articles: "We cannot write five articles a day about human rights in Latin America" (J. Gettemans, personal communication, October 23, 2020). A choice of a topic can also be shaped by other media publications: if there is a similar topic in other news sources, then another kind of story is preferred. They also have a Spanish-speaking colleague who translates quite a lot

“from IPS Latin America because they provide a few nice articles a week” (S. Elst, personal communication, September 18, 2020). On the whole, in regard to IPS Flanders, whose activities are so variegated and include writing original articles, trans-editing of IPS stories is one among other tasks which is daily negotiated by the staff members and shaped by the respective news markets.

5.2.2.6 Pre-translating at the Arabic service. The Arabic service was launched in the 1980s by Baher Kamal who was the only Arabic-speaking person at IPS back then. Translation into Arabic did exist before at IPS, but its quality was “rather little” and Baher was supposed to remedy this. However, his job as a coordinator of the Arabic service was just one “among so many things”. Baher Kamal was also a Senior Advisor to IPS Director-General on Africa & the Middle East and one of the principal trainers for journalists from Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, Asia, and the Arab region. On top of this, he played several other roles in the agency.

In regard to the translation part, Baher would do the “jobs of selecting, sending to translation, adapting, rewriting sometimes, and wiring”, meaning that he was an editor of translations and, occasionally, a trans-editor. The service had a reliable network of two or three translators, mostly from the Middle East,¹⁰⁰ who acted as a “bridge between different Arabs”. They were a few but regular translators as the idea was to establish excellent editor-translator relations, a strong rapport, or, in the words of Baher Kamal, “a good cordium”.¹⁰¹

On a daily basis, Baher Kamal, would choose one or two stories per day and send them for translation. Normally, they are not “hot news” but special features with a translation turnover time

¹⁰⁰ For example, at some point the Arabic service collaborated with translators from Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt.

¹⁰¹ Translates from Latin as ‘heart of hearts’.

of one or two days. There are many factors at play when selecting which stories to translate. For instance, the existence of direct or indirect censorship in some Arab countries prevents its media from publishing IPS articles which criticize their regime or discuss human rights or other similar issues. On the whole, Baher emphasizes that one needs to “keep a balance” when making choices, meaning that one needs to select stories that are likely to be printed by customers: “if you don't get your stories published, then you didn't do anything”. This is an exercise, he notes, that accumulates and becomes “automatic”.

5.2.2.7 Pre-translating at the Spanish service. The Spanish service employs four trans-editors: two of them translate from Spanish into English and the other two—from English into Spanish. Estrella Gutiérrez, its editorial coordinator, spoke on their behalf as, unfortunately, my invitation to the interview posted in the Survey Monkey questionnaire had not been reciprocated by the service’s trans-editors. According to Estrella, the journalists and publishers would already know whether a story would be translated or not and design it accordingly from the start. A story to be translated is written with an international projection in mind. As my e-mail conversation with Estrella took place after conducting several other interviews which gave me the impression that trans-editors are free to choose any article they wish, I asked her directly whether in her opinion ‘the trans-editors are gatekeepers of information’. The answer was that trans-editors work in a “horizontal and collaborative dialogue” with the editorial coordinator and communicate suggestions to each other about translation choices. They certainly “have a voice” in the decision process by suggesting, for example, which articles would be more attractive to their audiences. However, in the case of the Spanish and English services, it is the coordinator of the Spanish service who has the last say in deciding which articles to translate from English into Spanish and vice-versa, except for “special and dialogued cases”.

All in all, it appears that the *pre-translating stage* has few trajectories leading to the selection of a story to translate. In case a translation is outsourced, the choice of an article is imposed by a coordinator. Otherwise, often a decision as to which news item to translate is made in a dialogue between the colleagues, who often perform multitasking roles. A number of considerations and priorities go into the final decision. Below is an example of possible trajectories in the negotiation process.

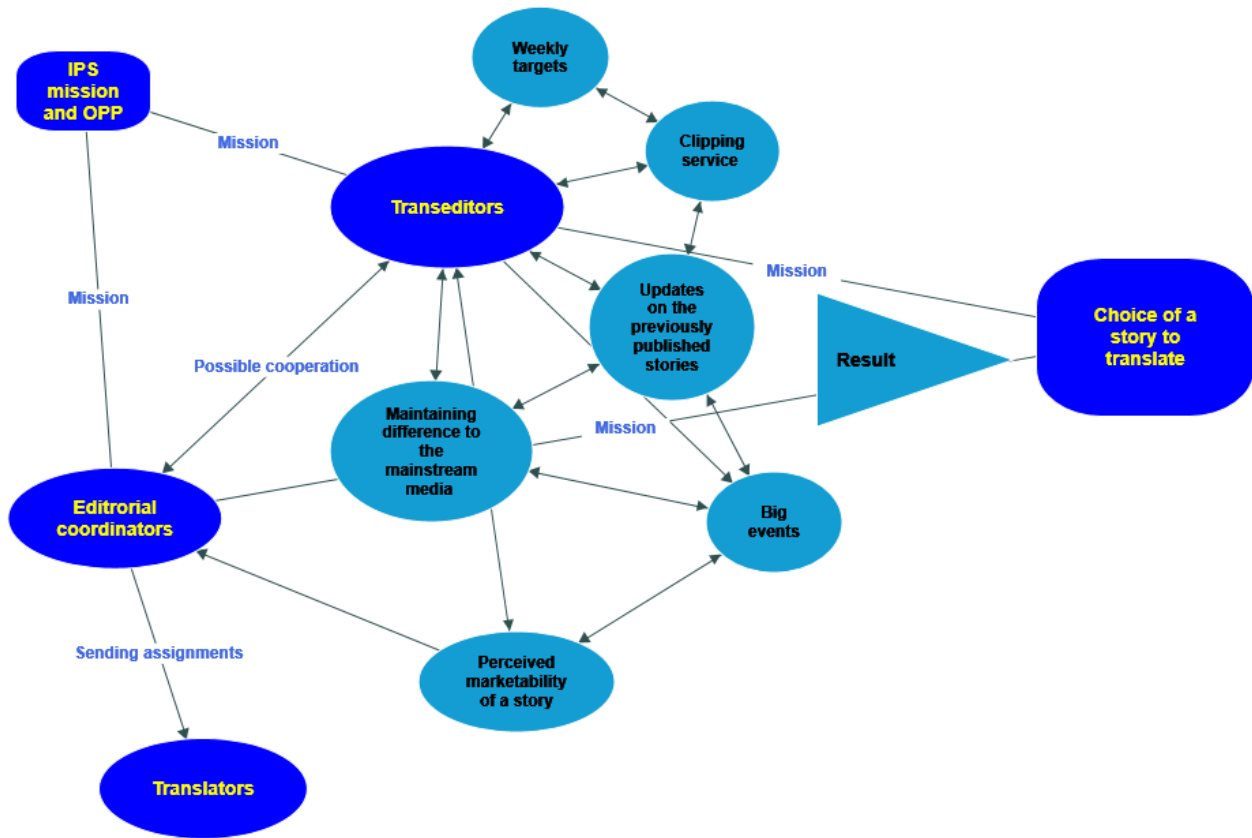


Figure 7. Pre-translating stage.

5.2.3 Trans-editing procedures

By this stage, it has already been decided which news story or stories to translate. The task of IPS trans-editors is now re-writing foreign articles into their local languages.

5.2.3.1 Trans-editing at IPS Finland. At IPS Finland, the bulk of re-writing happens on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, while Thursdays and Fridays are set aside for finishing and polishing the stories. On Thursdays, Matti also e-mails his clients and gives them a heads-up on the couple of the “most important” topics they should expect from IPS Finland on the following Monday. Interestingly, there are size requirements in place for each trans-edited piece. The first and the largest news items should not exceed 3,000-4,000 characters, while the fourth piece—which is the last one in the hierarchy—should be no more than 800-1,000 signs in length. Producing the short piece is the “most difficult” thing because,

...the IPS news is not newsy, I mean they are more long-winded. It's very difficult to get from them a piece of news or a news item that can be summed up in a thousand characters (M. Ripatti, personal communication, September 23, 2019).

Thus, the trans-edited piece #4 borrows only a few details from the original story, making it rather “an interpretation of the [original] content” as the result of significant re-organization and shortening. Also, as mentioned earlier, much attention is given to the quality of photos in the trans-edited output. The photos are sometimes outsourced in the IPS subdivision in Flickr.

The materials that participate in trans-editing the articles are a laptop, LibreOffice (a free Microsoft software), Google Translate, online dictionaries, and the Internet in general. However, Matti uses online help mostly for checking things out and does “basic translation unaided,” thanks to his large passive vocabulary in English. IPS Finland does not have fixed linguistic policies but, in terms of translating phraseology, the trans-editor points out that he tries to avoid the language of NGOs and the UN and make it easier and accessible for his readers (i.e., the general public). He takes an outsider’s position when rendering bureaucratic language, as they are “just the phrases” and if you keep repeating them over and over again, they begin to “sound as a joke”. Also, Matti points out that any kind of irony should be “strictly forbidden” in a news story.

There is no contact whatsoever between the trans-editor and the authors of the articles he translates: just the text and the “extra work” that needs to be done, as well as trust in what the authors are saying. On the other hand, with experience, one gets to know the approaches of individual journalists and the topics they cover, which does not add anything to the output but “it’s kind of nice...personally”. In this regard, Matti highlights a work of James Jeffrey, an excellent journalist from Ethiopia who also takes nice pictures. The countries and continents of the articles’ origin fluctuate over time, and it is hard to make related generalizations. However, Matti finds that from Latin America, articles from Brazil and Argentina are more common, or that little comes from the Arab states or Maghrib, for example, while Asia is underrepresented at the IPS, considering the size of its population.

5.2.3.2 Trans-editing at IPS Sweden. Andreas and Ida, the trans-editors at IPS Sweden, work side by side when translating the two stories of the day. Normally, the process takes two or three hours, though the time spent on a single story depends on the length of the original. Some features might need four or five hours of work, whereas the shorter pieces with one or two sources—just an hour or an hour-and-a-half. There is an ongoing discussion between the colleagues that helps shape the trans-editing decisions. For example, a lead of the story might turn out differently in Swedish from what it was in English. The lead is culture-specific, and IPS clients in Sweden expect to have “a clear view of what’s coming in the story from the beginning”, which is more of an editing issue. (A. Lönnqvist, personal communication, September 20, 2019). Headlines, too, deserve much attention, as well as discussing better ways of paraphrasing some English words and expressions that lack direct counterparts in Swedish. In the latter case, the trans-editors negotiate how to describe something in Swedish “without distorting it more than you need”. The same applies to quotes whose translation requires accuracy and caution. If it is too

difficult to render a quote as a direct speech but its meaning is perfectly clear and “there's no doubt that what he or she is actually saying”, then it is translated as indirect speech. The trans-editors' main goal is not a verbatim reproduction of reports in Swedish but editing the stories and adjusting them to the Swedish market. For instance, if there are “interesting things” in Sweden, the trans-editors might give this more focus in the story and edit it accordingly. Or when a story comes from a distant country, more information is added to make it clearer for Swedish readers. Trans-editing may also involve mixing parts of the story and shortening it.

Translations are done in Microsoft Word with the help of online dictionaries if necessary; no other “technical equipment” is used. Some IPS stories contain many links, and the trans-editors remove redundant links. However, the links are edited later in WordPress, along with the pictures. If a story comes with a couple of images, then the best one is picked—the one that “adds the most value to the headline and the lead”. Alternatively, trans-editors may add pictures and captions. If there are any “technical” or “economic parts” in a story, such as the GDP of some country or other figures, they are verified by means of an Internet search and checking Swedish sources.

5.2.3.3 Trans-editing at IPS Flanders. At IPS Flanders, the trans-editors take to-be translated IPS English and Spanish articles from ipsnews.net, copy them into the Word file and start working from there. Daily output for each affiliate is two or three translated articles per day, but, as mentioned earlier, IPS stories are not the only prerogative for IPS Flanders. The service also trans-edits stories from other news sources with whom it has agreements.

First translations appear in the Signal chat around 11 a.m. The time spent on translating a story varies and depends on the subject and its specificity. Some translations may go fast and take no more than an hour whereas translating technical language or the language of the UN high-level

discussions may take longer and require a great deal of cross-checking. Translation speed also depends on the quality of the source texts:

If the source material is really good and it's really structured and well-written, and it's a dream to translate, it goes very fast and very easy, but sometimes you really have to build almost 90% of new text... to restructure the whole thing, and then it can easily take an hour longer just to make something readable out of it. (J. Gettemans, personal communication, October 23, 2020)

Translations are read by other trans-editors and posted in the content management system (CMS). A story in CMS might or might not contain a preliminary title. Either way, an idea for a title is normally put forward by the story's editor and reacted to by other colleagues until it gets refined; next, a title is added to the main corpus. Links to reports are adjusted in the content management system as well.

The trans-editors at IPS Flanders follow an in-house linguistic policy and its requirements for the structure, titles,¹⁰² subheadings of a final product, be it translation or an original piece. In regard to translation, Sigyn notes that “for us translation, isn't translation anymore”. While in the past the tendency was to keep close to the original texts, now it is more about shortening and adapting the content and making their “own articles out of it” while keeping the “spirit of the [original] articles alive”. The reason is that the clients of IPS Flanders prefer shorter stories of 600-800 words whereas IPS articles are much longer:

Maybe if I translate it in a Dutch article of 2000 words, no one will pick it up. If I make an article of 800 words, that might be better for this customer or enhance the chances that it will be picked up. If maybe I will condense it even further to something of 300 words to make it really short, and then it has a bigger chance of going. (J. Gettemans, personal communication, October 23, 2020)

¹⁰² The maximum length of a title should not exceed 65 characters.

This statement mostly applies to regular desk pieces, while opinion pieces are kept intact because they are “personal” and withstand adaptation (S. Elst, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

In terms of structure, the audience of IPS Flanders is accustomed to have “hard news” upfront whereas IPS articles always begin with some introductory context. Consequently, the order of the paragraphs describing the “cases” and “reports and the experts” is reversed: “we start more with the report and then the news. And maybe we skip the case or put it somewhere else more and more below” (S. Elst, personal communication, September 19, 2020). Often, subheadings are added to give an article more structure.

As regards language, IPS Flanders adapts it and makes it suitable for both its Flemish and Dutch clients. The respective vernaculars are very similar, except for a few words, and the translators are well aware of the linguistic-cultural differences. Also, they do a final check of the Dutch articles, using their regular freelancer from the Netherlands. Google Translate is used occasionally and one of the reasons is that the original Spanish and English articles get heavily truncated and reorganized—for example, for getting the gist of complex sentences, terms and expressions. However, for journalistic purposes Google Translate is not suitable, since “journalistic translation... needs to be fluent. And then it's [Google Translate] not really a good tool”. (J. Gettemans, personal communication, October 23, 2020). Moreover, IPS themes keep recurring and are well familiar to the interviewed participants who are the agency’s long-term employees, making it easier to translate them on the fly. On the other hand, a Google search is more commonly used for filtering out the meanings of expressions as well as looking up and verifying all sorts of information.

5.2.3.4 Trans-editing at the Arabic service. From the words of Baher Kamal, the Arabic service produced one or two trans-edited features per day with the help of two or three regular translators, who were mostly from the Middle East. Thus, it was an online work with an editor-translator communication occurring by means of e-mail, Skype or phone (the latter used in cases of some urgency). Although the Arabic service contracted professional translators versus “purely journalists”, its supervisor notes that they were fortunate to have some translators who “would understand the spirit of the adaptation and would produce a very good translation” (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 2, 2019). Their translations could be “wired directly” without further rewriting, and in this regard, they reached the level of a trans-editor, a sought-after goal at IPS. On some occasions, however, translations were not up to journalistic standards and required the editor to rewrite the whole story.

As features are less time-sensitive, one or two days were allocated for translating each piece. Despite the varieties of the dialects in the Arab region, the stories were reproduced in the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), a commonly understood language among Arabs. The translators had to keep in mind the length of the story as an article translated from English or Spanish into Arabic would likely come out longer. The editor would evaluate the translations and delete the redundant fragments of text. In regard to the material factors and aids involved in creating stories, Baher Kamal noted that “all sides involved in a story are human beings” while a “machine” serves as a tool for implementing, publishing and wiring, which stopped short my further interrogations on the subject.

5.2.3.5 Trans-editing at the Spanish service. Estrella Gutiérrez, an editorial coordinator of the Spanish service, likewise affirms that the “process of content production and its translation into other languages is totally human” (E. Gutiérrez, personal communication, December 19,

2019). It is elaborated by professionals who come across as journalists, editors and trans-editors at IPS which is “a journalist international platform”. On the whole, Estrella underlines the fact that all IPS trans-editors are journalists by education, given that translating news pieces must “fit the needs of communicating journalistically”. However, this claim stands in contrast to the practices of the Arabic service that used to commission professional translators, or to the account of Walter Garcia who states in our interview that IPS does outsource translations to professionals in some cases.

A trans-editor’s task is to maintain a “high respect” for the original author’s content and also to make a story “attractive and rigorous” for his or her respective audience, regardless of the fact that, initially, all IPS stories are crafted with a global design in mind. The Spanish service deals with English and Spanish content that is handled internally by four trans-editors—two for each target language. In regard to the Spanish-English textual conversions, the trans-editors normally “act alone” and carry out the process “without consulting”. In case of any doubts about names, figures or other data in the text, the trans-editors are free to contact an editor or even speak with the journalist, the story’s author. However, this need arises “very rarely” according to Estrella. Also, when journalists from the Spanish service interview sources in English (which might happen in such circumstances as international meetings, etc.), they forward original quotes to the trans-editors in line with the “natural process of international media”. Having original quotes eliminates any ambiguity and distortion of information. The trans-editors should adhere to the editorial guide of the Spanish service (on texts and images) on a par with the service’s members.

Trans-editing the selected English content into Spanish follows a similar path. Names and dates are verified whereas “the greatest adjustments” are cutting the length of a story and modifying the lead.

5.2.3.6 Trans-editing into Swahili. Emily, who performed the role of a trans-editor into Swahili during her four-month internship at IPS and who is currently doing marketing and communications for a social enterprise, used to tackle one or two IPS articles weekly. Although she is well-versed in Italian and English, translating from English, an IPS production language, was a new and learning experience for her. Mainly the assignments were opinion pieces, the translation of which was required to stay “close to whatever the person was trying to say”. In this regard, Emily reports that when she started, she tried to “translate word by word” but this approach did not work out as Swahili has quite a different sentence structure and, also, some English expressions do not have “exact translation into Swahili”. The trans-editor found it more useful to read the sentences and paragraphs and think about them in Swahili and “write it out”, “just maintaining what the point was”—the “only advice” that was given to her by the internship supervisor. Occasionally, Google Translate was used for consulting hard passages and looking up “the easiest or the most fitting” translations. As any skill, translating for Emily became easier and quicker with time and experience.

On a concluding note, the *trans-editing stage* consists of many actions/translations and involves varying actors. It also subsumes cultural translation, which is manifested in many actions such as performing interlingual translations, adapting contexts, modifying leads, titles and the overall re-organizing of a story in order to make it suitable and appealing for the local audience (in other words, doing ‘re-writing’). The following diagram summarizes an array of possible translations at this stage.

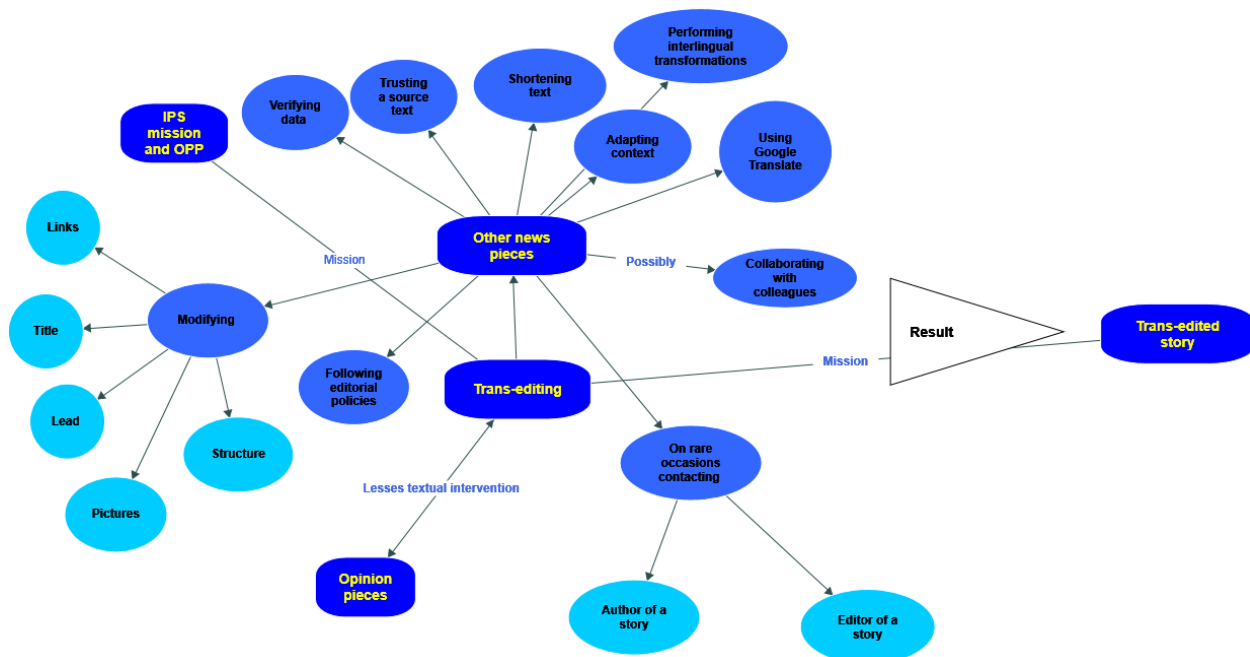


Figure 8. Trans-editing stage.

5.2.4 Post-translating procedures

In this section, I will recount the ways proofreading and delivering of the translated news pieces at the clients' end is done in various IPS divisions.

5.2.4.1 Post-translating at IPS Finland. At IPS Finland, trans-editing is staggered throughout the week and is interspersed with other activities: vigilant selecting of news pieces, collecting clippings and writing two weekly reports. On Fridays, Matti finalizes translating four news pieces which he e-mails to the proofreaders. In the case of IPS Finland, proofreading is carried out by a local Board of Directors consisting of “maybe 10 people”—Finnish journalists, who share and rotate editing responsibilities every weekend. They do it for the “noble cause” and their “livelihoods are somewhere else”. In his turn, Matti receives proofread stories each Monday. The Board of Directors of IPS Finland would either propose some suggestions on the stories or e-mail a note that they do not have any comments. According to Matti, the examples of the comments

that he received from the proofreaders in the past were related to the structure of sentences and the occasional use of anglicisms in his translations. In this regard, the trans-editor observes that “English syntax is a little bit creeping into my Finnish” due to reading “so much English” and he considers it very important that the proofreaders point out these inaccuracies.

Next, Matti does some suggested corrections and measures the pieces again if applicable: as alluded earlier, they come in a fixed length hierarchy. Then he copies and pastes the stories into an e-mail which is sent to the first batch of clients, while another group of clients receives the stories in e-mail attachments. The third and final e-mail goes to all his customers and includes hypertext and links. After e-mailing his clients, Matti uploads the trans-edited stories onto the IPS website and sends a report on the “offerings” to IPS headquarters.

IPS Finland has around twenty clients including one radio station, “locally important” newspapers, a couple of magazines and online publications. The print and online media share an affinity in terms of format—each contains one or two sections for international news such as IPS news. However, their priority is mostly publishing breaking and “dramatic” overseas news while IPS maintains a historic focus on ‘timeless’ features and analytical articles. In this regard, Matti states that,

...it seems to me that I am at the mercy of what is happening in the world because if there is something very big and dramatic going on, the international newspaper pages are filled with that. And IPS material is urgent in a different way, but it is not this other beaten news that is floating around in the world. So, when it's quiet on the world stage, it's very good for IPS. And when it's noisy on the world's stage, we have difficulty to get our voice heard (M. Ripatti, personal communication, September 23, 2019).

That said, some clients publish almost every piece while some others “hardly ever” do. IPS Finland’s media clients are free to make any changes to the articles, which, however, are mostly kept “intact” with the headlines occasionally being changed.

5.2.4.2 Post-translating at IPS Sweden. While at IPS Finland trans-editing and proofreading the stories are done on separate days, for IPS Sweden they are a daily business. Actually, part of the proofreading occurs during the making of the stories: the textual issues at hand are actively discussed between the two colleagues who work from the same physical location. Things get “very complicated” when one of the colleagues is away and translating and editing one’s own article has to be done by a single person. This was exactly the case at the time of my interview: Andreas was working alone that day while Ida, the other trans-editor, was on holiday. In such situations, Andreas explains, he prints out English and Swedish versions of a story, closely compares them and makes sure that he has not “missed or misunderstood anything”.

At noon, IPS Sweden’s trans-editors send a brief e-mail to their clients with the headlines and the leads of the two stories of the day and publish translations on ipsnews.net. The headings contain links to the full online stories, access to which requires a password, i.e., they are secured by a paywall.

IPS Sweden has a diverse group of customers: newspapers, magazines, a few libraries and institutions, twenty in total, which are “more and more ... publishing online”. Some are specialized media outlets, and, for example, some magazines are interested in South Asia, some in Africa and others in “aid issues”. As subscribers, they have a right to edit IPS Sweden’s stories, to shorten and omit any parts they deem unnecessary. Also, if a story is to be printed, then one needs “to edit it even more” in terms of size. On the whole, an article taken by the clients no more belongs to IPS Sweden and cannot be quoted as a source.

5.2.4.3 Post-translating at IPS Flanders. The post-translating procedures at IPS Flanders echo back to its post-writing stage: daily editing each other’s translated pieces, posting them online and e-mailing them to customers. However, if some of the colleagues are away, everything has to

be done by a single person, including the editing of one's own translation. In this regard, Sigyn notes that it is inconvenient but sometimes "necessary" and that she prefers "when some[one] else goes over everything and gives it a check" (S. Elst, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

5.2.4.4 Post-translating at the Arabic service. Similarly, the post-treatment of translated pieces at the Arabic service follows a previously described post-writing route. The difference is that Baher Kamal, the service's coordinator, would check translations into Arabic. While some were exceptionally good and could be posted directly online, there were others that needed to be "almost" re-written and adapted by the coordinator to look "as if they were written in Arabic":

I would not take it as it is because it would be an excellent translation but not journalistic, of course, the translator is not a journalist, is not a doctor, is not a soccer player (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 12, 2019).

5.2.4.5 Post-translating at the Spanish service. Not much could be gleaned about the post-translating work of trans-editors at the Spanish service or whether there is any kind of editing involved afterwards as in the cases discussed previously. Yet, it is known that they are "people of high professional quality and very knowledgeable about the IPS style" and can function as editors as well. (E. Gutiérrez, personal communication, December 19, 2019). They are also authorized to publish trans-edited content on IPS web platforms.

5.2.4.6 Post-translating into Swahili. Emily, who translated IPS stories from English into Swahili during her internship placement at IPS, used to proofread her translations and "make any corrections" that she had "skipped". Next, she would send them to Walter Garcia, her supervisor who would do the rest and publish the material. In the words of Emily, she thinks that there was someone else who did the proofreading of her translations but knew this was outside her internship duties.

Based on the preceding observations, I have assembled is a visual summary of the patterns which characterize the *post-editing stage*.

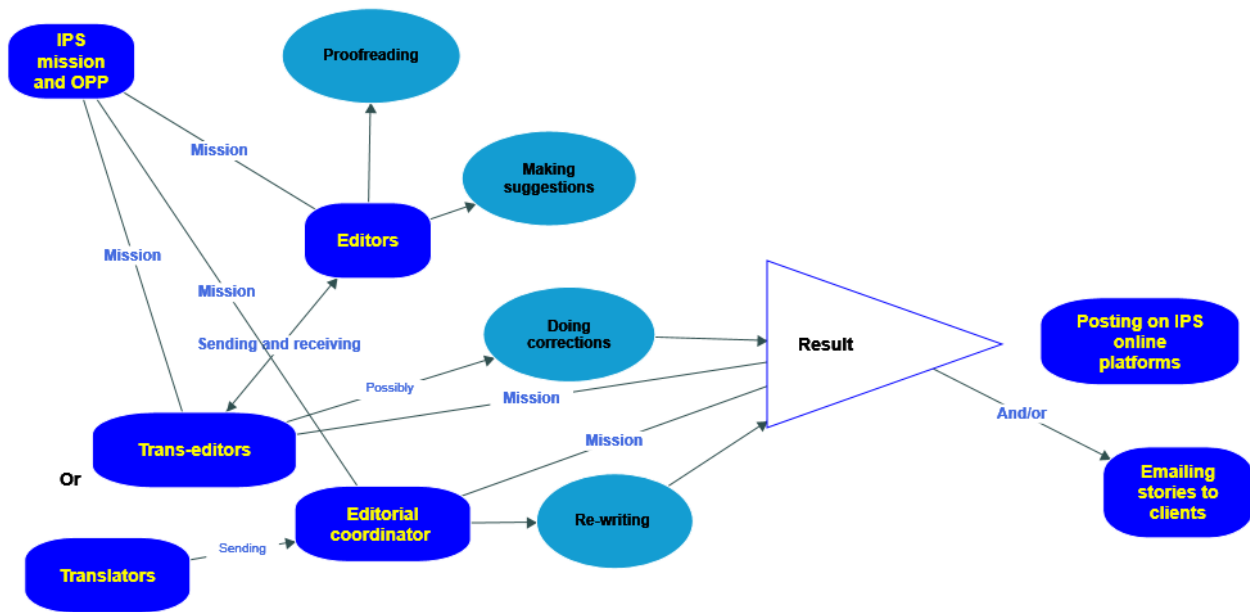


Figure 9. Post-editing stage.

5.2.5 IPS trans-editors' practices in terms of ANT's sociology

In order to avoid reiterating section 5.1.4, which analysed journalistic practices using Callon's (1986a) moments of translation, suffice is to say that the application of the same sociological grid to the trans-editors' practices will yield very similar results. The way I see it, *Problematization*, *interessement* and *enrolment* of the main actors in news production were the accomplished task of the IPS Board of Directors (elected by the members of the IPS international Association). Yet, this statement does not negate the fact that these attempts and processes of new formations might (and should be) in continuous progress, only at a level available to an insider, which I am not.

My case study encompasses trans-editing practices into Spanish, English (a little), Arabic, Dutch, Finnish, Swahili, and Swedish. The translational acts are carried out either by IPS global

branches or by unaffiliated individuals (as in the case of the Swahili trans-editor) and make up a *mobilization* stage of Callon's (1986a) sociological translation moments.

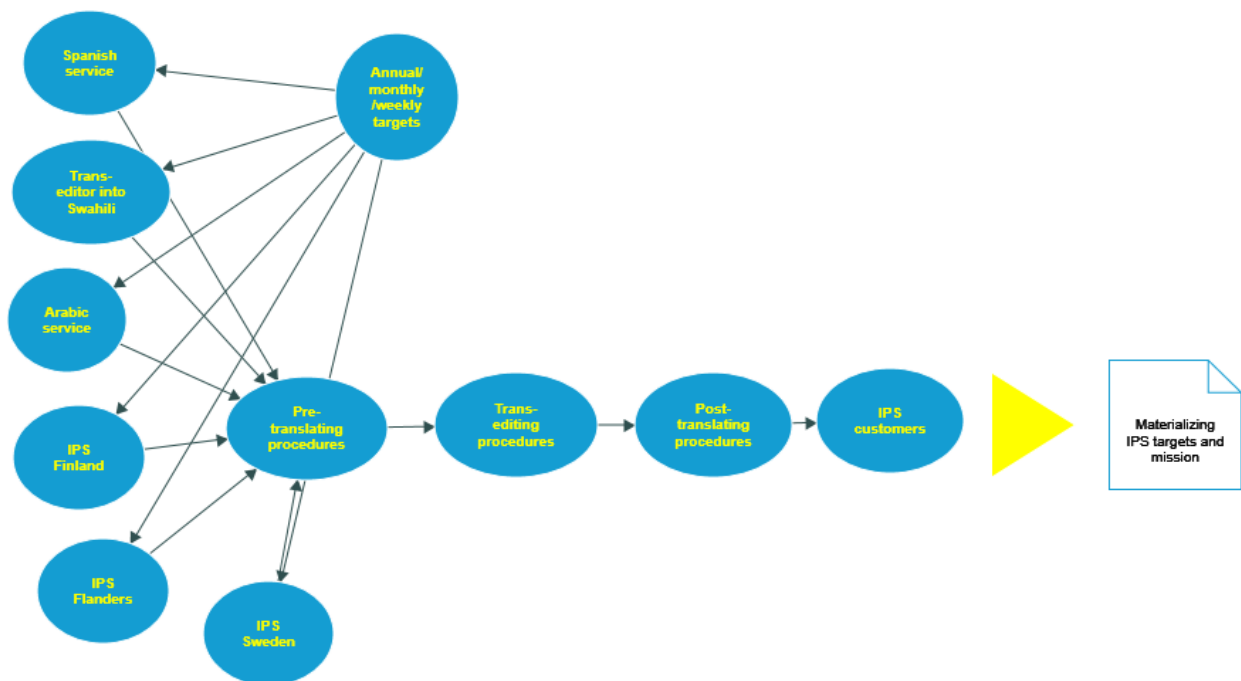


Figure 10. Trans-editors' production through Callon's (1986a) prism.

In short, various IPS branches have certain numbers of interlingual translations to produce. To accomplish this, they recruit various human and non-human resources and follow distinctive procedures of *pre-translating*, *trans-editing* and *post-translating*. On the other side of the equation, there are IPS regular customers who expect daily or weekly portions of the trans-edited articles. Together, IPS global branches and the agency's customers contribute to spreading the IPS agenda. If one of the networked actors underperforms, it will negatively impact the objectives of IPS. On the other hand, finding more corporate clients will be beneficial for the overall purposes of the agency and will result in needing to recruit more production resources.

In fact, looking at IPS's journalistic and trans-editing practices through Callon's (1986a) prism makes the differences between them negligible. The journalists produce articles from scratch

in cooperation with the editors, while the trans-editors work with ready-made articles. Both follow three production steps and adjust to market demands. Strikingly, interlingual translation remains invisible and might well be spread over various trans-editing stages. On the other hand, the application of Callon's (1986a) grid foregrounds *sociological translations* and also the inability to conceal them.

This section has provided complementary micro- and macro-perspectives on the practices of journalists-editors-translators, hopefully yielding a greater understanding of news production procedures at IPS. In the next section, I will broach instances of concrete interlingual translation frequently present in our globalized and interconnected world—communicating and expressing oneself immediately in a foreign language. IPS journalists are no exception to the rule—some of them regularly write news articles in a learnt language (English or Spanish), re-writing the events (culture) for the foreign audience while trying to appear as natural in their expression as native writers. However, normally, TS scholarship assumes that interlingual and intercultural translation is carried out by the bearers of a certain lingua-culture, which does not always correspond to the actual state of affairs. Hence the need to discuss and explain the observed phenomena. Overall, covert translation at IPS, a part of the bigger *sociological translation* at the agency, is guided by the principles of Juliane House's (2006, 2010) concept of covert translation, that is, assimilating texts into native lingua-culture. Yet, sometimes, this process at IPS occurs in an opposite direction—from native to foreign linguistic cultures—with a source text often being an event, as my examples below will illustrate.

5.3 Covert translation

Besides the sociological translations of journalistic practices and trans-editors' practices, I would like to point out a different kind of translation, instances of which transpired during my

initial interviews with IPS affiliates. In a nutshell, it concerns the events that occur when journalistic articles are written by non-native speakers of Spanish and English, the production languages of IPS. As a result of this type of translation, the texts appear as if they were original or written by the natives of the language and culture of the target English and Spanish audiences. These events represent a type of translation known as covert translation.

In the 1970s, Juliane House, a linguist and translation studies scholar, coined the interesting terms of ‘overt’ and ‘covert’ translation and defined their differences. ‘Overt translation’ does not directly address the recipients of translation and is visibly influenced by the source culture; the functional equivalence between source and target texts is of a secondary nature (House, 2010). Texts that are likely to be translated in an overt manner need to have some value with a source audience, and, in this regard, the scholar gives some examples:

...they are either tied to a specific occasion in which a precisely specified source language audience is/was being addressed or they are timeless originals, for example works of art and aesthetic creations with a distinct historical meaning, as well as political speeches and religious sermons. (House, 2006, p. 347)

In contrast, ‘covert translation’ is usually applied to “transitory texts” (House, 2010, p. 245) which are purposefully functional in their addressing a specific audience and/or which strictly abide by the specifications of the translation commissioners. Among other things, Juliane House (2010) specifically designates translation of journalistic articles as an example of covert translation. The products are deceptively perceived as originals in the “receiving lingua-culture” (p. 245), thanks to all the cultural transformations and assimilations performed by the translator, a native-speaker of the target language, in order to match the expectations and presuppositions of the target audience. On that note, the concept of ‘covert translation’ approximates the concept of ‘translation as re-writing’, a mode of cultural translation (Conway, 2012), as both involve shifts in

language registers and intervention. Only the former focuses on the result, the text, while the latter is in addition concerned with the translation process and reasons behind selecting particular words and expressions over others, the cultural translator's agency and power relations (Conway, 2012; 2015). All in all, the concept of cultural translation is much broader and richer than the linguistically oriented 'covert translation'. In fact, Conway (2012) distinguishes six modes of cultural translation, located at the intersection of two notions of translations derived from cultural anthropology and ethnography (translation as rewriting), post-colonial studies (translation as transposition) and three meanings of culture (anthropological culture, symbolic culture, and culture as community). However, the boundaries between the modes are never clear-cut, and also, the researcher might engage various conceptions of cultural translation in a complementary manner for studying the same event (Conway, 2012).

That being said, covert translation, as introduced and described by Juliane House (2006, 2010), tackles the cases when a source text is culturally and linguistically appropriated by the translator who translates into his or her dominant language and is well familiar with the related socio-cultural norms. Thus, a space is needed to include the instances when covert translation operates in the opposite direction—from native to foreign language-culture—yet follows the same goal of maximum functional equivalency. A cultural translator draws on his or her learnt and intuitive knowledge of the foreign linguistic behaviour and writes in a way that would be supposedly natural to the distant reader.

Based on my case study, producing articles in a language non-native to journalists is not unheard of at IPS, an agency whose trans-editors, paradoxically, most often translate into their mother tongue. Chiefly, the knowledge of several languages is highly desirable for entrance into the journalistic profession as “translation has always been a part of the process of communicating

foreign news events to the readers” (Valdeón, 2012, p. 851). Other than that, working as a journalist implies adapting to new environments and, among other things, learning a new language: “the life of a journalist, the exercise of a journalist, you travel. And if you travel, you need to adapt. If everybody speaks French ... I have passive French now.” (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 2, 2019).

The instances of covert translation at IPS are quite a few and mainly refer to writing articles immediately in English, a language which is “widely spoken in many of the countries we report from” (A. Lönnqvist, personal communication, September 20, 2019). In this regard, Andreas, a trans-editor from IPS Sweden, in our interview brings up his experience of translating articles written in English by non-native speakers. On the one hand, there might be some ambiguities, especially, when translating quotes which “can be tricky because you don't want to put words in people's mouth, which they wouldn't [say]”. And, normally, there is no communication between IPS trans-editors in Europe and journalists who could help clarify those ambiguities. In this case, you need to develop a knowledge and deep understanding of “why this is written or what this guy/woman is representing” and then you “have to be careful because translations is a risky business”. On the other hand, “you have to trust your correspondents” because they are local to the areas they report from and are able to “read people's reactions, not just in words”. Having exclusively local correspondents is also one of the unique features of IPS.

Another trans-editor from IPS Finland, Matti Ripatti, notes that one can see from the writings if the authors are English native-speakers or not: “they do have a difference, a different approach to the language...they flow differently”. However, he finds it hard to articulate the exact discrepancies. If, sometimes, English sounds a “little bit strange”, this strangeness would never be

replicated in the Finnish pieces; instead, the trans-editor would try “to make them appear as good as possible, natural”.

In this study, among some IPS journalists who write in languages other than their mother tongue are Baher Kamal, the former supervisor of the Arabic service, and Samira Sadeque, a correspondent at IPS at the UN. Baher Kamal is a truly multi-lingual individual whose working languages include Arabic, Spanish, English, and Italian. A son of a diplomat, Baher was born and raised in Egypt, but as a teenager he permanently relocated with his family to Spain when his father was transferred to the Egyptian embassy in Madrid. Despite his experience of writing articles in quite a few languages, he nevertheless insists that “you should not try or force yourself to write and speak and read in more than two languages, active languages”. He does not explain the reasons but, apparently, it seems like quite a daunting task to maintain equal proficiency in so many languages.

While for Baher writing articles in English was part of the adaptation to the environment in which “English has taken over as the language”, for Samira it is the only language in which she writes for IPS at the UN. Originally, she is from Bangladesh and Bengali is her mother tongue, but she obtained her education in English, including the school years. Samira explains that she thinks in both Bengali and English and, in terms of writing, sometimes the difficulties arise “less for words and more for expressions”. What she normally “struggled with” is finding an English re-expression of “a perfect metaphor” that she knows in Bengali. In such cases, Samira would resort to Google Translate or try to look up a similar metaphor in English, or just “write out the sentence” in an explanatory way.

In addition to the above accounts of a covert translation that works in an opposite direction and whose source text is a life event, in our e-mail interview, Estrella Gutiérrez, the coordinator

of the Spanish service, indicates that two journalists in Brazil and a journalist in Portugal “speak and write in perfect Spanish”. However, it remains uncertain if Spanish is a learnt or first language for them since it was impossible to verify this assumption.

The following section will characterize miscellaneous actors which populate my narrative. Semiotic, non-human and some human actors were spoken for by their respective spokespersons (Latour 1987)—IPS journalists-editors-translators, and through me, a researcher and their eventual spokesperson, became known to the world (Tyulenev, 2014). In the next section, using my best judgement, I will illustrate the actors in news production processes while still holding the right to my own interpretation of the actors and their competencies (Callon, 1991).

5.4 Defining heterogeneous actors in sociological translations

In this section, I would like to pinpoint and describe in some detail human and non-human actors that emerged in my network (description) of the sociological translations at IPS. Yet, before proceeding to the proposed description, it is necessary to remind readers of the definition of ‘actors’ and also to clarify how actors other than humans were made to ‘speak’ in this project?

Starting with the first task, an actor here is any entity that has demonstrated an ability to translate/transform another entity. This broad and inclusive definition is in line with the wider semiotics of ANT and also with Latour’s concept of mediator—an actor that “*provides* actants with their actions, with their subjectivity, with their intentionality, with their morality” (Latour, 1999a, p. 18, emphasis in original). In contrast, intermediaries are passive entities that add nothing to the network and so should be omitted from the description. Actors can employ various tactics to translate the interests of others to their benefit as, for example, Latour (1987) has vividly detailed. What matters most, however, is that these multiple displacements support a movement towards the goal of news production.

Secondly, for the reasons sketched out in the previous chapter on methodology, I could not observe the work of journalists-editors-translators together with participating material objects. Rather what I observed was static objects of office equipment and, on one occasion, a newly employed correspondent placing links to IPS stories on social media. To compensate for the absence of direct observation, a must-have of ANT-based research, I embedded questions about materiality in my interview lists and at the data analysis stage I coded in NVivo the non-human actors which featured regularly in my informants' accounts. This strategy in part echoes back to the suggestion given by Juliette De Maeyer (2016), which is carrying out a discursive analysis of interviews in order to spot and embrace material things. However, instead of textual analysis, I have opted out for visual representations of some interesting non-human actors. Word trees and words clouds that I will use below, arguably, 'speak louder' than the words in a way that allows them to convey the multilayered contexts in which those non-humans have left their traces without reducing their profiles to a few traits or roles. Word trees are used to convey phenomena that were most often referred to by their exact names. Conversely, I used word clouds for phenomena which are multifaceted and/or relayed in a descriptive manner for a more efficient summary. For the purpose of readability, I start with semiotic actors and then proceed to other non-human actors. It should be noted that the order of the actors' representation is independent of their frequency in the interview corpus, the scale of importance, etc. which can fluctuate from case to case. For, example, some prospects do not mention links at all, whereas they are of considerable importance for trans-editors removing redundant links in WordPress or e-mailing links to clients. The last will be human beings, whom I chose to describe briefly—unlike the non-humans, the information about them is plentiful and has been set forth in the preceding sections. Rather, a focus will be placed on the multitasking skills of IPS individuals, "flexible labourers" in the changing media environment

(Klinenberg, 2005, p. 54). Then, a cursory discussion of the *SurveyMonkey* results will be offered while a related comprehensive report can be found in the Appendix E.

5.4.1 Semiotic Actors

Potentially, the central actor and the translator that put various people and resources into motion and led to the creation of Inter Press Service in 1964 is its mission, an overarching idea of ‘giving voice to the voiceless’. However, the IPS mission did not appear in a void, but was formed in response to a couple of major shortages that existed in the 1960s media. First is the “marked imbalance” in information flows between North and South:

...there was hardly any information about their [Southern] political, economic and social realities, except when natural disasters occurred, and what little was reported was culturally prejudiced against these [Southern] countries. In other words, not much of an image and a poor image at that. (Piacentini, 2014, p. 6)

Secondly, there was a lack of “in-depth journalistic genres such as features, opinion articles and investigative journalism”. Instead, news markets were oversaturated with ‘spot’ and breaking news reporting “bare facts,” accompanied by scarce background information, while “development-related issues” were kept out of the picture (p. 6).

Thus, the IPS mission is the golden thread that runs throughout the agency and organizes and structures its activities and people. Yet, because it is so dissolved and integrated into IPS daily life, it is impossible to extract and visualize it with one snapshot. Instead, it is associated and intertwined with other things, which will be evident below, for example, in the graphic representations of the ‘balance’ and ‘themes’ actors *inter alia*. Next are some images of the

‘convergence’ here is used in a different sense—as part of an adverbial phrase signifying ‘together’ (e.g., as in ‘to work in convergence’).

A closely related actor is ‘trust’. The agency recruits the people it can trust. As the translators, mostly, do not have connections with the authors of the stories they translate, they need to trust the sources and correspondents because IPS articles are written by local experts. Or trust each other’s choices because they are colleagues.

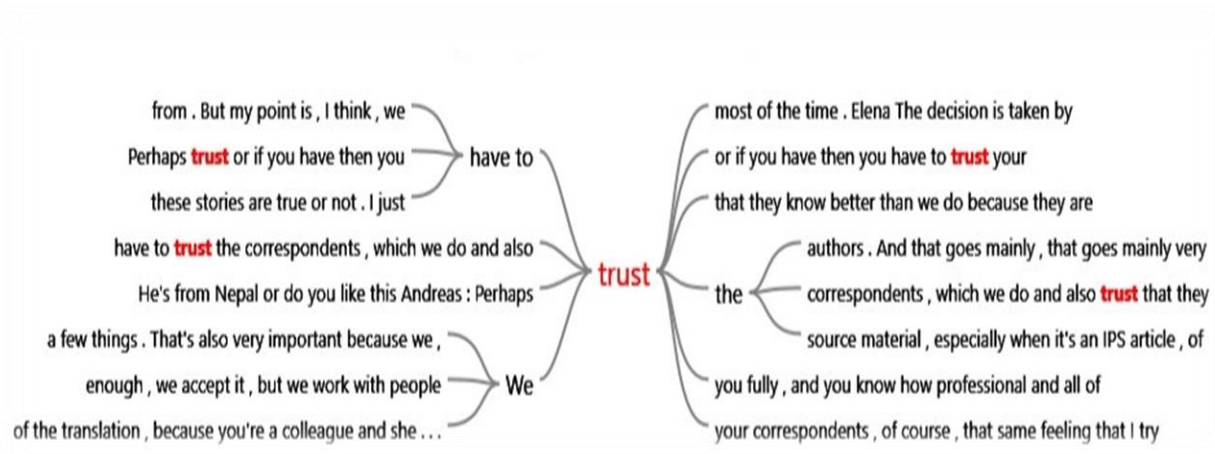


Figure 12. The ‘trust’ actor.

Next is the ‘balance’ actor. Besides the aforementioned purpose of rebalancing news flow between the global South and the North, it is important to have balance in stories, which is, for instance, having varied sources in the article or alternating topics under the IPS thematic umbrella, or publishing articles different from what appears in other media.

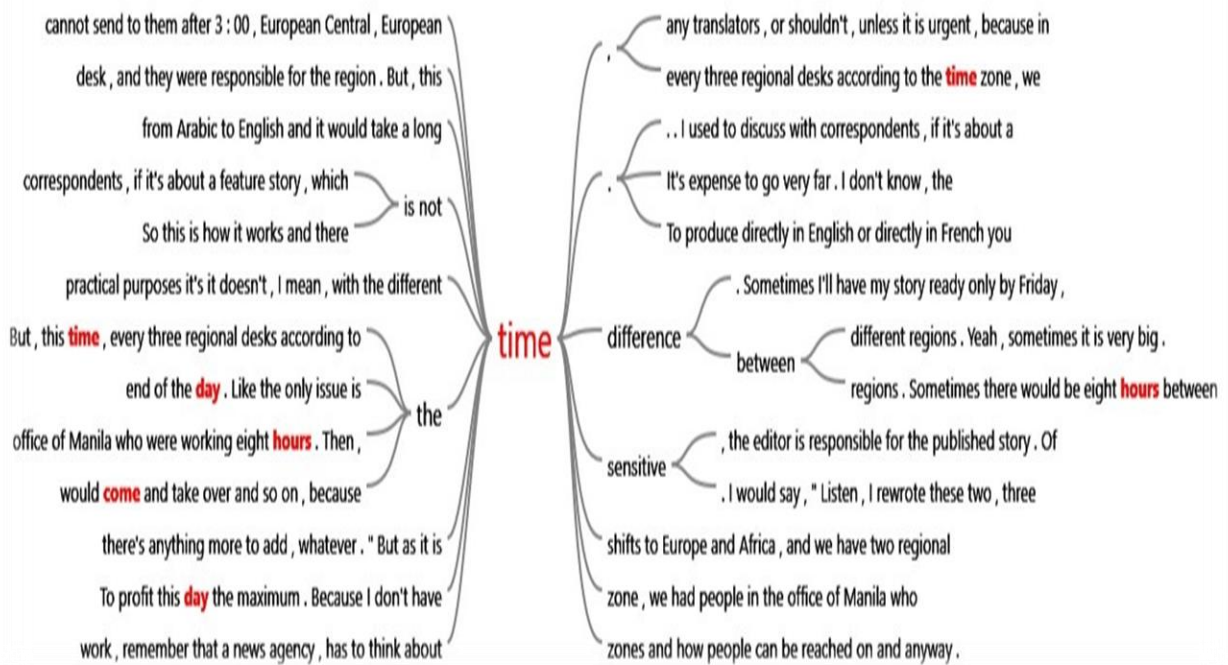


Figure 14. The 'time' actor.

The budget is a thorny issue for IPS, an international agency which is not affiliated with any country for its support. This actor is also partially responsible for the high levels of multi-tasking at the agency—a facet of convergence to be tackled later on.

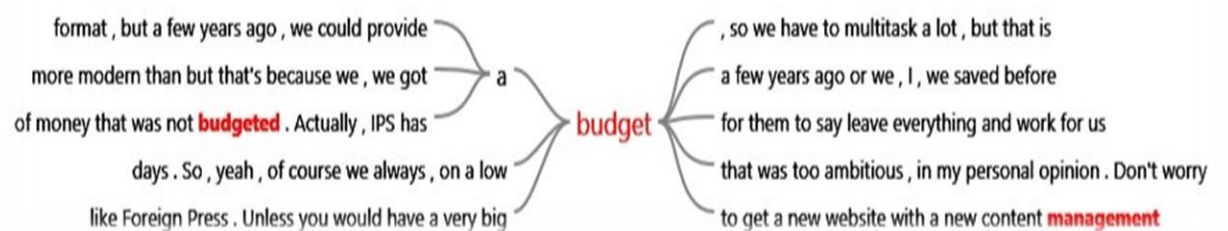


Figure 15. The 'budget' actor.

The last actors that I would like to pinpoint in this section are languages and language policies. Since they were given a good deal of attention previously, I shall add just a few extra points here. To continue, Spanish and English are IPS production languages while translation languages are again Spanish and English, Swedish, Finnish, Portuguese, Dutch, Arabic, Swahili and, according to the agency's website, French, Italian and Turkish. They can be termed actors because translation into them allows the stories to be read by as many people as possible. As Baher Kamal put it:

You can have the most wonderful blue jeans, but if you don't put them in the window for people to see and touch and so on, then why produce it? So, this is the way how you spread what you have in mind and what you wrote... (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 2, 2019).

IPS does not have strictly translation-related policies, but rather editorial policies concerning texts and images. In some cases, they are materialized in local guidelines while at other times they are individual perceptions based on a deeply ingrained knowledge of professional norms in journalism and thus are virtual. In any case, language-related policies are structuring templates (in the Latourian sense) that contribute to the unproblematic production of IPS articles.

Before switching the topic to material things, I would like to note that the list above is by no means exhaustive. Events, research, individual qualifications and skills, accuracy and double-checking, etc. are also actors, since they all figure in the description of the network of sociological translation at IPS. However, my goal is rather to illustrate some without drowning in a sea of many possibilities.

5.4.2 Material actors

Materiality in journalism is often associated with various technologies which are involved in the production process. The word cloud below summarizes the most frequent occurrences of

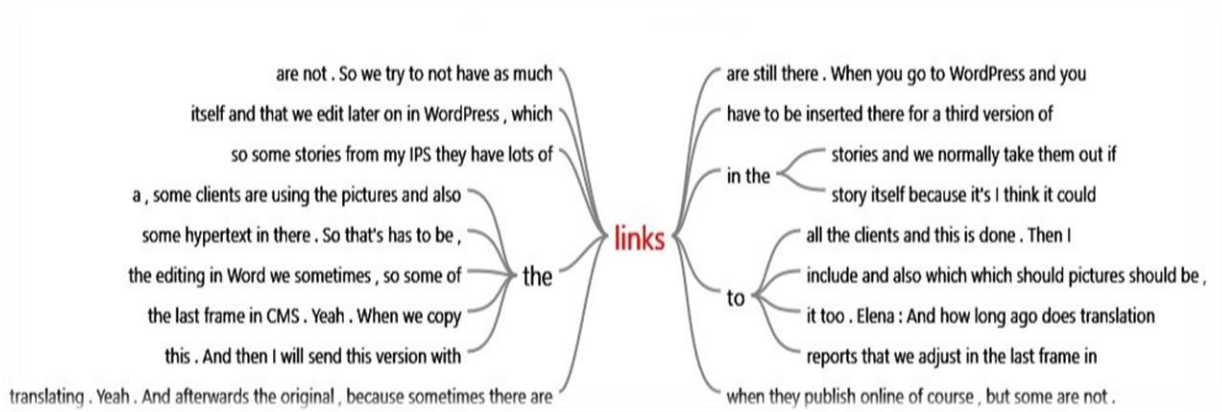


Figure 18. The 'links' actor.

According to my data, the role of the Internet at the agency is varied. Definitely, the Internet has made journalistic work and communication immeasurably easier and, currently, it supports all kinds of activities—such as information search, data verification, news dissemination, communication with colleagues and sources, etc. Older and slower technologies that the agency used in the past—like regular mail, telex machines and, later on, unwieldy black-and-white computers that had little memory and, therefore, required a daily clean-up—all are now history (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 2, 2019). The office is now “literally at [one’s] fingertips” (M. Ripatti, September 23, 2019) and, in this regard, IPS uses mainly telework. Yet, the Internet is not distributed equally in all the parts of the world, and in Cuba, the country-wide Internet services date back as recently as to December 2018. Interestingly, a few participants mentioned that if some issue is pressing (e.g., if a quote is needed urgently), they use the phone to communicate instead of the Web. Also, because IPS has a complex identity—it is an alternative

agency and communication NGO¹⁰⁵—the Internet has allowed IPS to reach thousands of NGO activists (R. Savio, personal communication, November 10, 2019).

On the other hand, my interview with Roberto Savio, made me see another side of the coin. Besides all the aforementioned advantages, along with the change in the information flow—from the vertical structure (give-and-take mode only) to the horizontal structure—which enabled the participation of information recipients (true communication), the Internet projects some detrimental effects on society:

There were people, right wing people, left wing people... people that were accustomed to discuss [*sic*]. And through this sharing ideas and views, even if sometimes we are opposed, we had dialogue and then we delved in democracy. Now, people of your age, don't discuss ...with friends at the school. They discuss about sports, on cinema, about marginal things. Then, they go home, they open their PC, and they get into their niche own world that they build up at their leisure, in which people group A speaks to people group A. People group B speaks to people group B. They don't meet. They never meet, and if they meet, insult each other. So, the Internet has become a limit to democracy in the sense of debate and the change of views, in the sense of the fragmentation of people in groups, we do not have any longer a dialogue (R. Savio, personal communication, November 8, 2019).

The Web is also associated with many negative influences on society and democracy. In terms of journalism, in future, it will be “very difficult for analytical journalists to make a living” and, on the whole, according to Mr. Savio, we will be getting more sports-oriented news. On a last note, Roberto Savio referred to the Internet era metaphorically as the Zuckerberg era which sounds similar to Guttenberg’s print era, which is characterized by using communication media for enrichment purposes and turning citizens first into consumers and then into objects. It is by coincidence that the co-founder of IPS has written an article on a related subject—namely, the

¹⁰⁵ In 1995, IPS was granted a status of International NGO by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), UN (Savio, 2012).

dangers and questions of the Zuckerberg era—which he sent me a few days after our interview and which can be found at <http://www.ipsnews.net/2019/11/dangers-questions-zuckerberg-era/>.

Some examples of the ‘Internet’ actor at work can be observed below:

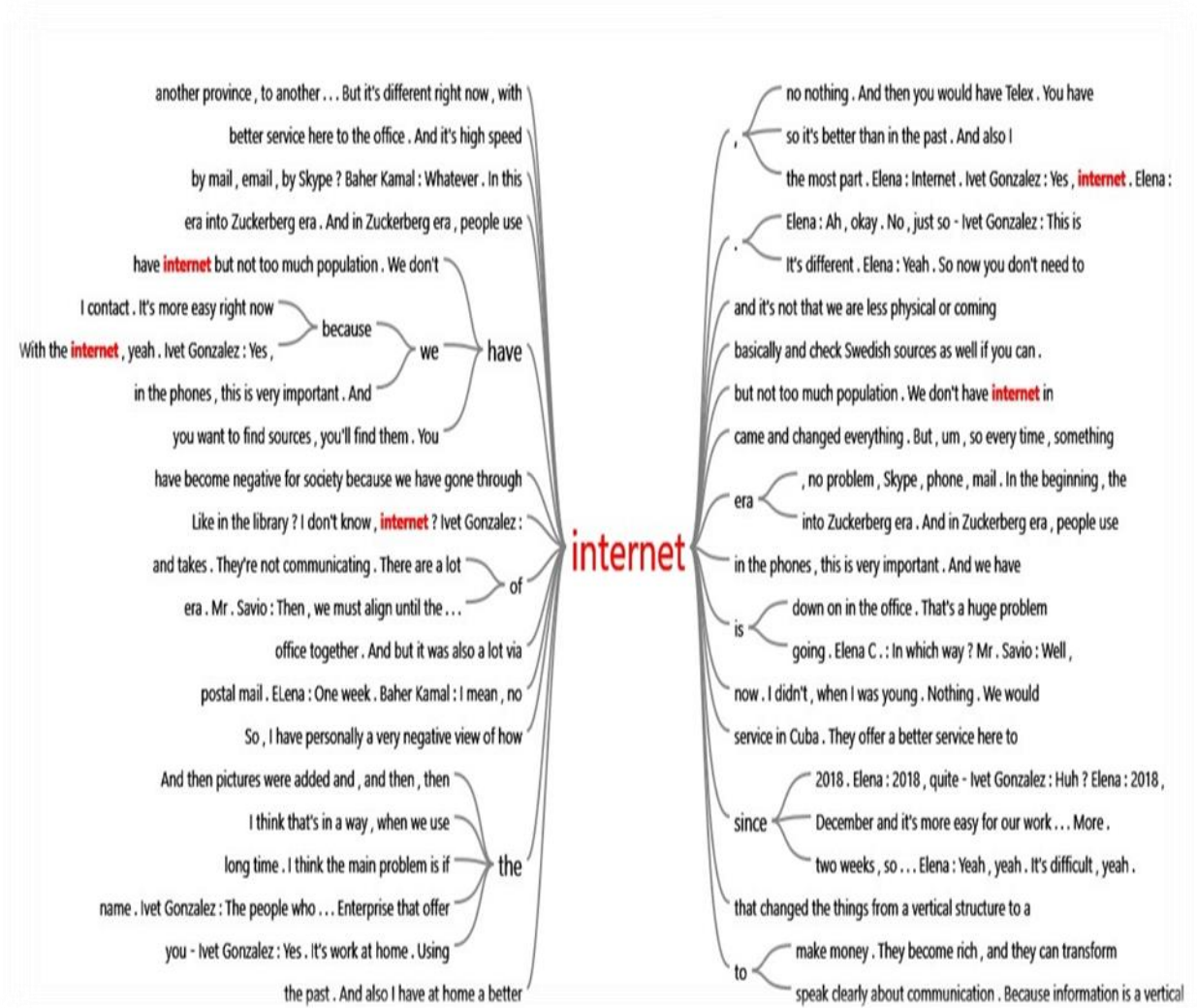


Figure 19. The ‘Internet’ actor.

The ‘Google’ actor emerged routinely in my informants’ narratives. It plays a significant role as a search engine and also as a tool for translation, as *Figure 10* illustrates. None of the interviewees used translation memories or professional translation software. As reported by Walter Garcia, “there was a time when we [the agency] started using memories, for example, and it did

not work for us”. (W. Garcia, personal communication, August 20, 2019). The agency does not “add any technical constraints” to its trans-editors who are free to use the tools they are more comfortable with. What matters is the quality of the “final product”. However, Google Translate is rather considered as a reference aid for my research participants. A good command of English combined with their journalistic experience and a vast knowledge of IPS topics make them perfectly competent in re-expressing the ideas of other articles for their respective audiences without much technological aid. Only if the language of the source is completely unintelligible, then Google Translate is used at a full capacity to get the gist of what is said:

...for example, I usually use the translator to fact checking something. Right. So, if there is something in like Arabic or Korean and I don't really know what this exactly means, but I'm going to Google translate it to get a sense of what I should research. (S. Sadeque, February 19, 2020).

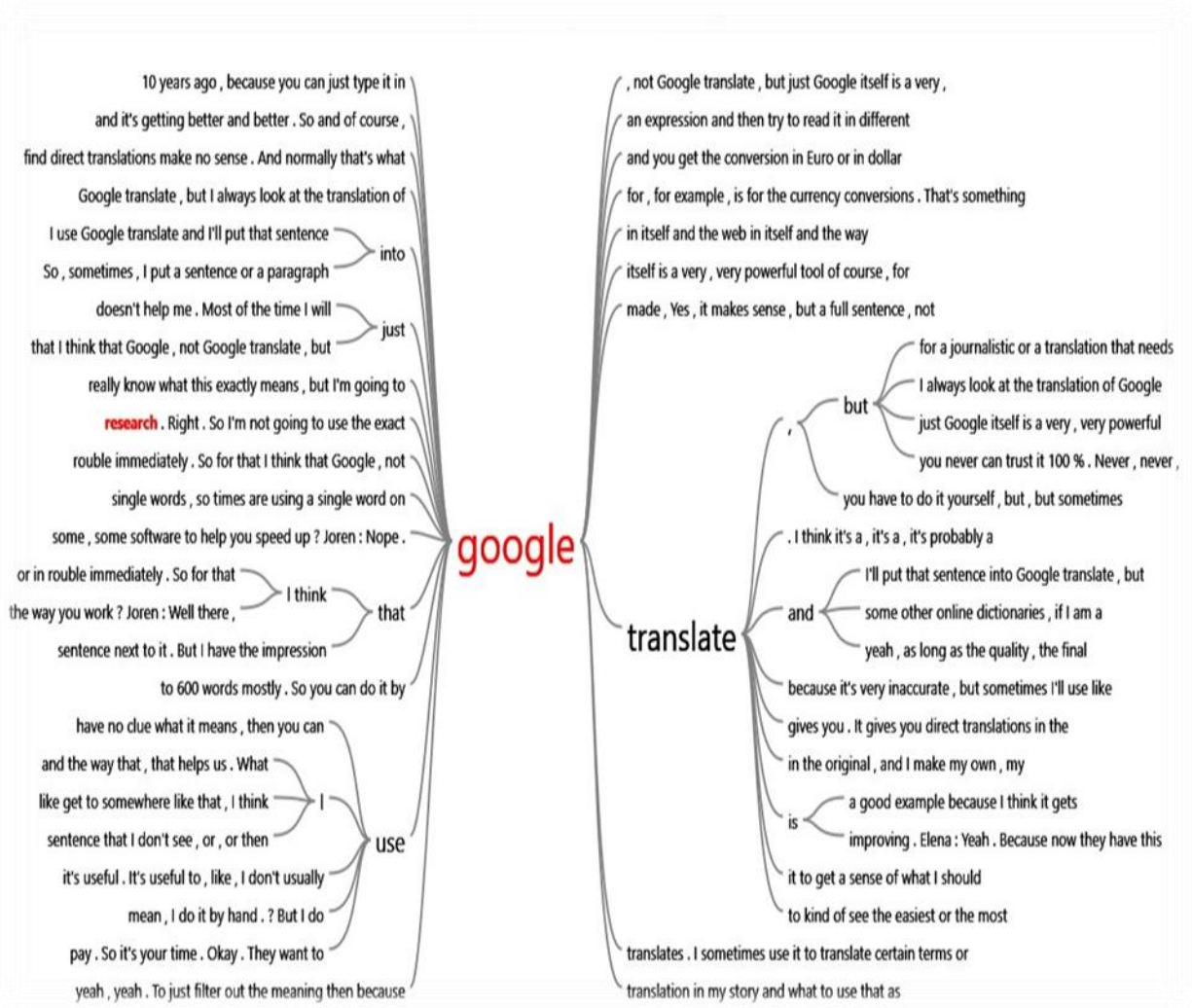


Figure 20. The 'Google' actor.

While a decade ago it was unthinkable for a journalist to instantly transmit pictures of the events they were covering—this was done rather by a photojournalist—now journalists are expected to do this as well. This fact, actually, refers to the example of convergence at IPS provided by Walter Garcia and which was facilitated by current technological developments. Apart from that, pictures have an important role at IPS. The agency states on its Flickr account¹⁰⁶ that “by

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.flickr.com/people/ipsnews/>

giving a face to the faceless, IPS pictures build on our primary mission to give voice to the voiceless”. At the same time, having a great format picture in the story increases a story’s marketability and, eventually, ensures wider dissemination of IPS news. The trans-editors are free to replace the photos provided by the editor of the story and pick more suitable ones for their audiences in the IPS Flickr division.

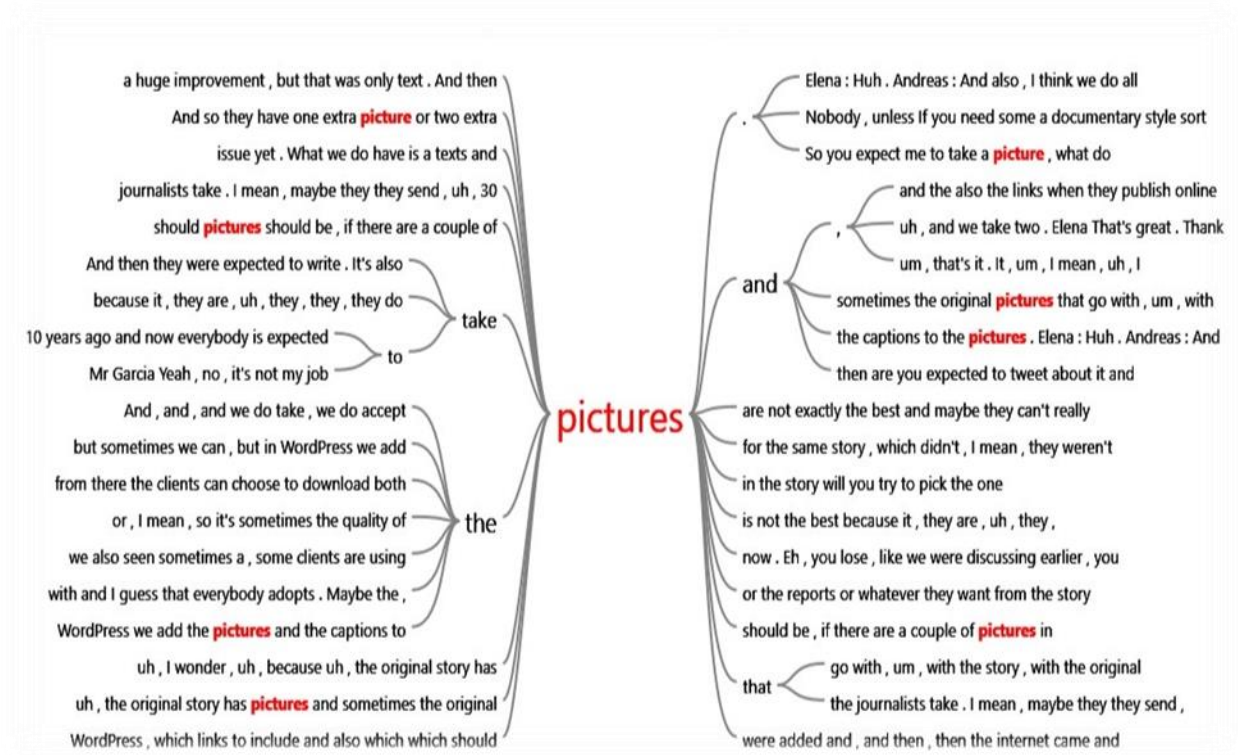


Figure 21. The 'pictures' actor.

Social media has different uses at IPS. Sometimes, the correspondents might place on social media some questions seeking people’s opinions about certain topics, for example, on IPS’s Facebook profile. Or use social media (e.g., Twitter) for locating source-people worldwide. Despite the fact that there is a specialized team of community managers (with whom I could not connect) responsible for search-engine optimization, dissemination of IPS contents across social

media platforms, and other related tasks, some IPS offices do publish on social media, as has been previously illustrated.

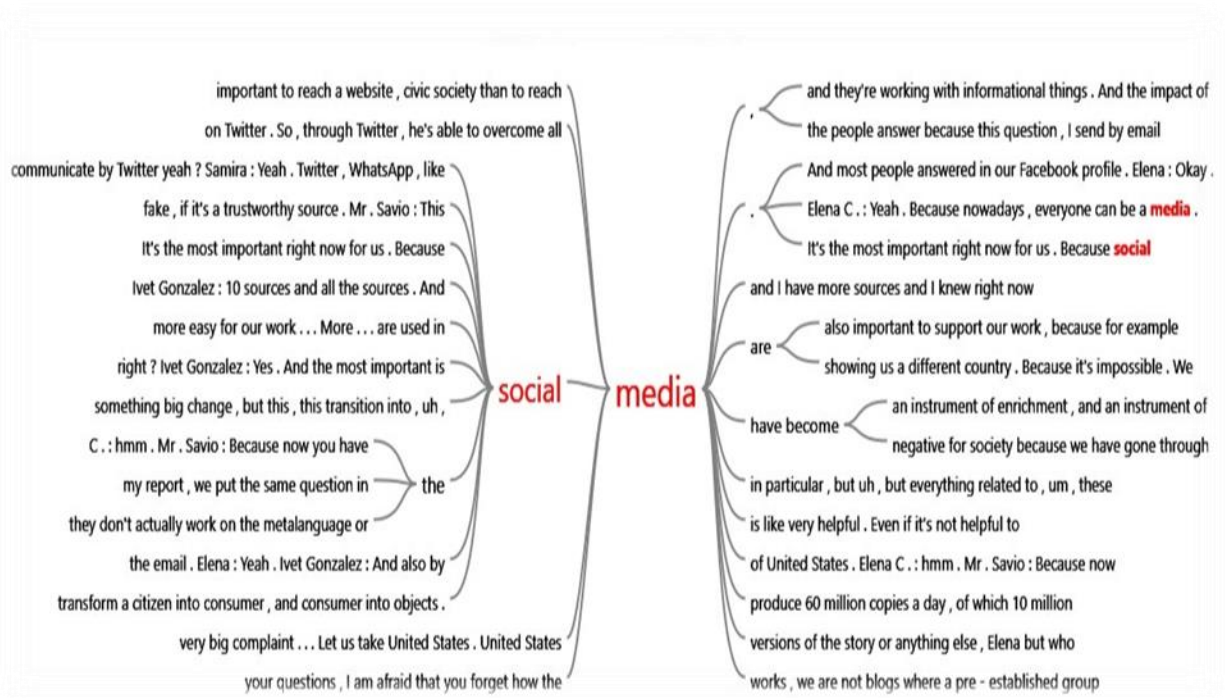


Figure 22. The 'social media' actor.

The IPS website is an actor and also an obligatory passage point (OPP) for IPS stories, since to be visible for customers—as well as trans-editors, the stories need to be placed on the ipsnews.net platform. Only the final products (the edited stories), are posted on the website. The IPS general website also contains links to the subsidiary websites in 11 different languages that have a similar layout. Interestingly, the stories trans-edited by IPS Finland appear simultaneously on two websites: <http://www.ips.fi/> and <http://ipsnews.net/suomi/>, neither of which are fully functional at the moment (M. Ripatti, personal communication, February 25, 2021). In any case, the branch's customers receive weekly stories by e-mail and re-publish them in their media. All subsidiary websites are managed by IPS International. The exception is IPS Flanders, which a few years ago acquired a more modern website with a new content management system, keeping IPS's

brand colours, blue and yellow. Its website is maintained by one of the permanently employed colleagues.

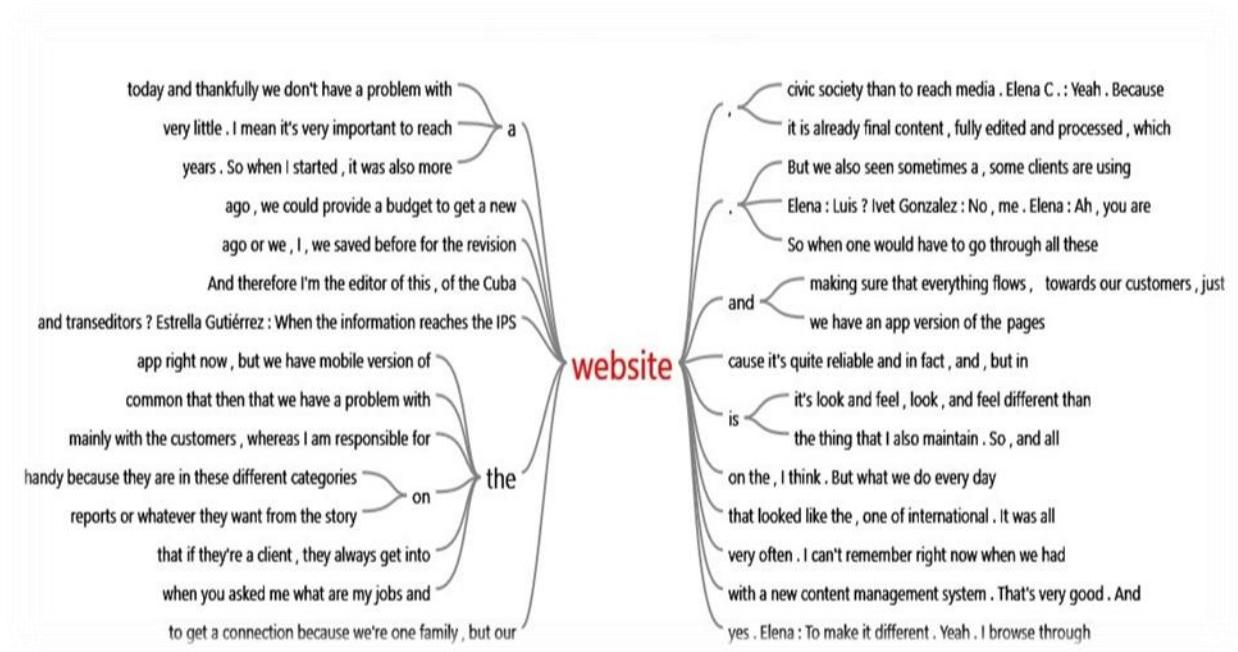


Figure 23. The 'website' actor.

The production of news stories is the goal towards which all the agency's actors toil daily, whereas individual targets may vary from one IPS branch to another. In regard to the trans-edited stories, they may undergo more transformations such as further shortening or change in titling at the customers' end. On the whole, paid subscriptions grant IPS corporate customers (e.g., online newspapers and traditional newspapers or magazines, web editors, etc.) ownership over the agency's articles, which can no longer be quoted as IPS articles. Figure 14 below covers both original journalistic pieces and their translations. It also illustrates some frequent descriptive co-occurrences: the attributive adjectives like 'Spanish', 'English', 'different', 'IPS' 'interesting', 'analytical', 'long', 'short' ('stories') as well as some heterogeneous actors such as 'audience', 'correspondents', 'sources', etc. which influence and are influenced by the 'stories' actor. That

English are quite lengthy, while the agency's customers around the world often prefer shorter stories, and it is up to the trans-editors to adjust stories to the expectations of their audiences.

However, it is not only the number of characters that is important when writing and rewriting the stories but also its structural components, such as a headline/title actor, a lead, quotes and sources as an example which in association with each other form a 'stories' actor—"for an actor is also a network" (Callon, 1991, p. 142). While not much has been said about the lead (except that its placing in the body of the text is culture-specific), the other aforementioned actors merited more attention in the interviews. For instance, the headlines/titles of the articles need to be capitalized and be of a fixed length. As well, the choice of pictures is meant to add more value to the lead and the headline the story (A. Lönnqvist personal communication, September 20, 2019). Having a nice-sounding and catchy title for (the translated) story is imperative for marketability purposes. Therefore, the wording of the headline/title is normally negotiated between the editor of the (translated) story and the author (and, sometimes, other colleagues). The headline/title of the story is also hyperlinked and clicking on it leads to the full story.

Interestingly enough, Sigyn Elst, the coordinator of IPS Flanders, remarks that with the coronavirus pandemics there is a tendency to reference it in the titles as the cause aggravating other existing problems. However, one should avoid such false influences:

...today we had a piece on the child marriages in Rohingya, refugee camps in Bangladesh. And well, we discussed on the title because my colleagues said, well, it's due to Corona. That's due to COVID that there are more child marriages again, so we should put it in the title, but I think people are a bit tired of always reading due to corona. It's due to corona there's more poverty, there's more death.... So maybe it's an idea to make another title because yeah, child marriages is a real problem. So, you don't have to put corona, even in the title to make the title to get the urge... (S. Elst, personal communication, September 18, 2020)

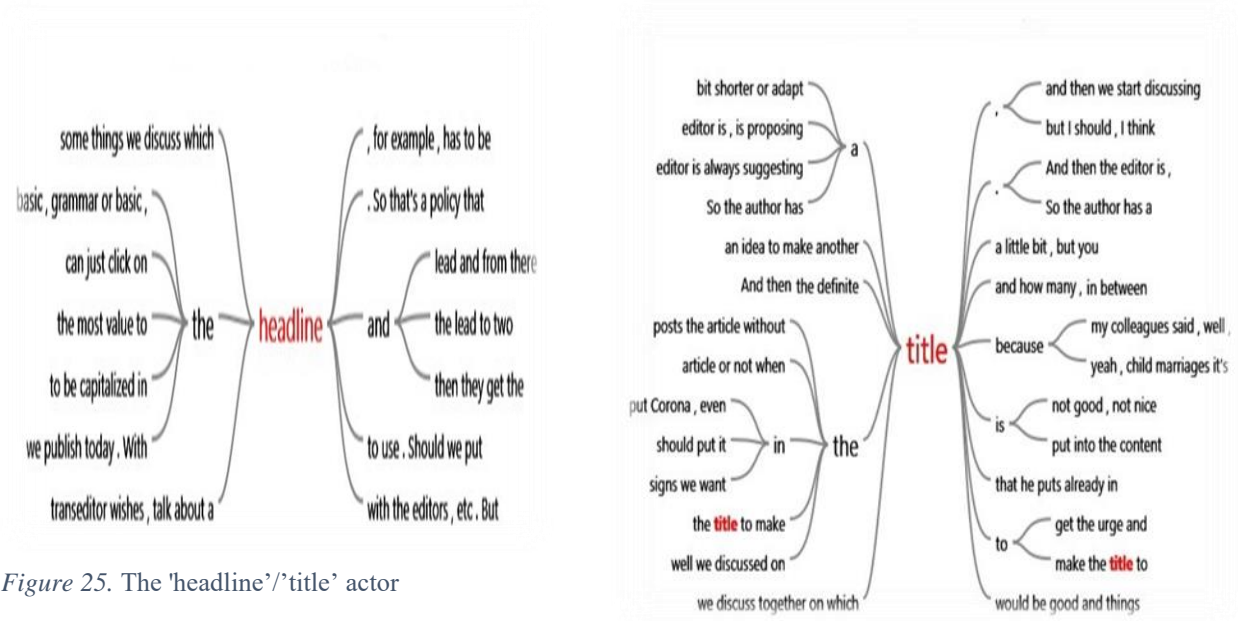


Figure 25. The 'headline'/'title' actor

When a story is written, it includes blank spaces to be filled in with quotes. The quotes originate from the experts in the field, and IPS journalists have a network of established sources around the world—organizations and people from whom they solicit quotes—depending on the topic of the article. At the same time, having voices of ordinary people is equally important in IPS articles. The quotes must contain a source’s personal name (Deen, 2021, p. 12). Translating direct quotes may be challenging, and while in the Spanish service an author of a story sends English quotes to the Spanish-English trans-editor (if an interview was held in English), the other trans-editors scattered around the world tackle quotes on their own. If they are difficult to convey as direct speech, they paraphrase them.



Figure 26. A 'quotes' actor.

The 'sources' actor often goes hand-in-glove with the 'quotes' actor when used in the sense of experts'/laypeople's opinions. Thus, the IPS at the UN office should cite two exclusive sources, IPS Cuba five sources, while the number of sources for IPS Flanders fluctuates and depends on several factors. Generally, NGOs, activists, opinions of the ordinary people, the websites with which IPS branches collaborate, etc., can function as sources. However, the Spanish service has a strong predilection for research on the ground and connecting with 'real' people. Source-people can be spoken to in person or contacted by means of virtual and social media. On the other hand, if trans-editors have any hesitation about their sources (or the content of the articles), they might do some research on the Internet to get a clearer understanding of the content or, alternatively, connect with the author or editor of the story in some instances.



Figure 27. The 'sources' actor.

5.4.3 Presenting human actors

Earlier, I introduced in part the twelve human actors (my interviewees) who in cooperation with other semiotic and non-human actors weave a network of sociological translations at IPS. For this reason, here, I would rather focus on the multitasking character of the work culture at IPS. Later in this section I will also cover the results of the *SurveyMonkey* which was sent out to IPS trans-editors.

5.4.3.1 Brief overview of multitasking and convergence. Multitasking, or having to juggle multiple job roles, can be related to the “intensifying media convergence” (Davier & Conway, 2019, p. 37), which means that an affiliate gets tasked with extra work for publishing news items across different platforms—legacy media and new media platforms including social media (Quandt & Singer, 2009). In the case of IPS, which has been “digital for quite a long time” (W. Garcia, personal communication, August 20, 2019), media convergence manifests itself in re-distributing news content from the IPS website¹⁰⁷ to the agency’s Twitter and Facebook accounts. During my fieldwork, it became clear that it is mostly the IPS community managers who are responsible for cross-platform publishing. Yet, there are some isolated examples:¹⁰⁸ an affiliate at IPS Flanders who publishes the branch’s news pieces on Facebook and Twitter and a correspondent from IPS Cuba who does the same job. In this scenario, a bigger factor of multitasking at IPS is a corollary to the ubiquitous technological convergence. For instance, a mobile phone incorporates many features and, among others, a camera, voice and video recorders and an Internet connection, making it possible for a journalist to record interviews, take photos, search and transmit information, and so on. As Mr. Garcia explains, taking pictures on top of

¹⁰⁷ Currently, IPS has a mobile version of the website but does not yet feature a mobile website application.

¹⁰⁸ Granted that both cases were outside this project, they could not be studied and portrayed in detail.

writing stories has become a new norm for the journalists at IPS in the last decade or so. Managing pictures, hypertexts and links by IPS affiliates has also become a part of the daily routine at the news agency. On the other hand, operating on a low budget is another contributing factor to multitasking at IPS. In this regard, Sigyn Elst, coordinator of IPS Flanders, who also juggles the roles of editor, trans-editor and journalist and looks after the agency's human and financial resources, reflects about her diverse role description:

...well, I have to be like an octopus with a lot of skills, a lot of things to do in one person or even a half a person, because I started at 50%, but now I'm 60% working for IPS. (S. Elst, personal communication, September 18, 2020).

Following what is said, Sigyn's role is "not a unity but a multiplicity" (Latour, 1995, p. 7). During the day, the 'identity' of the coordinator is constantly being reshuffled and is contingent on the tasks at hand (Callon, 1986a). The situation is similar for other IPS associates. Actually, from the beginnings of the agency, its members "could carry out several different tasks," unlike employees in mainstream agencies who were assigned limited roles (Savio, 2012, p. 42). Working at IPS is not easy, but many journalists who passed through IPS, Mr. Savio notes, went on to have successful careers as journalists, senior executives in government and university professors.

Further, the position of any human actor in the agency's network may change as his or her career progresses. For example, Baher Kamal joined IPS in January 1981 as a senior editor. Later, he became "principal trainer for journalists from Latin America, the Caribbean, from Africa, from Asia, from the Arab region". (B. Kamal, personal communication, December 2, 2019). And then, among other things, he was appointed coordinator of the Arabic service and a Senior Advisor to IPS Director-General on Africa & the Middle East. Now that is he is retired from the agency, relations with which he describes as "the most exciting marriage, divorce, marriage, divorce, exercise", he is busy with running a daily blog called *Human Wrongs Watch*. In the blog he collects

and republishes stories from NGOs and different agencies affiliated with the United Nations, thanks to his professional connections and extensive knowledge of the journalist field. These are stories discarded by the mainstream media and related to the topics pursued by IPS. Mr. Kamal is also a member of both the TRANSCEND Media Service and *Other News*—a news website founded by Roberto Savio in 2008 that features “explicative” material on “global problems,” usually reproducing what has already been published in other worldwide sources. (R. Savio, personal communication, November 8, 2019). All in all, applying ANT to research allows us to capture the world’s instability and continuous changes, which are the theory’s defining features.

In this project, I include the roles that were both accounted for by my human actors during our interviews and also gleaned from research on the agency in various (online) publications. In NVivo, I have created a classification of research participants (cases in NVivo) according to two attributes: affiliation and job role(s) held by each participant. It is to be noted here that all IPS trans-editors are, by default, professional journalists as reported by the agency’s high officials, yet a zoom in on the concrete qualifications of some trans-editors will be provided in the *SurveyMonkey* report in Appendix E.

Table 1. Distribution of roles across research participants

<i>IPS associates</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>	<i>Job roles</i>
<i>Cases\\Andreas Lönqvist</i>	IPS Sweden	Trans-editor/Editor
<i>Cases\\Baher Kamal</i>	IPS Arabic service	Coordinator/ Editor/Trans-editor/Journalist
<i>Cases\\Emily Kashangaki</i>	IPS International	Trans-editor
<i>Cases\\Estrella Gutiérrez</i>	IPS Spanish service	Coordinator/Editor/Trans-editor/IPS Board member
<i>Cases\\Ivet González</i>	IPS Cuba	Journalist/Editor
<i>Cases\\Joren Gettemans</i>	IPS Flanders	Trans-editor/Editor/Journalist/Webmaster
<i>Cases\\Matti Ripatti</i>	IPS Finland	Trans-editor
<i>Cases\\Mr. Garcia</i>	International Association	Director-General/Computer-systems engineer
<i>Cases\\Mr. Savio</i>	International Association	IPS founder/Journalist/Activist for social and climate justice
<i>Cases\\Samira Sadeque</i>	IPS at UN	Journalist

<i>Cases\\Sigyn Elst</i>	IPS Belgium	Coordinator/Editor/Trans-editor/Journalist
<i>Cases\\Thalif Deen</i>	IPS at UN	Director & Senior Editor/Journalist

5.4.3.2 A few words on the SurveyMonkey results. My interviews were aimed at the practices of both the journalists and the trans-editors, whose functions occasionally overlap and shift between that of a journalist and an editor, or a trans-editor, among other possibilities. The description of the sequential stages of news production forms the basis of sociological translations at IPS. However, the web survey entirely focusses on the people who do linguistic translations (i.e., are trans-editors) and their attributes. It features a mix of open-ended and closed questions concerning occupation, education and work mode and gives some impression of what a ‘typical’ trans-editor at IPS is like and how they work. Attention is given to their qualifications, word-counts of translations per day, the tools used to translate, language combinations, the mode(s) of work communication with colleagues, etc. Interestingly, a few affiliates self-identified as having a few roles within the company by ticking off more than one box-position or leaving a comment to a particular question. This fact once again illustrates the multi-tasking nature of working at IPS and, on the other hand, the variety of skills, the “networks of entities” (Callon, 1991, p. 137) it takes to perform a trans-editor’s job. Another interesting finding is that to the question about qualifications, some respondents indicated not necessarily journalism degrees (e.g., a Master’s in philosophy or qualifications in environment and sustainability). Apart from that, the results of the survey are mostly in line with my previous findings about the virtual and multitasking nature of work at IPS and support the view that trans-editors usually dispense with translation memories or engines. Yet, it should be acknowledged that my pool of participants was limited to eight, while the total number of trans-editors at IPS is approximately twenty people according to Mr. Garcia, the IPS Director-

General. Also, there is a small overlap between the interview participants and survey respondents as the online questionnaire was used as a tool for interview recruitment. In short, some interviewees never participated in the survey while some survey respondents declined the interview option. Thus, this research covers an assorted part of the IPS trans-editors. A detailed report of the *SurveyMonkey* results is presented in the Appendix E.

Section 5.4 has illuminated heterogeneous actors in IPS news production, their intrinsic and fluid roles and characteristics. The next section will be dedicated to the history of IPS creation, an agency with the truly inspiring mission of fighting globalization inequalities. For this purpose, I will apply Callon's (1986a) moments of translation which, I suggest, serve best for describing the emergence of a network (such as the IPS information network) rather than reporting on present and ongoing events. This framework seems beneficial for reconstructing past events in general terms and explaining in a nutshell the mechanisms as well as the triggers of any creation, including IPS. In the next section, I will describe the events that long preceded the *sociological translations* of journalistic and trans-editors' practices tackled earlier: regardless being so distant in time, they, nevertheless, shape and define current activities of IPS affiliates.

5.5 The creation of IPS according to Callon's (1986a) moments of translation

The four moments of sociological translation might not be easily discernible in reality. The confusion might be caused by their diffusion in time and space and their possible overlaps (Callon, 1986a). Indeed, this fact extends to the story below: while the problematization moment was well-defined, the *interessement*, enrolment and mobilization moments occurred almost simultaneously and thus were grouped together. That is also to say that a researcher, unavoidably, adds one more layer to the informants' accounts (Callon, 1991). A different 'scientist' would yield different

results and interpretations. Next, betrayal is a frequent companion of any network and often causes its realignment (Callon, 1986a; Law, 2006). In the case of IPS (earlier RPS), ‘trahison’ by its former allies, actually marked the beginning of an international Third World news agency.

5.5.1 Problematization

The early 1960s was the period of the Cold War that divided the world into the Communist and Capitalist blocs (as well as the non-aligned countries), and also the period of the decolonization of Asian and African countries from European dictatorship. The global information scene was dominated by four big agencies– Reuters, AFP, UPI and AP, which in total accounted for 91.3% of international news, according to data provided by the University of Tampere (Savio, 2012, p. 30). The news was focussed on the global North while any coverage of the countries in the South was scarce and projected a mostly negative image thereof. On the other side of the coin, the economy was experiencing significant growth and people “could breathe optimism and trust” and were hopeful of a brighter future and social justice (Savio, 2012, p. 25).

Against this backdrop, in 1962, young Roberto Savio penned several articles on the need to bridge the gap in the information offerings and the lack of understanding between the North and the South. Apparently, his publications found a big resonance with people, as shortly after he was approached by Pablo Piacentini, an Argentinian student, who suggested the idea of establishing an international news agency that would “promote a better understanding of Latin America” (Savio, 2012, p. 31). Piacentini knew some Latin American students who lived in Europe and who grew dissatisfied with the fact that the local newspapers covered various crises, but only ones pertaining to their western countries of residence. These students were willing to write articles free of charge. Needless to say, Piacentini’s proposal was welcomed with open arms, despite the fact that it

featured only Latin America: it was just a beginning and also ‘the path of least resistance.’ Publishing stories written by Latin American journalists was considered exotic but still acceptable in European media. The situation was much more difficult with other Third World countries: by default, the stories written by colleagues from Asia, Africa or the Arab region were looked upon as unprofessional or as propaganda (Savio, 2012).

At the story evolves, Roberto Savio worked as journalist for *Il Popolo*, a daily of the Italian Christian Democratic party (Democrazia Cristiana) during those times. The party was very interested in establishing relations with the Christian Democratic parties in Latin America as well as internationally in an effort of founding a Christian Democratic International (CDI) that would compete with the Capitalist and Communist blocs. Thus, Savio’s “campaign for better knowledge of the Third World” was pretty much in line with *Democrazia Cristiana* (Savio, 2012, p. 32).

So far, Savio and Piacentini had at their disposal a network of Latin American students (non-journalists) who were willing to write articles at no cost. Later, though, they would expand this network and reach out to other people (non-journalists) in Latin America to get help with their project. Secondly, there was the party of *Democrazia Cristiana* (DC) and their newspaper *Il Popolo*, a potential supporter and client. There was no start-up capital involved.

That being said, the non-professional journalists from Latin America had altruistic motives: they agreed to work for free in order to promote knowledge about Latin America. They were concerned with the way European media talked about their countries and wanted to reshape this situation irrespective of what it would take. On the contrary, *Democrazia Cristiana*, being affiliated with the Christian Democratic parties of Europe and Latin America, pursued ambitious political goals of accumulating connections with similar Cristian Democratic parties around the world, so as to become a fully-fledged competitor with the Communist and Capitalist blocs.

Cooperation with Savio and Piacentini and the amateur journalists was a good chance for *Democrazia Cristiana* to expand the world's knowledge about Latin American countries and to obtain multiple contacts and allies. At the same time, securing the party's support and having its newspaper as a client represented a good opportunity for Savio and Piacentini.

However, in order to achieve their individual goals, all identified actors had to work in concert. The journalists and *Democrazia Cristiana* had to pass through Savio and Piacentini (an obligatory passage point) who would cater to the actors' individual needs. The young enthusiasts' success would also have been impossible without the engagement of those actors.

5.5.2 Interessement, enrolment and mobilization

According to Callon (1986a) the stages of interessement and enrolment occur concurrently if successful. In our case, the urge of various actors to pursue the aforementioned interests was compelling enough to pass from the problematization to the mobilization stage easily (at least, on paper). It should be admitted that a full range of transactions might not be captured in Roberto Savio's book *The journalists who turned the world upside down: Voices of Another Information* upon which I am relying here and thus may remain unknown.

The distribution of roles occurred in the following way: Roberto Savio, Pablo Piacentini and the unnamed non-professional journalists from South America forged an alliance, and in 1962 started the Roman Press Service (RPS), a little-known predecessor to the Inter Press Service. While in the beginning the brave amateur journalists helped the start-up gratuitously, for the noble cause (which is also an interessement), they were later paid fifty percent from the sold articles (*fee* is another interessement device). As they were reporting mainly from Latin America, the payments were often delayed, and it took months to reach them. *Il Popolo*, a daily of *Democrazia Cristiana*, became an important customer of RPS. In its turn, *Democrazia Cristiana* obtained the opportunity

to improve its own knowledge about Latin America and find more political allies. In 1962, Roberto Savio became the owner and director of RPS and also its spokesman in ANT's terms, representing the values of the agency and acting on behalf of other agency affiliates.

Speaking of RPS, the agency was mail-based, and its organizational structure consisted of "one secretary, two translators, one administrative staff" (Savio, 2012, p. 34). Roberto Savio also recalls that he converted a bedroom of his bachelor apartment into an office. RPS received articles from Latin America which the agency translated, edited and distributed to news outlets, although the agency's service was "erratic," according to its director (p. 32). The operation continued until 1964, the year IPS was born.

5.5.3 Dissidence and creation of IPS

The world was changing, and Roberto Savio decided that it was "the right time to create a genuine Third World news agency starting from Latin America" (Savio, 2012, p. 31). The ambition of the anticipated agency was much broader than that of RPS, which followed the line of Christian Democrats. In contrast, it aimed to 'give voice' to all democratic processes in the Third World independent of the political context of each constituent country and to give rise to "greater social justice and modernization" (p. 33). With the help of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Roberto Savio managed to host a founding conference for the new press agency in Eichholtz, Germany, in February 1964, that brought together thirty journalists from Third World countries.

The Eichholtz conference lasted for two days and was fraught with various debates, during which Roberto Savio's line was approved, the Inter Press Services was founded, and Mr. Savio chosen as its Director-General. It was determined that IPS would be a non-profit international cooperative of journalists, two-thirds of whom would be from the South. It was a first-ever

international cooperative of journalists. Each member had the privilege of one vote, but all dividends were set aside for reinvestment in the agency's development.

At this point, the objectives of IPS and of *Democrazia Cristiana* diverged: the former took a firm position on embracing all democratic voices in the Third World regardless of their political and religious affiliations, whereas the latter's focus was the voices associated with Christian Democrats. Here, the dissidence (Callon, 1986a) goes both ways: the 'trapping device' was replaced with another that did not fit the expectations of the *Democrazia Cristiana*. On the other hand, DC which saw the world through the prism of the Cold War, could not condone any further cooperation with the modified continuation of RPS. DC withdrew all support and made it clear that IPS could no longer count on Christian Democratic parties to buy its news services.

The network had to be realigned and new allies found. Actually, Roberto Savio had such a great belief in the need for an alternative news agency to "accompany the birth of a new world" (p. 34) that he used a mortgage taken out on his parents' house to fund IPS initially. Afterwards, a whirlpool of events followed, both struggles and successes. However, despite all the challenges, the noble mission of IPS found great encouragement in many international sources and governments. Telecommunications systems are "the great strength of the so-called international agencies" (p. 36), and IPS, thanks to the resourcefulness of Roberto Savio, always managed to stay afloat with technological developments. A remarkable fact remains that the inspiration to rebalance the flow of information that was biased in favour of the North came to Roberto Savio and Pablo Piacentini, IPS co-founders, long before the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO and the MacBride report which came out in the late 1970s and 1980s respectively. Both the MacBride report and NWICO were set to pursue similar objectives to that of IPS—defeating the monopoly of the media of the North.

5.6 Presenting an articulated sociological translation at IPS

As stated in the research methodology (part 4), the current case study on the *sociological translations* at IPS is identified with Yin's (2014) single embedded case study, or 'nested case studies' (in Thomas's (2011) rewording of Yin (2009)). In this project, I also adopt the concept of 'articulation' from cultural studies to express the (arbitrary) junctions comprising the studied phenomenon. Stuart Hall (1986) in his interview with Lawrence Grossberg, explains the meaning of the concept:

An articulation is thus the form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time (Hall, as cited in Grossberg 1986, p. 53)

Based on the specifications above and my research evidence, *sociological translation* at IPS consists of journalistic and trans-editors' practices—articulations that might or might not be connected in practice. As illustrated in the previous description, the choice of which story to translate is contingent on several factors: e.g., individual evaluations of a trans-editor, perceived market demands, maintaining a difference from the mainstream media, along with other relevant and important nuances. Both journalistic and trans-editors' practices are driven by the historic mission of IPS and particular style of work collaboration ('IPSic' spirit). Numerous journalists, editors and translators are connected through the website and its publications without necessarily communicating with each other. In this overarching view, the IPS mission, the horizontal spirit of collaboration and its website represent obligatory passage points (OPPs) or the conditions of successful news production. They are not, however, absolute and zooming in on a specific node of the production network will bring more OPPs into view, which I tried to demonstrate in sections 5.1 and 5.2. Further, these macro- articulations of *sociological translation* can be broken down

into other distinct stages (which in reality may be overlapping or inconsistently ordered) as per my demo:

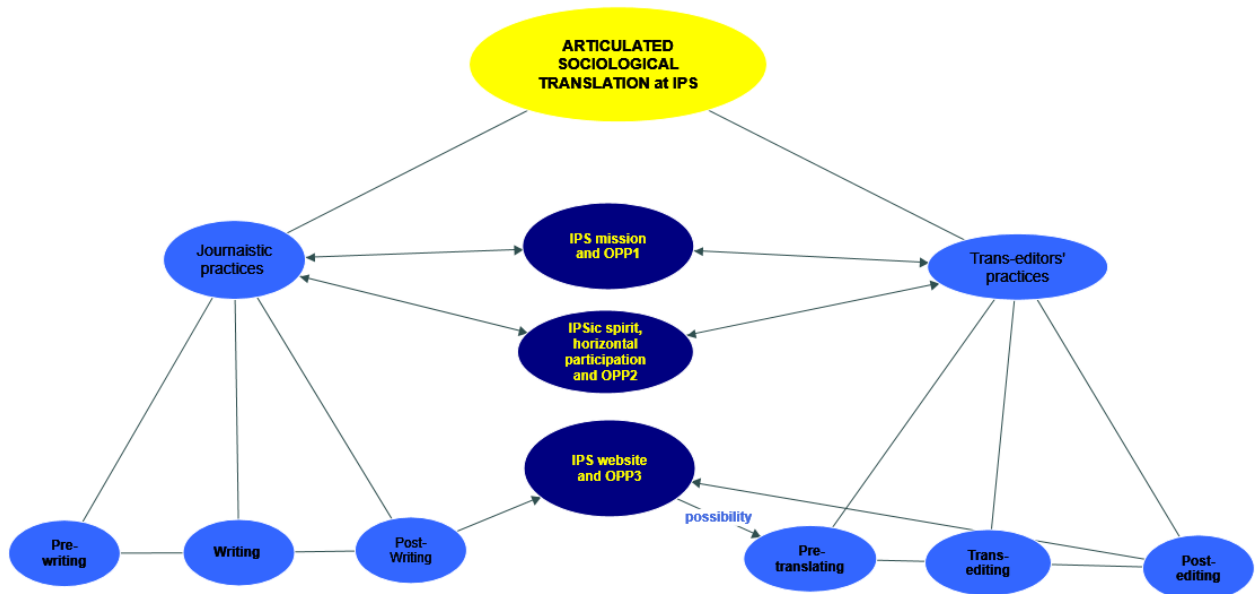


Figure 29. Articulated *sociological translation* at IPS.

Finally, I would like to note down the variations, the ‘crystallizations’, of *sociological translation* at IPS in a heuristic table below. That is also to say, that in reality these transformations and interactions are ‘messy’, nested, fluid and generally resisting ‘neat’ categorizations. For instance, translating in journalism cannot be divorced from cultural translation (Conway, 2012) or covert translation (House, 2006, 2010). The forms often appear as intermixed.

Table 2. The crystallizations of *sociological translation* at IPS

Forms	Contents	Examples
Social interactions	Discussions between colleagues	Defining topics of articles and related work dialogues
Material-semiotic transformations	Interactions by means of which the 'intangible' takes a material form	IPS mission becoming a daily/weekly/monthly/yearly plan; an idea for an article is transformed into an actual article
Linguistic transformations	Transfers between languages	Subsumed under trans-editors' work
Cultural translation	Re-writing symbolic culture (Conway, 2012).	Keeping in mind international audiences when writing a story; adjusting a story to specific audiences when trans-editing it
Covert translation	Re-writing from native to foreign lingua-culture	Writing articles in non-native English and Spanish languages
Material/Physical transformations	Human/non-human interactions	The act of publishing a story online; changing the original images or links in an article

Summing up the arguments in this section, it follows that *sociological translation* at IPS is a nested phenomenon, consisting of macro- and micro-articulations. On the macro-level, it comprises journalistic and trans-editors' practices. On the micro-level, *sociological translation* is manifested in interlingual, intercultural, material-semiotic and physical transformations, as well as social interactions. These meta-semiotic articulations might be of an arbitrary nature and contingent on the situation at hand, but are subjugated, nevertheless, to the logic of news production with its high time demands.

5.6.1 Tracing connections between the concepts of communication, translation and sociological translation

Since this project connects the disciplines of communication studies and translation studies, it appears pertinent to briefly interrogate the concepts of communication, translation and the proposed notion of *sociological translation* as well as their relations, overlaps and differences. At a first glance and intuitively, they come across as related. Therefore, the interest here lies in discovering the possible points of intersection and possible conflict between these concepts.

Hartley (2020) describes communication as a “meaning-generating interaction between two systems or organisms by means of mutually recognised signals” (p.59). In this definition, the existence of the category of ‘mutually recognized signals’ is taken for granted, which obscures the aspects of negotiation and power interplay in communication processes. In contrast, Kyle Conway (2017b), whose research interests span the fields of communication studies and news translation research, is highly sensitized to the issues of mediation and distortion of ‘signals’ inherent to the acts of communication. Drawing on Stuart Hall’s encoding/decoding paradigm and following the thread of Hall’s (1973/2003) argument that there is a “semiotic gap between the moments of encoding and decoding” (Conway, 2017b, p.714)—where a transformation of meanings occurs

(i.e., translation)—he proposes the view that all “communication is translation” (p.710). A sent message tends to acquire different connotations for its recipients. It is always translated/interpreted by the audience, sometimes, against the original intentions of the message producer, which represents an act of cultural translation. Communication between languages would include another kind of translation—“translation in the conventional sense” (i.e., interlingual transfer)—which is a “specific type of cultural translation” (Conway, 2017, p. 722). From this vantage point, all people by default are the translators when engaging in communication activities, which is in line with Steiner’s (1975/1998) opinion that,

Any model of communication is at the same time a model of trans-lation, of a vertical or horizontal transfer of significance. No two historical epochs, no two social classes, no two localities use words and syntax to signify exactly the same things, to send identical signals of valuation and inference. Neither do two human beings. Each living person draws, deliberately or in immediate habit, on two sources of linguistic supply: the current vulgate corresponding to his level of literacy, and a private thesaurus. (Steiner 1975/1998, pp. 64-65)

Only for Conway (2017b), translation does not presuppose an agency of people-translators but occurs irrespective of human intentions.

If Hartley’s (2020) definition of communication is more encompassing in the way that we might perhaps conjecture the interactions between nonhuman, animal and vegetative systems (Velentzas & Broni, 2014), as an example, then for Kyle Conway (2017b), communication is basically a human mediated exercise. If we follow Hartley’s broad characterization of communication as “interaction between systems or organism”, one might even ask equally broad questions such as: is there cultural translation between plants? Or are there mutually recognized signals in industrial communications? And, if yes, by whom or what are they recognized? And so on. For these reasons, in the following, I will only problematize Conway’s assertion that ‘communication is translation’ from the standpoint of translation studies.

In translation studies, we all know about and agree with Roman Jakobson's tripartite division of translation into intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic. Despite the efforts made since Mona Baker's (1998) statement that in TS there is "no research that looks specifically at the phenomena of intralingual or intersemiotic translation" (p. xvii), the scholarship in these areas remains scarce. It means that translation scholars mostly deal with interlingual translation, a prototypical kind of translation (Zethsen, 2008) and its various extensions shaped by the approaches to studying interlingual translation. Similarly, in Conway's (2017) conceptualization of communication, translation is simultaneously an interlingual transfer and cultural translation (transformation and interpretation of meanings), an understanding of translation informed by the anthropology and postcolonial studies. Cultural translation, in the case of a message recipient, represents an ideational transfer and transformation, which links us directly to the philosophy of translation and the abstracted qualities of translation to connect, transfer and transform. Only, this transformation is done by humans, in the form that might not have a material expression (it might be internalized by message recipients).

In translation studies, we mainly deal with source and target texts mediated by a translator. We might say that we have a message (source and target texts), a central figure of a translator, and the focus is on re-writing the message, re-expressing it interlingually. Alternatively, we might say that a translator is a sender of a message as they encode it for an imaginary audience. The audience, and its agency to interpret the texts, are still absent from translation model. It may lead one to the conclusion that the encoding/decoding paradigm is more inclusive, but it conceals the specificities of interlingual and/or intercultural negotiation noted down by Conway (2017b). Also, the concept of translation is constantly undergoing modification and expansion, and, for example, a philosophical take on translation might not include interlingual transfer or human agency in its

definition. In this regard, it would be interesting for any future research to explore the intersections between the concepts of communication and the concept of translation taken in the broadest sense and under various conditions.

As to the *sociological translation*, as conceptualized and developed in this case study, the concept is an extension of interlingual transfer and a study of material-(semiotic) translations. It is the practices of journalist-editor-translators, the transformations between wider semiotic systems, which do not always include language transformations and interpretive horizons. Doing the things does not always presuppose communicating those things to someone. Setting work tasks, making notes of the interviews, doing field research are not communication in the conventional sense, as they might not involve information exchanges with another party and may precede communication acts. However, in the case of IPS, all *sociological translations* serve the final goal of producing news, connecting marginalized voices with the wider public.

5.6.2 The lessons learnt from the fieldwork

When I started this project, I had a stereotyped image of bustling newsrooms on the one hand, and on the other hand, a defined research method—ethnography (a requirement of ANT). Suffice it to say that I was so determined to do a newsroom ethnography in a ‘proper’ way that I took an additional course on *Research Methods in Anthropology* at the University of Ottawa. However, my subsequent fieldwork made it obvious that IPS is, mostly, a virtual team. Even the visits to the existing physical offices of IPS at the UN and Cuba could not provide much information about the modes of working at the agency: IPS’s journalists either worked on separate days or were somewhere else doing their fieldwork or worked from their homes, leaving the physical offices, mostly, vacant. As a result, I had to replace co-located observations with the questions about the modes of working and materiality and prepare the plans for doing virtual

ethnography. Overall, these observations have reshaped my understanding of a ‘typical’ newsroom, which was priorly associated with a particular bounded location. At IPS, a newsroom rather stands for multiple and intersecting virtual spaces.

Next, it was surprising to find that journalistic work in the Spanish service seemed to involve more on-the-ground investigation and physical encounters with the sources. This stood in stark contrast with, for example, IPS Flanders, which, mostly, uses the Internet for locating their sources and materials. This occurrence, however, can be attributed to the unequal distribution of globalization benefits (Calderón, 2014), and, among them, technologies.

It was interesting to discover the instances of covert translation (House, 2006, 2010) occurring in an opposite direction, that is from native to foreign lingua-cultures. At IPS, some journalists habitually write articles in a learnt language (English or Spanish) in a way that would, supposedly, be ‘natural’ to a target audience. It is surprising in view of the fact that IPS’s trans-editors always translate into their mother tongue. To my knowledge, this phenomenon has not been yet recorded and described by news translation scholars.

During my fieldwork, I was able to witness that cultural translation is part and parcel of journalistic routines—not only the prerogative of the employees who perform interlingual translations. Although it is quite an expected finding, it is important in strengthening my argument that the *sociological translation* of journalistic practices does include diverse (inter)cultural negotiations and related linguistic manipulations. Moreover, the journalists at IPS are well aware of the meanings of ‘cultural translation’, as this term surfaced regularly in my interviewees’ accounts.

It was interesting to observe the heterogeneity of *sociological translation* at IPS and its numerous manifestations across various agency's branches and narratives. Often, I was astonished finding that the modes of working at IPS, the content and distribution of tasks vary from country to country. Giving a generalized description of any individual role seemed impossible. For this reason, I chose to split the routes of news production into distinct stages, heeding the information provided by Estrella Gutiérrez, a coordinator of the Spanish service, in our e-mail interview. Also, comparing the accounts of the affiliates occupying different positions at IPS on the same matter helped me to clarify some important aspects. For example, the identities of a trans-editor or a journalist at IPS, and so on. All this would have been impossible if I limited my research to trans-editors only or a specific country.

In a nutshell, this project has illuminated many crossings between communication studies and translation studies and pointed out to the ways these disciplines can complement each other.

5.7 Answering the research questions

This part of my dissertation sets out to summarize the answers to the research questions (outlined in section 2.6.1) in light of the empirical findings.

RQ1: What are the sociological extents and limits of the object of study called “news translation” in the context of globalization?

Answer to RQ1: Sociologically and philosophically speaking, news translation at IPS is the *sociological translation* of human, non-human and semiotic actors into action. It is a chain of logically ordered and virtually mediated events, which starts with an idea for an article and ends with a news release. *Sociological translation* in the context of globalization traverses both material and virtual realms and can materialize in either medium. For example, geographically dispersed

IPS executives discuss a weekly agenda and set priorities in terms of reporting. It is a social interaction mediated by ICTs and resulting in a list of tasks noted down in electronic format and subsequently e-mailed to IPS's international offices.

News translation, conceptualized in this thesis as *sociological translation*, encompasses an amalgam of meta-semiotic transformations and interactions occurring along the various arms of the IPS news production network. And although ANT does not recognize the concept of translation as linguistic and cultural transfers, my research illustrates that, indeed, interlingual and intercultural translation are part and parcel of ANT translation. They frequently accompany the activities taking place between the article's conception and its final release, including these production steps.

RQ2: What are the sociological and material components of news translation production and how do they dynamically connect to produce news translation?

Answer to RQ2: My case study has identified and described three types of components participating in news translation production: semiotic actors, material actors (technologies and material things, such as stories, clients, sources, etc.) and humans actors (see section 5.4). They are the symmetrical actors (components), which continually interact with each other in the course of news making, defining and redefining one another and shaping the final news output. Notably, I gave weight to the semiotic actors which, on par with human and non-human actors, weave a network of *sociological translation* at IPS. The news agency's mission and such concepts as 'time', 'balance', 'trust', etc. make up this grouping. In comparison, the reviewed works in journalism and translation studies favour mostly technologies (or other materials) and human beings, leaving behind the world of motivations and symbolic meanings which play an equal role in structuring reality. Without its humanistic and explicitly defined mission, IPS would never have

been born or persevered through numerous adversities. On the other hand, for the mission to be actualized, it needs to enter human/non-human associations, which illustrates actors' co-dependency.

RQ3: What exactly do translators/journalists do, and how do their concerted actions and use of non-human actors produce translated news?

Answer to RQ 3: My case study indicates that the actions of IPS's translators (trans-editors) are mostly disconcerted with the journalists' actions. The journalists often do not know whether their articles will be translated or not, or into which language, or by whom. This choice is mainly left to the discretion of an individual trans-editor or, on some occasions, might be suggested to a trans-editor (or, sometimes, translator) by a higher standing IPS official (in case it is deemed important). Overall, it has been found that IPS's translators (trans-editors) and journalists follow the respective routes of trans-editorial and journalistic production. These routes, as my research indicates, might or might not intersect in practice. Although the work procedures differ from one IPS branch to another, they, nonetheless, follow similar patterns. Pre-translating, trans-editing, and post-translating stages characterize the work of IPS's trans-editors, whereas pre-writing, writing and post-writing stages characterize the work of the agency's journalists. In this regard, I provided a detailed overview of the concerted actions of journalist-editor-translators by way of describing their daily interactions and the ways they (virtually) cooperate with each other (sections 5.1 and 5.2). In general, the IPS's website connects the agency's globally dispersed trans-editors and journalists as the trans-editors choose the journalistic articles to translate from the website. Motivated by the goal of news production, journalist-editor-translators recruit and are recruited by multiple non-human actors (semiotic and material actors), as covered in section 5.4.

RQ4: What does ANT reveal about the trajectories news translation network passes through—both humans and non-humans—as they are transformed and integrated into a final news product?

Answer to RQ4: According to ANT, news translation at IPS is a continuous and regulated process despite the conspicuous messiness of the process. Mainly, news translation is driven by the agency's annual/monthly/weekly/daily targets as well as market demands. It is a network of *sociological translations* initiated by the agency's founders and shaped by the agency's objectives. *Sociological translations* depend on the contexts in which they occur—in this project, intensifying globalization and virtualization which keep refashioning the ways IPS journalist-editor-translators collaborate, as well as the final product. In general, the application of ANT to my case study has illustrated that IPS's branches currently operate at the mobilization stage (Callon, 1986a), while the other moments of Callon's translation had occurred in the past, as I previously argued. Also, it has been revealed that the trajectories of journalistic and trans-editorial practices are surprisingly similar: both follow certain targets and distinct production steps, and both rely on customers for the materialization of the agency's mission. Multiple human and non-human resources (semiotic and material) are involved in the process, on whom I was able to efficiently zoom in with help of a micro-perspective, using a patterning design suggested by Law (2004).

Actually, this ANT vision of news production coincides with what Sue Robinson (2011) labels 'journalism as a process' in her "first scholarly probe" of the phenomenon, although she does not use ANT (p. 204). Transitioning from print to digital format made media more participatory and eliminated the concept of 'mass audience'. Now the news production is distributed among various actors, including citizens. That said, IPS targets mostly corporate clients who reproduce the agency's news in their local and worldwide outlets.

Chapter 6. Conclusions

On the face of it, this interdisciplinary project can be characterized as an exploratory and descriptive case study (Williams & Chesterman, 2002) of news translation at Inter Press Service (IPS), an international and alternative news agency whose mission resides in rebalancing information flows biased in favour of the North. My research probed into the sociological dimension of digital news translation production occurring in the milieu of globalization/virtualization and convergence; it developed a hypothetical formulation of the non-language-based concept of *sociological translation* and then described the instances thereof in practice. On a more fundamental note, this dissertation attempts to contribute to both the theoretical knowledge of translation studies (TS) and the development of the conceptual research method, which remains marginal in TS (Basalamah, forthcoming).

The motivation behind this production-oriented study of NT was complex and included multiple considerations gleaned from the review of news sociology, news translation, a sub-area of TS, and TS in general. To start with news sociology, specifically, it has been determined that with the arrival of the World Wide Web and the transitioning of the legacy media to its online presence, the understanding of news has transformed dramatically. Now that news production is digitalized and decentralized, thanks to technological advancements and media convergence, news sociologists often tackle news as a phenomenon made up of dispersed sociomaterial and networked practices and heterogeneous actors, including news consumers (e.g., Ahva & Steensen, 2017; Anderson & De Maeyer, 2015; De Maeyer, 2016; Belair-Gagnon, 2019). In comparison, the discourse of early sociologists in the *social organization of news work* strand (to which I attribute

my research with some modifications)¹⁰⁹ revolved around news as either a ‘constructed reality’ or a ‘manufactured good’ conditioned by professional values, norms, political and ideological factors.¹¹⁰ In journalism scholarship, little attention was given to the agencies of human and non-human actors of the news process (Hemmingway, 2006). Actor-network theory (ANT), introduced by Fred Turner to journalism studies in 2005, was stated to be a frequent framework reference for studying the sociomateriality of convergent journalism (e.g., De Maeyer, 2016). Its application could successfully account for the changing concept of journalism and its deep material basis. Such ANT concepts as hybridity, black boxes and materiality were noted to be of special relevance for digital journalism (Stalph, 2019).¹¹¹ Further, the questions of language (and, consequently, of interlingual transfers) were found to be rarely broached by journalist scholars (Ahva & Steensen, 2017), in contrast to news translation research (NTR), which closely engages with linguistic and cultural matters in international news. Despite the fact that both journalism and NTR have news stories as a common interest, the former regards news as a social phenomenon while the latter sees international news texts only as factors structuring the social and vice-versa.

The review of news translation delved into divergent classifications of NTR (JTR) by Conway (2015) and Valdeón (2015a) and demonstrated that the sociomateriality of news translation production has not yet been sufficiently tackled—with the exception of van Rooyen (2019a, 2019b), who studied radio news translation and its heterogeneous components in South Africa with the help of ANT. Nonetheless, despite recent developments in the sociology of news

¹⁰⁹ In the literature review, I identified this project as being affiliated with *networked sociological (sociomaterial) organization of news work*.

¹¹⁰ For example, see the classic works of Molotch and Lester (1974), Tuchman (1978), Epstein (1973), etc.

¹¹¹ Although, as indicated earlier, Marcel Broersma (2019) considers all present-day journalism ‘digital’.

translation (e.g., Davier, 2017; Tesseur, 2015; van Rooyen, 2019a, 2019b), the macro- sociological space designated by Conway (2015) under the ‘*sociology and cultural studies approaches*’ group, conceptualizing translation beyond linguistic manipulations, has not been taken up as yet.

Comparing the state of affairs in news sociology (namely, *sociomaterial/networked organization of news work*) and the sociology of news translation allows us to see that the former has a predilection for studying the routines and the actors of news production while language matters go unnoticed. In the latter, the ethnography of journalist-translators’ practices serves mostly as a methodological triangulation to support textual findings. This means that news translation is part and parcel of a bigger category of news production, but it is unfairly divided into two distinct fields of investigation. These limitations are imposed, rather, by the very objectives of the disciplines under discussion, resulting in epistemological impasses (Latour, 2013).

Based on the observations described above, this project is situated at the intersections of Kyle Conway’s macro-sociological approach to news translation and the *sociomaterial/networked organization of news work* aimed at overcoming reductionist views on news production and bridging the gap between tackling news as (a) social practices and (b) a language-based phenomenon by way of introducing an interdisciplinary and *meta-semiotic* concept of *sociological translation* to studying news in the making. This concept is informed by the networked ontology of actor-network theory and its formulation became possible with the development of the philosophy of translation (Basalamah, 2018), as well as the emergence of other philosophically implicated TS scholarship, which expands the understanding of ‘translation’ (e.g., Cronin, 2013, 2017; Marais, 2014, 2018). *Sociological translation* was designed to study both journalistic and translators’ practices together.

In order to delineate my take on the concept of *sociological translation*, in Chapter 3, I described the principles of the actor-network theory and reviewed the applications of ANT's vision of reimagining the philosophy of modernity (Latour, 1993, 2013) and traditional sociology (Latour, 2005). I also touched upon John Law's (2009) semiotics of materiality, which belongs to the ANT family. From this review, I borrowed the core meaning of *sociological translation* as "making someone do something" (Latour, 2005, p. 58), as well as the theory's relativism and the networked and wider semiotic composition of the concept (consisting of both linguistic and non-linguistic signs/symbols).

In the second part of Chapter 3, I examined the dynamic concepts of *globalization*, *virtualization* and *convergence*—they are the conditions and the broad context in which IPS's dispersed affiliates work and cooperate. Providing varying and complementary positions from sociology, philosophy and journalism on the notions of *globalization*, *virtualization* and *convergence*, and extending them to my case study, allowed me to conclude that *sociological translation* at IPS is *meta-semiotic* (Williams, 2005), i.e., able to actualize in multiple forms and associations. On the whole, the theoretical inquiry resulted in the formulation of the hypothetical concept of *sociological translation*, which at this stage stood for any logically ordered interactions, transfers and transformations taken in the broadest meta-semiotic sense.

Chapter 4 was a persistent effort to build a methodological design that could fit the particulars of my empirically based conceptual research. I had to accommodate both translative and sociological phenomena. However, there were no methodological tools in TS for tackling the concept under study and, as a result, I had to consult the wider humanities and social sciences fields for methodological clues. I found inspiration and relevance in the ideas of John Law (2004) on the 'method assemblage'—the ways of structuring the messy and overwhelming reality of

ethnographic research—as well as the nuanced elaborations of ANT-related scholars on the (infra)-reflexivity of the researcher. From that point on, I was able to pick and choose the eclectic elements that could be applied to studying *sociological translation* at a highly decentralized and mainly virtual news agency, where journalistic and trans-editors’ activities are for the most part disconnected from each other. It was established that my ‘mini-ethnography’ corresponds to Yin’s (2018) single embedded case study and, in part, to Marcus’ (1995) multi-sited ethnography (MSE).¹¹² In order to get a sense of the researched phenomenon, one needs to account for its ramifications at global IPS branches (differently enacted journalistic and trans-editors’ practices). Although my case study incorporated traditional ethnography, virtual ethnography and digital methods, some of the techniques did not work out: e.g., co-located observation, conversational analysis, virtual ethnography and running an online forum. In a section devoted to a methodological disclaimer, I reflected on my intentions and, encountering hindrances, inserted the ‘mishaps’ into the context of the quality of qualitative research. My analytical strategy was based on a thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2012) which guided me through finding themes/patterns in the data, while visualizing techniques were used for rendering the ‘polysemic’ semiotic and non-human actors.

My empirical research at IPS started in August 2019 and was finalized in October 2020. It was riddled with difficulties in establishing communication with IPS: in the beginning, I was a complete stranger to the overseas news agency. However, my persistence and enthusiasm found support from the agency’s officials, and I was granted approval by the IPS Director-General to conduct my research. I was also privileged to connect with some of the agency’s historic figures

¹¹² In part, because often there were no apparent logical connections between the ‘sites’ important in this kind of ethnography.

who enriched my knowledge of the agency. This research embraced the practices (*sociological translations*) at IPS Cuba, the Spanish service, the Arabic service, IPS at the UN, IPS Flanders, IPS Sweden, IPS Finland and trans-editing practices into Swahili. Observing that some of these branches had mixed practices and finding that IPS journalists never translate the stories they write, it was decided to organize descriptions of *sociological translations* around three distinct stages in journalistic and trans-editors' production processes (work patterns). These stages formed macro-articulations (Hall, 1986) of the concept that could be arbitrarily connected in practice (writing a story does not necessarily entail its translation). The particular situated transformations and interactions that constituted those stages were attributed to the micro *sociological translations* at IPS. The following six forms of micro-articulations could be discerned: cultural translation, covert translation, material/physical transformations, material-semiotic transformations, linguistic transformations and social interactions. Altogether, these involved ramifications in the activities of the journalist-editor-translators' form a nested phenomenon of *sociological translation* at IPS. Following the precepts of ANT and adopting a symmetrical position to that of my informants, I set myself to expressing my findings using the words and understandings of the IPS affiliates. This commitment was useful in illuminating the down-to-earth experiences: it avoided the 'heaviness' of concepts, which, in my opinion, should serve as efficient summaries, or conclusions to the research, rather than its explanations. Each research situation is unique.

In addition to discovering connections, partial overlaps and contradictions in the data (Law, 2004), I also applied Callon's (1986a) moments of sociological translation in order to get an alternative macro-view on the same set of data. This move foregrounded the stages of journalistic and trans-editors' practices (*macro-sociological translations*) and the symbiotic connection between IPS branches and their customers—who are equally important in maintaining the

objectives of IPS. However, the details, the evidence of interlingual and intercultural transfers and other nuances disappeared on this scale. In this regard, I suggested that using Callon's (1986a) grid is more advantageous in describing the formation of networks in general terms rather than describing a snapshot of reality, the concrete nodes of the existing but ever-changing networks.

6.1 On the usefulness of the concept of *sociological translation* in TS and sociology

In the introduction to my literature review, I addressed briefly the 'great divide' between the language-bound perception of 'translation' in TS and the metaphorical usages of the term in the disciplines that are either close to or distant from TS. A simple look at the contents page of Rainer Guldin's (2015) book *Translation as metaphor* would give an idea of the extent to which 'translation', on the one hand, has been used by various disciplines to articulate transformative acts. On the other hand, it would reveal the many ways of defining the concept of translation as something else by TS scholars (e.g., translation as 'crossing a river', as 'shadow', as 'in-betweenness' or 'dressmaking', etc.).

In TS, the understanding of 'translation' is generally limited to Roman Jakobson's classical definition of 'translation' as either interlingual, intralingual or intersemiotic. Comparing 'translation' to something else can be helpful in imagining the concept in a different and unorthodox light or even in learning about its qualities in a creative way. However, the metaphorical definitions of translation are rather intuitive (not scientifically based) and do not in any way challenge Jakobson's fundamental classification. As Guldin (2015) rightfully remarks, "metaphors are part of figurative language and as such belong to the world of images" (p. 28).

At the same time, it remains doubtful that scholars outside TS who have applied 'translation' as metaphor have felt restricted by the linguistic boundaries of Jakobson's triadic

division. Post-colonial studies, Latour's sociology, molecular genetics, translational medicine, Euclidean geometry,¹¹³ etc., borrowed other non-linguistic meanings from 'translation'—translation as transformation, movement, negotiation or displacement.

As a result of these theoretical developments, my project has attempted to connect the language-based understanding of 'translation' with its metaphorical usage in the field of sociology by combining the meanings of 'translation' that have often been regarded as mutually exclusive in TS but still sharing the above-stated similarities. My work taps into the recent philosophy of translation and the abstracted properties of 'translation' to connect, transfer and transform (Basalamah, 2018). *Sociological translation* embodies Brian Mossop's (1983) idea that meanings and translation are created by means of social interactions rather than by language alone or *meta-semiotic* interactions, as my practical findings suggest. Although the concept of *sociological translation* was formulated for studying the practices of journalist-editor-translators viewing the news production routines as translational reality, it has potential for applications in TS and sociology by virtue of interaction with these disciplines.

6.1.2 Sociological translation for translation studies

First of all, the concept of sociological translation is a tribute to TS, a validation of the given ability of 'translation' to study various translational phenomena *on a par* with translation proper. TS scholars will not need to confine their study to texts and their multiplicity of only linguistic meanings, now that the whole social becomes a text with an irreducible source of research possibilities. Seeing the social reality through the lens of *sociological translation* foregrounds its translational and transitory nature and allows us to discern *meta-semiotic*

¹¹³ 'Translation' here is used as geometric transformation.

translative phenomena, that either go unnoticed or get repressed for the lack of a sound explanation. While I noted down six ramifications of *sociological translation* in this research, this concept is open-ended and welcomes further development and elaboration based on the contexts of its application. In general, the act of allowing the abstract qualities of ‘translation’ to connect, transfer and transform (Basalamah, 2018) to social disciplines is particularly important for TS, which has so far been a compliant ‘receptacle’ of sociological theories. TS was formed in the late 1970s out of existing non-literary translation (a subdiscipline of Applied Linguistics) and literary translation (a subdiscipline of Comparative Literature) (Snell-Hornby, 2006), along with perspectives and tools gleaned from other fields of humanities and sociology.

Secondly, *sociological translation* can be compared to the cultural translation that was embraced by TS in the 1980s following the translation turn in anthropology in the 1950s-1960s (Brisset, 2010). Cultural translation can have different modes (Conway, 2012), which might or might not include questions of language, as Kyle Conway’s classification of news translation research has illustrated. *Sociological translation*, like cultural translation, is about interactions, negotiations and finding solutions to symbolic asymmetries, but taken in the wider semiotic sense. Like cultural translation, it can take the form of interlingual translation on the micro level. However, on the macro level, *sociological translation* subsumes intercultural and interlingual transfers, indicating the transitory and fluid status thereof in the (cultural) translators’ activities.

The concept of *sociological translation* can be applied to studying translation processes and also to accounting for the qualities of interlingual translations in a ‘real-life’ context, engaging in interdisciplinary perspectives. In this scenario, ‘translation’ becomes a cause for the social rather than being an effect or a factor thereof—a transformational force, a process and perpetual flow, that passes through heterogeneous actors, inevitably modifying them on various levels. The

concept of *sociological translation* empowers TS scholars to research translational phenomena in the social disciplines and recognize that translational acts are entangled and stretch far beyond TS and human mediated interactions/human inter-relatedness.

On a related note, ANT scholarship in general is in line with the philosophy of post-humanism, although it does not broach explicitly the questions of post-humanity. For example, the ontologies of ANT and post-humanism are both rooted in the rejection of nature-culture dualism and relativism. Nature and culture are tightly intertwined; the distinctions between them became largely blurred as a result of recent advancements in science and technologies (Braidotti, 2002, 2013). Human beings are no longer the centre of attention and the humanities are no longer purely human. In this regard, Michal Cronin (2017) puts forward an inter-species translation that involves other ‘earthlings’ rather than only human beings. His ‘eco-translation’ is communication among all living things; however, based on the post-humanism philosophy, a meta-semiotic concept of sociological translation can be extended to other material and immaterial things (as I, in part, have illustrated in this work).

6.1.3 Sociological translation for sociology

In the previous chapters, I touched briefly upon Habermas’s social theory (2001) and drew parallels with ANT. In the case of Habermas pragmatics, which marked a linguistic turn in his sociology, the social is made up of linguistic interactions. In Latour (2005) the social is made up of symbolic interactions/translations. This simple comparison illustrates a bias towards either language or symbolic interpersonal relations. However, although I am not a career sociologist, these inferences may seem like proto-scientific guesses. Yet, it seems appropriate to consider both stances when researching social phenomena—this is especially relevant to ANT, which, by and

large, takes no notice of language and discourse. This assumption is better illustrated in the following ‘imagined’ research.

First, it would be interesting to apply the concept of *sociological translation* to the kinds of research I was not able to do in this project (given the limitations laid out in the methodological disclaimer). For example, running a virtual discussion group consisting of journalist-editor-translators and, probably, also recruiting some of the news agency’s audiences—corporate clients in our case—to glean complementing perspectives on the *sociological translations* in news. This asynchronous interaction between a researcher and the informants takes the form of questions and comments and focuses on the work routines by means of which final news products come into being. Since IPS corporate customers are free to alter the original content, it would be worthy to enquire into the whys and the hows of the modifications, and also how one might expand the network’s horizons.

Another example is observing work conversations in the news agency’s communication channels, which could compensate for deficiencies in journalistic research (Robinson & Metzler, 2016). Observing such digital interactions would be helpful in illuminating the inner workings of a news agency and the first-hand experiences of news workers. Seeing the internal transactions through the prism of *sociological translation* allows us to capture both linguistic and social practices. And so on.

Finally, it would be interesting, in any further research, to study news production at other news agencies by means of *sociological translation* and examine the forms the concept takes in those contexts. Will the articulations be different from or comparable to what I observed at IPS? What are other possible ‘crystallizations’ of *sociological translation*? All these questions lay the

foundation for future case studies in news sociology and could, as well, be potentially extended to other social domains.

6.2 Toward a translational sociology—a subdiscipline within TS

I have explored above the benefits of the concept of *sociological translation* for translation studies and (news) sociology. In comparison, here, I would like to adopt a meta-stance on my own research and think beyond the interdisciplinary concept elaborated and employed in this case study. In the end, a substantial question arises: does *sociological translation* stand for various material-(semiotic) and language-based activities or it rather refers to the study thereof? To put it differently, does the adjective ‘sociological’ act as a modifier to the noun ‘translation’ in the same vein as ‘cultural’ defines ‘translation’ in the phrase ‘cultural translation’ or it is more than a meta-semiotic interaction?

If one draws parallels between an ANT translation and *sociological translation*, one can see that both concepts serve as tools for describing the composition of the category of the social. In my thesis, I have argued and demonstrated that the latter term is more inclusive than ANT translation in that it recognizes language and culture as necessary aspects of worldly activities. It was achieved through the triangulation of theoretical and empirical methods of learning about the topic. Another characteristic of the concept of sociological translation that was brought to the study of newsmaking at IPS has resulted in the construction of the sociological description of this social phenomenon—a sociology—which does not quite correspond to the “sociology of associations” (Latour, 2005) or “sociology of translation” (Callon, 1986a), among other ANT’s researchers. It rather belongs to a new kind of sociology, which explicitly and deliberately applies the abstracted attributes of ‘translation’ to perceiving and studying social reality in its miscellaneous symbolic interactionist, discursive, textual and other manifestations. A sociology that emanates from TS. It

becomes possible to imagine a new conceptual space within TS—*translational sociology*—that would study translational activities beyond culture and language without excluding them. *Translational sociology* would use the concept of *sociological translation* as a reference point, a navigation tool for studying social phenomena—in all its human and non-human dimensions including language and culture—translationally. This new field would encourage collaboration and dialogue between TS and other disciplines in the social sciences with the goal of cross-fertilization of knowledge and finding better-informed interdisciplinary solutions to the shared problems without ignoring their linguistic, discursive and cultural aspects. A new sociology would draw on the bulk of TS scholarship and the principles of actor-network ontology while exploring other compatible and complementing theoretical elements from the neighbouring disciplines of humanities and social sciences (as has been done in this project). It is enacted and developed through case studies.

That said, the proposed field of *translational sociology* has nothing in common with the recent identical designation by Bielsa (2021). In her article, the scholar illuminates a central role of translation in the production and circulation of sociological knowledge and in shaping social reality in general. Bielsa (2021) argues for a “materialist approach to translation” (p.9) in the sense that meanings, primarily, reside in words, which problematizes the view of translation as a simple transfer as well as “semantic invariance” (p.6) in translation. All in all, translational sociology as used in Bielsa (2021) is “an alternative approach to language and translation” (p.15) which explores “language-related issues in cross-cultural research” (p.13) and brings existing sociological concepts under possible re-discussion and re-interpretation. It follows, that Bielsa’s (2021) translational sociology is but bringing more awareness about the role of translation in the

construction of sociological knowledge (translating sociology)—rather than a well-defined subfield of TS, as it stands now.

Translational sociology is also different from ‘ANT-based Translation Studies’ suggested by Luo (2020) in *Translation as Actor-Networking* as a conclusion to her case study on the making of Arthur Waley’s English translation of the Chinese ‘Journey to the West’. In her work, Luo (2020) builds a system of ANT-derived conceptual and methodological tools, which could potentially serve as a framework for studying interlingual translation production in general. Luo’s (2020) research falls within other sociologies of translation which import and apply sociological theories to studying the sociological trajectories of interlingual translations as products (e.g., Heilbron & Sapiro, 2002; Wolf & Fukari, 2007, etc.).

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APPENDIX A

Certificate of ethics approval

11/07/2019

Université d'Ottawa

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa

Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

CERTIFICAT D'APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE | CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS APPROVAL

Numéro du dossier / Ethics File Number	S-06-19-4031
Titre du projet / Project Title	Studying international news translation: a sociological approach
Type de projet / Project Type	Thèse de doctorat / Doctoral thesis
Statut du projet / Project Status	Approuvé / Approved
Date d'approbation (jj/mm/aaaa) / Approval Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	11/07/2019
Date d'expiration (jj/mm/aaaa) / Expiry Date (dd/mm/yyyy)	10/07/2020

Équipe de recherche / Research Team

Chercheur / Researcher	Affiliation	Role
Elena CHERCHARI	École de traduction et d'interprétation / School of Translation and Interpretation	Chercheur Principal / Principal Investigator
Salah BASALAMAH	École de traduction et d'interprétation / School of Translation and Interpretation	Superviseur / Supervisor

Conditions spéciales ou commentaires / Special conditions or comments

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APPENDIX B

Miscellaneous consent forms

(a) Consent form: managers

Title of the study: **Studying international news translation: a sociological approach**

Principal Researcher: Elena Cherchari, Ph.D. candidate
School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
E-mail:
Phone :

Supervisor: Professor Salah Basalamah
School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
Email:
Phone:

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Elena Cherchari as part of the Ph.D. thesis under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the project is to investigate international news translation in action, which will help understand and define the boundaries and nature of this fast-paced and variable phenomenon in the era of convergence. From this research we wish to glean knowledge about the networked journalist-editor-translators and the way they perform their daily tasks with the focus on material factors. The research aims to demonstrate a sociological dimension of translation (people and technologies engaged in translation), as well as news translation practices and their differences over the globe.

Participation: My participation will consist essentially of having one-on-one interview with the Principal Researcher. The topic of discussion will be the sociological dimension of translation (who and what participates in the process), as well as the overall organization of translation practices, IPS global structure, editing procedures, linguistic policies, etc. The duration of the interview is an hour or less. The interview will be audio-recorded.

Risks: My participation in this study will entail sharing information about Inter Press Service (IPS) global structure, translation practices, editing procedures, linguistic policies, and this may cause me to feel emotional discomfort associated with the risk of revealing personal information. I have received assurance from the Principal Researcher that every effort will be made to minimize this risk. I have an opportunity to review my interview transcript, if I wish, and remove anything that I find necessary. Any sensitive electronic data will be encrypted and kept in a password protected computer and hard copy notes will be kept in a locked cabinet in the Principal Researcher's office.

Benefits: My participation in this study will help to contribute to existing scholarship on news translation by bringing knowledge of online and offline interactions between human actors and various forms of

technology by which news translation is generated. It will also help reconstruct the IPS global translation network and add to the scholarly awareness of the complexity of news translation in the era of convergence.

Confidentiality: The name of the news agency as well as the names and the roles of the IPS managers will be revealed in the Principal Researcher's thesis or resulting publications for the purpose of elucidating and disseminating the knowledge of the unique role of translation at IPS—connecting the Global South and the North. However, I have received assurance from the Principal Researcher that the contact information (e.g. e-mail and Skype addresses, phone numbers, etc.) I will share will remain strictly confidential. I understand that the contents will be used only for writing a doctoral thesis and related publications, and that my confidentiality will be protected by keeping collected data in secure location.

Conservation of data: The data collected such as tape recordings of my interview as well as any field-work notes will be kept in a secure manner. The electronic information will be encrypted, and computer protected with a password. Any hard copy information will be kept locked in the Principal Researcher's office for the period of retention of five years. The Principal Researcher and her Research Supervisor are the only people who have access to any kind of collected data.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be securely deleted.

Acceptance: I, (*Name of participant*), agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Elena Cherchari, Ph.D. candidate of the School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the Principal Researcher or her supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5
Tel.: (613) 562-5387
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: (*Signature*) Date: (*Date*)

Researcher's signature: (*Signature*) Date: (*Date*)

(b) Consent form: co-located interviews with journalists

Title of the study: Studying international news translation: a sociological approach

Principal Researcher: Elena Cherchari, Ph.D. candidate
School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
E-mail:
Phone :

Supervisor: Professor Salah Basalamah
School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
Email:
Phone:

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Elena Cherchari as part of the Ph.D. thesis under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the project is to investigate international news translation in action, which will help understand and define the boundaries and nature of this fast-paced and variable phenomenon in the era of convergence. From this research we wish to glean knowledge about the networked journalist-editor-translators and the way they perform their daily tasks with the focus on material factors. The research is supposed to demonstrate a sociological dimension of translation (people and technologies engaged in translation), as well as news translation practices and their differences over the globe.

Participation: My participation will consist essentially of having Skype interview with the Principal Researcher. The interview will be oriented around narration of work experience in Inter Press Service (IPS) and sharing opinions regarding translation in the era of convergence with the focus on material factors. Participant will be encouraged to take an active part in the conversation and introduce topics considered important for this research. The duration of the interview is an hour or less. The interview will be audio-recorded.

Risks: My participation in this study will entail sharing information and opinions about my personal work experience at IPS, and this may cause me to feel emotional discomfort associated with the risk of revealing personal information. I have received assurance from the Principal Researcher that every effort will be made to minimize this risk. I have an opportunity to review my interview transcript, if I wish, and remove anything that I find necessary. Any sensitive electronic data will be encrypted and kept in a password protected computer and hard copy notes will be kept in a locked cabinet in the Principal Researcher's office.

Benefits: My participation in this study will help to contribute to existing scholarship on news translation by bringing knowledge of online and offline interactions between human actors and various forms of technology by which news translation is generated. It will also help reconstruct the IPS global translation network and add to the scholarly awareness of the complexity of news translation in the era of convergence.

Confidentiality: The name of the news agency as well as the names and the roles of the IPS journalist-editor-translators will be revealed in the Principal Researcher's thesis or resulting publications for the purpose of elucidating and disseminating the knowledge of the unique role of translation at IPS—connecting the Global South and the North. However, I have received assurance from the Principal Researcher that the contact information (e.g., e-mail and Skype addresses, phone numbers, etc.) I will share will remain strictly confidential. I understand that the contents will be used only for writing a doctoral thesis and related publications, and that my confidentiality will be protected by keeping collected data in secure location. In order to minimize the risk of security breaches and to help ensure your confidentiality we

recommend that you use standard safety measures such as signing out of your account, closing your browser and locking your screen or device when you are no longer using them or when you have completed the study.

Conservation of data: The data collected such as tape recordings of my interview as well as any field-work notes will be kept in a secure manner. The electronic information will be encrypted, and computer protected with a password. Any hard copy information will be kept locked in the Principal Researcher's office for the period of retention of five years. The Principal Researcher and her Research Supervisor are the only people who have access to any kind of collected data.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be securely deleted.

Acceptance: I, (*Name of participant*), agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Elena Cherchari, Ph.D. candidate of the School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the Principal Researcher or her supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5

Tel.: (613) 562-5387

Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: (*Signature*)

Date: (*Date*)

Researcher's signature: (*Signature*)

Date: (*Date*)

(c) Consent form: Skype interviews with journalist-editor-translators

Title of the study: Studying international news translation: a sociological approach

Principal Researcher: Elena Cherchari, Ph.D. candidate
School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
E-mail:
Phone :

Supervisor: Professor Salah Basalamah
School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
Email:
Phone:

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Elena Cherchari as part of the Ph.D. thesis under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the project is to investigate international news translation in action, which will help understand and define the boundaries and nature of this fast-paced and variable phenomenon in the era of convergence. From this research we wish to glean knowledge about the networked journalist-editor-translators and the way they perform their daily tasks with the focus on material factors. The research is supposed to demonstrate a sociological dimension of translation (people and technologies engaged in translation), as well as news translation practices and their differences over the globe.

Participation: My participation will consist essentially of having Skype interview with the Principal Researcher. The interview will be oriented around narration of work experience in Inter Press Service (IPS) and sharing opinions regarding translation in the era of convergence with the focus on material factors. Participant will be encouraged to take an active part in the conversation and introduce topics considered important for this research. The duration of the interview is an hour or less. The interview will be audio-recorded.

Risks: My participation in this study will entail sharing information and opinions about my personal work experience at IPS, and this may cause me to feel emotional discomfort associated with the risk of revealing personal information. I have received assurance from the Principal Researcher that every effort will be made to minimize this risk. I have an opportunity to review my interview transcript, if I wish, and remove anything that I find necessary. Any sensitive electronic data will be encrypted and kept in a password protected computer and hard copy notes will be kept in a locked cabinet in the Principal Researcher's office.

Benefits: My participation in this study will help to contribute to existing scholarship on news translation by bringing knowledge of online and offline interactions between human actors and various forms of technology by which news translation is generated. It will also help reconstruct the IPS global translation network and add to the scholarly awareness of the complexity of news translation in the era of convergence.

Confidentiality: The name of the news agency as well as the names and the roles of the IPS journalist-editor-translators will be revealed in the Principal Researcher's thesis or resulting publications for the purpose of elucidating and disseminating the knowledge of the unique role of translation at IPS—connecting the Global South and the North. However, I have received assurance from the Principal Researcher that the contact information (e.g. e-mail and Skype addresses, phone numbers, etc.) I will share will remain strictly confidential. I understand that the contents will be used only for writing a doctoral thesis and related publications, and that my confidentiality will be protected by keeping collected data in secure

location. In order to minimize the risk of security breaches and to help ensure your confidentiality we recommend that you use standard safety measures such as signing out of your account, closing your browser and locking your screen or device when you are no longer using them or when you have completed the study.

Conservation of data: The data collected such as tape recordings of my interview as well as any field-work notes will be kept in a secure manner. The electronic information will be encrypted, and computer protected with a password. Any hard copy information will be kept locked in the Principal Researcher's office for the period of retention of five years. The Principal Researcher and her Research Supervisor are the only people who have access to any kind of collected data.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be securely deleted.

Acceptance: I, (*Name of participant*), agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Elena Cherchari, Ph.D. candidate of the School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the Principal Researcher or her supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5
Tel.: (613) 562-5387
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: (*Signature*) Date: (*Date*)

Researcher's signature: (*Signature*) Date: (*Date*)

(d) *Consent form: an on-line questionnaire*

Title of the study: Studying international news translation: a sociological approach

Principal Researcher: Elena Cherchari, Ph.D. candidate
School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
E-mail:
Phone :

Supervisor: Professor Salah Basalamah
School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
Email:
Phone:

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Elena Cherchari as part of the Ph.D. thesis under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the project is to investigate international news translation in action, which will help understand and define the boundaries and nature of this fast-paced and variable phenomenon in the era of convergence. From this research we wish to glean knowledge about the networked journalist-editor-translators and the way they perform their daily tasks with the focus on material factors. The research is supposed to demonstrate a sociological dimension of translation (people and technologies engaged in translation), as well as news translation practices and their differences over the globe.

Participation: My participation will consist essentially of filling out an online *Survey Monkey* questionnaire. The survey should take me approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. The participant does not have to answer any question that he/she does not want to answer. We would appreciate receiving the survey before (*date*). If we do not receive it by said date, we will send you a notice of reminder.

Risks: My participation in this study will entail sharing occupation-, education- and work-related information, and this may cause me to feel emotional discomfort associated with revealing personal information. The participant is free to refuse to answer any questions that may cause such discomfort. However, I need to be aware that I might not be able to remove information from the questionnaire after I submit it as the researcher will be unable to retrace individual datasets. I have received assurance from the Principal Researcher that every effort will be made to minimize this risk. Any sensitive electronic data will be encrypted and kept in a password protected computer in a locked cabinet in the Principal Researchers' office.

Benefits: My participation in this study will help to contribute to existing scholarship on news translation by bringing knowledge of online and offline interactions between human actors and various forms of technology by which news translation is generated. It will also help reconstruct the IPS global translation network and add to the scholarly awareness of the complexity of news translation in the era of convergence.

Confidentiality and anonymity: I have received assurance from the Principal Researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential. I understand that the contents will be used only for writing a doctoral thesis and related publications and that my confidentiality will be protected by anonymizing information and keeping collected data in secure location. The only people who will have access to the research data are the Principal Researcher and her Research Supervisor. In order to minimize the risk of security breaches and to help ensure your confidentiality we recommend that you use standard

safety measures such as signing out of your account, closing your browser and locking your screen or device when you are no longer using them / when you have completed the study

Anonymity will be protected in the following manner: names, e-mails and personal characteristics of participants will be anonymized; however, I might be identified by my colleagues with the clues of location and language pair and position which might be mentioned in the publications

Conservation of data: The electronic information will be encrypted, and computer protected with a password. The surveys will be kept locked in the Principal Researcher's office for the period of retention of five years at which time they will be destroyed. The Principal Researcher and her Research Supervisor are the only people who have access to any kind of collected data.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw from the study, I will be unable to withdraw my data from the survey as the researcher will be unable to retrace individual datasets.

Acceptance: I, (*Name of participant*), agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Elena Cherchari, Ph.D. candidate of the School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the Principal Researcher or her supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5
Tel.: (613) 562-5387
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

Please print or save a copy of the consent form to keep for your personal records.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Name, date and signature of the researcher(s).

(e) Consent form: participation in a virtual discussion group

Title of the study: Studying international news translation: a sociological approach

Principal Researcher: Elena Cherchari, Ph.D. candidate
School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
E-mail:
Phone :

Supervisor: Professor Salah Basalamah
School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa
Email:
Phone:

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Elena Cherchari as part of the Ph.D. thesis under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the project is to investigate international news translation in action, which will help understand and define the boundaries and nature of this fast-paced and variable phenomenon in the era of convergence. From this research we wish to glean knowledge about the networked journalist-editor-translators and the way they perform their daily tasks with the focus on material factors. The research is supposed to demonstrate a sociological dimension of translation (people and technologies engaged in translation), as well as news translation practices and their differences over the globe.

Participation: My participation will consist essentially in engaging in a virtual comment-based discussion group and sharing information and opinions about translation in Inter Press Service (IPS) in the era of convergence. The online discussion group will run for approximately 3 months, during which time I will be asked to post three 5-15 minutes long comments to the researcher's questions. However, it is at a participant's discretion to choose frequency and time commitment to be involved in the discussion group. The participant does not have to answer any question that he/she does not want to answer.

Risks: My participation in this study will entail sharing personal opinions about translation and translation practices at IPS, and this may cause me to feel emotional discomfort associated with revealing personal information and potential conflicts of interest with my colleagues. The participant is free to refuse to share any information that may cause such discomfort. However, I need to be aware that I might not be able to withdraw information from online virtual group after I post it. I have received assurance from the Principal Researcher that every effort will be made to minimize this risk such as mindful choice and formulation of discussion topics; also, the participant is free to keep anonymous or use a pseudonym. Any sensitive electronic data will be encrypted and kept in a password protected computer in a locked cabinet in the Principal Researcher's office.

Benefits: My participation in this study will help to contribute to existing scholarship on news translation by bringing knowledge of online and offline interactions between human actors and various forms of technology by which news translation is generated. It will also help reconstruct the IPS global translation network and add to the scholarly awareness of the complexity of news translation in the era of convergence.

Confidentiality and anonymity: The private discussion group is hosted on the ProBoards platform, meaning that all posted data are subject to the Patriot Act of the United States of America, which allows American authorities to access it. My contributions to the virtual discussion group will be visible to the participating colleagues, however, I have an opportunity to remain anonymous (e.g., sign up using a fake

name, make email invisible to other participants and adjust other privacy settings). The name of the news agency as well as the names of the online group participants (if logged in under the real name) or, otherwise, pseudonyms will be revealed in the Principal Researcher's thesis or resulting publications for the purpose of elucidating and disseminating the knowledge of the unique role of translation at IPS—connecting the Global South and the North. However, I have received assurance from the Principal Researcher that the contact information (e.g. e-mail and Skype addresses, phone numbers, etc.) that I will share will remain strictly confidential and will not appear in thesis and resulting publications. I understand that the contents will be used only for writing a doctoral thesis and related publications, and that my confidentiality will be protected by keeping collected data in secure location. In order to minimize the risk of security breaches and to help ensure your confidentiality we recommend that you use standard safety measures such as signing out of your account, closing your browser and locking your screen or device when you are no longer using them or when you have completed the study.

Conservation of data: The electronic information will be encrypted, and computer protected with a password. The data will be kept locked in the Principal Researcher's office for the period of retention of five years at which time they will be destroyed. The Principal Researcher and her Research Supervisor are the only people who have access to any kind of collected data.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. Due to the nature of online discussion group, any data collected up to this point will be used for the purposes of the present research, should I choose to withdraw from the study.

Acceptance: I, (*Name of participant*), agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Elena Cherchari, Ph.D. candidate of the School of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, University of Ottawa under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the Principal Researcher or her supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5
Tel.: (613) 562-5387
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: (*Signature*) Date: (*Date*)

Researcher's signature: (*Signature*) Date: (*Date*)

APPENDIX C

Miscellaneous information letters

(a) Information letter: Skype interviews

Dear Sir or Madam,

I would like to thank you for your participation in the online survey and for your interest in having Skype interview with the Principal Researcher.

As you already might know, this research aims to explore international news translation in the era of convergence and identify a chain of interactions constituting a final news product. I am keen to learn more about your individual translating experience (engagement in interlingual transfer and broader textual modifications) and about the ways different kinds of technologies impact your daily rewriting practices.

If you decide to participate in the study, you will have a Skype interview with the Principal researcher. This study involves one 30-60 minutes interview that will take place at a time convenient for you. With your consent, interviews will be audio-recorded and used for the purposes of writing a thesis and resulting publications.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. If you are interested in the interview, please email me at (email removed) or alternatively call me at (phone number removed) to arrange a convenient interview time.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Elena Cherchari

(b) Information letter: Interviews with managers (and journalists)

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Elena Cherchari, and I am a PhD candidate at the School of Translation and Interpretation at the University of Ottawa. I am working on a doctoral research project entitled “International news translation: a sociological approach” under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

I am writing to you today to invite you to participate in my research study, which aims to explore international news translation in action and understand and define the boundaries and nature of this fast-paced and variable phenomenon in the era of convergence. I would love to learn more about fascinating role of translation in Inter Press Service—connecting the Global South and the North—and to have a glimpse into the unique world of daily digital-human interactions and translation practices of the globally networked journalist-editor-translators at IPS.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will have a one-on-one interview with the Principal researcher. This study involves one 60-minute interview that will take place in a mutually convenient, safe location. With your consent, interviews will be audio-recorded and used for the purposes of writing a thesis and resulting publications.

Remember, this is completely voluntary. You can choose to be in the study or not. If you'd like to participate or have any questions about the study, please email me at (email removed) or alternatively call me at (phone number removed).

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Elena Cherchari

(c) Information letter: participation in an online questionnaire

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Elena Cherchari, and I am a PhD candidate at the School of Translation and Interpretation at the University of Ottawa. I am working on a doctoral research project entitled “International news translation: a sociological approach” under the supervision of Professor Salah Basalamah.

I am writing to you today to invite you to participate in my research study, which aims to explore international news translation in action and understand and define the boundaries and nature of this fast-paced and variable phenomenon in the era of convergence. I would love to learn more about fascinating role of translation in Inter Press Service—connecting the Global South and the North—and to have a glimpse into the unique world of daily digital-human interactions and translation practices of the globally networked journalist-editor-translators at IPS.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will have to fill out an online *Survey Monkey* questionnaire. This survey should take you approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. Your participation in this survey is completely voluntary and you may opt out of any question in the survey. All your responses will be kept confidential and will be used only for the purposes of writing a thesis and resulting publications.

To participate, please click on the following link:

If you have any questions about this survey, or difficulty in accessing the website or completing the survey, please contact the Principal researcher at (email removed) or alternatively at (phone number removed)

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Elena Cherchari

(d) Information letter: participation in a virtual discussion group

Dear Sir or Madam,

I would like to thank you for your participation in the online survey and for your interest in a group discussion.

As you already might know, this research aims to explore international news translation in the era of convergence and identify a chain of interactions constituting a final news product. I am keen to learn more about your individual translating experience (engagement in interlingual transfer and broader textual modifications) and about the ways different kinds of technologies impact your daily rewriting practices.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will be welcome to engage in a virtual comment-based discussion group. This group will run approximately for three months, during which time you will be asked to post three 5-15 minutes long comments to the researcher's questions. Your participation in the online discussion group is completely voluntary and you may choose not to answer any question that you do not want to answer. All your responses will be kept confidential and will be used only for the purposes of writing a thesis and resulting publications.

If you would like to participate in the virtual discussion group, please contact the Principal Researcher at (email removed) or alternatively at (phone number removed) to obtain an invite link to the private IPS Translation Research Group.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Elena Cherchari

APPENDIX D

Guiding interview questions

1. Questions for IPS managers

Translation:

1. How would you describe the role of translation at your news agency?
2. What are the main languages your agency translates from and into?
3. Do you have language policies and manuals? What are your translation values and editing procedures?
4. Do the duties of editors, journalists and translators overlap? What are the distinctions?
5. How do you actually define translation (in all its possible extensions) in the specific activities your journalists are tasked with?

Qualifications:

6. What qualifications are you looking for when hiring translators?
7. How many translator-journalists are employed worldwide for IPS?

News production:

8. Please describe a typical path a raw story takes to become a finished translated product.
9. How the work is co-ordinated?
10. What forms of technology does the news agency use to facilitate news translation and overall news production?

11. How do digitalization and new forms of technology impact news production/translation? Please give your opinion.
12. How many people and material means (including forms of communication technology, hardware, software, etc.) could actually take part in a chain of tasks in order to achieve a final product?

Digital/Human relations:

13. In your opinion, how well are journalists/translators/editors adjusting to the increasing demand of digitalization and incorporating new skills?
14. Please compare the work environment of today with that of preceding years. What are the main differences?

2. Interview with translators/journalists — potential questions

1. What is your work environment like everyday? Please include material factors.
2. Can you recount the tasks you accomplished since you started your working day (either today or yesterday)?
3. How do you receive assignments, and by what means? Are you permitted to choose an article to translate/rewrite/adapt?
4. Who participates in the translation/news-release chain? How do you collaborate with the people involved in news production?
5. Are you free to choose which translation software/aid to use for translating/writing an article?
6. Can you reflect on the changing forms of technology and their impact on the way you work?
7. How do you actually define *translation* (in all its possible extensions) in the specific activities you are tasked with?

3. Questions for the coordinator of the Spanish service

Organization of the Spanish service at IPS

1. Can you please briefly describe how the Spanish service is organized and managed?
2. Do the responsibilities of the Spanish service and IPS Latin America in Montevideo overlap?
3. Where the articles written in Portuguese are edited and translated?
4. Are there countries in Latin America where IPS is not present?

Operation of the Spanish service

5. What is the main role of the Spanish service?
 - 5.1 Editing Spanish news articles for the variety of audiences and dialects in Latin America and also Spain?
 - 5.2. What types of news articles are tackled? (is it only opinion articles and analytical news stories covering global issues in various countries of Latin America—intended for international dissemination?)
 - 5.3. Translating news items from English into Spanish?

People, language and duties:

6. How many translators and editors and journalists work for the Spanish service?
 - 6.1. How are they spread geographically?
7. What is an average daily/weekly/monthly volume of work?
8. Is there a trend of convergence of duties/practices?
9. Is the work at the Spanish service coordinated more top-down or horizontal?
10. Are there local language/editorial policies, term bases/glossaries?

Translation and news production

11. What is a typical path that a 'raw' story takes to become a final (translated) product? (a story from any country of Latin America is sent to the Spanish service for editing; then this story is published on the IPS website by a journalist who wrote it, and then trans-editors in other countries may choose to translate it?)

11.1. Is there someone who edits news stories on the IPS website, Twitter and Facebook, or all is done by IPS journalists and trans-editors?

12. To what extent would you consider trans-editors as gatekeepers of information as they seem to exercise freedom in choosing articles as well as linguistic re-expression in their mother tongue?

12.1. Are there mechanisms to secure balanced dissemination of the news produced in Spanish?

13. What kind of technologies or other non-human objects participate in news production, where translation is but a step in the process?

14. How do you actually define *translation* (in all its possible extensions) in the specific activities you are tasked with?

4. Questions for the coordinator of the Arabic service

Organization and role of the Arabic service

1. Can you please briefly describe how the Arabic service is organized and managed? Is it identified with or affiliated to any of the five regional editorial desks?
2. What are its main tasks (please detail)?
3. Are there countries in the Middle East and North Africa where IPS is not represented (even by freelancers)?

Networking

4. How many trans-editors work in the Arabic service and how are they spread geographically?
5. Are there journalists in the Middle East and North Africa who write news stories immediately in English, French? And/or Spanish?
6. Who edits journalistic work and who edits translators? Are they the same person? If not, who is it and where is s/he located?
7. Do the trans-editors, journalists and editors collaborate with each other? What is the minimum and maximum extent of their possible collaboration?
8. To what extent would you consider trans-editors as gatekeepers of information as they seem to exercise freedom in choosing articles as well as linguistic re-expressions in their mother tongue?

Language and Translation in the Arabic Service

9. What is an average daily/weekly/monthly volume of translation into Arabic?
10. Is there a trend of convergence of duties/practices?
11. Are there local language/editorial policies, term bases/glossaries?

Translation and news production

12. What is a typical path that an original journalistic story takes to become a finished translated product? Please include human and material factors
13. On the other hand, what does it take (in terms of human and non-human resources) to write an article in the language different from your mother tongue?
14. What kind of technologies or other non-human objects participate in news production, where actual translation is but only a step in the process?
15. How would you define the concept of communication in the wider context and whether it subsumes translation?
16. How do you actually define *translation* (in all its possible extensions) in the specific activities you are tasked with?
17. What differences do you see between *Other News* and *Human Wrong Watch* and IPS?

5. Questions for R. Savio (IPS co-founder)

IPS structure and language management

1. IPS has a complex identity: it is an alternative news agency and also a communication NGO. Can you please reflect on the unique agenda of IPS and relate it to its global communication strategies?
2. Considering the autonomous status of five worldwide regional desks, is language (including translation) managed locally or by some overarching quality control entity?
3. Do IPS dispersed trans-editors report to the respective five regional desks, or their network is managed in a different way?

Inter Press Service, Other News and competitors

4. Foundation of IPS was a pioneering endeavour in the sense that it preceded New International Information Order (NIIO) and MacBride report and aimed to fill the information gap between the newly decolonized and the developed countries. What motivated you to create *Other News*? Are the circumstances and audiences different?
5. Your book underscores the contrast between transnational/international news agencies, with IPS occupying a position of a truly international agency. In which ways the Internet and ICTs are of help and of threat to the IPS calling?

Communication, translation and news production

6. What is a concept of communication for you in the wider context and whether it subsumes translation?
7. I am interested to know more about the languages of IPS and balanced dissemination of news produced either in English or in Spanish.

8. To what extent are trans-editors the gatekeepers of information as they seem to exercise freedom in choosing articles as well as to linguistic re-expression of contents in their mother tongue?
9. From the bird's eye view, can you deliberate about resources (human and material) involved in news production?

Future of journalism

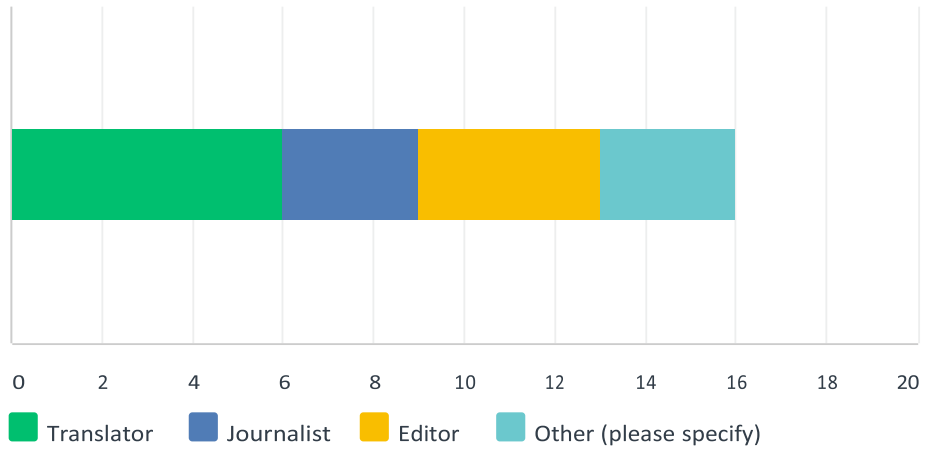
10. From Teletype to Internet: how do convergence and new forms of technology impact news production/translation and journalism in general?
11. How do you foresee a future of journalism?

APPENDIX E

SurveyMonkey results

Q2 What is your position within the news agency?

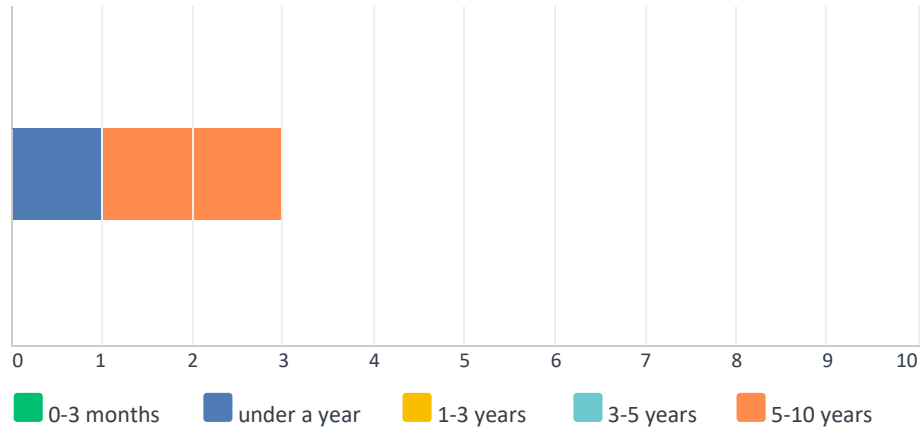
Answered: 8 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES		RESPONSES
Translator		75.00% 6
Journalist		37.50% 3
Editor		50.00% 4
Other (please specify)		37.50% 3
Total Respondents: 8		
#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	Coordinator	9/21/2020 10:41 AM
2	Research	11/29/2019 4:01 AM
3	Responsible of Spanish service	9/16/2019 11:16 PM

Q3 How long have you been employed here?

Answered: 3 Skipped: 5



#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	Internship for 4 months	11/29/2019 4:01 AM
2	20 years	11/21/2019 1:25 PM
3	25 years	11/14/2019 3:27 PM
4	18 years	9/20/2019 2:13 AM
5	More years	9/16/2019 11:16 PM

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
0-3 months	0.00% 0
under a year	33.33% 1
1-3 years	0.00% 0
3-5 years	0.00% 0

5-10 years

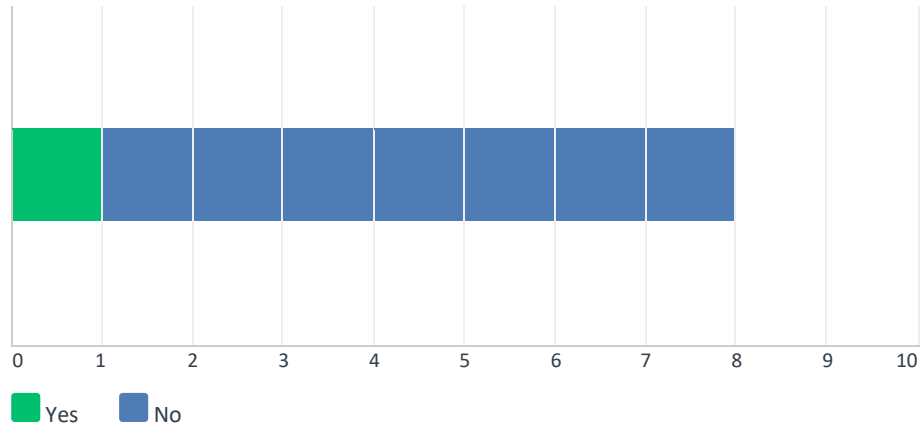
66.67%

2

Total Respondents: 3

Q4 Have you had a similar role prior to joining IPS? If yes, please describe how similar or different it was.

Answered: 8 Skipped: 0



#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
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There are no responses.

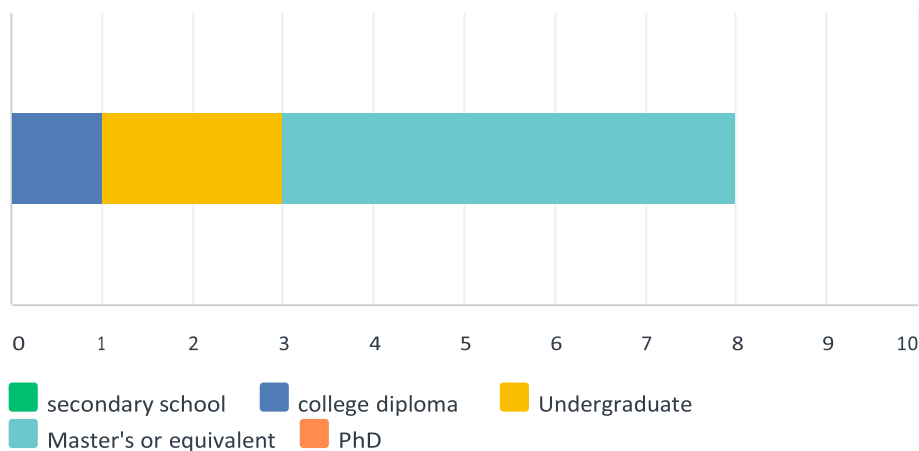
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	12.50%	1
No	87.50%	7

Total Respondents: 8

#	IF YES, PLEASE, DESCRIBE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN YOUR PRESENT AND PREVIOUS JOBS	DATE
1	Previously worked as a freelance journalist and radio reporter	9/20/2019 2:13 AM

Q5 What is your highest level of education?

Answered: 8 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
secondary school	0.00% 0
college diploma	12.50% 1
Undergraduate	25.00% 2
Master's or equivalent	62.50% 5
PhD	0.00% 0
Total Respondents: 8	

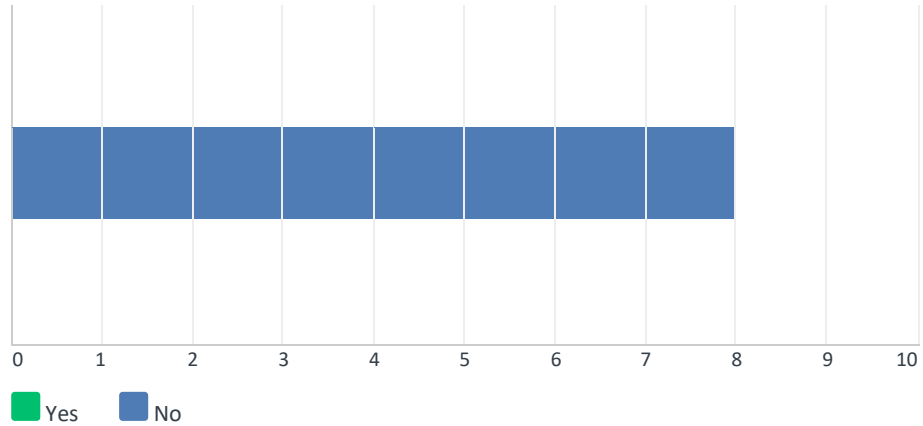
Q6 What qualifications do you have?

Answered: 7 Skipped: 1

#	RESPONSES	DATE
1	Master Philosophy; postgraduate International Politics	9/21/2020 10:46 AM
2	Speak 3 languages	11/29/2019 4:01 AM
3	environmental and sustainability expert	11/21/2019 1:29 PM
4	BA in History, MA in Speech Communication	11/14/2019 3:28 PM
5	Journalism/Economic history/International relations	10/2/2019 6:04 AM
6	Studies in English, Journalism Programme, university of Stockholm, work experience	9/20/2019 2:41 AM
7	I have worked as a media critic and journalist for decades prior to this assignment.	9/14/2019 12:24 AM

Q7 Have you been trained in translation?

Answered: 8 Skipped: 0



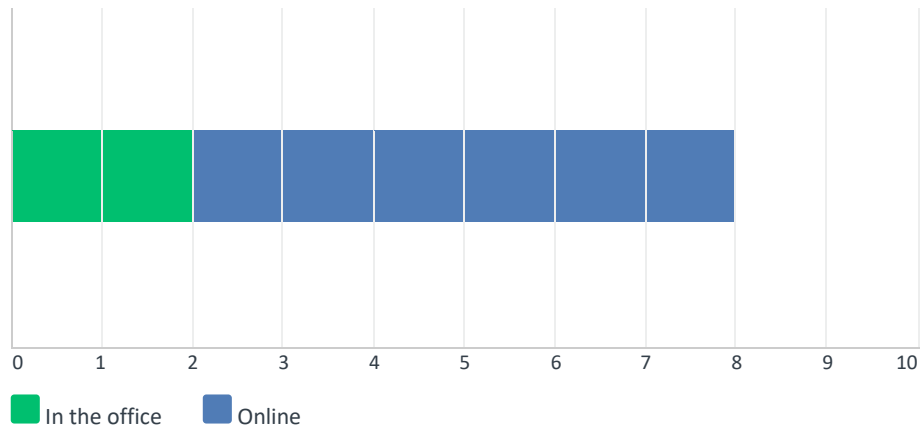
ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
Yes	0.00% 0
No	100.00% 8

Total Respondents: 8

#	PLEASE FEEL FREE TO LEAVE COMMENTS	DATE
1	I learned by working	11/21/2019 1:29 PM
2	Not having been formally trained in translation I have however done quite a bit of translating.	9/14/2019 12:24 AM

Q8 Do you work in the office or online?

Answered: 8 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
In the office	25.00% 2

Online

75.00%

6

Total Respondents: 8

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
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There are no responses.

Q9 In which country are you located?

Answered: 6 Skipped: 2



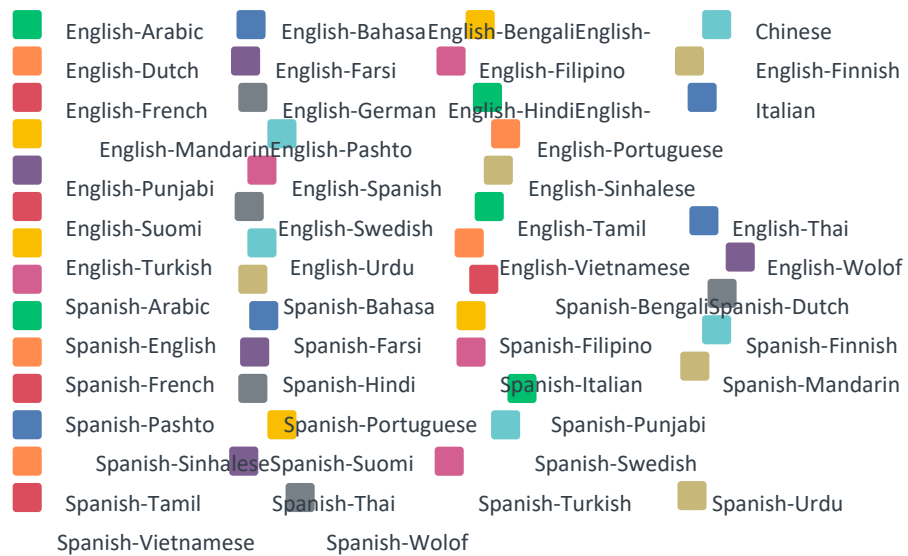
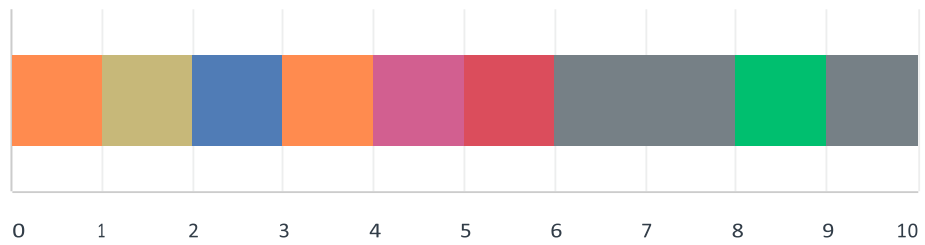
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
- Afghanistan Algeria Argentina Belgium Colombia
- Finland France Germany Indonesia Italy India
- Iran Iraq Israel Morocco Netherlands Niger
- Nigeria Pakistan Portugal Senegal South Africa
- Sri Lanka Spain Sweden Thailand Tunisia Turkey
- Qatar Venezuela Vietnam Uruguay

ANSWER CHOICES		RESPONSES			
	South Africa		0.00%		0
Afghanistan	Spain	0.00%	0.00%	0	0
Algeria	Sweden	0.00%	33.33%	0	2
Argentina	Thailand	0.00%	0.00%	0	0
Belgium	Tunisia	16.67%	0.00%	1	0
Colombia	Turkey	0.00%	0.00%	0	0
Finland	Qatar	16.67%	0.00%	1	0
France	Venezuela	0.00%	0.00%	0	0
Germany	Vietnam	0.00%	0.00%	0	0
Indonesia	Uruguay	0.00%	16.67%	0	1
Italy		16.67%		1	
India		0.00%		0	
Iran		0.00%		0	
Iraq		0.00%		0	
Israel		0.00%		0	
Morocco		0.00%		0	
Netherlands		0.00%		0	
Niger		0.00%		0	
Nigeria		0.00%		0	
Pakistan		0.00%		0	
Portugal		0.00%		0	
Senegal		0.00%		0	

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	Kenya	11/29/2019 4:04 AM
2	Brasil	11/21/2019 1:35 PM

Q10 In which language pairs do you work?

Answered: 8 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
English-Arabic	0.00% 0
English-Bahasa	0.00% 0
English-Bengali	0.00% 0
English-Chinese	0.00% 0
English-Dutch	12.50% 1
English-Farsi	0.00% 0
English-Filipino	0.00% 0
English-Finnish	12.50% 1

English-French	0.00%	0
English-German	0.00%	0
English-Hindi	0.00%	0
English-Italian	12.50%	1
English-Mandarin	0.00%	0
English-Pashto	0.00%	0
English-Portuguese	12.50%	1
English-Punjabi	0.00%	0
English-Spanish	12.50%	1
English-Sinhalese	0.00%	0
English-Suomi	12.50%	1
English-Swedish	25.00%	2
English-Tamil	0.00%	0
English-Thai	0.00%	0
English-Turkish	0.00%	0
English-Urdu	0.00%	0
English-Vietnamese	0.00%	0
English-Wolof	0.00%	0
Spanish-Arabic	0.00%	0
Spanish-Bahasa	0.00%	0
Spanish-Bengali	0.00%	0
Spanish-Dutch	0.00%	0
Spanish-English	12.50%	1
Spanish-Farsi	0.00%	0

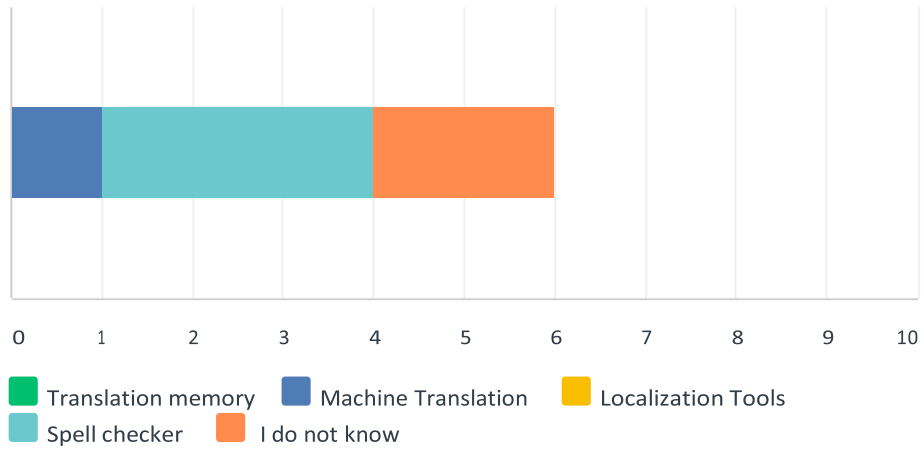
Spanish-Filipino	0.00%	0
Spanish-Finnish	0.00%	0
Spanish-French	0.00%	0
Spanish-Hindi	0.00%	0
Spanish-Italian	0.00%	0
Spanish-Mandarin	0.00%	0

#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	English- Kiswahili	11/29/2019 4:04 AM
2	portuguese-spanish and portuguese-english	11/21/2019 1:35 PM

Spanish-Pashto	0.00%	0
Spanish-Portuguese	12.50%	1
Spanish-Punjabi	0.00%	0
Spanish-Sinhalese	0.00%	0
Spanish-Suomi	0.00%	0
Spanish-Swedish	0.00%	0
Spanish-Tamil	0.00%	0
Spanish-Thai	0.00%	0
Spanish-Turkish	0.00%	0
Spanish-Urdu	0.00%	0
Spanish-Vietnamese	0.00%	0
Spanish-Wolof	0.00%	0
Total Respondents: 8		

Q11 What translation software/aids do you use?

Answered: 6 Skipped: 2

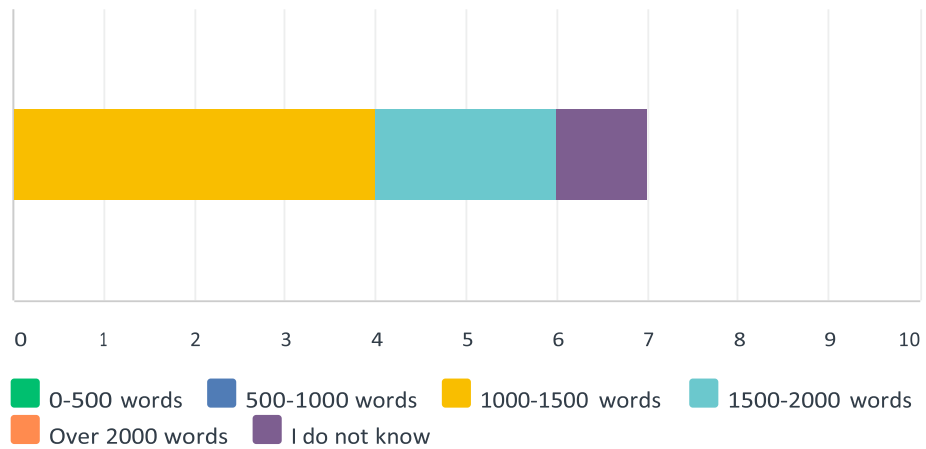


#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	sometimes search/double check words with google translate or other online translators	9/21/2020 10:51 AM
2	none	11/21/2019 1:35 PM
3	About two years ago i started using machine translation, which I heavily edit.	11/14/2019 3:31 PM
4	online dictionary	10/2/2019 6:08 AM

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
Translation memory	0.00% 0
Machine Translation	16.67% 1
Localization Tools	0.00% 0
Spell checker	50.00% 3
I do not know	33.33% 2
Total Respondents: 6	

Q12 Approximately how many words per day do you translate?

Answered: 7 Skipped: 1

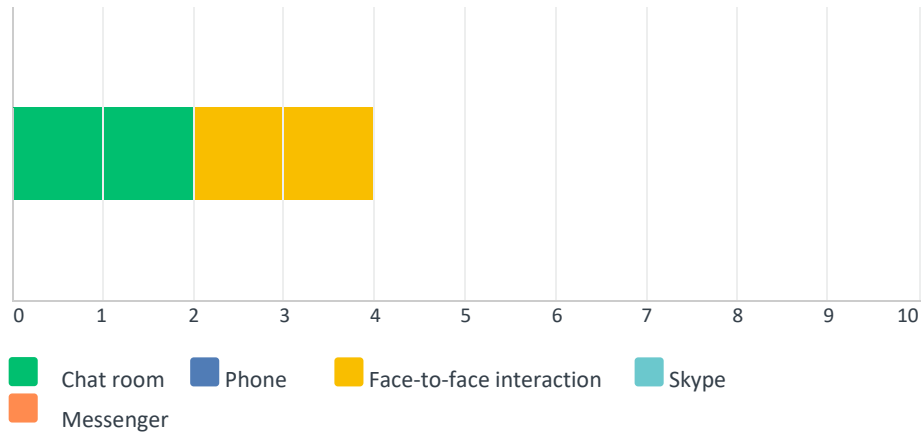


#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	it is currently sporadic, but there were times when it made between 2,000 and 2,500 a day	11/21/2019 1:35 PM
2	I'm part-time now, and the work is irregular. For years I was full-time and did over 2,000 words a day.	11/14/2019 3:31 PM
3	It's difficult to say exactly, because the work consists not only of translating but also editing the text. Therefore the translation may appear to be very unfaithful, although it's only aiming to get the substance in a form that hopefully could appeal to the Finnish audience.	9/14/2019 12:40 AM

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
0-500 words	0.00% 0
500-1000 words	0.00% 0
1000-1500 words	57.14% 4
1500-2000 words	28.57% 2
Over 2000 words	0.00% 0
I do not know	14.29% 1
Total Respondents: 7	

Q13 On a typical day, how do you normally communicate with your colleagues?

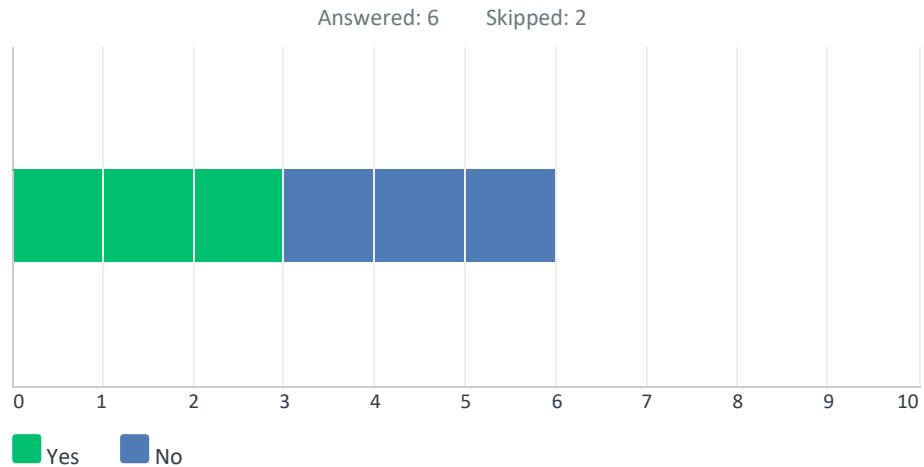
Answered: 4 Skipped: 4



#	OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	DATE
1	Email	11/29/2019 4:04 AM
2	email	11/21/2019 1:35 PM
3	Email (I used to use Skype when I was full-time and more heavily involved in IPS.)	11/14/2019 3:31 PM
4	On a typical day I don't communicate with them. I only contact Walter Garcia if there's a problem with uploading the translated stories.	9/14/2019 12:40 AM

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
Chat room	50.00% 2
Phone	0.00% 0
Face-to-face interaction	50.00% 2
Skype	0.00% 0
Messenger	0.00% 0
Total Respondents: 4	

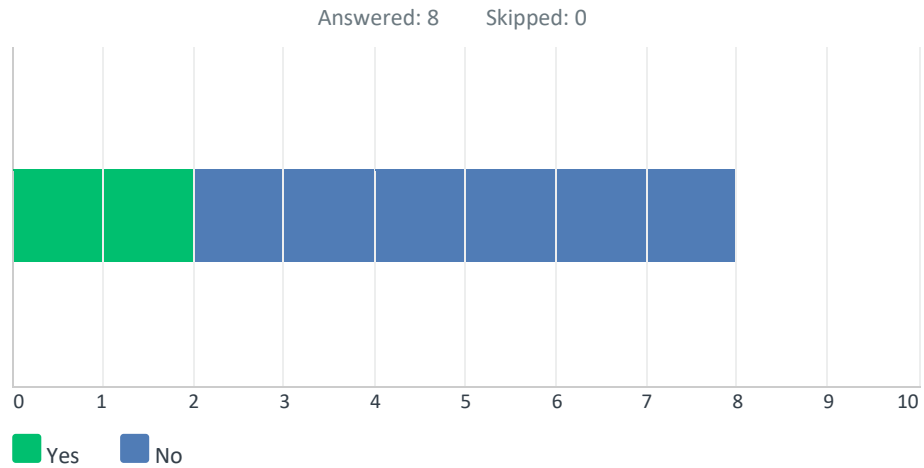
Q14 I will be selecting 10-12 participants (representing various geographic areas) to invite for Skype interview. Your participation will help the researcher answer research questions, and will also enhance understanding 'translation' notion as perceived at IPS. Will you be willing to have Skype interview with the researcher? If yes , please provide your email in the box below



#	PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR E-MAIL	DATE
1	already done	9/21/2020 10:51 AM
2	XXX	11/29/2019 4:04 AM
3	XXX	9/20/2019 2:46 AM
4	XXX	9/14/2019 12:40 AM

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
Yes	50.00% 3
No	50.00% 3
Total Respondents: 6	

Q15 I will be selecting 16 participants (representing various geographic areas) for a private online discussion group. Your participation will help the researcher answer the research questions, and also to enhance understanding of “translation’ notion as perceived at IPS. Will you be willing to take part in the discussion? If 'Yes', please indicate your e-mail address in the space below



#	PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR E-MAIL	DATE
1	XXX	11/29/2019 4:04 AM
2	XXX	9/14/2019 12:40 AM

ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
Yes	25.00% 2
No	75.00% 6
Total Respondents: 8	