# Constructing and framing violent protests in news translation: a narrative analysis of the 2019 Hong Kong protests

## Hao Mo

Published online: 26 May 2025.

Submit your article to this journal ↗

Article views: 684

View related articles ↗

View Crossmark data ↗

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

# Constructing and framing violent protests in news translation: a narrative analysis of the 2019 Hong Kong protests

Hao Mo

School of Media, Language and Communication Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK

**ABSTRACT**

This paper analyzes how the 2019 Hong Kong protests are constructed and framed in news translation. The translated news articles published by BBC Chinese, NYT Chinese, and XNA Chinese, as well as the original English articles, have been selected for analysis. An interdisciplinary approach is developed, which integrates narrative theory from translation studies with the concept of the protest paradigm from communication studies. The analysis reveals that news translation in the context of protests promotes the ideology of the source culture to target readers. The three news organizations differ in the use of framing strategies, with ideology being weakened, reproduced, or reinforced in the translation process. The findings shed light on how multilingual media can improve the coverage and translation of protest news to help recognize protests as a legitimate form of democratic expression.

## Introduction

In the summer of 2019, Hong Kong witnessed the largest protests in its history (Lee et al., 2019). The protests were sparked by the Extradition Bill proposed by the Hong Kong government, which raised widespread fear that the dissidents in Hong Kong would face unfair, politically driven prosecution in mainland China (Lee et al., 2019; Purbrick, 2019; Sing, 2020). Starting from 1 October 2019, the initially peaceful protests morphed into violent clashes between protesters, the Hong Kong police, and citizens. Tension further escalated in November. A young man was shot in the stomach by a police officer, and a senior citizen was doused in flammable liquid and set alight by a group of protesters. Conflict erupted on several university campuses, particularly at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and the Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

The 2019 Hong Kong protests have attracted attention from scholars in critical discourse analysis (CDA) and communication studies. However, these studies have only examined monolingual news reports without considering the crucial role of translation

---

**CONTACT** Hao Mo   hao.hm.mo@gmail.com   University of East Anglia, Norwich Research Park, Norwich, NR4 7TJ, UK

in circulating protest narratives. As most Chinese readers tend to consume Chinese-language news, translation serves as a key channel for foreign-language media to spread their versions of the events to influence public perception. Translation is a gatekeeping process: only stories that are deemed newsworthy will be selected for publication in another language (Cheesman & Nohl, 2011; Valdeón, 2022). In this process, the original stories may be adapted to suit institutional, cultural and ideological factors.

This research fills in this gap by exploring the 2019 Hong Kong protests through the lens of news translation. It seeks to examine the narratives disseminated to Chinese readers through the 'gate of translation' by the Chinese service of the BBC, The New York Times (NYT) and Xinhua News Agency (XNA). An interdisciplinary narrative approach is proposed by this researcher, which incorporates the concept of the protest paradigm from communication studies with narrative theory from translation studies. The translated news articles published from 1 November to 30 November 2019, along with the original English articles, are selected for qualitative analysis. Two research questions will be answered:

R1: Which narratives of the protests are constructed in the translated news articles?

R2: How are narrative framing strategies used in the translation process?

## Literature review

### News translation

Since the mid-2000s, news translation research has gained considerable attention from scholars in translation studies (Valdeón, 2015). In news translation, information is often 'edited, rewritten, shaped and repackaged in a new context' (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009, p. 11). For most news organizations, the translator's role is assumed by journalists, most of whom are not trained as translators (Bassnett & Bielsa, 2009; Davier, 2017; Filmer, 2014; van Doorslaer, 2012). Some news organizations, such as IPS and the NYT, have a team of translators to carry out translation work (Ping, 2020; Valdeón, 2023a).

News translation is influenced by institutional translation practices. For example, the news content of the BBC is often translated into different languages through degrees of adaptation, localization, or rewriting (Tokalac, 2023). Similarly, XNA frequently adds and omits information in translation (Qin & Huang, 2021; Qin & Zhang, 2018; Q. Zhang, 2022). NYT Chinese generally employs the strategy of literal translation while NYT Spanish adopts the strategy of omission and addition (Ping, 2020; Valdeón, 2023b).

Target readership is another factor influencing news translation. In selecting topics for translation, NYT Chinese focuses on hard news and generally translates news content literally (Ping, 2020; Valdeón, 2023a). However, to attract a wider readership, NYT Spanish focuses on human-interest and entertaining news and adopts the strategy of omission and addition (Valdeón, 2023a, 2023b). Kamyanets (2022) found that in translating English political news, BBC Russian omits information that may be face-threatening to Russian readers, weakening the ideological stance in the English news.

News translation can also be shaped by ideological factors, and the ideology of the source culture can be altered through translation. W. Zeng (2020) observed that the Taiwanese newspaper Liberty Times, known for its pro-independence stance, reframed the

US-China trade disputes to portray China more critically and the US more positively. G. Wu and Zhang (2015) found that in translating English news headlines about the South China Sea disputes into Chinese, the *Financial Times* adapted the content to align with China's ideological stance, making it more acceptable to Chinese censors. Chinese newspaper *Reference News* removes the parts of the English considered biased or negative toward China and presents a favorable image of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to Chinese readers (Pan, 2014).

## Framing of protests

Mainstream media play a key role in determining the success of protests (McLeod & Hertog, 1992). However, extensive research has found that they frequently delegitimize protests by following the protest paradigm – 'a routinized pattern or implicit template' for protest coverage (McLeod & Hertog, 1999, p. 310). The protest paradigm involves emphasizing protesters' radical actions or extreme tactics, downplaying the underlying issues, relying heavily on official sources, and manufacturing public opinion that portrays protesters as deviating from social norms (Boyle et al., 2012; McLeod, 2007; McLeod & Hertog, 1999).

Meanwhile, there is a growing body of literature suggesting that mainstream media can deviate from the protest paradigm (Gruber, 2023). Brown and Harlow (2019) found that US newspapers' attitude toward protests varied by topic, uncovering a 'hierarchy of social struggle' in which racial justice protests were the most delegitimized, while gender protests received the most legitimizing coverage. Lee (2014)observed that conservative newspapers in Hong Kong were more likely to follow the protest paradigm than progressive ones. Gruber's (2023)study of UK protest coverage from 1992 to 2017 found that although most British newspapers followed the protest paradigm, a growing number provided favorable coverage by highlighting causes and protesters' grievances.

Despite instances of deviation, the protest paradigm remains a valuable concept, since existing literature has summarized and categorized various characteristics of protest coverage (Lee, 2014). These characteristics have been used to compare the differences and similarities in protest coverage across different media outlets. In this study, they are integrated with narrative theory to provide key points for the narrative analysis of the 2019 Hong Kong protests.

## Research on 2019 Hong Kong protests

The special issue *Language, Politics and Media: The Hong Kong Protests*, edited by M. Liu and Wang (2022), brings together articles adopting a CDA approach to examine the Hong Kong 2019 protests. Communication scholars have also conducted framing analyses of the protests (Huang & Li, 2022; S. Ma & Weiss, 2023; Yang, 2023; M. M. Zhang et al., 2023). Yet these studies have not explored the pivotal role of translation in transmitting protest narratives across linguistic borders.

These studies demonstrate that Chinese media closely follow the protest paradigm in their coverage of the 2019 protests. Four main features have been identified: (1) highlighting protesters' clashes with the police, (2) emphasizing socioeconomic disruptions,

(3) separating outsiders (protesters and supporters) from insiders (pro-Beijing groups), and (4) accusing Western countries of intensifying conflict and violence.

However, US and UK media deviate from the protest paradigm, showing a favorable attitude toward protesters. Wang (2022) found that UK newspapers emphasized police brutality and the aggressiveness of the Chinese government. Wang and Ma (2021) and Yang (2023) discovered that the NYT framed the protests as a democratic movement against authoritarianism, reflecting an anti-communism political stance.

## Reporting bias and ideology

In their coverage of protests in non-democratic countries, Western media display a pro-challenger bias, favoring anti-government forces and opposing the status quo (Adegbola et al., 2022; Baum & Zhukov, 2015). UK and US mediated to portray China through the ideological lens of liberal democracy, criticizing its human rights violations (Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad, 2000; Peng, 2004; Song et al., 2019). The 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown, which shattered Western hopes for China's democratic transition, is frequently invoked to interpret China's contemporary issues, especially protests (Peng, 2004; Wasserstrom, 2003).

Chinese media adheres to the ideology of the CCP, exhibiting a pro-status quo bias. A core element of the CCP's ideology is the discourse of (in) stability (J. Zeng, 2014). The instability discourse is tied to China's modern history, invoking memories of foreign invasions (1839–1945), civil war (1927–1949), and the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). In the stability discourse, China's development requires a strong centralized rule, the absence of which could lead to the repetition of historical turbulences (J. Zeng, 2014). The belief that centralized rule can provide stability is reinforced by the CCP's capacity to achieve strong economic growth, defend sovereignty, and maintain a stable social order (Fang, 2022; J. Zeng, 2014).

## Theoretical framework

### Narrative theory

Narrative theory, developed by Baker (2006) from sociological and communication studies, is particularly influential in the field of translation studies. Narratives are defined as 'the stories we tell ourselves, not just those we explicitly tell other people, about the world(s) in which we live' (Baker, 2006, p. 19).

Narratives are divided into four types. Personal narratives are the stories narrated by individuals about themselves (Baker, 2006). Public narratives are elaborated by and shared among social and institutional formations, such as the workplace, religious or educational institutions, the media, the government, and the nation (Baker, 2006). Disciplinary narratives are elaborated by scholars for themselves and others, such as the theory of evolution and climate change (Baker, 2006, 2010). Other examples include color revolutions and foreign intervention. Chinese scholars argue that color revolutions are a means for the US to interfere with the internal affairs of a country and overthrow the government in non-democratic regimes in the name of freedom, democracy, and human rights (S. Liu, 2021; Shao, 2015; Tian, 2020, 2023). Meta-narratives are

particularly powerful public narratives that endure for long periods and influence people's lives in various settings (Baker, 2010). Examples include the War on Terror, the Cold War, freedom, democracy, patriotism, and globalization (Baker, 2006; Harding, 2012).

Narratives can be (re)framed through translation with four major framing strategies. Temporal and spatial framing is the selection and placement of a certain text in a temporal and spatial context, which encourages readers to associate it with the current narratives that touch their lives (Baker, 2006). Framing by selective appropriation refers to the omission and addition of certain information to strengthen, undermine, or expound particular aspects of a narrative or aspects of the larger narrative(s) in which a narrative is embedded (Baker, 2006). Framing by labeling involves 'using a lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event or any other key element in a narrative' (Baker, 2006, p. 122). Repositioning of participants refers to how 'participants in any interaction', such as translators and readers, 'are positioned, or position themselves, in relation to each other and to those outside the immediate event' (Baker, 2006, p. 132).

### Protest paradigm components

McLeod and Hertog (1999) elaborate on the 'characteristics of the protest paradigm' to reveal the mechanisms of social control in the coverage of protests (pp. 312–321). The three key characteristics are (1) the use of various frames, (2) the reliance on official sources, and (3) the invocation of public opinion (McLeod & Hertog, 1999). In the current study, these characteristics are referred to as protest paradigm components.

Hertog and McLeod (1995)propose a typology of frames, and many scholars draw on the typology with some modifications. Scholars tend to classify the frames into four categories: riot, confrontation, spectacle, and debate. The riot and confrontation frames highlight the conflict between protesters, society, and police, which can be non-violent or violent (Hertog & McLeod, 1995; Veneti et al., 2016). The spectacle frame emphasizes the physical oddities, immaturity, and drama of protesters (Dardis, 2006; McFarlane & Hay, 2003; McLeod & Hertog, 1999). The debate frame is rarely used by mainstream media because it contributes to legitimizing protesters by explaining the background of protests and the views and demands of protesters. Previous studies have revealed a few debate frames: voices of protesters, historical references, causes, and blame for violence (Lee, 2014; McLeod & Hertog, 1992; Shahin et al., 2016; Veneti et al., 2016).

When officials become the dominant source of information, protest stories tend to reflect the perspectives of the powerful, thus marginalizing dissents and maintaining the status quo (McLeod, 2007). Official sources add prestige and legitimacy to news and strengthen the illusion of objectivity (McLeod, 2007; McLeod & Hertog, 1999). Official sources include statements from individuals from institutional formations, such as government officials, administrations, organizations, experts, scholars, and other media (Harding, 2012; McFarlane & Hay, 2003; Shahin et al., 2016).

Public opinion plays an important role in influencing an individual's perception of protests by showing what is deemed mainstream or deviant. Public opinion is defined very broadly by McLeod and Hertog (1992) as (1) the views of the general public (opinion polls and bystanders), (2) the views of the protest groups, and (3) the views

of the media (social norms and values). In the current research, it is narrowly defined as the views of the general public since the second and third definitions overlap with the definitions of the voice of protesters and official sources.

### Narrative elements

In defining narrative features and framing strategies, Baker (2006, 2007) often mentions the term narrative element, which can be a person, place, group, event, or anything considered essential to be part of a narrative. Narrative elements resonate with protest paradigm components, which can be divided into two categories: actors and issues. News actors include protesters, officials, the general public, and bystanders, while news issues include riot and confrontation, protesters' appearance and performance (physical oddities, immaturity, and drama), causes, blame for violence, and historical references. These actors and issues can provide key points for the narrative analysis of protests by answering the questions of where to start narrative analysis and what to look at. Compared with a bigger unit of narratives, narrative elements are more specific and easier to identify from news texts.

## Methodology and data

This research focuses specifically on the period from 1 November to 30 November 2019 for two main reasons. First, November is an ideal choice because it witnessed both police and protester violence. Therefore, this research can reveal how pro-democracy and pro-establishment media mediate the coverage of the violence committed by both sides to (de)legitimize the protests. Second, mainstream media tend to devote more attention to conflict and controversy in the coverage of protests due to the news value of these topics (Oliver & Maney, 2000). Therefore, it is anticipated that a sufficient number of news reports, namely the data for narrative analysis, will be published in a month in which conflict and violence are highly visible.

### Selection of news organizations

BBC Chinese, NYT Chinese, and XNA Chinese are selected for comparative analysis. First, research has shown that the UK, the US, and China have very strong historical, economic, and geopolitical interests in Hong Kong (Chan & Swanström, 2019; Kai, 2020; Yu, 2023). Second, the BBC, the NYT, and XNA are well-known in their own countries and worldwide (Hong, 2011; Tracy, 2020; Tryhorn, 2013). More importantly, they provide news materials in both English and Chinese, thus making it possible to explore the issue of translation.

The BBC is the world's leading international broadcaster (Tryhorn, 2013). Launched in 1932, the BBC World Service operates in 42 languages, with a weekly global reach of around 365 million audiences (BBC, 2022b). BBC Chinese (2022a) aims to provide Chinese readers worldwide with the latest information on the Chinese communities in various parts of the world as well as news about the UK. The principle of due impartiality is implemented by the BBC (2019) across all its output, characterized by 'reflecting a breadth and diversity of opinion' and prioritizing prevailing consensus over minority views (p. 46).

As one of the world's most prominent newspapers, the NYT is known for its quality coverage, with over five million digital subscribers, ranking second in terms of print circulation in the US (Tracy, 2020; Watson, 2021). Launched in 2012, NYT Chinese (2022) aims to share the best of the award-winning content with Chinese readers worldwide. It is worth noting that to access websites of the BBC and the NYT blocked by China's internet censorship systems, mainland Chinese readers must use Virtual Private Networks (VPN). However, most people have no access to VPNs (Petrosyan, 2024), meaning that state media tend to be their primary sources of information.

Founded in 1931, XNA has evolved as one of the largest news agencies in developing countries, with over 180 foreign bureaus worldwide (Hong, 2011; K. Ma, 2020). Since launching its news website in 1997, XNA has produced content in ten languages, such as Chinese, English, and Arabic, to deliver global news to domestic audiences and share domestic developments with international readers (Mottura, 2017). As the mouthpiece of the CCP, it serves to promote the political doctrine and legitimize the rule of the Chinese government (Adegbola et al., 2022; Xin, 2018).

### Key points of narrative analysis

To identify which protest paradigm components can serve as key points of analysis, this researcher drew on the four functions of framing proposed by Entman (1993), as shown below. A pilot study was conducted after collecting the English and Chinese news articles published in November 2019. Two English and two Chinese articles from the BBC, the NYT, and XNA, totaling 12 articles, are randomly selected. The four functions are used to guide the identification of key points from the sample.

(1) **Problem definition** concerns what is seen by media as key issues and how they are seen by key actors. The pilot study shows that in the 2019 Hong Kong protests, the key issues are (1) conflict and violence, and the key actors are (2) protesters and (3) officials such as police, experts, and authorities.

(2) **Causal interpretation** concerns which actor(s) are seen by media as responsible for the problems and what causes these problems. The three news organizations explain (4) whether protesters or police are responsible for conflict and violence and (5) what triggers the conflict and violence.

(3) **Moral evaluation** 'evaluate[s] causal agents and their effects' (Entman, 1993, p. 52). To evaluate protesters and the police, the three news organizations include the (6) general public and (7) individuals, the latter including eyewitnesses and other citizens.

(4) **Treatment recommendation** concerns media's provision and justification of remedies for the problems. While the three news organizations do not provide remedies for conflict and violence, treatment recommendation can be conceptualized as negative or positive judgments (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). The pilot study reveals that judgment can be found in (8) historical references.

In summary, eight components were extracted from the literature on protest paradigm studies as the key points of analysis: conflict and violence, voices of protesters, official sources, blame for conflict and violence, causes, public opinion, individual commentary, and historical references.

## Narrative analysis of protests

NVivo 12 analytical software is used to code the eight components, namely narrative elements, in both STs and TTs. Then this paper explored which personal, public, disciplinary, and meta-narratives were constructed in the TTs with these narrative elements. To identify how narrative framing strategies are used, the use of the eight narrative elements in the STs and TTs is compared as follows:

(1) Selective appropriation is measured by the addition or omission of the eight narrative elements in the TTs.
(2) Temporal and spatial framing is achieved by reproducing historical references in the TTs or adding historical references to the TTs.
(3) Framing by labeling can be found in the lexical choices in the STs and TTs to characterize the eight narrative elements.
(4) Repositioning is measured by whether news issues and actors, as well as news organizations, are repositioned to target Chinese readers through translation.

The two examples below are presented to demonstrate how narrative analysis is conducted. Back-translations are provided to allow comparison:

Example 1.

| ST | TT | Back-translation |
| --- | --- | --- |
| But despite some domestic propaganda showing tanks assembling across the border in Beijing, it appears China is trying to avoid a Tiananmen-style crackdown. (NYT English, 13 November 2019) | 但尽管一些国内宣传显示坦克正在边境另一侧的中国境内集结，但中国似乎在力图避免天安门式的镇压。(NYT Chinese,14 November 2019) | Despite some domestic propaganda showing tanks gathering across the border in China, China appears to be seeking to avoid a Tiananmen-style crackdown. |

Example 1 features the narrative element of historical reference. The 1989 Tiananmen crackdown and the iconic symbol of tanks suggest a potential escalation of state violence against protesters. With this historical reference, NYT Chinese constructs the meta-narrative of state oppression in the TT. In the translation process, it employs the strategy of temporal framing to reproduce this narrative.

Example 2.

| ST | TT | Back-translation |
| --- | --- | --- |
| – | 李太希望警方尽快将暴徒绳之以法，让社会上别再有那么多人受伤，也呼吁香港市民携手停止暴力，不要让暴徒继续危害社会。(XNA Chinese, 24 November 2019) | Mrs. Lee hopes that the police will bring the rioters to justice as soon as possible so that fewer people will get injured. She also calls on Hong Kong citizens to join hands to stop the violence and prevent rioters from continuing to harm society. |

Example 2 features the narrative element of individual commentary. Quoting Mrs. Lee's call for justice and the end of violence, XNA Chinese constructs the narrative of rule and order. XNA Chinese adopts the strategy of selective appropriation to add this narrative element to the TT.

**Table 1.** Numbers of news articles and words for narrative framing analysis.

| Data | BBC | | NYT | | XNA | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | English | Chinese | English | Chinese | English | Chinese | Total |
| Number of Articles | 13 | 12 | 13 | 13 | 29 | 29 | 109 |
| Word Count | 12,411 | 27,465 | 19,167 | 31,580 | 13,364 | 27,603 | 131,590 |

## Data collection

The English and Chinese news articles published by the BBC, the NYT, and XNA were retrieved from LexisNexis and Google Advanced Search. Gruber (2021) identified *protest* and *demonstration* as the 'two most and only important keywords' for retrieving protest news from LexisNexis (p. 118). Through a keyword analysis of the popular WeChat Public Account articles on the 2019 Hong Kong protests, C. Wu (2020) found that the word 暴 [violence] is ubiquitously used by Chinese media, with 暴徒 [rioter] and 暴力 [violence] being the most common phrases (pp. 25-26). Consequently, the keywords used to collect the news data are 'demonstrat![1], protest!, violen! and riot!' and their Chinese equivalents '示威 or 游行, 抗议, 暴力, 暴乱 and 暴徒'.

Then the STs and TTs from the collected English and Chinese news data were matched by identifying similar keywords in the English and Chinese news headlines and examining the body of the news texts. As news translation involves various degrees of editing, a similarity in the body texts means the two articles are considered STs and TTs.

Table 1 provides information on the numbers of STs and TTs and the respective word counts. BBC Chinese sometimes compiles two or three English texts into one single Chinese text or divides a single English text into two Chinese texts through translation. Consequently, 13 STs result in 12 TTs. However, NYT Chinese and XNA Chinese translate each English news article separately into Chinese. Based on the publication dates of news articles, XNA works with translation in two directions: English-to-Chinese and Chinese-to-English. This research only selected news articles which are published in English and then translated into Chinese.

## Results: narrative construction

### Competing narratives

Table 2 shows the narratives constructed by BBC Chinese, NYT Chinese, and XNA Chinese. They can be classified into two categories according to their attitudes toward the protests. The first category reflects a pro-democracy attitude. The meta-narrative of democracy and freedom underscores the importance of democracy and freedom to Hong Kong. The public narratives of police brutality and state oppression emphasize the state's use of violence against protesters. The Guardian of Hong Kong narrative highlights the US government's responsibility for supporting and preserving Hong Kong's autonomy and punishing China for curtailing its human rights and freedoms.

The second category shows a pro-establishment attitude. The disciplinary narrative of foreign intervention attributes the protests to external forces, i.e. the US, the UK, and their allies. The meta-narrative of sovereignty underlines that Hong Kong is part of China andforeign intervention is a threat to China's sovereignty over Hong Kong. The

**Table 2.** Construction of competing narratives.

| Narrative | BBC Chinese | NYT Chinese | XNA Chinese |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pro-democracy narrative | democracy & freedom<br>police brutality<br>state oppression | democracy & freedom<br>police brutality<br>state oppression<br>Guardian of HK | |
| Pro-establishment narrative | foreign intervention<br>rule and order | foreign intervention | foreign intervention<br>sovereignty<br>rule and order<br>terrorism<br>abuse of freedom |

public narratives of rule and order, terrorism, and abuse of freedom criticize protesters for their use of violence and the subsequent social disruption.

## Construction of dominant narratives

BBC Chinese and NYT Chinese give prominence to the pro-democracy narratives by selecting the vast majority of news actors to construct these narratives. BBC Chinese selects a large number of official sources, including government authorities from the UK, the US, Australia and Taiwan, scholars, experts, and international organizations. BBC Chinese also includes the voices of some protesters and Hong Kong citizens. NYT Chinese selects eight US government officials and a large number of Hong Kong citizens. Additionally, both BBC Chinese and NYT Chinese interpret the causes in favor of the protests. All the historical references, which will be discussed later, contribute to reinforcing the pro-democracy narratives.

However, in constructing pro-establishment narratives, BBC Chinese only selects a few Chinese government authorities and media as well as an anonymous group of mainland Chinese and Taiwanese netizens. Similarly, NYT Chinese includes only one Chinese government spokesperson and one Chinese newspaper. Consequently, BBC Chinese and NYT Chinese turn pro-democracy narratives into dominant narratives and marginalize pro-establishment narratives.

XNA Chinese selects abundant official sources from various institutions, including government authorities, scholars, experts, and other media. More than 30 Hong Kong citizens are selected. However, all of them express a highly negative stance toward protesters. Consequently, XNA Chinese creates the false impression that these opinions represent the majority. Additionally, it does not include the voices of protesters or provide any context for the 2019 Hong Kong protests.

## Results: narrative framing

### Selective appropriation: addition

BBC Chinese actively employs the strategy of selective appropriation in its translations. This strategy is found in the translation of all the English articles. BBC Chinese adds various official representatives to the TTs, including government officials, international leaders, experts, scholars, and other media. As illustrated in Figure 1, BBC Chinese adds a total of 70 official sources to 12 TTs, including viewpoints criticizing both
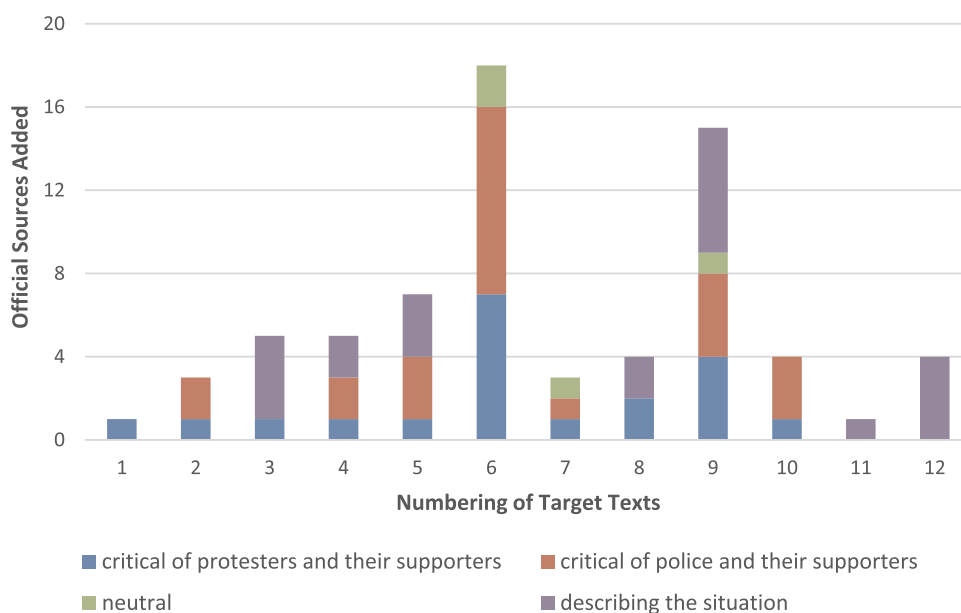
**Figure 1.** Numbers of official sources added to TTs.

police and protester violence as well as neutral perspectives. A specific example is illustrated in Table 3. As underlined in the column TT, BBC Chinese adds the views of the Australian Foreign Minister and two opinion pieces from XNA and *People's Daily* to the target text.

As shown in Figure 2, XNA Chinese adds nine official sources, eight individual comments, three instances of protester violence, and two citizens' comments on Hong Kong's violent situation to the TTs. However, all the additions contribute to emphasizing the

**Table 3.** Addition of official sources.

| ST | TT | Back-translation |
|---|---|---|
| **Campus clashes as Hong Kong protest intensifies** | 香港示威：理工大学"围城攻坚"警察和示威者暴力冲突不断 | **Hong Kong Demonstrations: PolyU Besieged as Violent Clashes Between Police and Demonstrators Continue** |
| • Illegal protests nothing to do with democracy, says Chinese envoy<br>• UK 'seriously concerned' over escalating violence<br><br>(BBC English, 17 November 2019) | • 【各方反应】中国驻英大使刘晓明：非法示威与民主无关<br>• 【各方反应】英国外交部"严重关注"香港大学暴力升级<br>• 澳大利亚外长关注香港暴力升级<br>• 《新华社》回应美国国务卿蓬佩奥涉港评论<br>• 《人民日报》评论员文章："没有任何中间地带，没有半点妥协余地"(BBC Chinese, 17 November 2019) | • [Responses From Various Parties] Chinese Ambassador to the UK Liu Xiaoming: Illegal Demonstrations Have Nothing to Do With Democracy<br>• [Response From Various Parties] The British Foreign Office 'Seriously Concerned' About the Escalation of Violence at the Universities in Hong Kong<br>• Australian Foreign Minister Concerned About Escalating Violence in Hong Kong<br>• Xinhua News Agency Responds to US Secretary of State Pompeo's Hong Kong-Related Comments<br>• *People's Daily* Commentary: 'There is No Middle Ground and Absolutely No Room for Compromise' |
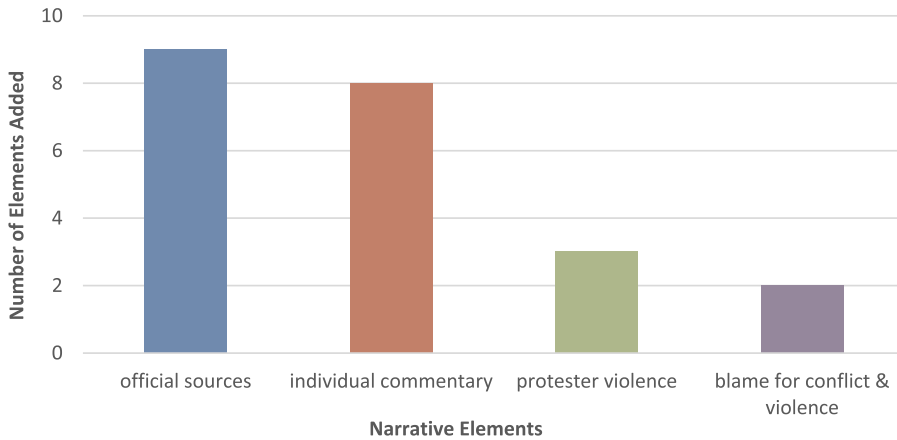
**Figure 2.** Types and numbers of narrative elements added to TTs.

negative effects of protester violence on social stability, hence intensifying the criticism of protesters and their use of violence. A specific instance is shown in Example 3. The added official source condemns protesters for destabilizing Hong Kong, labelling protester violence as 'utter riot', 'murder', and 'terrorist behavior', which strengthens the narrative of terrorism.

Example 3.

| ST | TT | Back-translation |
|---|---|---|
| – | 将暴乱全面升级，推向了血腥的程度 … 这是公然暴乱，赤裸裸的谋杀 … 我们强烈谴责暴徒变本加厉、无法无天、丧心病狂的恐怖主义行径。(13 November 2019) | They had escalated riots on a full scale to bloodshed … What they did was utter riots and murder … We strongly condemn their increasingly violent, lawless, and frenzied terrorist behaviors. |

## Selective appropriation: omission

NYT Chinese translates the English news articles with almost no omissions or additions. What is omitted is the context of the protests presented in the form of paratexts – namely supplementary material that comments on, assesses, or otherwise frames the main text (Munday, 2009). As exemplified in Figure 3, the ST contains a hyperlinked section under the title *How Hong Kong Gets There*, which, however, is not included in the TT.

Similarly, as presented in Figure 4, BBC Chinese translates the background to the protests in only one TT, although this information is provided in every ST. This weakens the narratives of state oppression and freedom, which are constructed with the background information.

BBC Chinese also removes many voices of protesters and other Hong Kong citizens. As illustrated in Example 4, the protester included in the ST expressed her fear and despair in the campus conflict with the police. The personal narrative, which can contribute to humanizing protesters and generating readers' sympathy, is not translated.

In October, the Trump administration imposed some restrictions on Chinese companies and organizations for their roles in the mass repression of Muslims in mainland China, but Mr. Trump has held back from harsher actions for fear of upsetting the trade negotiations.

> **How Hong Kong Got Here**  Tracking the protest movement, and the government crackdown, day by day.

If a Hong Kong bill reaches Mr. Trump's desk, analysts say, the president might see it as merely a tool to wring concessions from China and could forego support if a trade agreement were close.
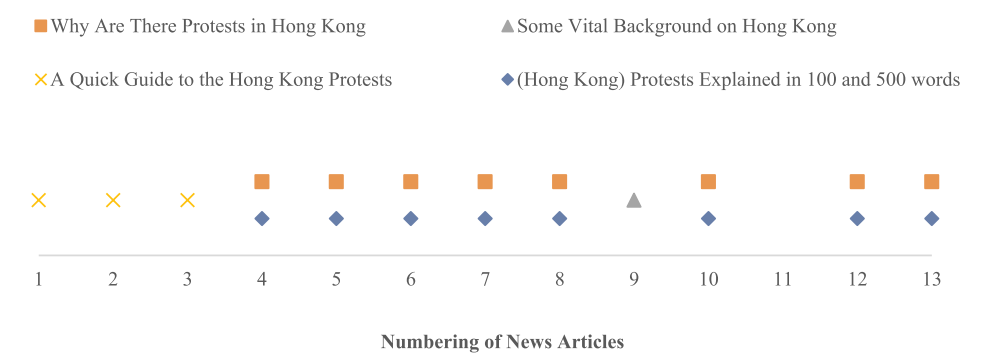
**Figure 3.** Omission of paratextual information.



**Figure 4.** How background information on protests is presented in STs.

## Example 4

| ST | TT |
|---|---|
| Another 16-year-old protester told Reuters news agency she had chosen to 'surrender'. 'We have been trying to escape since yesterday morning. But then we couldn't find a way out [and] were afraid of being charged,' she said. 'This is the only way … I was quite desperate.' (19 November 2019) | omitted |

XNA Chinese omits the police shooting of a protester on 11 November. The English text describes how the police shooting happened and presents the police's denial of using firearms recklessly. However, XNA Chinese does not translate this only instance of police brutality reported in the ST.

### *Temporal and spatial framing*

Table 4 demonstrates the historical references translated from the STs and those added to the TTs by BBC Chinese, NYT Chinese, and XNA Chinese. Both BBC Chinese and NYT Chinese translate the references to the 'one country, two systems' principle and Hong Kong's colonial past. As shown in Example 5, the references emphasize that the principle

**Table 4.** Use of temporal and spatial framing.

| News Organization | Context Translated | Context Added |
|---|---|---|
| BBC Chinese | one country, two systems<br>HK's colonial past | Taiwan's colonial past |
| NYT Chinese | one country, two systems<br>HK's colonial past<br>re-education in Xinjiang<br>Tiananmen Square crackdown | – |
| XNA Chinese | – | one country, two systems<br>turmoil in the Middle East<br>color revolutions |

allows Hong Kong to preserve the political freedom that is the British legacy to Hong Kong, thus assigning a positive meaning to the British colonization of Hong Kong.

Example 5.

| ST | TT | Back-translation |
|---|---|---|
| Hong Kong is part of China but as a former British colony it has some autonomy and people have more rights. (BBC English, 13 November 2019) | 香港是中国的一部分，但这个前英国殖民地在"一国两制"下享有比中国大陆民众更多的自由。(BBC Chinese, 13 November 2019) | Hong Kong is part of China, but this former British colony enjoys more freedoms than mainland Chinese citizens under the 'one country, two systems' principle. |

As illustrated in Example 6, XNA Chinese interprets the 'one country, two systems' principle from the perspective of sovereignty. It emphasizes that China's sovereignty over Hong Kong is the prerequisite for the region's development.

Example 6.

| ST | TT | Back-translation |
|---|---|---|
| – | "一国两制"是个伟大构想 … … "香港是中国一部分。这是必须接受的事实。我认为任何企图将香港与中国分开的努力都是不能接受的。我们决不能忘记，如果香港不属于中国，它将永远不会得到发展。(19 November 2019) | The 'one country, two systems' principle is a great idea … 'Hong Kong is a part of China. This is a fact that must be accepted. I believe any attempt to separate Hong Kong from China is unacceptable. We must never forget that if Hong Kong did not belong to China, it would never develop.' |

As presented in Example 7, BBC Chinese connects the police shooting with the colonial history of Taiwan. It draws a comparison between Hong Kong's present under Chinese rule and Taiwan's past as a Japanese colony, when the police had unchecked power, reinforcing the narrative of police brutality.

Example 7.

| ST | TT | Back-translation |
|---|---|---|
| – | 【颜择雅】表示，台湾在日本统治时期，也有过警权独大的日子。当时警察权力包山包海，并称：'香港如今的一国两制，跟日本殖民台湾的方式开始有几分神似。'(12 November 2019) | [Joyce Yen] said that when Taiwan was under the rule of Japan, the police also had unrestrained power. At that time, they took control of everything. She added, 'The current 'one country, two systems' principle in Hong Kong is somewhat similar to the way Japan colonized Taiwan.' |

NYT Chinese reproduces the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown and the ideological re-education in Xinjiang through translation. It refers to the crackdown as 支持民主的学生和工人进行的大屠杀 [the massacre of pro-democracy students and workers], selecting the iconic symbol of tanks to suggest a potential escalation of state violence against Hong Kong protesters. In the reference to re-education in Xinjiang, NYT Chinese suggests that the Chinese government would adopt 新疆式的某种思想再教育[the Xinjiang-style ideological re-education] to cure "可矫正"但误入歧途的年轻人['correctable' but misguided young people], raising a concern that similar repressive measures could be adopted in Hong Kong.

As presented in Example 8, XNA Chinese connects the turmoil in Hong Kong with the turbulence in the Middle East. It highlights the instability, conflicts, and devastation resulting from external forces, reinforcing the narratives that external forces attempt to stage another color revolution to overthrow the rule of the Chinese and Hong Kong governments.

Example 8.

| ST | TT | Back-translation |
|---|---|---|
| – | 齐亚认为，香港如今的动荡局面是由某些国家煽动起来的 … 过去十几年，一些中东国家在外部势力的煽动下爆发了大规模反政府暴力示威，最终陷入血腥冲突与残酷破坏。(16 November 2019) | Zia believed that the turbulence in Hong Kong was provoked by certain countries … For over a decade, large-scale violent anti-government demonstrations, instigated by external forces, have broken out in these countries, eventually leading to bloody conflicts and devastation. |

### Labeling

When referring to participants in the 2019 Hong Kong protests, BBC English and NYT English label them as 'protesters' and 'demonstrators'. BBC Chinese and NYT Chinese also use the same labels of '抗议者 [protesters]' and '示威者[demonstrators]'. However, XNA English and XNA Chinese characterize them as 'rioters' and '暴徒[rioters]' respectively.

In most cases, the labeling of the news actors involved in the protests differs significantly between BBC English and BBC Chinese. As presented in Table 5, the STs use the 'pro-democracy', 'pro-Beijing' and 'anti-government' modifiers to characterize a knife attacker, protesters, and a citizen set ablaze by protesters. This labeling strategy draws a clear line between the in-group and out-group members to distinguish between 'us' and 'them' (van Dijk, 2011). However, these labels are omitted in the TTs.

**Table 5.** BBC's labelling of actors involved in protests.

| News Actor | ST | TT | Back-translation |
|---|---|---|---|
| knife attacker | pro-Beijing supporter | 该名男子 | the man |
| protesters | pro-democracy activists | 抗议者 | protesters |
| | anti-government protesters | 抗议者 | protesters |
| a citizen set ablaze | pro-Beijing supporter | 持不同政治意见的市民 | a citizen with different political views |
| | pro-Beijing supporter | 该名男子 | the man |

### Repositioning of participants

Repositioning of participants is found to be closely related to the use of the other three narrative framing strategies. Only BBC Chinese employs this strategy in translation. First, by removing the evaluative modifiers that distinguish between pro-democracy and pro-Beijing groups, BBC Chinese repositions the news actors and the news issues through translation.

Second, while including protesters' voices and the background to protests helps to legitimize protests (McLeod, 2007), BBC Chinese omits such important information. Meanwhile, the addition of abundant official sources creates a sense of impartiality (McLeod, 2007), obscuring the STs' favorable stance on the protests. By making the TTs appear more impartial than the STs, BBC Chinese repositions itself in translation as a seemingly more impartial institution.

Finally, the three narrative framing strategies discussed above contribute to the repositioning of the Chinese target readers. BBC English readers are exposed to more personal narratives from protesters, whereas Chinese readers are exposed to a much larger number of official sources critical of violence committed by protesters and police. As a result, there may be variances in the perception of the conflict between the Chinese and English readers.

## Discussion and conclusions

Despite constructing two sets of competing narratives, BBC Chinese and NYT Chinese give prominence to pro-democracy narratives, which advocate the values of democracy and freedom and highlight China's human rights violations. However, all the narratives constructed by XNA Chinese criticize foreign intervention and underscore the violence committed by protesters, portraying external forces and protesters as threats to sovereignty and social order. These narratives resonate with previous studies on the monolingual coverage of the 2019 Hong Kong protests by UK, US, and Chinese media. Therefore, it can be concluded that the (dominant) narratives transmitted by the three news organizations through translation reflect the ideologies of their respective source cultures. Translation of protest news serves to promote ideology to target readers.

The three news organizations differ in the use of framing strategies, altering the original protest narratives to varying degrees. Ideologies are either reproduced, weakened, or strengthened in the translation process. NYT Chinese reproduces ideology by translating the narratives elaborated in the English texts faithfully, as its translators adopt the strategy of literal translation (Ping, 2020). The paratextual background information, which can help legitimize a social movement (McLeod, 2007), is omitted.

BBC Chinese employs the strategy of selective appropriation extensively, conforming to the institutional practices of translation, adaptation, and rewriting (Tokalac, 2023). Consequently, the TTs feature heavy reliance on official sources, inadequate contexts and the omission of many protesters' voices. Furthermore, the labelling of news actors is neutralized. It seems that BBC Chinese aims to create a seemingly more impartial coverage for target Chinese readers, resulting in the 'dilution of ideology'. However, such coverage leans more toward the protest paradigm and does not help to humanize protesters or elicit sympathy for the protests among Chinese readers, particularly those who depend on state-controlled media for information.

The active use of selective appropriation by XNA Chinese aligns with previous studies on its translation practices (Qin & Huang, 2021; Qin & Zhang, 2018; Q. Zhang, 2022). The addition of different narrative elements foregrounds the negative effects of protester violence on social stability, strengthening the CCP's ideology featuring the (in)stability discourse. The omission of the police shooting might be a consideration to avoid a negative representation of the Hong Kong police to mainland Chinese readers, given the widespread domestic public support for the police online (Koetse, 2019). The issue of police shootings is often used by Chinese media to criticize racial inequality and human rights issues in the US, such as CCTV (2023) and *Global Times* (2016).

The use of temporal and spatial framing is ideologically driven. BBC Chinese and NYT Chinese contextualize the protests through the lens of liberal democracy. XNA Chinese emphasizes preserving the status quo and highlights the instability as a consequence of foreign intervention – reflecting the CCP's (in)stability discourse.

Ideally, media should recognize protests as a legitimate form of democratic expression and participation, identifying underlying issues and giving voice to protesters' concerns (McLeod, 2007). In both reporting and translating protest news, multilingual media should offer adequate background information and provide more space for protesters to narrate their grievances. These practices can lend legitimacy to protests, contest state-controlled narratives, and encourage critical thinking among target readers.

The current research addresses the challenge of identifying key points of narrative analysis and tackles the lack of a clear methodology (Baker, 2014; Harding, 2018). Using protest paradigm components as key narrative elements, the interdisciplinary approach breaks down narratives into narrative elements, making it possible to use the analysis of parts (narrative elements) to account for the whole (narratives). This approach can also be applied to analyze the narratives of various types of protests.

Future research could expand the scope of narrative analysis by examining the different stages of the 2019 Hong Kong protests, such as the start of the demonstrations, the outbreak of conflict, and the escalation of conflict. Researchers could also explore institutional translation practices through questionnaires and interviews to offer insights into the decision-making process of news translation and the translation strategies adopted.

## Note

1. In collecting news data from LexisNexis and Google Advanced Search, the search for 'demonstrat!' retrieves all suffixes of the word, such as demonstrated, demonstrators, demonstrates, and demonstration. This is also the case with the other three English keywords.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Funding

## Notes on contributor

*Hao Mo* is a PhD candidate at the University of East Anglia. His research interests include news translation, narrative theory, and framing analysis. Before starting his PhD, Hao Mo worked as a lecturer in English at South China Business College, Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, China. He also worked as a CATTI-certified freelance translator and interpreter for international conferences, academic institutions, and multinational corporations.

## ORCID

*Hao Mo* http://orcid.org/0009-0000-6772-1070

## References

Adegbola, O., Gearhart, S., & Cho, J. (2022). Reporting bias in coverage of Iran protests by global news agencies. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *27*(1), 138–157. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161220966948

Akhavan-Majid, R., & Ramaprasad, J. (2000). Framing Beijing: Dominant ideological influences on the American press coverage of the Fourth UN Conference on Women and the NGO forum. *Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands)*, *62*(1), 45–59. https://doi.org/10.1177/0016549200062001004

Baker, M. (2006). *Translation and conflict: A narrative account*. Routledge.

Baker, M. (2007). Reframing conflict in translation. *Social Semiotics*, *17*(2), 151–169. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330701311454

Baker, M. (2010). Narratives of terrorism and security: "Accurate" translations, suspicious frames. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, *3*(3), 347–364. https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2010.521639

Baker, M. (2014). Translation as re-narration. In J. House (Ed.), *Translation: A multidisciplinary approach* (pp. 158–177). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137025487_9

Bassnett, S., & Bielsa, E. (2009). *Translation in global news*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203890011

Baum, M., & Zhukov, Y. (2015). Filtering revolution: Reporting bias in international newspaper coverage of the Libyan Civil War. *Journal of Peace Research*, *52*(3), 384–400. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343314554791

BBC. (2019). *Editorial guidelines*. Retrieved April 18, 2022, from https://www.bbc.co.uk/editorialguidelines/guidelines/

BBC. (2022a). *BBC zhongwenwang jianjie* [Introduction to BBC Chinese website]. https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/institutional/2009/09/000000_about_us

BBC. (2022b). *Global news services*. Retrieved June 22, 2022, from https://www.bbc.com/aboutthebbc/whatwedo/worldservice

Boyle, M. P., McLeod, D. M., & Armstrong, C. L. (2012). Adherence to the protest paradigm: The influence of protest goals and tactics on news coverage in US and international newspapers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *17*(2), 127–144. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161211433837

Brown, D. K., & Harlow, S. (2019). Protests, media coverage, and a hierarchy of social struggle. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *24*(4), 508–530. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161219853517

CCTV. (2023, March 28). *Qidi Meiguo qinfan renquan zhenxiang: Gongmin quanli baohu zhidu shineng, "renquan dengta" zongshi dengxiahei* [Uncovering the truth about US human rights

violations. The system for protecting civil rights is dysfunctional. The "beacon of human rights" always has shadows under the light.]. https://tinyurl.com/mtpapusx

Chan, P. C. W., & Swanström, N. (2019, August 23). *Hong Kong in China's geopolitical gaze*. The Institute for Security and Development Policy. https://www.isdp.eu/publication/hong-kong-in-chinas-geopolitical-gaze/

Cheesman, T., & Nohl, A.-M. (2011). Many voices, one BBC World Service? The 2008 US elections, gatekeeping and trans-editing. *Journalism*, *12*(2), 217–233. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884910388589

Dardis, F. E. (2006). Marginalization devices in U.S. press coverage of Iraq war protest: A content analysis. *Mass Communication and Society*, *9*(2), 117–135. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327825mcs0902_1

Davier, L. (2017). *Les enjeux de la traduction dans les agences de presse [Challenges in translation in news agencies]*. Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, *43*(4), 51–58. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

Fang, K. (2022). Praise from the international community: How China uses foreign experts to legitimize authoritarian rule. *The China Journal*, *87*, 72–91. https://doi.org/10.1086/717550

Filmer, D. (2014). Journalators? An ethnographic study of British journalists who translate. *Cultus*, *7* (1), 135–158.

Global Times. (2016, June 16). *Meiguo chiqiang shi baozhang ziyou haishi mosha renquan* [Is gun ownership in the US safeguarding freedom or erasing human rights?]. https://m.huanqiu.com/article/9CaKrnJVXFe

Gruber, J. B. (2021). *Troublemakers in the streets? A framing analysis of newspaper coverage of protest in the UK 1992-2017* [Doctoral dissertation]. University of Glasgow. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. https://doi.org/10.5525/gla.thesis.82346

Gruber, J. B. (2023). Troublemakers in the streets? A framing analysis of newspaper coverage of protests in the UK 1992–2017. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *28*(2), 414–433. https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612221102058

Harding, S.-A. (2012). *Beslan: Six stories of the siege*. Manchester University Press. https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526130211

Harding, S.-A. (2018). Resonances between social narrative theory and complexity theory: A potentially rich methodology for translation studies. In K. Marais & R. Meylaerts (Eds.), *Complexity thinking in translation studies: Methodological considerations* (pp. 33–52). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203702017

Hertog, J. K., & McLeod, D. M. (1995). Anarchists wreak havoc in downtown Minneapolis: A multi-level study of media coverage of radical protest. *Journalism and Communication Monographs*, *151*, 1–48. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED295274.pdf

Hong, J. (2011). From the world's largest propaganda machine to a multipurposed global news agency: Factors in and implications of Xinhua's transformation since 1978. *Political Communication*, *28*(3), 377–393. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2011.572487

Huang, V. G., & Li, X. (2022). Diffusion-proofing protest paradigm: Mass media and China's prevention of social movement spillover during the Hong Kong anti-extradition law amendment bill movement. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *29*(2), 328–350. https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612221123243

Kai, J. (2020, May 6). What are America's interests in Hong Kong? The hardnosed new U.S. approach to Hong Kong may actually end up undermining U.S. interests in the region. *The Diplomat*. https://thediplomat.com/2020/05/what-are-americas-interests-in-hong-kong/

Kamyanets, A. (2022). Selective appropriation in the BBC news translated into Ukrainian and Russian. *Journalism*, *23*(7), 1548–1566. https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849221074512

Koetse, M. (2019, August 9). *How the Hong Kong protests are discussed on Chinese social media*. What's on Weibo. https://www.whatsonweibo.com/how-the-hong-kong-protests-are-discussed-on-chinese-social-media/

Lee, F. L. F. (2014). Triggering the protest paradigm: Examining factors affecting news coverage of protests. *International Journal of Communication*, *8*, 2725–2746. https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/viewFile/2873/1215

Lee, F. L. F., Yuen, S., Tang, G., & Cheng, E. W. (2019). Hong Kong's summer of uprising: From anti-extradition to anti-authoritarian protests. *China Review*, *19*(4), 1–32. https://doi.org/10.2307/26838911

Liu, M., & Wang, G. (2022). An introduction to the special issue on "*Language, politics and media: the Hong Kong protests*: The Hong Kong protests". *Journal of Language and Politics*, *21*(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.21056.liu

Liu, S. (2021, September 16). *Banban lieji! Meiguo shi Erzhan hou guoji heping huanjing de zuida pohuaizhe* [Countless evil deeds! The US is the biggest destroyer of the peaceful international environment after World War II]. Xinhua News Agency. http://www.news.cn/2021-09/16/c_1127868260.htm

Ma, K. (2020). Xinhua News Agency. In D. L. Merskin (Ed.), *The SAGE international encyclopedia of mass media and society* (Vol. 5, pp. 1918–1918). SAGE Publications.

Ma, S., & Weiss, J. C. (2023). Strong state or vulnerable homeland: How Chinese state media sought to combat democratic diffusion during the 2019 Hong Kong protests. *Journal of Contemporary China*, *32*(139), 106–122. https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2022.2052442

Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: Toward improving reliability and validity. *Journal of Communication*, *58*(2), 258–279. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x

McFarlane, T., & Hay, I. (2003). The battle for Seattle: Protest and popular geopolitics in the Australian newspaper. *Political Geography*, *22*(2), 211–232. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298(02)00090-2

McLeod, D. M., & Hertog, J. K. (1992). The manufacture of "public opinion" by reporters: Informal cues for public perceptions of protest groups. *Discourse & Society*, *3*(3), 259–275. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926592003003001

McLeod, D. M., & Hertog, J. K. (1999). Social control, social change and the mass media's role in the regulation of protest groups. In D. Demers & K. Viswanath (Eds.), *Mass media, social control and social change* (pp. 305–330). Iowa State University Press.

McLeod, D. M. (2007). News coverage and social protest: How the media's protest paradigm exacerbates social conflict. *Journal of Dispute Resolution*, *2007*(1), 185–194. https://scholarship.law.missouri.edu/jdr/vol2007/iss1/12

Mottura, B. (2017). Reporting on Chinese politics. A genre–based analysis on Xinhua News Agency dispatch. In B. Mottura, L. Osti, & G. Riboni (Eds.), *Media and politics: Discourses, cultures, and practices* (pp. 94–111). Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Munday, J. (2009). Paratexts. In J. Munday (Ed.), *The Routledge. companion to translation studie* (pp. 214–215). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203879450

NYT Chinese. (2022). *About Us*. Retrieved June 22, 2022, from https://cn.nytimes.com/help/about-us/

Oliver, P. E., & Maney, G. M. (2000). Political processes and local newspaper coverage of protest events: From selection bias to triadic interactions. *American Journal of Sociology*, *106*(2), 463–505. https://doi.org/10.1086/316964

Pan, L. (2014). Investigating institutional practice in news translation: An empirical study of a Chinese agency translating discourse on China. *Perspectives*, *22*(4), 547–565. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2014.948888

Peng, Z. (2004). Representation of China: An across time analysis of coverage in *The New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *14*(1), 53–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/0129298042000195170

Petrosyan, A. (2024). *Leading markets for VPN usage among internet users worldwide as of 2nd quarter 2017*.

Ping, Y. (2020). *Representations of Hong Kong in news translation: A corpus-based critical narrative analysis* [Doctoral dissertation]. University of Leeds. https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/27082/

Purbrick, M. (2019). A report of the 2019 Hong Kong protests. *Asian Affairs*, *50*(4), 465–487. https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2019.1672397

Qin, B., & Huang, L. (2021). Reframing opponents in news translation: A case study of the Sino-Philippine South China Sea dispute. *Asia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies*, *8*(2), 130–147. https://doi.org/10.1080/23306343.2021.1930459

Qin, B., & Zhang, M. (2018). Reframing translated news for target readers: A narrative account of news translation in Snowden's discourses. *Perspectives*, *26*(2), 261–276. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2017.1377265

Shahin, S., Zheng, P., Sturm, H. A., & Fadnis, D. (2016). Protesting the paradigm: A comparative study of news coverage of protests in Brazil, China, and India. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *21*(2), 143–164. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161216631114

Shao, F. (2015, June 14). "Yanse geming" weihe xing bu tong? [Why does the "color revolution" fail to work?]. *People's Daily*. https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1341462

Sing, M. (2020). Explaining public participation in anti-authoritarian protests in Hong Kong. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, *53*(4), 2–21. https://doi.org/10.1525/j.postcomstud.2020.53.4.2

Song, Y., Lee, C.-C., & Huang, Z. (2019). The news prism of nationalism versus globalism: How does the US, UK and Chinese elite press cover "China's rise"? *Journalism*, *22*(8), 2071–2090. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919847143

Tian, W. (2020, June 17). "Yanse geming" bushi bufeng zhuoying - du Alabo *"geming" yincang de lingyimian* you gan ["Color revolution" is not imaginary - Thoughts on the *Hidden Face of the Arab "Revolutions"*] *China Daily*. https://cn.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202006/17/WS5ee9e988a31027ab2a8d0b1a.html

Tian, W. (2023, May 15). *Meiguo weihe rezhong cedong "yanse geming"?* [Why is the US so obsessed with instigating a "colour revolution"?]. People.cn. http://paper.people.com.cn/rmlt/html/2023-05/15/content_25999958.htm

Tokalac, S. S. (2023, November 28). *A translation quality assessment by journalists for journalists*. BBC News Labs. https://bbcnewslabs.co.uk/news/2023/multilingual-assessment/

Tracy, M. (2020, May 6). *The New York Times* Tops 6 Million Subscribers as Ad Revenue Plummets. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/06/business/media/new-york-times-earnings-subscriptions-coronavirus.html

Tryhorn, C. (2013). *BBC is in a 'soft power' battle with international broadcasters*. The Guardian. Retrieved June 22, 2022, from https://www.theguardian.com/media/media-blog/2013/nov/13/bbc-broadcasters-tony-hall-worldwide-audience-cctv-al-jazeera

Valdeón, R. A. (2015). Fifteen years of journalistic translation research and more. *Perspectives*, *23*(4), 634–662. https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2015.1057187

Valdeón, R. A. (2022). Gatekeeping, ideological affinity and journalistic translation. *Journalism*, *23*(1), 117–133. https://doi.org/10.1177/F1464884920917296

Valdeón, R. A. (2023a). Agenda-setting and journalistic translation: *The New York Times* in English, Spanish and Chinese. *Across Languages and Cultures*, *24*(2), 203–220. https://doi.org/10.1556/084.2023.00358

Valdeón, R. A. (2023b). Translation and the tabloidization of *The New York Times* in Spanish. *The translator*, *29*(3), 346–361. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2022.2145880

van Dijk, T. A. (2011). Discourse and ideology. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse studies: A multi-disciplinary introduction* (2nd ed., pp. 379–409). SAGE Publications.

van Doorslaer, L. (2012). Translating, narrating and constructing images in journalism with a test case on representation in Flemish TV news. *Meta*, *57*(4), 1046–1059. https://doi.org/10.7202/1021232ar

Veneti, A., Karadimitriou, A., & Poulakidakos, S. (2016). Media ecology and the politics of dissent: Representations of the Hong Kong protests in *The Guardian* and *China Daily*. *Social Media + Society*, *2*(3), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116662175

Wang, G. (2022). Britain as a protector, a mediator or an onlooker? Examining the 2019–20 Hong Kong protests in British newspapers. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *21*(1), 17–36. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.21018.wan

Wang, G., & Ma, X. (2021). Were they illegal rioters or pro-democracy protestors? Examining the 2019–20 Hong Kong protests in *China Daily* and *The New York Times*. *Critical Arts*, *35*(2), 85–99. https://doi.org/10.1080/02560046.2021.1925940

Wasserstrom, J. N. (2003). Current Chinese protests and the prism of Tiananmen. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *8*(1), 81–86. https://doi.org/10.1177/1081180X02238786

Watson, A. (2021). *Circulation of select newspapers in the U.S. 2021*. Statista. Retrieved June 22, 2022, from https://www.statista.com/statistics/272790/circulation-of-the-biggest-daily-newspapers-in-the-us/

Wu, C. (2020). *Nationalism and social order in public discourse: Analyzing mainland Chinese sentiments towards the 2019 Hong Kong protests* [Master's thesis]. Duke University. https://sites.duke.edu/honorsthesis2020/files/2020/04/Thesis-Final-Draft.pdf

Wu, G., & Zhang, H. (2015). Translating political ideology: A case study of the Chinese translations of the English news headlines concerning South China Sea disputes on the website of www.ftchinese.com. *Babel*, *61*(3), 394–410.

Xin, X. (2018). Popularizing party journalism in China in the age of social media: The case of Xinhua News Agency. *Global Media and China*, *3*(1), 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/2059436418768331

Yang, Y. (2023). Political discourse in China: How does China frame Hong Kong protests to its domestic audience? *Journal of Quantitative Description: Digital Media*, *3*, 1–58. https://doi.org/10.51685/jqd.2023.013

Yu, A. (2023). British values, Hong Kong voices: Tracing Hong Kong's Britishness and its influences on British immigration policies. *African and Asian Studies*, *22*(4), 418–451. https://doi.org/10.1163/15692108-12341616

Zeng, J. (2014). *The Chinese Communist Party's capacity to rule: Legitimacy, ideology, and party cohesion* [Doctoral dissertation]. University of Warwick. https://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/64241/

Zeng, W. (2020). Reframing news by different agencies: A case study of translations of news on the US-China trade dispute. *Babel*, *66*(4-5), 847–866. https://doi.org/10.1075/babel.00172.zen

Zhang, M. M., Wang, X., & Hu, Y. (2023). Strategic framing matters but varies: A structural topic modeling approach to analyzing China's foreign propaganda about the 2019 Hong Kong protests on twitter. *Social Science Computer Review*, *41*(1), 265–285. https://doi.org/10.1177/08944393211042575

Zhang, Q. (2022). Reframing translated Chinese political news for target readers — A study on English translations of Chinese political news. *International Journal of English Literature and Social Sciences*, *7*(2), 225–234. https://doi.org/10.22161/ijels.72.29