



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

Help or Hindrance?
New Zealand Audience Perspectives
on Subtitled Media

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Arts

at

The University of Waikato

by

VICTORIA KIRK



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2019

Abstract

This research presents a picture of audiences' patterns of engagement with internationally subtitled media in Hamilton, New Zealand. Utilising an audience reception framework to investigate audiences' interactions with, and evaluations of subtitled media, this research unites the disciplines of Audio Visual Translation and Screen and Media Studies in a specific locale, with an emphasis on the reception of audio visual translated media. Findings in this research also provide a discussion of the wider contexts of audience reception in New Zealand, by investigating local subtitled media in relation to media accessibility processes found in the distinctive cultural landscape of New Zealand. Ultimately, this research finds the situation in New Zealand regarding audiences and the reception of both local English and Māori language media, as well as international subtitled media, exhibits complex polarisations in both the local translation industry production and audience attitudes towards bilingual media. In contrast to this, is the proliferation of international media with subtitles, which is appreciated by Hamilton residents since it provides diverse, accessible, and enjoyable content through a variety of media platforms.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express a heartfelt thank you to my supervisor Dr. Ann Hardy for her support and guidance throughout this project.

I received a scholarship whilst undertaking this project and I am profoundly grateful to the University of Waikato for this support. The Masters Research Scholarship greatly aided and supported my research, without which I would not have been able to complete my thesis.

In addition I would like to thank Dr. Arezou Zalipour for her advice and encouragement throughout this journey.

A special thank you to Dr. Geoff Lealand for assistance with recruitment from the Hamilton Film Society and for kindly sharing his time and providing the use of his home as a setting for some focus groups.

Lastly, a big thank you to my family for being there for me.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Tables.....	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	4
Introduction.....	4
Diaspora and Globalisation: Cinema Production, Distribution & Reception.....	6
Audio Visual Translation.....	12
Subtitling.....	15
Subtitled Media: Production, Distribution and Reception in New Zealand.....	18
Historical and Current Picture of the New Zealand Media and Cultural Landscape.....	19
History of Cinema: Subtitling Origins and Universal Audiences.....	24
International and Local: Established Subtitling Countries and Markets.....	27
Role of the Translator: Subtitling.....	30
Media Accessibility.....	37
Media Accessibility in New Zealand.....	38
Future Developments in Subtitling: Creative Subtitling and Fan-subbing.....	42
Subtitling: Reception Studies and Audiences.....	51
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	65
Introduction.....	65
Media Audience Research and Reception Studies Methodologies.....	66
Methodology for this study.....	78

Ethics Approval.....	78
Recruitment of Participants	78
Sites of Research	80
Methods of Research	81
Survey.....	81
Film Screenings and combined Focus Groups	82
Online Research: Audience posts from Social Media	86
Research Objectives	88
Chapter 4: Findings	89
Introduction	89
Survey.....	90
Focus Groups.....	113
Levels of Familiarity and Unfamiliarity with the Source languages of Subtitled Films	114
Subtitles as Language Learning tools	116
Aesthetics of Subtitling:	120
Film Case Study: <i>Things to Come</i> (2016).....	120
Film Case Study: <i>A Day</i> (2015)	125
Subtitles as Narrative Indicators: Audience Perspectives of Cultural Nuances and Transference	131
Cultural Curiosity: Accessibility to Foreign Cultures, Storylines and Cinema .	135
Subtitle versus Image: Audiences Experiences of Image and Text Correspondence	138
Subtitling (immersion) versus Dubbing (disassociation).....	139
Subtitles as Filters of Culture: Impediments to total Narrative Immersion ...	143
Audience Control or Lack of Control with Subtitled Media	146

SLS Subtitling and Anglophone Audiences – Locating Accents – Subtitle Use and Misuse	147
Cultural Dissonance: Experiences of Local Dubbing	149
Hearing Audiences and Closed Captioning Experiences	150
Aesthetics of Fan-subbing	151
Creative Subtitles: Audience experiences.....	154
Audience perspectives on Translation, Adaptation and Re-makes	156
Subtitling: Film Industry, Production & Translation	157
Subtitling on New Zealand National Television: Audience Perspectives and Predictions.....	159
Social Media commentaries on Subtitled Television in New Zealand	162
Subtitling, The Casketeers and New Zealand National Television: Focus Group Participants’ Perspectives and Predictions	167
Polarisation: The Case of Bilingualism, Subtitling and Moving out with Tamati	169
Concluding Discussion	179
References.....	184
Appendices.....	200

List of Tables

Table 1: Beginner level to some understanding of specific languages.....	93
Table 2: Participant preferences for subtitles or dubbing.....	95
Table 3: Participant engagement with subtitle languages	96
Table 4: Variety of streaming platforms	98
Table 5: Participants living abroad.....	102
Table 6: Participants' travel experience.....	103
Table 7: Participant preferences for international cinema.....	110
Table 8: Participants' attendance at international and local film festivals	112

List of Figures

Figure 1: Subtitles - Two person dialogue exchange (Source: Wikimedia Commons, 2018)	16
Figure 2:SDH Subtitling/Captioning (Source: Wikimedia Commons, 2018)	17
Figure 3: Ethnicity Coding	91
Figure 4: Nationality of participants	92
Figure 5: Fluency in languages	92
Figure 6: Translation modes and viewers	94
Figure 7: Subtitled content and choice of mediums	97
Figure 8: Subtitled content online	98
Figure 9: Cinema attendance in New Zealand	101
Figure 10: Accessing international media while travelling abroad.....	104
Figure 11: Subtitles influencing language learning	105
Figure 12: New Zealand television channel viewing.....	106
Figure 13: Interest in subtitles on New Zealand television.....	107
Figure 14: Preference for subtitle language options	108
Figure 15: Participants use of closed captioning	109
Figure 16: Bold font (Source: Things to Come, 2016)	120
Figure 17: Contrast (Source: Things to Come, 2016)	121
Figure 18: Textual referent positioning (Source: Things to Come, 2016).....	123
Figure 19: Two Lines (Source: Things to Come, 2016)	124
Figure 20: Visual written information (Source: A Day, 2015)	126
Figure 21: Phone no subtitles (Source: A Day, 2015).....	128
Figure 22:Phone subtitles (Source: A Day, 2015).....	129
Figure 23:Subtitle line length (Source: A Day, 2015)	130
Figure 24: Lost in translation (Source: A Day, 2015).....	132
Figure 25: Lost in translation 2 (Source: A Day, 2015).....	133

Chapter 1: Introduction

As we live in a visual, digital and increasingly mediatised world where people can quickly access forms of local and international media content online, creating media content that global audiences can understand and enjoy is vital. Such media can also help people in diverse locations to connect with each other. Audio Visual Translation is a burgeoning field established from Translation Studies and concerns the translation of dialogue, and sometimes, sound effects, in a medium such as film, via subtitling or dubbing. Subtitling is a popular cost effective method for media content distributed to many countries throughout Europe and the Asia Pacific. Subtitles are the most common form of translation for many English-speaking audiences, where additional text shown on screen enhances viewers' understandings of media content, catering to predominantly monolingual countries, and also to deaf or hard of hearing audiences.

Since natural languages are full of metaphors and shortcuts to communication, there is a lot of skill involved in doing good subtitles. Audio Visual Translation (AVT) is both a global and local industry of production, particularly throughout Europe. Film studies and Translation studies have for too long been separate fields, but the connection of film and translation studies has been called upon for longer than a decade, as Chaume (2004) asserts, "the theoretical contributions of Translation Studies and those of Film Studies are necessary. Both disciplines are crucial in the exegesis of audiovisual texts and become necessary in order to understand the interlaced web of meaning in these texts" (p. 13). Díaz Cintas (2008) in accordance with Chaume, claims that there is insufficient research that bridges the fields of media studies and translation studies, "despite the potential cross-fertilisation between cinema studies and translation studies very little has actually crystallised." (p. 3). Gambier (2008) also shares a similar view, "few systematic studies have examined the production and reception or the cultural and linguistic impact of audio-visual translation" (p. 11). Since little inter-disciplinary research has been done in New Zealand through a combined Media Studies and Film and Cultural Studies approach to Audio Visual Translation practices and Audience Reception

Studies, this project intends to investigate audio-visual translation methods of film subtitling but from a perspective oriented towards the viewer, as well as understanding local audiences' responses to subtitled film.

Because film-watching is always an idiosyncratic experience for each individual where they bring their own cultural and language background to the fore when 'reading' a text, audiences thus navigate their understanding of both the familiar and unfamiliar, guided by, in many cases, the addition of subtitles to deliver to them an understanding of a culture and language which may differ from their own. As Tuominen (2013) affirms, "Texts are created to be read, and they are translated to be read by a new audience in a different language and cultural context. Without their audience, texts have little significance" (p. 13).

The fundamental initiative for this research is to provide an audience reception study investigating audiences and their encounters with subtitled media forms, thus audience reception will be discussed as the main framework, where both a qualitative and quantitative approach will be demonstrated in the methods and analysis chapters. The purpose of this research is to understand how audiences, i.e. the viewers, react to and perceive subtitled media and bring their own backgrounds; their culture, language(s), patterns of migration and media preferences to the forefront of their engagement with subtitled media texts. This research hopes to gain insights into viewers' patterns of engagement with subtitled media via the following questions:

1. Do viewers feel that subtitles hinder or enhance their experience of film watching either linguistically or aesthetically?
2. Do viewers' socio-cultural backgrounds and varying language knowledge affect their perspectives of lingual and cultural meanings translated on screen?
3. Are viewers accustomed to certain translation methods in translated films?

The research, which will be presented in the following chapters, is approved by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Ethics Committee of the University of Waikato, hopes to discover what audiences think about film subtitling, focusing on New Zealand citizens and recent migrants living in the Waikato Region. Because subtitling is the dominant form for translated audio visual content both imported to and produced by New Zealand, understanding audience members' individual language and cultural backgrounds, media consumption patterns and feelings about subtitles, will form the basis of this research.

I will first discuss the various themes that permeate the field of Audio Visual Translation and Subtitling; themes such as the history of cinema subtitling, cognitive studies on audiences and subtitling industry practices in the review. Secondly, I will provide a methodological discussion and review of Media Studies approaches to Audience Studies, in particular Audience Reception. The methodology section will discuss the investigation into several groups of New Zealand viewers through the focus group and survey responses. Thirdly, I will present the analysis of which the research takes a thematic approach: to decipher the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of viewers and interprets their accounts of their experiences of subtitling, specifically from their evaluations of two internationally and English subtitled, short Korean and French film clips. Lastly, I will bring to the fore a debate on the local issues of subtitling and bilingual media reception in New Zealand, by providing an investigation into social media commentators' discussions on two recent locally subtitled television programmes, *The Casketeers* (2018) and *Moving out with Tamati* (2017). These discourses will present a polarising yet distinctive picture of how local audiences perceive instances of subtitling and Māori language through the dissemination of bilingual audio-visual media.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

This is a study of audience members' responses to subtitles on audio-visual texts: specifically two short films originally made in French and Korean. The audiences in this study are located in New Zealand but come from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Even though the sample was diverse, the study was conducted in the English language. I believe it is the case that the local and specific character of the New Zealand environment in relation to the large field of Audio Visual Translation and the specific field of Subtitling, will present significant insights into audience's reception of subtitled media. Subtitling is a narrower discipline of study within the Audio Visual Translation field, a field of study which is predominantly European-based. The two most common translation modes are subtitling and dubbing, but because dubbing is not the preferred or dominant mode in New Zealand, this thesis will be focusing on the practice of film subtitling and the reception of subtitling by viewers in New Zealand.

In the past 15 years there has been a call for, and a gradual drive towards, an integration of Media Studies approaches to studying Audio Visual Translation practices and their reception by audiences into pre-existing methods of studying subtitling. Audio Visual Translation scholars have typically focused on cognitive studies involving eye-tracking to study the psychological effects on viewers engaging in the subtitle viewing process. The earliest studies of this type appeared in the 1980's with another recent group emerging in the past ten years (see D'Ydewalle, Muylle & van Rensbergen, 1985; Perego, 2010; Orero, 2012). This method of measuring small physiological movements and inferring cognitive activities from them is one way of measuring an aspect of audience reception. Reception studies are still an important part of the AVT field, however, in recent years we are also seeing recognition of the value of media frameworks such as media convergence or understanding the participatory practices of audiences in the digital era, as theorised by Henry Jenkins (2006). AVT scholar Orrego Carmona (2016) has adopted this media studies approach in a subtitling setting, to work on

understanding in what ways audiences might be described as 'active', by tracking their viewers' behaviours with subtitled media across diverse online media platforms.

Firstly, I will review the literature on the development of the Audio Visual Translation field (AVT), secondly, I will examine literature on subtitling specifically, and lastly will review Media Studies theories which encompass both cultural studies frameworks and audience studies approaches to understanding the reception of subtitled texts. I propose that the integration of the two disciplines, a Media Studies and Audio Visual Translation Studies approach, is necessary for understanding audiences and their consumption of AVT media in the digital age. Discovering 'who' the audiences are in reception studies is finally, in 2018, being considered as a worthwhile area of investigation by AVT scholars. A well-established field explored for decades by both Cultural Studies and Media Studies scholars and various other social science fields, audience research is now considered a fresh terrain to investigate in the field of AVT. My literature research will draw mostly on the European overview of AVT, however, I propose that the phenomenon of studying subtitling and audiences should also incorporate investigations into subtitling industries and audiences outside the European continent. It is vital that we delve into the local receptions of subtitling, not be limited to a global or European-dominated approach, which currently appears to be the case. Hence, I will be conducting an investigation into a local context which has received little attention thus far, the local subtitling situation in New Zealand, specifically subtitling for hard-of-hearing and language revitalisation purposes, as well as the reception of internationally subtitled content by viewers in New Zealand. The intention of this thesis is to understand audiences' awareness of subtitled media and their perspectives on subtitling, which will take the form of a viewer-oriented approach, or audience reception-based investigation into understanding subtitled media, especially how subtitling is experienced by the viewer.

Diaspora and Globalisation: Cinema Production, Distribution & Reception

Meaning is constantly being produced and exchanged... in a variety of different *media*; especially, these days, in the modern mass media, the means of global communication, by complex technologies, which circulate meanings between different cultures on a scale and with a speed hitherto unknown in history (Hall, 1997, p. 3)

We make sense of the environments around us through language which organises both our ways of thinking and our speech acts. We exchange information and communicate not just through face to face interactions, but through the affordances that technology provides to reach people who are in both near and distant locations. Reaching out to environments which may be unfamiliar to us and to locations that are distant, mean that languages and their meanings can be unfamiliar to both sides: the sender and receiver, the producer and consumer. Because meanings circulate more rapidly through global communication networks and diasporic movements increase the circulation of peoples, then translation will always be necessary to intercept and to mediate the flows of communication products, facilitating our communication within an increasingly mediatised world. As Hall (1997) states, "Meaning has to be actively 'read' or 'interpreted'. The meaning we take as viewers, readers or audiences, is never exactly the meaning ... given by the speaker or writer or by other viewers," (p. 33). Thus, translation acts as a bridge between two or more languages and cultures which can be similar in some instances or diverse in others. Translation of audio visual media must always consider the cultural proximity of the source culture and the target audience culture when delivering a translation or an, "exchange of meanings – the giving and taking of meaning," (Hall, 1997, p. 2). But there is also a sense of re-giving of meaning through the role of the translator as intermediary, a role which involves, "a degree of *cultural relativism* between one culture and another," Translation is thus needed, "as we move from the ... conceptual universe of one culture or another," (Hall, 1997, p. 61).

The ability of diverse audiences to understand media texts is increasingly important in the digital age where people are migrating and communicating through global networks where many languages and cultures converge. Thus, information and communication networks maintained by people, i.e. producers, translators and distributors, as well as consumers, must keep up with this demand for translated media. Increasing quantities and patterns of migration have highlighted the need for the translation of audio-visual media, as migrants and refugees settle in new countries. Adapting to a new country whose language and culture is unfamiliar, may be made easier when local and international media are available in both a person's native language and the language and culture they wish to understand better. Subtitles may aid this process because the viewer can visualise the less familiar language, while aurally hearing it in its natural form. Audio-visual translation has thoroughly cemented its position in the current age, as Díaz Cintas (2012) notes,

The wide spread of audio visual media is possible thanks to its capacity for swift exchange, its appealing nature and its potential to reach large audiences anywhere in the world, traditionally mainly through the television and cinema, but nowadays increasingly through the Internet and mobile devices. This basic need to communicate involves, obviously, the production, distribution and consumption of information among people who may speak different languages in the same or in different parts of the world. To overcome linguistic barriers, translation and interpreting are imperative and have been practised for centuries as a means of fostering communication and dialogue across different linguistic and cultural communities (p. 273)

These linguistic barriers which Díaz Cintas mentions 'overcoming' consist of the geographical, dialectal and cultural varieties represented across international borders between countries; where languages can vary both over the continent, and also internally within each respective country, if we consider minority languages and dialects, which tend to be overshadowed by majority languages with official status. The issue of language policy in regard to governmental and social policies officialising language use in certain domains of society is a controversial area: it is an issue which is prominent in New Zealand, where the

official languages Māori and English have been running in parallel to each other and in public media for some time. This is an issue which will be explored later in the New Zealand Media section, but first, I would like to consider the global impacts of subcategorising cinema both via production and distribution processes, where the following subtypes, *Transnational*, *Diasporic*, and *World* Cinemas reflect the impetus for audio visual translation in the current age.

One of the major critical enterprises of the mid twentieth century in relation to cinema was the identification of characteristics that could be said to differentiate the cinema of one nation from another, where scholars such as Kracauer (1947) on German cinema, Vincendeau (2000) on French cinema and Conrich & Murray (2008) on New Zealand cinema, all trace the specific filmic styles and outputs of these nations. However, in the current decade, *National Cinema* has become increasingly problematic as a generic descriptor because the 'permeability of national borders' (Ezra & Rowden, 2006) has produced an increase in, "Planetwide interconnection through networks of communication ... and exchange," (Nesting & Elkington, 2005, p. 14) where the shape of cinema production and distribution highly factors this into account. According to Ezra & Rowden (2006) the European continent in particular, demonstrated, "a shifting geopolitical climate with the creation of the European Union," (p. 1). Thus, technological advancements over the years have allowed for 'increased circulation of films and heightened accessibility to film technologies for both filmmakers and spectators,' (Ezra & Rowden, 2006, p. 1). The migration of these technologies reveals patterns of cinematic relations throughout the world. The establishment of the European Union in 1991 launched, "The first MEDIA programme ... to encourage the development, distribution and sale of European films outside their country of origin. It now operates in 28 member states of the European Union." (Scoffier, 2014, para 6.) Thus, countries belonging to the union aid production and distribution of cinema in other proximate countries. Commonly, this appears more likely to occur if the countries are connected by film making alliances and share similar cultural and language backgrounds with one another, such is the case with

the increase in co-productions between the Latin American continent and Spain (Dennison, 2013).

Cinema has a universal power in its ability to reflect local and global themes and be received by national and international audiences. It has the power to transcend borders and become transnational, where, “cinema is a part of the process of cultural exchange and is characterised by hybridity and its relationships with other markets” (Shaw, 2013, p. 48). Thus, cinema production and reception factor in the transformative power of cinema where it may operate out of and across more than one territory simultaneously. *Transnational Cinema* is an entity that transcends social, cinematic, ethnic and economic boundaries, providing the world with interconnected channels relating to the dissemination of information, including the distribution of audio-visual art (cinema) touching on political and socially relatable themes for citizens in more than one country. Nowadays, categorising cinemas from around the globe is a complex task, as scholars such as Shaw, 2013; Dennison, 2013; and Nestingen & Elkington, 2005 demonstrate with case studies on the production and distribution of Latin American and Nordic cinema, where film making is dependent on multiple sites of production and distribution as well as various places of reception. The products of what were once neatly categorized as ‘national’ cinemas may now become internationally recognised because of their distribution to worldwide audiences. Importantly, once a national film is distributed internationally it is, in the majority of cases, dependant on translation to aid in its successful reception by viewers from other cultures.

Diasporic filmmakers across the globe have galvanised practices of transcending borders through cinema, in that, whatever their originating or host cultures, their films typically contain themes of dispersion, and re-settlement, of always being slightly ‘different’ even when the host country starts to feel more homelike, *Diasporic Cinema* involves, according to Naficy (2001), “the emergence of ‘accented cinema’ as when in the postcolonial era exilic, émigré, diasporic, refugee, ethnic, and transnational filmmakers, working in the interstices of social

formations and mainstream film and culture industries of the West, created a new transnational cinema,” (p. 113). These films are accented in that they present distinct experiences of marginalised groups who are caught between the culture(s) of their host and home countries, offering distinctive styles and usually incorporating alternative production means to national and mainstream cinema. In New Zealand, this situation has been explored by Zalipour’s work on Asian New Zealand filmmakers (2016), where she investigates film production from directors of Korean, Chinese and Indian backgrounds who are living in New Zealand. She delves into case studies of films, *Desert* (2010), *My Wedding and Other Secrets* (2011), as well as *Apron Strings* (2008), presenting both individual and collective aspects of production and distribution of diasporic cinema at a national level.

The increase in co-produced films has also increased the need for translation services since one film can include several languages if several countries have funded the production, and the characters, settings, and plot of the film may represent different language communities, and lastly, any one film may be distributed to countries which use another language entirely. This layering of elements means translators may translate (subtitle) several languages for just one film. A notable case of this is exemplified in the transnational film *Babel* (Iñárritu, 2006), which includes the languages, Spanish, Arabic, Berber, Japanese and English, to reflect the number of characters and geographical locations in the story, which is also representational of the cast and crew working on the production. Anglophone audiences in particular, were thus presented with English language subtitles providing a translation for many sequences within the film.

Globalisation has contributed to the rise in transnational cinema because, “global forces link people to institutions across nations,” (Ezra & Rowden, 2006, p. 1.) The globalisation of Hollywood’s power and the counter “responses of filmmakers from former colonial and Third World countries,” (Ezra & Rowden, 2006, p. 1), have contributed to the realisation of cinema as a broad spectrum of connectivity. *Transnational Cinema* is a term which covers the cross cultural production side of cinema by encapsulating the many affiliations and collaborations between sharing

of film technologies, film makers, film production companies and distributors. *Transnational Cinema* is a valuable concept as it portrays themes of identity, the journeys which one takes every day to seek solace in places of refuge, and our perpetual struggle to perceive where home is. As cinema is a universally received art form it, for many viewers experiencing cinema from around the world, has enabled the conceptual category of *World Cinema* to also become more prevalent.

World cinema is an audience-based categorisation for films that share similarities in presenting diverse languages and cultures from around the world, as Naghib (2006) believes, *World Cinema* is, “a democratic one which enables us to see, hear and experience the world and its cinemas [as] interconnected and interrelated” (pp. 34-35). Transnational films appear to be increasing in number, as universal narratives about migration reflect our nomadic tendencies in certain intervals during our lives, as well as providing opportunities to explore other cultures whilst reflecting on one’s own cultural identity. *World Cinema* is a broad generic category offered to film audiences and film festival and Film Society programmers, a global category of films which reflect cultures unfamiliar to large numbers of Anglophone audiences. For example, the annual *NZ International Film Festival* provides a guide and website which categorises international films under several categories: audiences can seek out films by clicking on the language and country category. (Refer to link <https://www.nziff.co.nz/2018/hamilton/films/title/>)

This categorization scheme is aware of the many processes and relationships which allow film to travel across and transcend borders. The categorisation of films either belonging to *World Cinema* and *Transnational Cinema* also reveals an overlap, where working with similar thematic components such as storylines around diasporic identity, as well as incorporating many shared aspects of cinema production (co-productions) and distribution to vast audiences. As migration around the globe intensifies, translation is also engaging with these global flows of communication, as Hajmohammadi (2004) asserts, “Subtitling has become very much a part of cinema, with the development of readily-available, cost-effective services to reach international audiences and markets,” (para. 2). Hence, with more cinema focused around representing a variety of cultures and languages,

some of which may or may not be shared by audiences in the country of distribution, translation is an imperative, in order to facilitate cross cultural distribution and reception in a number of countries, where in many countries, subtitling plays an increasing part in our digital and mediated engagement with media from around the world.

For the next section I shall focus on the establishment of the field Translation Studies, and discuss the development and contributions of the modern discipline Audio Visual Translation in relation to the production, distribution and reception of translated media.

Audio Visual Translation

Translation Studies Research has appeared sporadically throughout the late 1950's to the 1980's with Díaz Cintas (2003) claiming that there was a, "lethargy in the 1970's and 1980's." This lethargy having ended some time ago, there is currently a steady stream of research production in the field, as Díaz Cintas (2003) adds, "We have entered a period of vigorous activity dating back to the 1990s," (p. 192). This progression is still evident in 2018, according to Pilar et al. (2018), "Audio Visual Translation (AVT) as a field of research is growing exponentially," (p. 105). There is difficulty in pinpointing the beginnings of Translation Studies, due to its intermittent outputs and theoretical approaches that are heavily focused on print material. From an historical point of view we can recognise that translation has been practised by humans since the beginning of time, both verbally through speech, and visually through written texts from history. Disseminated material reaches the masses via translation and adaptation. For example, religious texts such as the Bible, stories of myths and legends, and breakthroughs in science have been translated into various languages, as well as being conveyed by verbal interpretations. Translation was, and always is, dependant on the medium. As Translation Studies is historically literature based, it is the emergent discipline of Audio Visual Translation that interpreted practices around moving imagery. During the development of the cinematic apparatus and due to the pioneering work of film makers such as The Lumière Brothers, the first technological translation was

through the technology of film. We can track translation techniques on screen from the birth of silent films, where the use of inter-titles narrated the action and characters' thoughts and opinions (Díaz Cintas, 2008). By the late 1920's when sound was added to film, actors' voices in their original or dubbed language appeared (Chaume, 2013) and for the first time, dubbing became an alternative translation mode in parallel to inter-titling and currently, subtitling (Gottlieb, 2005).

Today, the general field of Translation Studies is dominated by scholars who belong to the network The European Society for Translation Studies (EST). Scholars from Spanish language and cultural backgrounds located in countries within the European continent, mostly Spain, Italy and France, but also England, were pioneers in this field as it diverged from the textual, i.e. print and literature based and theoretical foci of Translation Studies. These scholars such as Pilar Orero, Yves Gambier, Jorge Díaz Cintas and Frederic Chaume, have, over the past three decades since the 1990's, maintained and encouraged the drive for research into the sub-fields of AVT, such as subtitling and associated modes dubbing and audio description, setting up local and global translation networks for translation scholars situated in Europe. The interesting field of AVT and its intersecting sub disciplines are continually being researched via scholarly publications such as *Multi-disciplinarity in audiovisual translation* (MONTI) journal, *Benjamin's translation library* and the online *Journal of Specialised Translation* (JoSTrans).

Audio Visual Translation is currently considered the mainstream title for the field of Translation Studies, however AVT is more concerned with the adaptation, translation and dissemination of mixed media, and is variously referred to as multimedia translation, media translation, and screen translation (Chiaro, 2009). The field investigates the transfer of acoustic, visual and verbal elements (Delabastita, 1989), of 'moving imagery' translated and transferred from one language culture to another (Gambier 2012). These moving forms of media are polysemiotic, with several systems of signs composed into textual information

overlaid on film, television, gaming and web-based forms of interactive media. The moving polysemiotic forms are opposed to static forms which are predominantly monosemiotic (Gottlieb 1998; Bogucki 2013), i.e. textually based, such as literature and legal documentation. Audio Visual Translation as a profession has existed since the 1990's (Díaz Cintas, 2008; Remael, 2010,) and in the last 20 years has cemented its position (see also Gambier, 2012). According to Díaz Cintas (2008), it has steadily gained visibility in the current decade due to the ubiquity of the moving image in our everyday lives. The moving image has retained its power since the creation of cinema although the ways in which we access it have altered radically over recent years. For instance, viewers used to be in fixed locations to access media, but now media products are available to users in numerous mobile and user-operated devices; our current engagement with media is mediated by screens of various shapes and sizes, distributing content through various platforms such as television, cinema, computers and personal electronic devices.

Delabastita's (1989) seminal work on audio-visual channels and the transference of information provides a foundation for understanding how the audio-visual elements of screen texts operate. In brief, there are four elements through which information is conducted and received: the *acoustic* and *visual* where each element provides both *verbal* and *non-verbal* signs. Delabastita believes that, "The acoustic and the visual channels are the means by which the film message reaches its audience" (p. 196). He also notes that although these codes are present in a film, they are not to be mistaken for the codes that produce the film's meaning as, "There is in fact a multitude of codes that gives shape to any film as a meaningful sign and that enables its spectators to make sense of it," (p. 196). I would also add that for translated films the film makers' intentions and translator's translation will mediate how the audience interprets the signs of meaning found within a film, perhaps adding additional meanings, codes to interpret the source, and often altering them to target a particular audience, depending also on translation quality provided by the translator and the language and cultural proximity of audiences to the source culture. Díaz Cintas (2008) expands upon Delabastita's model to define how the four elements operate as both visual and acoustic codes

recognisable in audio visual materials such as film. He outlines how the elements operate within a film, locating the source of codes and defining what codes the translator has to operate with. For example:

1. The acoustic-verbal: dialogue, monologue, songs, voice-off.
2. The acoustic-nonverbal: musical score, sound effects, noises.
3. The visual-nonverbal: image, photography, gestures.
4. The visual-verbal: inserts, banners, letters, messages on computer screens, newspaper headlines. (p. 3).

Audio Visual Translation as a field encompasses many modalities or modes (Chaume, 2013) drawn on to provide accessibility for audiences around the globe, ranging from the two most common translation modes; subtitling and dubbing (Remael, 2010), to diverse forms such as 'voice-over and audio description'. Voice-over provides viewers with a narration over top of any dialogue and audio already present in the film, but does not censor the original noise present, while dubbing removes the presence of the actors' original voices, from the film. It instead, replaces them with the addition of voice actors dubbing over and synchronising their voices to the original actors' lip movements. Audio description is created with the addition of a narrator whose voice over describes only the visual elements of the film, to accommodate for instance, viewers who are blind or partially sighted. Audio Visual Translation is a diverse and large field, however a focus on the sub discipline of Subtitling will reflect the direction of this research, which is to investigate subtitling and media audiences in New Zealand, so a focus on cinema audiences and the contributions of local and international media production and translation markets will be discussed in the following sections.

Subtitling

Subtitling is a mode of translation and a process which involves, "rendering writing, usually at the bottom of the screen, the translation of a target language of the original dialogue exchanges as well as the verbal information that appears written

on the screen or is transmitted aurally. Subtitling preserves the original text both aurally and visually.” (Díaz Cintas, 2010, p. 344). Subtitled media consists of is based on, “The original spoken/written word, the original image.” (Díaz Cintas, 2010, p. 344). Thus, subtitles translate all the audio, visual and verbal elements in film while the original source language and culture of the text can still be discerned.



Figure 1: Subtitles - Two person dialogue exchange (Source: Wikimedia Commons, 2018)

Subtitles aim to provide audiences with the appropriate, “transfer of multimodal and multimedia speech (dialogue, monologue, comments, etc.) into another language/culture,” (Gambier, 2012, p. 45). Subtitling facilitates the transfer of the source language/ culture to the target language/culture; this is done through the superimposing of text onto a film to translate the spoken language (verbal/acoustic) and written language (visual) signs in order to provide ways for target audiences to decipher and understand content, which they may otherwise find inaccessible because of language unfamiliarity as well as media accessibility difficulties encountered by viewers who are Deaf and hard of hearing.

Subtitles have the capacity to perform as either *intralingual* or *interlingual* codes. Intralingual subtitles render the same target language translation as the source language of the original text, i.e. French language and French subtitles; this form of subtitling is commonly termed ‘closed captioning’ in the USA (Díaz Cintas 2005; Gambier 2012), whereby viewers select and turn on the translation themselves, transmitted via satellite and accessed through their television remote. Intralingual subtitles are predominantly targeted towards audiences who are deaf or hard of

hearing and are also known as SDH (Subtitling for the Deaf or hard of hearing) or SLS (same language subtitles). However, studies from (for example, Vanderplank, 1988; Bird & Williams, 2002; Caimi, 2006, Sokoli, 2006; and Gambier, 2012) also demonstrate their function as language learning tools. In particular, Gambier (2012) notes their emerging popularity with young people learning languages, especially newly settled migrants (see also Díaz Cintas, 2008). Interlingual subtitling occurs when the translated language is a different language from the original text, i.e. a French language film with English subtitles. Also termed 'open captioning', this type of subtitling is printed on to the film itself or is a file located on a DVD, thus for the former, viewers cannot turn off these subtitles, and for the latter, viewers are provided with a variety of language options from which to choose.



Figure 2:SDH Subtitling/Captioning (Source: Wikimedia Commons, 2018)

Subtitled media content was originally only available at the Cinema, then television arrived and following that, portable media such as the VHS, DVD and Blu-ray gave the user more personalisation as to when and where they watch content (Díaz Cintas, 2008; 2018). Despite this, these aforementioned technologies, except the cinema, and to some extent television, have become more or less forgotten and obsolete with the advent of online streaming platforms. Subtitled media are becoming more accessible to audiences in the digital age, where online streaming sites, whether they provide subscription, pay per view or free content, offer more variety of content to be streamed and accessed by the viewer. Media has exponentially become more global, with sites such as Netflix

and YouTube offering subtitled content (Díaz Cintas, 2018; Orrego Carmona, 2018; Desblache, 2018) usually, in this situation, referred to as *closed captions* and recognisable by the CC symbol on most video player settings. Netflix offers viewers the option to select dubbed or subbed content, or to forego translation. However, with the advent of global oriented media platforms on the web, Orrego Carmona (2018) posits, “Netflix ... that’s working at a global level and it’s pushing for audio visual translation.

The way people are engaging with subtitles on YouTube and other platforms, that is changing the way people see audio visual translation material,” (JoSTrans Interview, 2018). Thus, there is a foreseeable rise in viewers preferring international media over local media which would necessitate an increase in the amount of media that needs to be translated. However, Desblache (2018) counterclaims that there is also a rise in *adaptation*, “especially on mainstream platforms. This idea completely discards the foreign aspects, that they want them to be adapted completely for target audiences, without introducing people to foreign cultures.” (Desblache, 2018, JoSTrans, interview). Adaptations, which can include remakes, are most common when media companies want to sell European television series and films to, predominantly, American audiences, but also to general Anglophone audiences. This brings to light a conflict between local industry production and international media, where the aim of this thesis will be to decipher what is happening in regards to international media received at the local level, as well as delving into how international media has both informed and competed with local industry production and audience reception over the years in the New Zealand media.

Subtitled Media: Production, Distribution and Reception in New Zealand

In New Zealand, subtitled cinema from countries within Europe, Africa and Asia is available in specialist arthouse cinemas around the country, remaining popular with mostly an older demographic (Cinemas of NZ, 2018). Local production of

subtitled content in other domains is mostly scarce, however has been predominantly available in both the Māori language and English, screening on the *Māori Television* channel. Subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing, as well as some audio description, became available in New Zealand via satellite and Teletext, appearing during the mid-1980's and throughout the 2000's. However, SDH options for a variety of content, were still limited. In recent years media accessibility concerns have only begun to be addressed in New Zealand, since 2013 through the establishing of a non-profit organisation *Able*, which provides captioning and audio description mainly for local television programming. The New Zealand landscape for subtitled content production and reception of content is still an unmapped area for both Media and Audio Visual Translation studies, so a focus of this thesis will be to undertake an initial investigation to describe audience, as well as industry, practices in the New Zealand media landscape.

Historical and Current Picture of the New Zealand Media and Cultural Landscape

In 1840, New Zealand officially became a bicultural country with British Crown and Māori chiefs signing of The Treaty of Waitangi, which was mandated, “to afford British sovereignty over Aotearoa while ensuring Māori would retain guardianship over Māori physical and cultural *taonga* (‘treasures’),” (Albury, 2016, p. 289). Despite this agreement, due to aggressive processes of colonialism, English-speaking European settlers and their customs would dominate the government and the state of the country for decades, with Europeans making up the majority of the population (Winiata, 2002). A shift in language meant English became the predominant language used in New Zealand, with the Māori language and customs almost fading away because of imposed integrationist policies. Regarding the media landscape, depictions of Māori in film at the beginning of the 1900's to 1930's showed a white European fascination with the ‘exotic’ Māori people and their customs, with many intrepid European film makers and travellers visiting New Zealand as well as nearby Pacific nations (see Mita, 1992; Horrocks, 2011;

Pivac, 2011; Pearson, 2005, 2013). The 1950's and 1960's were a period of sporadic filmmaking by independent New Zealand filmmakers. Despite this, Hollywood films and films from the UK were more widely popular, as New Zealand audiences were, "familiar and seemingly content with foreign films (mainly American and British) which depicted distant stories and accents" (Conrich & Murray, 2008, p. 5). Radio broadcasting was predominantly in English, to the effect that, as Te Rito (2008) reflects, during the 1960's English language radio broadcasts played, "a major role in the decline of the Māori language," resulting in Māori listeners becoming more "acculturated to Pākehā," non-Māori, ways. (p. 5). During the 1970s, debates around the predominance of Hollywood cinema attracting New Zealanders more than local content, motivated New Zealanders to want to see their 'national identity' represented on screen, igniting several negotiations around establishing a local film industry. Negotiations took a number of years, with the New Zealand film industry gaining an official identity in 1977 through the creation of the *Interim Film Commission*, which in 1978 became the *New Zealand Film Commission (NZFC)*, a government funded institution concerned with supporting a New Zealand film industry (Conrich and Murray, 2008). After almost a century of successive defeats Māori society began to fight for greater influence and control of resources in the late 1960s and 1970s (Anderson, Binney & Harris, 2015). In particular, the Government was urged to carry out the provisions of the Treaty where, "Article II... the New Zealand government is responsible for protecting and promoting all things held dear to Māori," (Smith, 2016, p. 8). Māori felt particularly that, "the government had failed its constitutional duty to protect the language," (Albury, 2016, p. 290): many Māori can recall receiving beatings at school for speaking Māori (Samuels, 2015) as well suffering enforced integration where rural Māori were moved to urban areas causing loss of land ownership (Winiata, 2002). The grievances from this time also concerned a lack of fair representation in the media.

The media, in particular film, became a crucial platform for reinforcing Māori cultural identity. Notable activists and artists include Barry Barclay and Merata Mita who used film making to introduce Māori storytelling from Māori

perspectives. Barclay, reflecting on filming the *Tangata Whenua* (1974) documentary series asserts, “As the years go by, the camera is coming to be more freely invited into the Māori community ... it is up to us ... to make sure our friend behaves in a fitting way,” (Barclay, 1990, p. 18). During 1987, after decades of social activist movements around Māori cultural nationalism and Maori political activism (Keown, 2008), the Māori language became recognised as one of the official languages of New Zealand alongside English (Smith, 2016). The 1980’s brought more awareness of language revitalisation for the Māori language in education and social sectors, Te Rito (2008) reflects on the beginnings of Māori language integration programmes in primary schools during the early 1980’s as well as the advent of Māori language radio stations during the 1990’s (see also Anderson, Binney & Harris, 2015). Nevertheless, it would take years before Te Reo Māori, the Māori language, would be used on screen. The first film to feature the Māori language in an entire film, and notable for the addition of English language subtitles, was in Don Selwyn’s *Te Tangata Whai Rawa O Weneti (The Maori Merchant of Venice)* (2002), an adaptation of William Shakespeare’s play *The Merchant of Venice*, translated in 1945 by Pei Te Hurinui Jones (Stark, 2011). Māori language usage on television would soon follow, when in 2004 the Māori Television Network began, establishing two indigenous television channels - *Māori TV* and *Te Reo* - as language revitalisation of Māori language and customs became the guiding aim for the media network (Smith, 2016). The *Te Reo* channel addresses audiences who are fluent in Māori, while *Māori Television* focuses on educating viewers about Māori culture, supporting learners of Te Reo Māori, the Māori language, by screening mainly Māori media content but also international art films and providing subtitled content in English and Māori language which, ensures accessibility for a, “... broad viewing audience,” (Māori Television, 2012, p. 5).

To this day, language revitalisation of the Māori language is a project still being addressed, in both the education and media sectors; research includes how to integrate Māori language learning into education and how to discover what current New Zealand Māori and non-Māori attitudes are towards the language

(Albury, 2018; Barr & Seals, 2018). An ongoing issue is how to encourage the use of Māori language in media so that it becomes widespread in local broadcasting, particularly in a competitive public television environment which is “dominated by commercially driven free to air media,” (Smith, 2016, p. 1). The wider media holds the majority of viewership from audiences who are from a, “pervasively English speaking society with a long standing desire for global media content” (Smith, 2016, p. 4) See also (Conrich & Murray, 2008; and Horrocks, 2011). Despite this, Māori Television has been broadcasting ever since its inception in 2004, it continues to survive in a deregulated media environment, competing with English language local television networks *TVNZ* and *MediaWorks*, as well as internationally imported channels airing on Sky, thus the percentage of local content is low (Horrocks, 2011).

Recently, the screening of bilingual programmes, *The Casketeers* and *Moving out with Tamati*, reveals a change in mainstream television content. The former funded by *NZ On Air* and the latter by *Te Māngai Pāho* A Crown operated entity, *Te Māngai Pāho* was established in 1993 to fund national content reflecting Māori language and culture, for “Māori initiatives in music, radio, television and new media,” (Te Mangai Pāho, 2018, para. 1). *Te Māngai Pāho* helps fund content both on free to air television channels such as *TVNZ1* and *Māori Television* as well as via online platforms in order to access wide audiences. The screening of two bilingual shows on channels which predominantly prioritise international English language content, suggests a change in the New Zealand media landscape to possibly reflect an increase in Pākehā audiences’ awareness and interest in Māori culture, as Smith (2016) previously mentions regarding Māori television audiences. However, in the results chapter I will discuss further how the screening of these programmes led to polarised views from audiences, reflecting both positive and negative attitudes towards current initiatives to bridge the gap in the bicultural New Zealand media landscape. The use of subtitles to make it easier for instance for English-speaking audiences to understand the meaning of Māori dialogue, has become caught up in this ideological conflict.

However, in the meantime, there has been a growing population of immigrants adding to the cultural and media landscape of New Zealand, which in turn makes biculturalism interact with processes of multiculturalism. There have been notable historic periods of mass migrations in New Zealand history, such as during the mid 1800's with the arrival of European settlers, as well as throughout the 1960's and 1970's (Zodgekar, 2005) when a number of Indian and Pacific peoples, from nations such as Samoa, arrived. According to Noronha & Papoutsaki (2014), "Immigrants from Asia now form the fourth largest ethnic group in New Zealand, with Chinese and Indians being the top two minorities in this group (p. 17). Migration to New Zealand continues today with people moving from nearby nations in the Pacific and Asia, as well as further distances, travelling from countries situated in Africa and the Middle East. In fact, New Zealand is now coined a 'super-diverse' country in terms of population origins (Vertovec, 2007) and recent incomers have brought visible cultural influences to this country, in particular through the public celebrations of seasonal festivals and other cultural rituals. For instance, the *Pasifika Festival* in Auckland has been happening for several years. Cinema from these cultures also features in both small and large film festivals every year, especially the NZ International Film Festival, the largest national film festival held here. Bollywood, Chinese and Samoan films are on rare occasions screened in 'chain' cinemas such as *Hoyts* and *Event* cinema, which predominantly show mainstream American, Hollywood films. Specialist independent arthouse cinemas around New Zealand tend to reach niche audiences of mostly older educated filmgoers (Cinemas of NZ, 2018), where these cinemas screen a diverse range of international, and often foreign language, films.

Foreign language films are initially dependent on their success on the international film festival circuit before being screened here. Once they are translated overseas, distributors then deliver them to specialist arthouse cinemas around the country where New Zealand audiences can engage with international content via English language subtitles. To this day, while Chinese, Indian and Pasifika peoples constitute a significant proportion of the immigrant population, in the Waikato region for instance, there are many migrants from India, China, Korea, Argentina,

Afghanistan, Somalia, Samoa and Tonga who have also settled here. These ethnic groups have contributed to modern New Zealand cinema, where these diasporic groups, through media production and consumption, have initiated a rise in Diasporic Cinema. Diasporic Cinema, a term for production by relatively recent immigrants, has steadily emerged throughout the 2000's with many filmmakers from Asian and Pacific backgrounds producing films (Zalipour, 2016). With a focus on cultural and ethnic identity, these films often showcase, as Hamid Naficy suggested, stories and characters which reflect the cultural conflicts and experiences of migrating between host and home land. These films, depending on the number of languages spoken in them, typically provide subtitles for non-English language sections of the film. Local audiences usually see these films at local film festivals, and while the films may be aimed at local ethnic groups and migrant audiences, they tend to find niche audiences from those outside these ethnic groups who attend independent arthouse cinemas around the country. The commercial success of these films within the New Zealand film distribution industry can also depend on whether they are widely distributed and successful at international film festivals around the world. When these films are distributed outside of New Zealand, any necessary translation/subtitling may be provided by outsourcing the work to international translators and translation companies.

History of Cinema: Subtitling Origins and Universal Audiences

During the 20th century film making pioneers the Lumière Brothers developed the cinematographe which debuted in 1895, a film-making device which explored the moving image. Audiences around the globe were introduced to the new art form of cinema which could be explored in a significant new way from existing and prevalent art forms such literature and theatre. This moving photography enabled the birth of cinema which became steadily more popular throughout the 1900's and the 1920's. Cinema during this time period was a silent art form and it seemed to be universally understood and accessible to audiences around the globe, so that perhaps no translation was needed to describe the audio, visual and verbal

elements of film. For example, Russian film maker Dziga Vertov's film, *Man with a Movie Camera (Chelovek S Kino-apparatom)* (1929) promoted the ideal of a universal cinema without the need for language and translation. In the opening credits, intertitles appear as memoranda urging viewers to abandon their narrow ideas about language and culture which intrude on a universal understanding of the power of cinema,

Attention viewers this film is an experiment in cinematic communication of real events without the help of intertitles ... This experimental work aims at creating a truly international language of cinema based on its absolute separation from the language of theatre and literature. (Vertov, 1929).

Vertov's view was that the filmmaker is to provide a record of events and locations in the world, but that it is up to the individual viewers to make sense of the meanings depicted in the film story world. True to Vertov's vision, cinema remains a universally powerful art form, however, despite being universally accepted, translation has long been an issue when depicting and using elements of different languages and cultures, with the first translations for cinema, as noted previously, made possible through intertitles. According to Díaz Cintas (2008), "These 'title cards' were used systematically in most films and needed, therefore, a translation when the film was distributed abroad" (p. 1). Díaz Cintas (2008) believes that intertitles are historically significant to subtitling's origins, "intertitles are the immediate predecessors of subtitles." Despite the significance of intertitles, he claims that research on intertitles is scarce as, "very little research has actually been carried out on the topic" (p. 1). Nornes (1999) also agrees that intertitles were fore-runners to subtitles, "In Japan and other parts of the world on the cusp of the sound era ... film involved silent-film-style intertitles explaining each section of the plot" (p. 22). Hajmohammadi (2004) and Chiaro (2009) also describe historical occurrences of subtitling beginning during the initial introduction of sound cinema in the late 1920's. Silent cinema was never a truly silent experience for the viewer, because sound, and therefore a kind of translation experience, was provided outside the film itself. In cinemas the theatrical experience of viewing the film was supplemented by live music, narrators and audience responses to the

spectacle happening both outside and within the film frame. Cinema-going provided the viewer with a multitude of sound and translation channels as,

Visual and audio, filmic and extra-filmic coding... based mainly on montage, live music during the screening and, last but not least, the use of intertitles and the presence of a compère or explicator in charge of 'reading' the film – including the intertitles – to the audience. (Díaz Cintas, 2008, p. 1).

Despite intertitles being recognised as the first occurrences of subtitles, Díaz Cintas believes that there has been little mention of the relationship between intertitles and subtitles in relation to the “historiography of subtitling” (ibid). A reason for this lack of address could be the ephemeral and evanescent nature of early film; a number of silent films are considered lost today, mostly due to film prints being constructed from highly flammable nitrate. Secondly, another issue may include political forces advocating the censorship of film through destruction or suppression, of either aspects of a film or the whole production. For example, the documentary *A Flickering Truth* (2015) directed by Pietra Brettkelly, delves into the issues plaguing the preservation of Afghanistan’s historic cinema. And lastly, films once considered lost are being fortuitously unearthed decades later, this process is shown in the documentary *Dawson City: Frozen Time* (2016) directed by Bill Morrison, where lost films are remastered after years of restoration by dedicated film archivists and enthusiasts.

The 1930’s brought new challenges for translation with the emergence of ‘talkies’, where cinema was now full of vocals and audiences were excited to hear their favourite actors’ voices. This became problematic for film producers and distributors who had to find ways to overcome language barriers and deliver film to linguistically diverse audiences, as Chiaro (2009) notes, “How to translate film dialogues and make movie-going accessible to speakers of all languages was to become a major concern for both North American and European film directors” (p. 141). Early solutions to the need for translation were to produce films with several actors of different language origins being present on the same production set and shooting different versions of the same film simultaneously, but this was costly

and ultimately subtitling became the norm as it was cheaper. Nornes (1999) cites Herman Weinberg as the inventor of subtitles, mentioning that the first considerations of the viewer experience, for instance, thoughts on sparing audiences the physical efforts of reading and negotiating subtitles, were traced to Weinberg and his writings on his subtitling endeavours. Weinberg invented a device called the Moviola which counted every piece of dialogue and measured the length of scenes. The first subtitling 'rules' came into being when, according to Weinberg, he,

... superimposed hardly more than 25 or 30 titles to a ten-minute reel. Then I'd go into the theatre during a showing to watch the audiences' faces, to see how they reacted to the titles. I'd wondered if they were going to drop their heads slightly to read the titles at the bottom of the screen and then raise them again after they read the titles (like watching a tennis match... but I needn't have worried...they didn't drop their heads, they merely dropped their eyes. This emboldened me to insert more titles...anywhere from 100 to 150 titles a reel ... only when the dialogue was good enough to warrant it. (Nornes, 1999, p. 22)

Subtitles would remain experimental projects for many European film directors and title card designers, but this was not limited to westerners. Nornes (1999) discusses a number of Japanese film-makers also creating exciting new ways to bring attention to subtitles prominence on the screen; such that they became an art form in themselves.

International and Local: Established Subtitling Countries and Markets

Translation industries and modes differ between countries and continents so that what makes translation so powerful, is the ways it is both governed and influenced by a country's economic, political and social institutions, and lastly, laws. According to Perego, Del Missier & Stragà (2018) translation preferences are, "dictated by complex political, geographical, economic, and cultural reasons" (p. 5). Once translation industries were established, viewers would then assimilate to the translation form prevalent in their country, where, "over the years viewers

became accustomed to the method made available,” (Perego, Del Missier & Stragà, 2018, p. 5). Audio-visual translation is both a political and industrial tool, wielded for national identity control as well as commercial industry gain. Europe has a distinct dichotomy between dubbing and subtitling countries (Schröter, 2005) where many scholars have mapped out the geography of translation countries and networks. According to Koolstra, Peeters & Spinhof (2002) dubbing countries are, “Austria, France, Germany, Italy and Spain,” while subtitling is found in “Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden” p. 326). The reasons for designating a country’s translation industry as either dubbing or subtitling oriented have been attributed to the geographical size of the country and size of the language communities, since, as Schauffler (2012) points out, “Larger language communities ... use dubbing as their ... large number of inhabitants and therefore potential viewers renders this expensive technique financially viable,” whilst, she contrasts, “Smaller communities ... where the target market is comparatively small, have traditionally used subtitling” (p. 27). Gottlieb (2005) offers another view, where he suggests that subtitling is preferred for second language learning and countries with high literacy rates because, “Whenever affordability, dialog authenticity, acquisition of foreign language and reading skills are prioritized ... subtitling is the obvious solution” (p. 25).

Despite distinctions between subtitling and dubbing nations in Europe, Schröter (2005) believes, “the traditional dichotomy between dubbing and subtitling countries is gradually weakened,” (Schröter, 2005, p. 11) so that viewers will be able to choose from a variety of translated modes for the content they consume, regardless of the dominant translation mode(s) prevalent in their country. Chaume (2013) offers a different view, where he proposes that the dominant translation modes in some countries are ‘reversing’, in that subtitling is becoming more widespread, or preferred in countries where dubbing was traditionally the dominant mode. Reasons for this could be increasing rates of literacy and second language learning, where subtitles have long been preferable in these cases. Globally, viewers are increasingly more exposed to international media through the web, opening up more choices of translated content.

In New Zealand, due to our small size and the prominence of English in our society, when non-English language international media such as film and television programmes are imported, these series are subtitled into English by international translation companies prior to being distributed here. Because the international film festival circuit promotes diverse cultural material accessible via English language subtitles, predominantly monolingual and fluent English speakers become accustomed to them, as Gottlieb (2005) believes,

Foreign-film aficionados have been strongly in favour of subtitling ... especially people based in major speech communities rarely exposed to foreign-language imports ... the additive nature of subtitling, giving viewers total access to the exotic original while being semantically safeguarded by captions in the domestic language. This thrilling experience is shared by many in the film industry (pp. 24 – 25).

In agreement with Gottlieb's view is Canadian film director Atom Egoyan who proffers, "Subtitles offer a way into worlds outside of ourselves. Subtitles embed us" (Egoyan and Balfour, 2004, p. 30). Subtitles are thus seen as influencing our engagement with unfamiliar international cultures and languages, however, they also promote national identity, language and cultural awareness, which is the case in New Zealand. Both intralingual and interlingual subtitling is a local market for New Zealand, although interlingual subtitling and intralingual subtitling are both used for different and similar purposes. Our subtitling industry is small and caters mainly for internal purposes and mostly for niche audiences. Intralingual subtitling for English language and mainly local content, is provided by the *Able* organization in New Zealand to cater for deaf and hard-of-hearing audiences. Local indigenous content that is non-English language, such as Māori language content, uses intralingual subtitles. These are predominantly used on *Māori Television*, with Māori subtitles used to encourage Māori language comprehension skills; subtitles encourage viewers particularly in listening and writing proficiency. Two recent television shows which screened on a public network channel *TVNZ1*, where the majority of programmes are international English language imports, recently used both intralingual and interlingual subtitles in English and Māori, to translate Māori

language segments in two local programmes. However, our subtitling industry output is scant and appears unregulated, with no subtitling protocols apparent, so a focus in the following section will be on the role of international translation in Europe, to provide an overview of translation processes and international industry level practices.

Role of the Translator: Subtitling

Audio Visual Translation established itself as a field during the 1990's, The European Society for Translation Studies (EST) was founded in 1992 and the European Union of Associations of Translation Companies (EUATC) also came into being around that time. It became necessary to regularise the role of the subtitlers, including developing rules that translators should abide by to create a codified and consistent approach to ensuring quality standards in translation.

Both the European Society for Translation Studies and The European Union Associations of Translation have similar aims, to provide a unified approach to facilitate connections between translation companies, scholars and countries of production and distribution. The websites for these unions and networks set out these similar aims. According to the EST (2018) website, the first rule in their constitution is, "To foster research in translation and interpreting" (para. 1). EUATC (2018) mentions a similar mandate, where one of their main objectives is to, "Assist in establishing national associations of translation and language services companies throughout Europe" (para. 1). As translation industries have successfully based themselves throughout most of the European continent, countries belonging to the European Union and translation networks of scholars felt the need for a subtitling code of practice to be a priority for establishing the groundwork for translation and a semblance of unification in the industry. The first protocols for subtitling appear to have begun in France, where according to Díaz Cintas (2004), they appear to have officially began in the late 1950's, notably with

Laks (1957) *Le sous titrage des films. Sa technique. Son esthétique*¹. But this guide was not published and distributed widely, and as I mentioned previously, due to the sporadic nature of research about translation, it wasn't until Marleau's (1982) work *Le sous-titres... Un mal nécessaire*² that the groundwork was set for considering several factors contributing to subtitling protocols. According to Díaz Cintas (2004) this work on subtitling, "transcends the linguistic dimension by talking about economic factors, the film industry and the different professionals that take part in the process" (p. 55). Despite previous frameworks on translation protocols, guides for subtitling production gained prominence in the late 1990's, when the AVT field established itself, with scholars such as Ivarsson and Carroll (1998) producing a seminal work on the codes and practices of subtitling; they were followed by Karamitroglou (1998) and his elaboration on the role of translation and reception, which provides a framework for TV subtitling. These three scholars have produced two frameworks for subtitling codes: the frameworks describe the role of the translator and processes in subtitling production as well as speculating on the likely effects of the product on the viewer.

I will now discuss some of those guidelines for subtitling proposed by Ivarsson and Carroll (1998) and Karamitroglou (1998). The important issues which these subtitling protocols address are to do with subtitling legibility, placement on the screen, and grammar; as well as advocating subtitling consistency in timing and synchronisation. There are numerous guidelines, which Karamitroglou in particular delves into, such as considering linguistic transference issues concerning the morphological and syntactical components of language. While these are issues which the translator must be skilled in and are important aspects concerning the

¹ Film Subtitling: Techniques and Aesthetics (English translation) Translation provided by me

² Subtitles: A necessary evil (English translation) Translation provided by me.

production of subtitles, I shall not however, be including them in the discussion as they are not focused on audience reception. Instead, the focus will be on the main issues which I believe are vital to both the production and reception of subtitles, since this thesis is dealing with the role of audiences and their reception of translated content. Below, I will provide a summary of subtitling protocols:

The first two guidelines relate to two of the main reasons that subtitles exist: they provide legibility, and are a literacy and accessibility tool. According to Ivarsson and Carroll (1998), subtitles should appear:

- Grammatically correct as they can be used as a literacy tool
- In a legible font with sharp contours

Karamitroglou expands on the typographical element of subtitling, where he suggests types of font that maximise legibility:

- Subtitles should not include serif fonts ... Fonts which are appropriate are Helvetica or Arial fonts. (Karamitroglou, 1998, section 2, para. 5)

Ivarsson and Carroll (1998), as well as Karamitroglou (1998), both advocate the following codes which in brief, concern subtitle placement and construction:

- Subtitles should be two lines maximum
- Position of subtitles should be at the lower part of the screen and centred, or else left justified
- Subtitles should synchronise with the beginning and end of each speakers' utterances
- Subtitles should be segmented into two lines, and in the case of two speakers', hyphens should be used to indicate dialogue exchanges.

Ivarsson and Carroll and Karamitroglou have differing views on the colour of subtitles, particularly about their legibility in terms of boldness and transparency.

According to Karamitroglou (1998):

- Subtitles should be pale white ... and presented against a see through grey "ghost box" (section 2, para. 6).

While Ivarsson and Carroll (1998) prefer that:

- In videos, subtitles should have a drop shadow or a semi-transparent black box behind the subtitles. (p. 3)

The timing of subtitles is another guideline about which these scholars have slight differences, although they come to a similar understanding about how long one-word subtitles may appear on screen for:

- No subtitle should appear for less than one second (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998, p. 2)
- The minimum duration of a single-word subtitle is at least one and a half seconds (Karamitroglou, 1998, section 3, para. 3)

Ivarsson and Carroll as well as Karamitroglou are in agreement on subtitle duration for longer segments of text, two lines of subtitles.

- No two line subtitle should appear on screen for longer than 7 seconds ... excluding songs. (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998, p 2.)
- Retaining a full two-line subtitle for at least 6 seconds to secure ample reading time. (Karamitroglou, 1998, section 3, para. 1)

Studies by other scholars, (Gielen and d'Ydewalle, 1989; Minchinton, 1987; Koolstra, Peeters and Spinhof, 2002; and Díaz Cintas & Remael, 2007) all emphasise and agree with the six second protocol.

Ivarsson & Carroll (1998) mention an important guideline which Karamitroglou (1998) omits:

- All important written information, such as images from signs, should be subtitled where possible (p. 1).

The information above is vital as audiences need to have access to translations conveyed not just by verbal material, but by visual material such as street signs, letter writing, and texting.

Subtitling protocols concern several areas related to the translator's role and processes of translation, as well as the production result. As Orrego-Carmona,

Dutka and Szarkowska (2018) state, “Subtitlers normally work with a predefined guide that establishes the number of lines, characters per line and display time according to the product, medium, client or specific requirements” (p. 152). This means subtitling guides can differ from job to job, depending on individual projects and clients. While Ivarsson and Carroll propose general rules, Karamitroglou (1998) focuses on a prescriptive approach to subtitling where standards are presented in order to unify European countries’ subtitling conventions. As Karamitroglou (1998) asserts, his framework attempts to, “bridge the different subtitling conventions currently operating within various European countries,” (p. 1). Overall, both sets of scholars demonstrate that subtitling practices and conventions applicable to the subtitling process should involve *guidelines*, focusing on areas observing screen space, font appearance and subtitle duration, as well as consideration of general viewers’ interaction with the visual result.

These subtitling *guidelines* are some of the main areas covered by scholars in the field. However, it is common for individual translation companies, translators and television companies to have their own set of guidelines for subtitling practices. An example of this is at Channel 4 in the UK, where the channel has a set of guidelines for foreign language programming which must be tailored to their channel but subtitled prior to distribution and screening on the channel. The BBC website (2018) also promotes a lengthy guide of subtitling standards (refer to the link <http://bbc.github.io/subtitle-guidelines/>). In as much as there are guidelines to promote adherence to subtitling protocols to retain a sense of quality, these guidelines no doubt differ in various countries and various institutions, and subtitling protocols will likely alter over the years, especially with the rise in technological advancements and media accessibility concerns.

To return to a local perspective regarding the nature of subtitling practices in New Zealand, according to the website for *Able* (2018) a non-profit organisation committed to providing local captioning for deaf and hearing impaired audiences, as well as audio description for the blind, their FAQ section states, “There is no regulation in New Zealand regarding captioning or audio description,” (Able, 2018,

para. 15). *Able* is the only company in New Zealand which provides local SDH, Audio Description and Subtitling services. Despite a lack of official subtitling guidelines and laws for AVT in New Zealand, proposals have been made by the *Captioning Working Group* a non-profit board made up of *The National Foundation for the Deaf* and similar affiliations. Over the past few years these groups have sent reports to the national government, lobbying for laws to make captioning a part of legislation and an integral responsibility of local television and film media providers. In spite of these actions, subtitling and even the general local AVT landscape in New Zealand, is still relatively new and far behind countries in Europe and our neighbour in the Pacific, Australia. I shall return to these issues of language policy and media accessibility in the section of the review on Media Accessibility. Returning to the aforementioned guidelines proposed by European translation scholars Ivarsson & Carroll (1998) and Karamitroglou (1998), these will be used as a framework for my own subtitling research, to investigate and interpret how New Zealand audiences react to the implementation of these guidelines through specific content shown in the film screenings and focus groups.

Translation as Language Policy: Reinforcing National Language and Cultural Identity

Viewers who are bilingual or multilingual have the benefit of accessing a variety of languages in which to watch subtitled content. They have the ability to watch a programme accompanied by either their native language or another one in which they are fluent, depending on independent viewing preferences and their location in the world. This ability to choose gives positive affordances for viewers who have knowledge and experience of accessing translated content from a variety of language and cultures. Despite the advantages of being bilingual or multilingual and also of living in a country where you speak one or two of the major languages, unfortunately there are many minority languages which are yet to receive recognition in the media. These are media made by people belonging to a culture which is stigmatised as minority, or people living in countries where socio-politically there are several official languages but one, or perhaps two, remain predominantly more standardised in official capacities than others. Official

capacities in this instance are domains such as government, education, media and social institutions. The implications of the political and patriotic nature of language use in these aforementioned domains restricts options for those viewers, who, unfortunately, must miss out on seeing their language and culture represented on screen in the national media. They may also find it difficult to access translations of imported international content if they do not understand a majority language in which they could watch translated content. However, more frequently, indigenous groups and diasporic peoples have taken the initiative to produce and consume their own media content in order to address this lack of visibility and recognition from both local and international media. In order to, “resist the dominance of often Eurocentric ideologies in mainstream media ... members of marginalised social groups are opting to create their own media.” (Kolesova & Papoutsaki, 2014, p. 9). The content these groups produce has the primary intention of addressing audiences who identify and belong to certain social groups that are typically under-represented in the media. This means the media content produced is seen predominantly by a niche audience since it has to counteract dominant media flows.

According to Kolesova & Papoutsaki (2014), in New Zealand, “there are about 80 different media companies from the Māori, Asian and Pacific communities providing TV, radio ... and digital/social media options.” (p. 10). In some instances, if the content has appeal beyond the community that produced it, it may later be made available to the majority group(s) of audiences in a country. For the main part, translation of indigenous content via inter- or intra-lingual subtitles is not always a necessity at the local level, but in cases where a local language or dialect is used and also produced as a translation, this has usually been done to reinforce language and cultural revitalisation, both for fluent speakers and for non-fluent language learners in the community. For instance, although Māori is an official language in New Zealand, strategies to encourage growth in the number of speakers is a constant feature in the landscape of language contestation in my home country.

Media Accessibility

The audio visual translation industry is currently in a flux where languages which have possibly never been seen in subtitles before – for audiences viewing internationally translated content and perhaps those audiences and languages that are marginalised nationally - are now being considered by media production and translation companies. Díaz Cintas (2018) recently acknowledged this situation, “There is a drive in the industry where they need more subtitles in languages and in countries where that hasn’t been an area. And I have to go back to Netflix, they’ve already pledged that they are somehow going to give more visibility to other languages” (Interview, JoSTrans, 2018). Audio Visual Translation is thus acknowledging the need to provide accessibility to global viewers, however this also applies at the local level and implementations of translation both through policies and visibility in the media, will no doubt increase this awareness.

Media Accessibility has been gaining recent acknowledgement as a movement towards providing translated content to viewers who are hearing- or sight-impaired and find traditional forms of translated media inadequate to meeting their needs. Translation modes provided for these viewers consist of *audio description (AD)* and *subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH)* and these modes tend to be operational in certain contexts.

Media accessibility has become a prominent issue in the political and social governance of countries: it relies on recognition and implementation by the local government and media, where all citizens deserve to have adequate access to local media. Despite local concerns of media accessibility we can determine that this concept transcends local factors, where international content should be made accessible to international audiences and countries outside of the European continent. Media accessibility concerns both local and global issues around effective translation, distribution and reception for groups of audiences who are a minority in their respective countries. However, Díaz Cintas, Orero & Remael (2007) believe accessibility is not just aimed at minority groups but can concern many of the population at certain stages. Audio-visual translation opens up linguistic and

cultural borders and its application to various multimedia forms allows accessibility to several viewers, from second language learners, deaf, or visually impaired audiences, to monolingual speakers, ensuring their specific audio and visual needs are met. However not all countries are providing enough accessibility to these viewers, Díaz Cintas, Orero & Remael (2007) state, “Accessibility is a human right that policy makers should watch over its implementation ... and the industrial designers must incorporate the requirements of accessibility at the inception stage of new product design” (p. 14).

In order to draw attention to the issues of accessibility, scholars in Europe started the Media For All programme, which involves networks of scholars, industry professionals and translation companies, “Committed to Europe-wide, or even worldwide accessibility” (Díaz Cintas et al., 2007, p. 14). A project by Greco, Matamala, Orero & Romero-Fresco (2016) has recently mapped the amount of translated content and consistency of AD and SDH, through the creation of the Media Accessibility Platform (MAP). This database serves as tool for guidelines, research and training on audio visual translation practices. One tool, the “Accessometer”, maps countries’, “legislation, standards and guidelines on MA at both international and national levels” (p. 32). Countries highlighted in blue are recognised as providing legislation and guidelines approaching media accessibility concerns, whilst most notably, the areas mapped out in grey are where “no information is provided” or known about the country in regards to addressing media accessibility. New Zealand appears this way in the study by Greco et al. (2016). However, there have been interesting developments in New Zealand where there have been some concerns raised around media accessibility which will be discussed in the section below.

Media Accessibility in New Zealand

The media have the power to solidify ideologies pertaining to culture and language, where translation can have the power to negotiate between the familiar and unfamiliar and reinforce a country’s national language policy through the media. *Media Accessibility* concerns in New Zealand have only recently become more

visible, most notably through traditional television and local online media sites such as *TVNZ On Demand*. There have been two recognisable stages of media accessibility processes occurring in New Zealand. The first stage was through the establishment of the Māori Television Service in 2004: the main initiative was to provide indigenous Māori media, “to protect and promote Māori language and cultural practices,” (Smith, 2016, p. 2), which encourages language revitalisation, where content addresses “both young and old ... fluent and non-fluent speakers” (Māori Television Service Act, 2003). Content assists in providing accessibility where it is screened with subtitles in both English and Māori, which reflect the language capability of the majority of viewers in New Zealand.

The second process of promoting media accessibility is via *Able*, the non-profit organisation established in 2013, which provides accessibility for both deaf and blind viewers, through closed captioning and audio description. Despite two stages reflecting on accessibility concerns in New Zealand, the first stage has been discussed in previous sections on the New Zealand media landscape, so a focus of this section will be to address the second stage of Media Accessibility focusing on captioning protocols and the handling of the issue at both government and media levels.

Subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing, SDH, is the most common translation method in New Zealand provided on television, with teletext options available for viewers, via satellite and their television remote (Venuto, 2015, StopPress). Closed captioning was officially recognised in 1976 when, “the Federal Communications Commission of the United States introduced closed captioning” (Venuto, 2015, para. 2). In New Zealand, Teletext was the first service to launch captioning on television, on the network *TVNZ*, where, “service began in 1984, originally to help New Zealand’s deaf community get improved access to news and information. Funds raised in the 1981 Telethon helped pay to get it started” (Richards, 2012, *TVNZ*, para. 3). Teletext as a service was terminated by *TVNZ* in late 2012, because of the expense of running an outdated technological service (Stuff, 2012) and the increase in online media. *Able* then took over as a service

provider with funding provided by *NZ On Air*. From late 2013, *Able* has steadily been bringing SDH and Audio description to recognition.

New Zealand does not have any subtitling protocols in place: this may be because much of our popular subtitled content is already imported from, and translated by, European countries. Despite this, according to Smith (2016), “the wider media culture is a pervasively English speaking society with a long standing desire for global media content (p. 4.) Audiences in New Zealand are thus more, receptive to television programming in particular, “from the United States, Britain and Australia,” (Horrocks, 2011, p. 5). Media providers thus prioritise international mostly English language content over local content. Wendy Youens, CEO of *Able*, states that accessibility is only prioritised at both government and media levels internationally where, “Overseas, many countries have legislation requiring broadcasters to caption and audio describe their programming. This has led to a higher level of access services, especially captioning, in Australia, the UK and the USA” (Venuto, 2015, para. 8).

Despite there being no official legislation in New Zealand regarding captioning, Youens believes *Able* is dedicated to providing accessibility for local media content, in that, “NZ On Air ... contracts us to provide access services to TVNZ and Mediaworks. We work closely with the broadcasters to coordinate the delivery and broadcast of the services” (Youens as cited in Venuto, 2015, para. 4). However she adds, there is still a long way to go in terms of *Able*, where future funding will likely provide captioning for a large amount of television and online streaming, “We’re very focussed on continuing to grow the service, and we’d love to expand to more channels in the future.” (para. 11). Despite this, Youens is aware of the lack of media accessibility in broadcasting standards,

I think it’s really important that broadcasters and media producers start to step up to the plate to make their content accessible by adding captions for the deaf and hard-of-hearing and by adding audio description for blind and vision impaired people. It’s a win-win situation – providing accessibility is good

for your brand and you'll have more people tuning in to your content. (as cited in Venuto, 2015, para. 8).

In the past few years, the *Captioning Working Group (CWG)*, consisting of charity organisations *Deaf Aotearoa* and affiliations such as *The National Foundation for the Deaf*, has persuaded the government to address accessibility concerns. A petition in 2016 was sent which was followed by a proposal submitted in 2017, where addresses to the national government lobbied them to pass a law making captioning a legal imperative for media broadcasting in New Zealand.

Their aim was to promote the awareness of media accessibility and the legal human rights issue, where many broadcasters currently ignore providing equal accessibility to people with hearing impairments which make up "7000 New Zealanders" and constitutes a significant part of society. They further claimed, "We are frustrated and incredulous that the marginalisation caused by the lack of legally mandated broadcast media captioning has been permitted to go on for so much longer in New Zealand". (The Captioning Working Group, New Zealand, 2016, p. 2). Their reports stipulated, that their mandate be passed by law ensuring, "That the House of Representatives legislate to ensure accessibility via closed captions for Deaf, Hard of Hearing and other New Zealanders who need it, to access all broadcast, online and video mediums," (Captioning Working Group, 2016, p 7.).

The fact that New Zealand was behind many world developments in media accessibility, regarding its legalisation, was also demonstrated, However, the CWG also highlighted how far we are behind our neighbour, Australia, "where TV stations are required to broadcast with captioning on all primary channels between the hours of 6am and midnight seven days a week." (Captioning Working Group, 2016, p. 7).

Today *Able* is still working to promote *Audio Description* and *Captioning*, where recently *TVNZ On Demand*, has opened up captioning for online streaming of local television series, *Shortland Street*. It has been reflected in the press as the first New Zealand based broadcasting service to do this (Stuff, 2018). In spite of some progress being made there are still a number of steps to be implemented at both

government and production level to effectively provide media accessibility for all, where the future of this is still unclear in New Zealand.

Future Developments in Subtitling: Creative Subtitling and Fan-subbing

Creative subtitling has been sporadic over the years since the introduction of sound in film making, nevertheless, as with subtitling in general, we can trace its genesis to the emergence of intertitles in the silent era. Intertitles were seen as artistic renderings integrated as key elements in the plotting of a film and indeed, as part of the *mise en scène* of the film itself. British Film maker Alfred Hitchcock's early career in film was as an artistic designer of intertitles from 1921 to 1922. Silent films from America, such as *Greed* (1924) and *L'Inhumaine* (1924) from France, also show the emergence of intertitles as creative elements in early cinema. From the 1970's onwards, it has often been used for humorous purposes in comedy, in films such as *Monty Python and The Holy Grail* (1975) and *Annie Hall* (1977) to show miscommunications between characters and lampoon certain stereotypes of countries and their cultures. However in recent years, studies by Curti (2009), McClarty (2012, 2014), and Dwyer (2015) reveal that creative subtitling is occurring in English language television series mostly for purposes of artistic embellishment and as screen projections of our technologically connected reality. On the other hand, non-professional instances of subtitling appear to be thriving, especially that of fan-subbing. These two areas of subtitling which I shall discuss below, reveal that audio-visual translation experiences are evolving and that the future of subtitling appears to be governed by both professional and amateur subtitling outputs.

Fan-subbing, which came to scholarly attention in the 1980's (O' Hagan, 2009) and appeared significantly throughout the 1990's until today (Díaz Cintas & Sanchez, 2006) originally began as a creative output for English speaking fans of Japanese animation, or Anime. Audiences in America wished to see popular titles which

were yet to arrive, so to promote the appeal of anime, “anime fans decided to create their own fan subs in the early-90s ... these pioneers used to distribute fan subbed anime on videotapes rather than in digital format” (Díaz Cintas & Sanchez, 2006, p. 44). Following this, as the internet became more popular, forums and file sharing came into play, with fan-subbing becoming more digitalised through peer-to-peer networking in the late 1990’s. The rise of Web 2.0 encouraged more user generated content revealing the, “devotion of the otherwise untrained Internet crowd as translators” (O’Hagan, 2009, p. 94).

Both in English speaking countries and in Japan, networking and sharing to understand Japanese culture and learn English, was facilitated through forums and file sharing sites which galvanised fandom in practice through peer-to-peer networking. These sharing practices provided fans with translations for content which they admire. Despite the negative stigma of being classified as amateur subtitlers, fan-subbers take their role seriously in providing viewers with deeper access to Japanese culture through comprehensive subtitling, with audience demand seemingly positive as fan subbing is still alive today. In the current digital age, fan subbed anime is widely popular, especially for local New Zealand viewers, where several younger viewers in this study, ranging from ages 19 – 29, were aware of fan subbing characteristics and enjoyed accessing anime content through online streaming sites such as *AnimeLab* and *Crunchyroll*. Fan subbing is overtly creative and its ‘rules’ are the antithesis of the standards proposed by Ivarsson & Carroll (1998), and Karamitroglou (1998). According to Díaz Cintas & Sanchez (2006) there are several aesthetic ‘rules’ that fan-subbing tends to exhibit:

- Use of different fonts throughout the same programme.
- Use of colours to identify different actors.
- Use of subtitles of more than two lines (up to four lines).
- Use of notes at the top of the screen.
- Use of glosses in the body of the subtitles.
- The position of subtitles varies on the screen (scene timing).
- Karaoke subtitling for opening and ending songs.
- Adding of information regarding fan-subbers.
- Translation of opening and closing credits.

(Díaz Cintas & Sanchez, 2006, p. 47).

When compared to most traditional subtitling and professional subtitling, which instead work to provide a translation of language and culture, fan-subbing is overt in its aestheticism, creating a subculture of fan appreciation for the translation of Anime and Japanese culture in general, as well as a platform of recognition for the translator (fan-subber) or for translation groups themselves. In traditional or standard subtitling, subtitles should be mostly unobtrusive, limited to two lines, in neutral colours, legible and bold font, and cemented in the spatial frame etc. The translator or translation company is usually invisible, indeed, in most instances anonymous, however, they should be credited at the end credits (see Ivarsson and Carroll, 1998). Yet most viewers do not go to watch films and other media content to admire the subtitles or the subtitlers. Fan-subbing subverts those rules and instead can offer an activist and political approach, with many fan-subbers gaining fame in the fan-subbing community and being willing to subvert the viewers' expectations of how subtitling should appear and behave. They flout censorship and copyright laws through both production and dissemination of content, especially content in which there has already been a professionally translated version. Viewers may decide to download the free fan-subbed version, especially if the professionally subtitled one is delayed in distribution, or is not made available into a translation of the viewer's native language. In the present age there has been a shift in terminology to describe both fan-subbing practitioners and practices, where according to Orrego Carmona (2014) fan-subbers should be termed non-professional translators. The term non-professional applies, he argues, due to the fact that the work is not for monetary gain, or is unpaid, as opposed to professionally translated versions.

Another remarkable difference between professionals versus non-professionals, is that the translator has no qualifications, or perhaps even no training. These non-professional translators gain experience in translating, improving their skills in every job. Some may translate in the style of more standardised forms of subtitling, as opposed to fan-subbing styles promoted in Anime, which as highlighted before, are comparatively different in style to standard or conventional subtitling. Orrego

Carmona (2014) shows in his study of viewers' online reception of *Game of Thrones* in Spain, that these non-professional or amateurs produce work similar to professional translations, to share content, not necessarily of Anime, but of international content in general. This content is usually American television series which have not been translated in their country, due to delays in releasing a translation. These prosumers (Jenkins, 2006) also provide translations in the hopes of improving their understanding of the English language. Non-professional translation is flourishing on particular video streaming sites. A notable case is *Viddsee*, a film making and distribution platform, founded by two Singaporean film makers, Ho Jia Jian and Derek Tan, which specialises in promoting Asian independent short film making from countries throughout Asia (refer to link <https://www.viddsee.com/>) *Viddsee* allows viewers to freely view content on their website and *YouTube* channel, encouraging film-makers to share their films and audiences to participate by providing subtitles into a variety of languages for the wide variety of content. Fan-subbers are encouraged to join the *Viddsee* fan-subbing community, *Viddsee Subbers*, a forum available on the *Viddsee* website and *YouTube* channel which invites users who are particularly interested in languages and cinema. The *Viddsee* fan-subbing mandate claims,

We strongly believe in having a platform to share unique cultural voices, important social messages and making them heard by the world. However, there is such a large diversity of languages out there. We can't do it alone to bring language support to all our films for the audience so we need your support in making these stories accessible to all. Join the members in our community, the passionate volunteers who share our desire to bring global stories to a home audience as well as, share more local films to more around the world! (Viddsee, 2018, para. 1).

Viddsee subbers are encouraged to join and recognise that subtitling should be a learning opportunity for non-professional translators and a space for audience participation. Subtitled content on the *Viddsee* website appears to follow standard subtitling practices, unlike fan-subbing in anime, and it is evident that nonprofessional subtitling in the current age is still an emerging industry which is

running in parallel to professional translation (see also Orrego-Carmona, 2018). Fan-subbing is still thriving in its original domain, the digital platforms provided by the internet, where many websites provide freely available subtitling software, from programmes such as *Aegisub* and *Subtitle Workshop*. As online content is rapidly increasing and being shared by producers (both professional and nonprofessional) and consumers, social media and online streaming sites now aim to provide user friendly sites of production and also dissemination tools, this in turn encourages audiences to actively participate, in this case, by subtitling content with the intention to reach global audiences.

Returning to professional industry practices, in the last eight years, professional forms of creative subtitling, have shown instances of subtitling as integral to character and plot development. Two examples of innovative and noticeably creative subtitle styles are portrayed in the recent television series *Sherlock* (2010 -) as well as in television shows such as *Jane The Virgin* (2014 -) and *Wanderlust* (2018). Subtitles in these programmes appear as text message bubbles and emails projected onto the screen, in turn becoming another layer to the *mise en scène* of film as well as signifiers for characters' behaviours. There has been a steady increase in intralingual subtitling playing a role in English language content: it is becoming more evident that the technological impact of screen use in everyday life is adopted within the screen, from surfing the web, to texting a person, both intralingual and interlingual subtitles mimic and reveal the communicative practices embodied in our everyday life. Creative subtitling in the context of professional translation, appears to be an emerging field of study and practice as scholars such as Curti (2009) and McClarty (2012; 2014) and Dwyer (2015) express the need for a recognition of the cinematic properties of instances of subtitling as stylistic renderings that are a part of the film landscape and the film-making process, not just something added at the last moment.

Curti (2009) considers subtitles not merely as words approximating meaning and remaining loyal to the source language, but instead, as abstract, fluid expressions of mood, space and expression. He proposes that subtitles can become avenues for creative expression and part of cinema imagery and affective film landscapes.

Subtitles need therefore no longer be considered “superimposed signifiers or static representations but are expressive movements.” (p. 201). They are movements on screen which articulate the cinematic. Curti delineates the possibilities of creative subtitling by focusing on the case study of *Night Watch* (2006) by Bekmambetov, exploring how subtitles are part of the geography within the film, where they become a part of the image space. Curti disproves Thompson’s (2001) theory that subtitles intrude into the image space, claiming that because creative subtitling is a way of moving the subtitles within the landscape not all subtitles have to be located at the bottom of the screen.

Subtitles have been considered representational approximations of verbal speech but, Curti asserts, subtitles can become transformational, instead of intruding from the outside onto the image, they can be understood as “manifolding scapes of assemblage creating experiences of light, sound, texture, colour and vibration.” (p. 202). The subtitles in *Night Watch* (2006) move within the frame, transforming into shapes and are utilised to create an affect and mood. To control how the viewer may read them and when, they are no longer static but artistically performative and unpredictable, where the viewer must follow the shape and movement around the screen. This study proposes that, rather than advocating for a superimposed language translation which remains mostly static in placement within the frame, subtitles should perform as creative expressions which can contribute to the film landscape within the images. This article draws attention to the development of creative subtitles, noting that while creative subtitles have appeared sporadically over the past decade or so, there has been little investigation into the production processes and audience experiences of this style of professional content.

McClarty (2012) proposes a similar focus to Curti (2009) but with a stance centred on proposing that subtitling be developed naturally during the film production process. She advocates that film studies and translation research should intersect to provide a picture of translation in a filmmaking context. Since standard subtitling practices have been established by scholars such as (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998) and (Karamitroglou, 1998), as guidelines for subtitling practice, these

subtitling guidelines have set the foundation for conventional subtitling practices. Yet as subtitling companies have adapted these norms, subtitling practitioners are constrained by constraints or rules in the field and “have failed to acknowledge the insights that could be gained by referring to audio visual translation’s parallel discipline: film studies” (p. 135). Alternatively, Dwyer (2015), a media scholar, has approached creative subtitling from a media perspective whilst also integrating an eye-tracking approach: she discusses the phenomenon of creative subtitling which she terms ‘on screen text’ by delving into case studies on *Glee* (2009), *Sherlock* (2010 -) and *Annie Hall* (1977). McClarty argues that research into creative subtitling has only begun to consider trends of fan subbing and believes there are insufficient studies on professional creative subtitling aspects. Instead of focusing on the norms of subtitling standards which preoccupy many translation scholars, McClarty (2012) asserts these norms are inadequate to deal with creative subtitling, because fan subbing practitioners develop their own rules to subtitle Anime and to “fulfil the specific demands of that fan community,” (p. 137), something which conventional subtitling industry techniques fail to do. McClarty believes that creative subtitling has a more positivist emphasis on affordances rather than the restrictions of traditional codes of subtitling, as it responds to individual film texts and allows more creative freedoms with regards to aspects of font, text, movement, size and colour.

Creative subtitling from early Hitchcock silent films and Japanese films are instances of past creativity in subtitling, but McClarty (2012) stresses they have, “remained largely unused in the West over the past number of decades, only currently are more filmmakers utilising advances in digital film editing software to produce more innovative results in subtitling” (p. 140). Despite this, these subtitles are attributed to the imagination of the film makers and editors rather than subtitlers, because they play a part in narrative progression, elements of humour, illusion of reality as well as the mise en scène of the film. This argument is pursued through case studies on *Austin Powers in Goldmember* (2002), *La Antena* (Sapir, 2007) and *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008). Creative subtitling may be recognisable by its adaptability, with changing colours and movement to co-ordinate with various

colour schemes, dialogue and pacing of the film. Thus, subtitles can fulfil linguistic, aesthetic and affective functions. McClarty (2012) asserts that with an increase in films utilising creative subtitles, “this is a practice that will continue to grow with new digital technologies and increased public approval” (p. 151). She proposes several insights into ways creative practices may be rendered through subtitling while her emphasis on film studies is an approach which my research intends to investigate via film audiences. Her evaluation of aspects of subtitling fonts, placement, colour, text and usage as integrated into the film’s diegesis through film narrative and aspects of *mise en scène*, is an area I would like to investigate, by investigating audience members’ experiences of, or responses to, both standard subtitling examples as well as fan-subbing instances, in order to understand audiences’ degree of familiarity with a variety of subtitling aesthetics and styles.

McClarty (2014), following on from a previous study, highlights issues in creative subtitling, where conventional subtitling has been a stable, well-received part of viewing culture by viewers in several countries and that the introduction of creative subtitling may pose an imposition for viewers, so that keeping in mind the target audience and their needs is vital. Creative subtitling is thus not to replace conventional practices, but “may be employed to particular effect in the appropriate context.” (p. 594). Creative subtitling differs from conventional subtitling in that it is an integral part of the collaborative film making process, where subtitlers work with film-makers, unlike in conventional instances where the subtitler works on the completed film separately and the film-maker is by then working on their next project. Technological advances have seen a rapid rise in creative subtitling in the UK, since the TV series *Sherlock* (2010-) so that McClarty (2014) believes viewers are becoming more receptive and “sophisticated in their reception of onscreen text” (p. 595).

McClarty and Curti posit many possibilities for the intersection of subtitling and film, where they agree that film making and subtitling should collide to create an artistic representation: that one does not have to detract from the other, and that subtitling can transform itself beyond the function of translation. However,

because this phenomenon of professional creative subtitling is relatively rare, McClarty and Curti both offer few examples and there is little evidence regarding audience responses to this type of content, the exception of course being creative non-professional content: fan-subbing. Creative subtitling processes during the film production level appears to be a relatively new field in terms of tracing filmmaker and translator collaboration during professional industry processes, although instances of this are already happening in the virtual reality and gaming industry (see Díaz Cintas, JoSTrans, 2018). Investigating audience responses to this type of subtitling will take time: a call for investigations into more cases of film industry and translator collaborations is needed in order to discover more about industry levels of creative processes. We also need more studies focusing on these creative subtitled products and their reception by viewers. Nevertheless, the studies mentioned above prove that creative subtitling both in professional, but mostly recognisable in non-professional instances, is happening. Fan-subbing, originating in the 1980's, has lasted throughout the current digital era, expanding outwards from its humble beginnings in anime to include several international forms of media disseminated on the web. It appears that creative subtitling, both as a field of research and of production, is developing mainly through digital platforms. Fan-subbing is still likely to be the predominant mode of alternative subtitling for the near future. As technological advancements are made, fan-subbing will likely increase in production around the world. As audiences around the world seek out online content, this shows a necessary reflection of the increase in translation production and content online, subtitled media are more omnipresent now than ever, as the need to address global audiences has initiated and contributed to this increase. For the most part in this study into New Zealand audiences, the primary focus will be on the reception of both professional and fan-subbed content, so an overview of past reception studies will be explored in the next section in the hope of gaining insights into current audiences' perspectives on subtitles.

Subtitling: Reception Studies and Audiences

Throughout the 1980's cognitive studies appeared addressing the problem of understanding viewers' psychological responses to subtitles because subtitles were considered to be cognitively demanding for the viewer. See (Fisher, Karsh, Breitenbach & Barnette, 1983; d'Ydewalle, Van Rensbergen & Pollet, 1987). Indeed, scholars still argue over the issues of the cognitive demands and impact subtitling has on the viewer, see (Gottlieb 1994; Koolstra et al. 2002; Perego, Del Missier, & Stragà 2017). Studies of reception continue to be an area of research, with eye-tracking still one of the main methods applied to understanding viewer responses to subtitled content. According to De Linde & Kay (1999), eye-tracking monitors participants' eye movements to gauge and analyse what they see on the screen, "optic pauses and regressions ... monitoring the pace of reading, detailed information can be obtained about the viewing process"(p. 54). As a sub-set of reception study, studying the ways in which the viewer has to process and connect image and text, as well as reading speeds and behaviour, seem to be adequately assessed by employing the method of eye-tracking. Reception studies using eye-tracking assess how much time viewers spend reading the image and text and what screen-details viewers' focus on. Reception studies have largely studied the effects of the rules of subtitling protocols, where assessing the validity of subtitling rules may be undertaken through analysing audiences and their engagement with subtitles during the viewing process. As Perego, Del Missier, Porta & Mosconi (2010) believe, current studies should be, "empirically appraising the real effectiveness of subtitling guidelines" as "guidelines are often not clearly grounded in empirical studies" (p. 266). They further advocate that research into audience reception of subtitled content should provide a view of several kinds of audiences and utilise, "a systematic empirical test of subtitling guidelines for different groups of potential users (e.g., young adults, older adults, and deaf people)," (p. 266).

Reception studies in audio visual translation have typically focused solely on the viewer as *passive* receptors exposed to the image: investigating how viewers process the image has relied for too long on mostly quantitative methods. For

example, measuring statistically for what amount of time the viewers ‘process’ the surface level of the image and text – how long they focus on the image and on the text on the screen. But viewers are complex in their cognitive and intellectual processing, not merely noticing phenomena but also undertaking many discursive readings of texts, which relate to demographic factors – the viewers’ backgrounds, knowledge of media characteristics and preferences for types of media which scholars, (cf. Hall, 1980; Jenkins, 2006; Davis & Michelle, 2011; Zalipour & Athique, 2014; Michelle, Davis, Hardy & Hight, 2015; 2017; and Van de Vijver 2017) have all identified as significant variables in audience reception studies. Reception studies in audio visual translation have typically failed to go beyond the surface to investigate viewers’ understandings and engagement with subtitled media. It is imperative that reception studies go beyond the surface of what audiences are presented with on the screen, to actually addressing what audiences think and feel about what they see presented on the screen in order to understand the patterns of *engagement* and *consumption* they make when they consume and *interact* with subtitled media. The studies below all emphasise issues of cognitive constraints and investigate issues that affect viewers’ engagement with subtitled content, despite this, it is only in recent years we see a perceptible shift in the imperatives for researching audiences themselves. The more recent studies such as one done by Orrego-Carmona (2014), tracking viewers’ consumption and production habits, begin to address the viewer as active in engagement, production and consumption. Below, I will review some past and present studies which take both theoretical and empirical approaches to understanding audience reception, I will discuss their findings to determine their contributions to the AVT reception studies landscape. Lastly I will conclude by identifying the current gap in reception studies and advocate for a media studies approach to investigating viewers and their engagement with subtitled content.

The study of viewers and their preference for certain translation modes has been an integral part of reception studies, such as when Koolstra, Peeters & Spinhof (2002) analyse translation methods of subtitling and dubbing and consider the disadvantages and advantages of these common translation methods. Regarding

subtitling, they analyse aesthetic choices and the frequency of translation methods as well as discussing viewers' appropriation of language skills from consuming these translated materials. Their findings establish non-definitive answers as to which translation mode is the most effective, since this depends on the viewer, the medium of distribution and the processes employed by each countries' translation industry. Koolstra, Peeters & Spinhof consider the linguistic and political reasons for both dubbing and subtitling. Firstly, by investigating how dubbing manipulates the viewer by censoring the source text and influencing language purism ideals and secondly, by questioning whether subtitles distract the viewer from the image. Koolstra, Peeters & Spinhof also predict that viewers' habitual preferences for certain translating methods will change in the future because of transnational distribution. They hypothesise that these translation methods will increase viewers' language acquisition and comprehension in either, or both, their native and non-native languages. Their study emphasises the role subtitling plays for viewers, taking a theoretical approach to possible engagements viewers have now and will have in the future. However, their research lacked empirical evidence exploring a sample of viewers and their responses to subtitled media.

Widler (2004) conducted a study surveying cinema goers in Vienna with a focus on audiences of subtitled film. During the research process Widler notes that the target audience for subtitled films was relatively obscure, "not a lot is known about the target audience of subtitled films ... why do they choose a subtitled rather than dubbed film?" (p. 98.). Utilising both qualitative and quantitative methods of surveying and interviewing, this study undertook a large scale survey of attendees at approximately 30 cinemas in Vienna between mid-August and mid-September in 2002. Interviews were conducted with 100 viewers attending 19 different films with various source languages, subtitled into German. This survey asked about audiences' educational and professional backgrounds and their reasons for attending the cinema to view subtitled films. Interviews lasted for 5 to 10 minutes once the customers had purchased their tickets and their answers were written down by the interviewer and assisting researchers. Widler's (2004) study

constructed six hypotheses which were investigated: 1) that interviewed viewers would be mainly 31 – 50 years old; 2) that the majority of interviewed viewers hold a university degree; 3) that the majority of viewers interviewed attend the cinema regularly; 4) that subtitled films at the cinema do not play a role in foreign language learning; 5) that the majority of participants were happy with the quality of the subtitles; and 6) that the majority of cinemagoers interviewed would like to see more subtitled films shown in the cinema. The first and fourth hypothesis proved to be false according to this study, while the second, third, fifth and sixth hypotheses were verified due to the majority of respondents agreeing that subtitles aid language learning, and the participants claiming frequent attendance at the cinema, mostly on a monthly basis. Subtitle quality was rated via a grading system and a demand for more subtitled film screenings was shared by many participants.

Overall, this study provides a local view of cinema-goers in Vienna during 2002, by gathering the opinions of audiences attending foreign film screenings. Widler's questionnaire provides a helpful starting point for investigating audiences and understanding their backgrounds, with questions oriented around the reasons for cinema attendance, the professional backgrounds of viewers and the use of grading scales to measure responses to subtitle quality. However, this study leaves room for further research as some questions were vague, especially those asking about perceptions of the quality of subtitles, with a grading system of 1 to 5 signifying 'good to bad' offered, when more questions about subtitle speed, text, colour etc. could have provided more interesting responses from participants. Widler's study emphasised quantitative results and content analysis is applied, leaving several gaps in alternative ways to measure audience responses. Since this study was done fifteen years ago, there is room to improve upon analysing viewers' responses to encountering subtitles outside of the cinema, due to changes in technologies allowing viewers to interact with subtitles in other domains, such as on social media and during live theatre performances.

Hajmohammadi (2004) delves into theoretical issues surrounding audiences of subtitled film by focusing on the cognitive processes the viewer undergoes when

reading subtitles, and describing ways the image corresponds to the subtitles. This work considers the cinematic power of imagery on audiences and argues that the subtitles perform as a function that is “viewer oriented and image bound.” Hajmohammadi believes that subtitlers must be “fully familiar with the language of cinema” (p. 1), while subtitles should only translate a fragment of what is being spoken because of time constraints imposed by the medium. The two formative subtitling practice guidelines produced by scholars Ivarsson & Carroll (1998) and Karamitroglou (1998) also advocate for brevity of subtitles: they should adhere to the two line rule. Hajmohammadi believes that viewers of subtitled film, particularly in Iran, are attracted by language learning opportunities and like to watch films with both the source language, i.e. the original language, and target language (translation), which dubbing restricts. See also Koolstra & Peeters, (2002) and Gambier (2012) who have also noted that subtitling can be used as a language learning tool. Cognitive constraints in decoding the image and its translation require effort from the viewer, since they are limited by the duration of the subtitles on screen while also decoding the meanings and “connecting these segments to the overall discourse of the film” (p. 2). The viewer has to connect the visual to the verbal, to understand the language translation, but also link images to who is speaking and to what actions are occurring in the scene. The cognitive effort exerted by the viewer to decode all these image and textual representations means that, “The constraints are all the greater, as viewers simultaneously have to read one or two lines of text at the bottom of the screen in the allotted time, which is generally shorter than for the original dialog,” (Hajmohammadi, 2004, p. 2). Subtitles must progress with the film in a coherent manner for the viewer as well as align effectively with the time the viewer takes to process them during their act of viewing and this is one of the reasons Hajmohammadi believes that subtitled films are more cognitive effort for the viewer, “Subtitled films thus require a greater effort to harmonize a variety of cognitive activities and grasp the underlying idea.” (p. 2).

Bringing in film theory posed by Balazs (1970) who believes that speech acts as a verbal gesture and words are a stylistic approximation rendered as an

accompaniment to the image, as well as language function theory from Halliday (1976), which asserts that the function of language is situationally dependant; Hajmohammadi considers that by interlinking these theories, the relevance of film imagery should be seen as a separate form of translation to subtitling. He concludes that two meaning-making processes are occurring simultaneously in film, and that the subtitlers' task is not to translate the first process. Process one involves: elements outside of speech, paralinguistic (social cultural background) and extra linguistic (body and movement) features, carrying cinematic meaning. Process two involves: translation of original dialogue to subtitles, whereby the meanings become altered for a specific audience, with the first process remaining the same regardless of the target audience. Process one can thus be seen as the responsibility of the film-maker while process two relies solely on the translator mediating between the visual and verbal to connect the audience to the filmmaker's artistic vision. Nevertheless, Hajmohammadi stresses, subtitling requires a "recognition of media constraints and an approach centred on the audience." (2004, p. 7). Subtitles are image-bound and help progress the image-story in cinema: they should provide vital information to accompany the image, but be brief, as Hajmohammadi stresses, "Give image and the viewer pride of place" (p. 8). This viewer-oriented approach expounded upon through a dual cinematic and translation theory lens, provides a foundation for considering the efforts of the viewer in the mediated process of image and translation, as well as the power of the image. The subtitles role is to compliment the image, not overpower it. This study focuses on the cinematic properties of film and the role of subtitles: it provides a dual perspective on the field. It suggests that it is important to consider the role of both cinema and translation, with one field tending to ignore the other, and in my own work I will try to incorporate both perspectives, by invoking a media studies approach to subtitling, focusing on the power of the viewer in deciphering and consuming translated media, especially since the scholars Gambier and Díaz Cintas have highlighted that there is a gap in this particular type of interdisciplinary research.

Sinha (2004) critiques the way subtitles can polarise the viewer by distracting him or her from the film imagery and posing a tedious reading task. He examines the reception of subtitled films in America, since such films are met with suspicion and anti-nationalist sentiments. Subtitles highlight difference but must be absorbed into a national culture. Sinha believes subtitles are ideally an 'invisible superimposition' which exists on the screen and is absorbed into the visual and audio, it behaves as a border between the image and sound but takes on a 'third dimension.' (p. 173). Subtitles are normally seen as outside elements intruding into the cinematic space, Sinha contests this, arguing that ontologically, cinema borrows from reality, real people, photography, and the voices of the actors, which all originally come from the outside to become represented inside the frame. See also McClarty (2014) who notes that the issue of invisibility plagues both subtitlers and viewers and that ultimately, the text remains 'unobtrusive' as viewers suspend their disbelief, accepting subtitles as the true translation of dialogue. Sinha (2004) further dissects Thompson's notion that viewers become fatigued and miss out on visual imagery because of subtitles, by considering the viewers' patterns of acceptance towards the text; where the viewer may lose interest in the text and instead disregard it, sparing more of the focus on the images.

Sinha argues that subtitling is an act of seeing for the viewer and that the translator's task is to communicate a view, not his or her own, but as faithful as possible a view belonging to the film-maker. He points out, that the translator is not to be seen, and that his or her invisibility brings up issues of authorship. Issues of language transference are explored when translating humour, where the original humour cannot be directly translated, because different cultural elements force the translator to customise the translation for the target audience, meaning the original semantics are lost and instead the translation is a distortion of the original language. Humour is thus seen as untranslatable. Sinha's non-empirical yet discursive philosophical discussion on translation provides a cinema studies slant, pointing out strong cognitive effects pertaining to the viewer, where the translator must consider the constraints of the medium, be brief, and not distract

the viewer from the imagery, but compliment it. He brings up the notion of subtitles as text and also investigates issues of national identity through case studies on issues of transference of humour in India and France and the role of the translator as mediator between two cultures and languages. This article is useful in encouraging me to consider the constraints posed on the medium of film through subtitling, such as encountering possible audience reception effects; to consider the viewer's comfort with translation, questions about when they choose to watch subtitled content, and in what ways subtitled content is accessible for them.

Petit (2009) agrees with the views of Sinha (2004) where she similarly brings up issues of fidelity to the source text, which she terms a process called *cultural transference*. She discusses the relevance of the translator as the mediator between language and culture, emphasising that a translator must have a bilingual ability and also a bi-cultural vision as they mediate between two linguistic cultural systems. The translator has the role of subtitling or dubbing and delivering a translation which can be understood by audiences. Subtitling allows the viewer to, "Experience the original soundtrack while two linguistic modes operate" (Petit, 2009, p. 44). She describes the translation methods the translator adheres to when delivering a translation, such as: omission of a term, the literal translation of a term, borrowing terms from the source language, equivalence of meaning of a term in both the source text and target text, and discusses how these techniques affect translation processes.

These aforementioned methods are all determining factors in whether certain culturally specific terms are untranslatable in the cultural transference process. Through her case studies on examples of English to French dubbed and subtitled versions of the television shows *NYPD Blue* and *Smoke*, she highlights problems pertaining to whether cultural meaning is transferred when there are different signs being expressed through the visual text which may not exist in the target culture. She also considers whether subtitled version or dubbed versions of text impact the visual cultural signs. Because audio and visual signs form a dominant message, the translator has a difficult task of mediating the cultural and language

barriers a text can pose. Petit (2009) identifies an area which could be further investigated when she concludes her research by listing the possible factors which affect the resulting translation. These include the type of audio-visual text such as whether it is a television programme, the distribution of the text through a certain medium, the targeted audience and their linguistic knowledge and whether the viewer has a specialised or limited knowledge of the source text.

These past studies from 2002 to 2009 all emphasise the processes of translation the translator undertakes to mediate between the source language and target language. They highlight the cognitive engagements that viewers will have watching the subtitled media, but solely from the translator's stance and a translation production perspective, where Ramos Pintos (2017) emphasises the, "the process of audience design play[s] an important role," where the, "decision-making process is mediated by what the translator perceives to be the audience's expectations, the viewer's needs" (p. 13). These studies present theories about how audiences receive translated media, nevertheless they lack significant empirical research into viewers' perceptions and engagement levels with subtitled media, as well as their consumption of media. Only in recent years has this begun to be addressed. In the digital media age, studies have begun to particularly re-focus on the role of fan-subbers, and their current practices to determine how these non-professional translators impact audience reception of online media content, as well as investigating ways viewers access this content.

Orrego-Carmona (2014) analyses the video consumption patterns of young Spanish viewers in order to understand the behaviour and evaluations of consumers of subtitled media content on the internet. His primary focus is on how non-professional subtitling has emerged through prosumers' responses to overcoming "linguistic barriers and overstepping official distribution channels" (p. 51). By utilising the qualitative methods of questionnaires, interviews, and documentary sources, this study presents a general overview of the consumption patterns of young Spaniards. It looks at their audio-visual consumption as well as exploring audiences' attitudes to, and receptions of, non-professional subtitling through user generated online media distribution channels. Orrego-Carmona

collected data from social media sites such as Twitter and blogs for media distributor Canal+ Spain. This data illustrates a controversial period surrounding the subtitled season premiere of the TV series *Game of Thrones* (2011-) in Spain, where users took to social media to discuss the use of subtitling. There were both positive and negative views on subtitling in a country whose translation industry is traditionally dubbing-oriented.

Orrego-Carmona (2014) posits that audiences are reacting to globalisation by creating, “an environment where access to the content can also be mediated by users themselves, thus democratizing content distribution and bringing into the discussion agents other than the producers and distributors” (p. 52). With a change in media flows, more consumption of foreign TV has meant an increase in Spanish audiences’ reception habits regarding subtitled content and also a noticeable change in how Spanish viewers interact with translated media on the internet, both as viewers of non-professionally subtitled content, and as prosumers of subtitling technology tools.

Orrego-Carmona examines how students from ages 18 to 30, at the Universitat Rovira i Virgili in Tarragona, Spain, view both professional and non-professional forms of subtitling, and their reactions to watching subtitled material in comparison with dubbed content. Questionnaires were categorised by language skills, audio-visual consumption habits, and audio-visual translation preferences, while eye-tracking and interviewing provided individual analyses of audience members. The participants were all native Spanish or Catalan speakers. An English listening comprehension test was administered previously to ensure participants understood a high to medium level of English, and to assess their level of comfort with the eye tracking part of the experiment which took place in English. The majority of the participants had a considerable proficiency in English which suggests regular contact with English as a foreign language. Participants were heavy users of television content on the internet, with the majority of participants viewing content online. Orrego-Carmona tracked users’ downloads of content, tracing how often they downloaded subtitles and what types of languages they downloaded subtitles in, as well as what type of subtitled content they used. He

found that more than half of viewers were viewing imported content in preference to local Spanish media. Dubbing was rated highly as a preferred choice for both local and international content but most frequently viewers would watch subtitled content.

The rise in non-professional subtitled forms of imported television content, such as *Game of Thrones*, is due to temporal issues, where young Spanish audiences wish to view content at the same time it is released in the US. However, since dubbing is a lengthy and costly operation, audiences have overcome the linguistic barriers and distribution delays, by creating subtitled versions and sharing them with other fans, thereby becoming “prosumers”, amateur media makers who produce and consume, in the age of convergence culture (Jenkins, 2006). The participants’ preferences for translation were dubbing for films, and subtitles for television, with several participants understanding subtitling’s ability to provide language learning, but also its potential to keep them up to date with the latest episodes of a series in America. Subtitles were preferred when viewers felt comfortable with the source language and were committed to engaging with the cognitive efforts that subtitling demands.

Controversy over subtitling arose when Canal+ distributed *Game of Thrones* to television viewers, simultaneous to its release in the US, with subtitles instead of dubbing. With Spanish viewers more accustomed to dubbing, several dissatisfied viewers took to social media sites such as Twitter and various television blogs, claiming they “did not understand the English audio, were not acquainted with the original voices, and could not read the subtitles” (p. 61). Contrastingly, followers of the series also supported subtitling as “showing the original product,” as well as enhancing second language proficiency. Younger audiences have become more adapted to, and accepting of, subtitling, which Orrego-Carmona (2014) posits, is due to younger audiences’ usage of global media content where, “the audience will also be affected by changes unfolding at a global level, as suggested by the steady growth of the television market and the constant innovation that companies like Netflix, Hulu, or Amazon are bringing to the industry” (p. 68).

Orrego-Carmona's (2014) project focuses on reception habits related to translated media, by providing a look at local Spanish viewers and non-professional subtitling prosumers. It utilises a translation studies perspective but clearly tends towards a media studies trajectory, through the strong focus on audience reception it provides empirical evidence of Jenkin's (2006) convergence theory with an emphasis on prosumers' engagement patterns. This study focuses on key issues which my research also aims to investigate at a local level: the ways audiences consume subtitled content; their translation preferences, as well as focusing on younger viewers. My research will explore some of the issues raised around subtitling in this study, by recruiting a local sample of New Zealand viewers, acknowledging participants' cultural and language backgrounds, however with a main focus on comparing a variety of age groups, both older and younger viewers' engagement and consumption patterns for both subtitled film and other translated media forms. Because subtitling is the dominant translation mode for imported international content received in New Zealand, I also intend to delve into viewers' opinions and possible experiences of another immensely popular translation mode, that of dubbing.

Another recent study by Orrego-Carmona (2016) presents results of an investigation into audience reception of both professional and non-professional subtitles. Utilising excerpts from the TV series *The Big Bang Theory* (2007 -), audiences viewed a professional Spanish subtitled version, and two non-professional subtitling communities' versions. Audiences were monitored through eye-tracking and data collection through questionnaires and interviews. Since free subtitling software such as *Aegisub* and *Subtitle Workshop* are readily accessible on the internet, fan-sub communities or, professional amateur subtitlers are becoming proactive in creating their own subtitles for media content. This is partially due to a disapproval of delayed industry distribution of media content and also to a rejection and an alternative take on professionally subtitled content, where amateur subtitlers do unpaid work that imitates professional subtitling: they follow strict subtitling procedures and similar to fan subbing, target the specific needs of their audiences rather than a paying client or industry. Audiences

researched in this second study were native Spanish speakers aged 18 to 30 with either a high or low level of English comprehension. The main hypothesis of this study was that audiences' comprehension and reception capacity was higher with professional subtitles, while their attention fixation and cognitive effort was lower, leaving more time to for viewers to engage with the images. This study resulted in findings that both professional and non-professionally subtitled content do not have a negative effect on audience reception, whereby both language variations of Iberian and Latin American Spanish subtitles were not critiqued differently by audiences. Rather, non-professional subtitles were accepted as appropriate and effective products in comparison with their professional counterparts.

Orrego-Carmona poses the question for further investigation; how do non-professional subtitling communities evolve and produce content that appears to viewers as similar to professionally produced content? Viewers' overall comfort with subtitles and with direct image correspondence was due to the duration and appearance of subtitles. By allowing time between each subtitled sequence, the viewer has time to prepare for them, which Orrego-Carmona (2016) believes, "results in a more systematic reading process" (p. 177). Nevertheless, because this study utilises eye-tracking as the main process for identifying audience reception, it leaves a gap for alternative ways to measure audience interaction. My research hopes to explore a local perspective, concerning audiences in New Zealand with a focus on viewers' language and cultural backgrounds. This socio-cultural approach is lacking in audio visual translation studies, due to the field being a unified and heavily European dominated industry, which also tends to focus more on subtitling practices more than the viewers' backgrounds, experiences and media consumption habits.

Reception studies are still vital to understanding how viewers process and engage with subtitled content, but it is only in recent years that Audio Visual Translation scholars are taking into consideration the active participation of audiences, considering what viewers want and how they engage with subtitled media on diverse media platforms. Recently Chaume (2018) and Díaz Cintas (2018) have both considered the current and future role that reception studies should take and

they strongly emphasize the need to merge a Media Studies approach to Audio Visual Translation studies, as Chaume (2018) asserts,

There will be more studies on reception ... Because we need to know what audiences want ... what they like and how they like it ... in order to know what target cultures want from audio visual translation. Finally, we still need to merge with film studies and media studies. Now we are witnessing approaches of broadening the scope of audio- visual translation. In that sense we are approaching to film studies and media studies but we still have to go further in that way. (JoSTrans, Interview, 2018)

Díaz Cintas is also in agreement with Chaume on the state of reception studies, and he further emphasises his previous claims from ten years previously, (see Díaz Cintas, 2008) to take an interdisciplinary approach, merging media studies and AVT, to study audiences and reception of translated media content. As Díaz Cintas admits,

We seem to be lagging behind on all fronts because reception studies has been very typical of media studies, you want to know what the consumers want. So that you can give them the best or the products that you know that they will be happy to watch or to pay for ... We are very close to media studies and have close links with film studies. Only now do we seem to be developing in that direction. (Díaz Cintas, 2018, JoSTrans interview)

The current and future developments for the field of Audio Visual Translation are clear: audience research is a necessary step to factor into research which seeks to understand how subtitled and other forms of translated media are accessed, consumed, as well as produced and disseminated by audiences. The following chapter will detail methodologies used in research by media studies scholars, to suggest ways to address this gap in audience research of subtitled media, as well as to present my own approach towards investigating local audiences of subtitled media.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

Because audio-visual translation services consumed by New Zealanders are typically sourced internationally, usually from Europe and Asia, and the majority of subtitled content screened here is from overseas, it is easy to understand why local subtitling instances in New Zealand tend to be few. My research therefore, will mainly provide a local critique of the effectiveness of subtitling techniques by researching the reception of two internationally subtitled film clips belonging to European and Asian cinema respectively, and viewed by audiences located in Hamilton, New Zealand. However, during the time of this research into local audiences, two innovative bilingual programmes, *Moving out with Tamati* (2017) and *The Casketeers* (2018) screened on local television channel TVNZ1. The research into this local context was online-based and included the Facebook social media pages for these programmes. A focus on these two case studies will also serve to present an overview of the media situation in New Zealand and will be further elaborated on in the results chapter.

For the initial part of this chapter I shall focus on presenting the methodological tools utilised in several media research studies and provide an overview of their approaches to studying audiences. This section aims to introduce a media studies and audience research based methodological approach to audio-visual translation studies. Lastly, I will discuss the framework for my audience research; the background, ethical approval and recruitment process; and sites of research, as well as elaborate on the methodological tools employed in the various areas that this research aims to investigate. I establish the justification for the methodological approach I have chosen by presenting an overview of the survey and focus group methods utilised to conduct this research into Hamilton audiences in the Waikato region of New Zealand. The two types of research instruments: survey and focus groups, were employed to address diverse demographic groups of audiences. Even though the number of participants in my survey research was not large, utilising a mixed-method approach consisting of

both qualitative and quantitative methods was selected as the most beneficial approach to this audience research, in order to give greater insight into how viewers both perceive and consume translated media.

In particular, this approach focuses on the experiences and evaluations of Hamilton audience members' encounters with subtitled cinema from Europe and Asia. Research data was obtained through the creation of web based and paper copies of surveys and the staging of joint focus groups and film screenings. Firstly, I designed a survey to provide a demographic picture of audiences, to discover their socio-cultural backgrounds, and their preferences for particular types of media content. Secondly, joint film screenings and focus groups provided a space for local audiences that would allow them to discuss their responses and experiences in specific locales and in small group settings. This is a small foundational study, but to my knowledge no research has been done on audiences and subtitling in New Zealand before. The aims of this study are to understand what contact audiences have had with subtitling and what their perceptions and evaluations of subtitling are.

Media Audience Research and Reception Studies Methodologies

Audiences' responses to media texts ... are influenced by their socially, culturally, politically, ideologically and geographically located selves. (Zalipour & Athique, 2014, p. 6)

Audience engagement across diverse media has always been fundamental to the growth and success of the media entertainment industries. As Chapter One indicated, AVT studies are beginning to recognise the importance of media audiences and how media studies theories can contribute to understanding subtitling and its reception and use by audiences with a focus on fan-subbing and prosumers. Areas studied include how viewers watch, as well as identifying ways they access subtitled content in the digital age across diverse platforms. Whether it be on the web on online streaming sites, at the cinema, or on TV, audiences are accessing content across a variety of screen sizes and platforms. Researching what people do with and what they think about media, as contrasted for instance with studying texts or how they are produced, has been increasingly seen as a useful

approach to studying the cultural place of film, television, and currently, online digital media.

Historically, audience studies, i.e. research into viewers and consumers of media, have been a major area of research for Media and Communication Studies scholars since the mid twentieth century and continues to thrive today. Media Studies began as Mass Communication Studies and was pioneered by sociologists originating in countries such as Germany. Max Weber, the German sociologist, has been credited with developing the research instrument of the survey. In 1910 Weber's research titled the *Sociology of the German Press*, sought to discover, "the role of the press in the formation and orchestration of public opinion" (Dickinson, 2013, p. 2). According to Hansen and Machin (2013), Weber proposed the first large study into identifying people's opinions and beliefs through analyses of newspapers. He investigated the role they have on influencing readers, where news was observed to be, "influencing trends and changes in public opinion" (p. 204). In spite of this pioneering study, it was not until years later that surveys were adopted as an appropriate methodological tool for studies of media products, for, as Hansen and Machin (2013) add, "neither survey methodology nor content analysis had been sufficiently developed at the time" (p. 204).

Theoretical and methodological frameworks proposed by European sociologists influenced many scholars in Britain and America too. Some of the first research into American audiences occurred in the 1920's, where scholars such as Harold Lasswell, in a project similar to Max Weber's (1910) newspaper study, considered the effects of World War One propaganda on audiences (1927). This was the start of the tradition of effects theories, where these studies viewed the audience as passive and susceptible to the powerful messages promulgated by mass media. Lasswell's '*hypodermic needle / magic bullet theory*' (1927) was famously used to measure audience response to the moral panic caused by the Orson Welles (1938) *War of The Worlds* radio broadcast. Lasswell typically used quantitative methods, for instance, content analysis which involved counting the number of certain phrases used in the press and then making inferences about the effects they might have on the behaviour of mass audiences. In the 1940's studies of media became

more focused on methodologies to research the opinions of the viewer; it was by this time that both surveys and focus groups became useful tools, for instance, when Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton's radio research at The University of Columbia measured audience evaluations of radio content by doing nationwide radio surveys and using ratings counters to discover how popular particular radio programmes were in America (Lazarsfeld 1940; Merton & Lazarsfeld, 1948). According to Hansen & Machin (2013), the inception of focus groups as a research method can be traced to the early 1940's, and in particular, attributed to Merton's work on army training and moral-raising films conducted specifically as research for the US army. Hansen & Machin (2012) note that, "Merton and Kendall's (1946) article *The Focused Interview*," was also influential (p. 228).

In the arena of Film Studies in the 1960's and 1970's viewers were considered as 'spectators' and spectatorship theories developed speculating about the psychological effects the medium, or apparatus, might have on the viewer during the viewing experience. Psychoanalytic theories proposed by Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, Michel Foucault, were used by screen theorists such as Stephen Heath and Teresa de Lauretis as well as Laura Mulvey and others. For instance, Mulvey's essay *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* (1975) positioned the viewer as a spectator and pleasure seeker: her theory of the *Male Gaze* centred on the viewer as a spectator in a voyeuristic mode, highlighting the objectification of females on screen. Heath and De Lauretis' *Cinematic Apparatus* (1980), considered the viewer as a spectator thought to be absorbed and hypnotised by the power of the image. In this model cinema is imagined as an *apparatus* reflecting what stirred in the unconscious and thus invoking the dreams and desires of the viewer. These theories were more popular in European academia than in the United States however, where pragmatic and empirical research methodologies dominated.

The effects theory tradition and psychoanalytic theories in media appeared to lose appeal around the end of the 1970's. "The turn in media audience of research marked a move away from media influence and effects" (Hansen & Machin, 2013, p. 229). During the late 1970's and throughout the 1980's, scholars realised

audiences could be active rather than passive in their negotiation of the media, and investigating the way audiences process encounters with media became the dominant trajectory of research into audiences and media usage.

The 1980's heralded the rise of reception studies, mainly galvanised by Cultural Studies theorists in Britain, such as Stuart Hall and David Morley. Hall's development of the encoding/decoding model (1973), influenced by semiotics theory proposed by Roland Barthes, focused on understanding how media texts are vehicles for encoded meanings that both reflect and construct identity and forms of culture. This model emphasises how syntagms of meanings are decoded in various ways by differently located viewers affecting the viewers' reception of the text. For example, Morley's research into audiences on *The Nationwide Project* (1980) applied the encoding/decoding model to the activities of a number of participants asked to watch a video clip on budgeting. Viewers came from a variety of socio-cultural backgrounds, and engaged differently with the video clip, deriving varying meanings from it. The study further emphasised that viewers' receptions of media texts are influenced by three main types of readings of a text. These readings are: the *dominant*, *negotiated*, and *alternative or oppositional* (Hall, 1980). Observing how viewers engage with, interpret, and create meaning from their experiences with texts, highlights that viewers are indeed active in their reception and that media texts offer a variety of meanings for viewers to accept, negotiate, or challenge.

From the 1980s onwards there has been an increase in the use of mixed-method approaches of employing quantitative and qualitative research techniques in the same project. Surveys can readily be employed to investigate audiences' social and geographical locations, as well as their media consumption habits, while focus group interviewing complements this method by delving into audience experiences and decodings, through social and face-to-face discussions of meaningful topics concerning attitudes and beliefs about their engagement with media. I will first address the importance of the focus group method and secondly, the use of surveys in audience research, to discover how these methods have been

implemented in a mixture of local and global audience studies which have contributed to the picture of modern audience research.

The focus group is a research method whereby a pre-planned number of participants agree to meet a researcher who poses questions around a set topic. The gathering of a group of people who participate can consist of a diverse range of participants or group with shared commonalities, where the researcher hopes to elicit various audience perspectives which are reflective of a significant issue. This research method has continued to thrive, so that, according to Hansen & Machin (2013), it has been applied in various ways to, “understand how audiences deal with and make sense of media content.” (p. 229). According to Kitzinger (1994), the focus group is vital terrain to explore, in order to, “examine how diverse identities and social networks might impact upon research participants' perceptions” (p. 104).

Bore (2012) adopts the focus group method to investigate female and male audiences of TV comedy with a concentration on Norwegian and British viewers. Bore's approach centres on participants' responses to comedy shows and their engagement and preferences for certain comedy shows. Her participants were from a variety of age groups ranging in age from seventeen to fifty-nine. “The British focus groups included twenty-five men and twenty-three women, while the Norwegian groups were similarly made up of twenty-four men and twenty-five women,” (p. 6). Grouping participants according to nationality and including groups of single sex and mixed sexes was chosen, “on the assumption that participants might respond differently to these settings in discussions around gender and comedy” (p. 7). Groups sizes were small in order to, “facilitate a comfortable discussion environment” (Bore, 2012, p. 4). Respondents were encouraged to contribute to group sizes to, “form their own group of three to six participants by recruiting friends, colleagues or family members” (Bore, 2012, p. 4). Kitzinger (1994) also promotes the ideal of small group sizes, as “Each group consisted of, on average, 6 research participants. Many 'focus group studies' rely on no more than 4 or 5 groups, and this may be a perfectly adequate number” (p. 105). A mix of genders and the facilitation of a number of focus groups can aid

research into a variety of audiences. Bore (2012) also discusses the methods employed in dealing with focus groups; the moderator and participant roles for example, and the discursive ways in which participants can dominate or shy away from participation. She poses several insights into the facilitation of focus group design and implementation.

Zalipour, Michelle and Hardy (2014) utilise focus groups in a cultural studies context, implementing this method to carry out research into diasporic audiences in New Zealand. Audiences were contacted through, “convenience sampling ... Respondents from Chinese, Indian, and Korean ethnic groups were invited to watch a film whose diegesis centered upon their own ethnic community in New Zealand” (p. 315). Participants consisted of 13 male and 21 females who belonged to similar demographics, which, “were relatively homogeneous in terms of age, race/ethnicity, level of education, and professional status, and consisted of adults primarily from the first generation of diaspora” (Zalipour et al., 2014, p. 315). Focus groups were conducted where the principal researcher was not present during the viewing of the film, leaving respondents to choose their own location and space to view content. She instead met with respondents after they had viewed the film, because it was respondents’ post viewing evaluations which were of importance, “Each respondent was provided with a copy of the selected film in DVD format and asked to watch it before participating in the ... focus group discussion” (p. 315).

Audience data was collected “through audio and video recordings of ... a series of focus groups with members of each cohort,” (*Ibid*). Smith (2016) used a similar cultural studies approach to research audiences in New Zealand from 2012 to 2013, where she investigated the perspectives of several Māori viewers from around New Zealand, by utilising focus groups to enable participant responses towards their engagement with Māori TV content across a range of platforms. Staging eight focus groups, Smith (2016) investigates viewer-oriented perspectives about what the channel does to, “affirm and contribute to indigenous culture ... Māori ways of being and doing” (p. 6). Focus groups have many advantages; as these studies show, they can be more comfortable if participants have knowledge of their

setting, are familiar with other participants, and are comfortable expressing opinions on topics which they have some relationship to, or familiarity with. Focus groups also benefit from including a diverse group of people, where they can include members that represent a variety of age groups, ethnicities, genders and professions, of which are represented in the larger population.

From the 2000's onwards, both media and audience engagement patterns have become more digitalised because of the use of computers and mobile media devices. Media content has become more accessible through the increase in portable and personal media devices. Screens in various shapes and sizes are now accessible by touch and our engagements with media are more oriented towards user affordability and personalisation. Audience consumption of audio-visual media content is now predominantly based online and research into audience practices has entered the digital domain with studies using social media sites to explore the terrain of user based production and consumption patterns.

Jenkins' (2006) ground-breaking work on audiences' participatory practices and engagement online introduced the notion of media audiences as both users and producers, 'prosumers', and gave insight into audiences' diverse fandom practices and engagement. In the digital age audiences are interacting with media online in several different ways: reception studies have continued to thrive, and audiences' online consumption and production habits are another vital area in the field of audience research.

According to Couldry (2011), "The complexity of interfaces and intertextuality in the digital media age makes tracking audience practice increasingly difficult and subtle" (p. 226). As audience activities move online, in the mass and globally-led digital age there is a sense that the focus of global audience practices might overshadow investigations into what local and specific audiences in specific spaces are doing, due to the difficult nature of tracking individual audiences through global networks. Because the internet is so vast, and we are in the age of 'big data', where audiences can also, through the accumulation of large amounts of data about multiple individuals, be considered a general 'mass', audience behaviour in

local contexts can be overshadowed, making a local context seem less relevant, or indeed less visible. On the contrary, I believe that examining local instances of audience activity and engagement is still an important area which communication researchers around the world should aim to address, and that the description of local contexts are a fruitful addition to the global picture of audience studies and audiences. Local investigations into audiences and mass studies of global audience practices can coexist. Despite audience studies entering the digital field and a consequential sense of difficulty in identifying audiences and their engagement with media online, there is still current audience research that employs both ethnography and focus groups as tools to research human subjects both face to face and online, in order to understand the diversity of audiences and their engagement with media.

As Van de Vijver (2017) asserts, "Using socio-economic, ethnographic and other methods, empirical research on film audiences has underlined their heterogeneity ... In order to engage with lived experiences of actual audiences in their social, historical and cultural context of everyday life" (p. 131). Where quantitative methods could not always address the human experiences of media users, because audiences are more than just measurable statistics, qualitative methods are considered relevant to exploring and addressing human experiences in more local and specific contexts, as Van de Vijver (2017) affirms, "Scholars left the field of broad generalizations and large quantitative research designs to focus on close, detailed studies of specific places, people and chronologies" (p. 131).

Media Studies scholars have emphasised in recent research projects, such as the ones I will be discussing below, the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate audiences. According to Davis and Michelle (2011) quantitative methods are useful for investigation into areas concerning, "Audience behaviors, attitudes, socio-demographic attributes, and the correlates and causal relationships among them," (p. 560). They further opine that qualitative methods too have benefits, and should be employed to investigate, "... audiences' understandings, perceptions, feelings, motivations, and desires" (p. 560). They believe most studies using qualitative methods benefit from using, "open-ended

interviews, focus groups, and ethnographic observation” (p. 560). Since the 1980’s Audience Studies have become more viewer-oriented, where research into viewers is concerned with their viewpoints – that is reactions, understandings of and associations with media texts. Davis and Michelle (2011) propose two main research objectives which audience research endeavours to investigate about audience practices, “First ... important aspects of their experiences and ... shared viewpoints with others through talk. Audience interpretation and response is ... inherently *social*.” “Second, is a common understanding that texts ... are polyvalent and polysemic and that different segments of the audience apprehend meaning and value in different, yet still patterned ... ways” (p. 561.) See also (Michelle, 2007, Suckfüll & Scharkow, 2009).

Media reception is a complex process where viewers engage on several levels. The Composite Model proposed by Michelle, Davis and Vladica (2012) addresses the engagement levels of viewer responses towards the film *Avatar* (2009), directed by James Cameron. The Composite Model study reveals that viewers, “In adopting a mediated mode of reception ... characteristically draw on ... knowledge of aspects of media production, aesthetic ideals, generic conventions and textual formulae, intertextual references, and the functions and motivations of the film and television industries” (p. 111). When viewers draw upon several sites of knowledge about media production and reception, this knowledge may contribute to or interrupt their interpolation, or immersion, in the film ‘world’, and acceptance towards committing to and engaging in the viewing process. As Michelle et al. (2012) add, “This knowledge may interrupt the process of identification and ... serious engagement with the text’s narrative or message content,” (p. 112). Because texts are polysemic and audience levels of engagement are varied across a range of audiences, addressing audiences around the world has been another factor in current audience research. These global studies aim to reveal shared audience practices, to discover universal themes about audience engagement in fandom culture.

Michelle, Davis, Hardy and Hight (2012, 2017) designed a longitudinal study in 2012 to investigate global audience reception of *The Hobbit* film trilogy. They both

designed an online survey and employed a Q Method corpus consisting of 38 statements to study both New Zealand and international audiences. Surveys were utilised in order to focus on, “opinions, and concerns articulated within the wider discursive field constituted by *LotR* film fans and Tolkien followers” (Michelle, Davis, Hardy, & Hight, 2012, p. 5). Surveys were conducted online and distributed on many online platforms, “posted in key fan forums, especially TheOneRing.net, and a wide range of Facebook groups representing a diverse range of intertextual, professional and political affiliation” (p. 5).

The production of the first *Hobbit* film in New Zealand was carried out in a conflicted period where the *Hobbit* Labour Dispute arose (Michelle et al., 2017) producing controversies over investment and lawsuits over production, in reaction to an actor’s union employment disputes over contract negotiations. Michelle et al. (2017) used surveys including open-ended questions to elicit viewers’ feelings about the controversies, where both local and global viewers had opinions on these events. Surveys in this case proved to be useful tools to highlight geographical proximity in regards to audience levels of engagement. Local viewers gave responses which focused more on how the film production affected the New Zealand economy and tourism, whilst audiences situated overseas provided responses which were more oriented towards concerns about the filmmaking process itself. The study of fan engagement activities spread across the world where surveys were conducted to study fans pre-perceptions of the film prior to release, “targeting 1000 respondents in 59 countries” (Michelle et al. 2012, p. 6). They followed up the initial survey with a post-viewing survey which was, “carried out in English, French, Spanish, German, Danish, Dutch and Flemish.” Both online surveys attracted many local and global responses.

Surveys are appropriate methods to research and reach a wide variety of people in order to understand consumers’ opinions and demographic information. As Weerakkody (2009) affirms, they enable researchers to, “... Collect ... information about respondents’ demographic characteristics, preferences ... and behaviours” (p. 124). Surveys provide data about audiences which can be employed for global based and longitudinal studies such as the one designed by Michelle et al. (2017),

where their global survey of fandom practices of *Lord Of The Rings* and *The Hobbit* audiences engaged with a large number of audience segments and their opinions on engaging with the *LOTR*, *The Hobbit* and the wider Tolkien fan universe. In particular, Michelle et al. (2017) present a significant insight into the way local audiences are affected by a globally received film franchise. Both their 2012 and 2017 research highlights the ways audiences respond on occasion differently and on occasion similarly, in both general and specific locales. Surveys are thus appropriate tools to investigate cross-cultural reception and provide a measure of audience levels of engagement.

Van de Vijver (2017) utilises surveys to conduct a study into young people located in Ghent, Belgium and their experiences attending the cinema. Her empirical study consisted of an, “open question survey”, seeking opinions from, “472 young moviegoers on their consumption of films, in both past and present. The identification of specific (extra-) theatrical practices results in perceptible patterns and understandings of cinematic experiences” (p. 129). Van de Vijver’s research probes into young viewers’ memories and experiences of attending the cinema in the past and present. The cinema itself is viewed as a social space for shared viewing, and she considers the power of the big screen to immerse viewers in the film world. She employs both an online survey and paper-distributed copies of surveys to students studying international communication at Ghent University. Advocating the use of both online and paper versions in her study enabled flexibility for participants willing to respond and share their time. Since online research has impediments, Van de Vijver overcame some of these by, “introducing the survey to the respondents in person and allowing them to work on their answers over a period of two weeks” (Van de Vijver, 2017, p. 134). Her survey collection ran for four years, from 2013 to 2016, and employed both open and closed questioning to elicit responses on viewers’, “contemporary and remembered multiplex cinema experiences. It included questions regarding contemporary media use, leisure activities and diversified digital visual consumption in order to contextualize.” Van de Vijver (2017) utilises discourse analysis, in order to determine, “a close reading of the answers to the open

questions regarding the experience of the multiplex visits ... were considered as discourses,” Her study focuses on locating a local rather than global audience with a specific contextual focus on young Belgian audiences’ experiences of cinema going. My research also applies to investigating local audiences and their experiences with cinema. This project thus provides details into how surveys can be utilised as tools to elicit information about individual audiences and determine how cinema as a global phenomenon is encountered by local audiences in specific locations.

As studies and theories have developed and altered over the years, one thing remains consistent: the attraction of research discovering and demystifying audience experiences. Audience members are no longer seen as passive entities susceptible to the effects of media; instead they are viewed as active and diverse, negotiating the various media they consume and developing preferences on how they interact with both media content and media technologies. Defining who the audiences are and locating them in the geopolitical and social landscape of both mass and niche media, remain current areas of interest for media scholars. Audiences are categorised as both singular and mass; local and global. They are forever interspersing, converging and diverging in their practices and engagements so that they can remain both ambiguously distinct and diverse. Because of these evolutions and revolutions, audiences will continue to pose an exciting challenge for researchers. Investigations always discover patterns, both similarities and differences, in audiences’ media consumption and engagement. A mixed-method approach to investigate audience responses, employing both surveys and focus groups, has proven beneficial in decades of research into both local audiences in specific spaces, and global and universal practices of audience engagement. Investigations into audience activities mediated through technological experiences have stood the test of time, from cinema to the computer; to mobile media devices, the field of reception studies has proven to be a continual field of interest for media audience researchers which will doubtlessly continue well past the current century. In the following section I will present the methodological processes I have employed for this research.

Methodology for this study

In relation to my specific study, I will present an audience reception-based framework which focuses on New Zealand audiences and their engagement with subtitled media. I will be using a mixed method approach, employing both quantitative and qualitative methods. The two methods I will employ are surveys and focus groups. The data, which was hand-coded, will be approached through thematic and discourse analysis which I will demonstrate in the following chapter.

Ethics Approval

I first submitted my research proposal in September 2017. I obtained approval and permission from the faculty ethics committee in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand, by October 2017, to conduct this research. It was required that I sought permission to work with human participants, and as I am a first time researcher, it is important for me to be aware of and address ethical concerns and my duty as a researcher to consider participants' welfare throughout the research data-gathering process.

Recruitment of Participants

For this reception study participants were recruited via *convenience sampling*. Because of my inexperience researching with human subjects, I chose to seek participants in organisations that I am familiar with and where I thought there was a high probability that people would have had experience of viewing subtitled media. I recruited from two major sites, The University of Waikato and The Hamilton Film Society. For this study into audiences and their perspectives on subtitled media, recruitment processes were difficult, because respondents recruited from the University of Waikato were not always available during the allotted time and space, as is the risk when doing research in a busy academic environment. Email reminders about the focus groups and meeting participants face to face through my role as a tutor, proved the only solution at the time to recruit participants. One participant contacted me after seeing an advertisement for the study posted around the university. Meanwhile, at the Film Society,

participants were not always available during a workday and evenings on a week night for focus groups: however many acquaintances at the Hamilton Film Society were happy to share their time by participating in either the online or paper version of surveys. Most focus group participants at the University of Waikato were recruited via *snowball sampling* (Johnston & Sabin, 2010; Robinson, 2014) where participants offered, “Recommendations of acquaintances ... leading to referral chains” (Robinson, 2014, p. 13). This proved to be the best route for recruitment, as participants in focus groups often brought friends along and their assistance and participation made the focus group sessions a jovial environment.

The University of Waikato was chosen as a space to recruit research participants, due to the large numbers of national and international students from different language communities. Students from the university participated in online surveys as well as focus groups. Most students who participated in this study were taking undergraduate courses, however a small number of postgraduate students chose to participate in the survey or focus groups. Students were contacted through face-to-face recruitment from a second year Screen and Media Studies course on which I tutored, as well as during lecture hours for both a first year Chinese and also French Language paper. Advertising for the study was conducted via posters displayed around the Arts and Social Sciences faculty on campus as well as through online paper modules on Moodle, notifying all students studying International Languages and Culture as well as students studying courses in Screen and Media. Students who expressed interest during face-to-face encounters, and people who filled in the surveys leaving their email and contact details, were messaged via email further information about focus groups and film screenings. Further recruitment took place through a post on Facebook, announcing the research project to local contacts and encouraging them to participate and share the link with other Hamilton contacts.

The Hamilton Film Society has a membership that ranges in age from 30 to 70+ years, with many members having experienced a wide range of international cinema and this contrasted well with the younger age groups that were mostly recruited at the University of Waikato. This study sought a diverse range of

participants belonging to a variety of socio-cultural backgrounds, with many international students who were bilingual taking part in focus groups. Participants in focus groups came from countries such as England, China, Thailand, Iraq, Taiwan, Samoa and The Solomon Islands. This research project attracted just two participants from a Māori background.

At the time of the research, the primary focus was on viewers' experiences of international, not New Zealand media, however while writing this thesis, locally subtitled media screened on primetime television as explained previously. I will therefore be reviewing a number of comments posted on social media sites, to analyse New Zealand viewers' responses to two instances of local subtitled media which will be explored further in the results chapter. It should be noted that further studies on New Zealand viewers should aim to recruit a population proportionate number of both Māori and Pākehā (non Māori) viewers. Focus groups and surveys would be ideal methods to use to investigate New Zealand audiences' perspectives of local subtitled media. Smith's (2016) longitudinal investigation into Māori television, both historical and current broadcasting initiatives, as well as audience experiences of Māori television content, employed a focus group and interview oriented methodological approach to her investigations. Further studies could take a similar approach but with a focus on AVT media from the production side, investigating the processes of Māori audio-visual translation protocols as well as the reception of locally translated media content. In the results chapter I will approach further New Zealand audience responses to local subtitled media, with a focus on analysing comment sections from the Facebook social media pages for both *Moving out with Tamati* and *The Casketeers*. Several commentators appeared to come from a Māori background, identifying as Māori through their names as well as including comments in either Māori or both Māori and English language.

Sites of Research

The University of Waikato is a small university but in 2018 according to the QS Top Universities website (2018) it is globally ranked overall at number 274 (World

University Rankings, THE, 2018). There is a high proportion of international students studying here, with students from more than 80 countries attending the university. A number of International students come from countries throughout Asia and the Pacific: some students come from large nations such as China while others come from smaller countries such as Samoa and the Solomon Islands. Since many AVT industries are based internationally, students coming from various countries are likely to have been exposed to many types of translated media content.

The Hamilton Film Society is a national group of cinema enthusiasts who congregate annually at the local specialist art house cinema, The Lido. During Monday evenings members come to watch and engage with cinema from around the globe. Most films screened at The Lido Cinema and in the Hamilton Film Society programme are international and many are in languages other than English, so viewers who attend this cinema are accustomed to seeing films translated with English language subtitles.

Methods of Research

Survey

A survey was produced, both online and as a paper version, available from October 2017 to June 2018. For the online survey an Information sheet and consent form informed participants about the project as well as provided the researcher's contact details. The survey link was emailed to several staff and students at the University of Waikato, as well as to acquaintances at the Hamilton Film Society. Paper copies of surveys were distributed to Hamilton Film Society members before film screenings at the local cinema, The Lido. The information sheet informed participants about the study, their role in participation and consent rights, as well as the researcher's contact details. Paper copies were distributed in this case to allow the mainly older members of the society ease of access to the study, as some did not use email so would miss out on the online version of the survey. Nevertheless, when meeting participants face-to-face, an option to receive the link for the online survey was also offered. Only a small number of film society

members chose the online option, the majority were happy to fill in paper versions. Most online responses were provided by the younger age groups of students from The University of Waikato.

In total, the survey acquired 63 respondents ranging in ages from 19 to 72, and led to the recruitment of some participants for further participation in film screenings and focus groups via the snowball method. Participants approached the survey in varying ways: some participants took the shortest way to engaging with the variety of questions, giving minimal or gap answers in the open question comment sections, while others shared detailed responses in the long answer sections, openly debating the positive and negative aspects of their preferences towards both subtitled and dubbed translated media. The survey consisted of both open and closed questions (refer to Appendices) about participants' language and cultural backgrounds, what languages they are fluent or of which they have a basic understanding. Further questions asked them for the names of up to five countries they have lived in or visited before, their individual translated media consumption habits, including what media platforms they use, as well as how often and in what source languages and translations, they watch subtitled media content.

Film Screenings and combined Focus Groups

Local screenings of suitable short films, as well as the focus groups, took place in a seminar room at the University of Waikato over a few months from April to June 2018 and during one evening at a Hamilton Film Society Board member's home. Upon arriving, viewers were handed an information sheet and consent form (included in the Appendices) which informed them about the project, the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses in this study, as well as informing them that by filling in the consent form, they declared their consent to be audio-recorded and for their responses to be used for research purposes. Participants then handed over the completed consent form to the researcher. Participants were not offered any financial compensation for taking part in the experiment. They were however, provided with light snacks and refreshments during the focus group sessions as a thank you for their contributions. Participants were informed

verbally by the researcher as to what their participation involved: that they were to see two film clips, one of a Korean film and one from a French film and that afterwards discussions about their experiences of subtitles would begin. Participants watched the two short film clips and after the end of the film, the researcher began with the first question on the discussion list (see Appendices). Participants were asked to share their views on translated media experiences, identify their familiarity or unfamiliarity with the source languages of the two films and lastly, examine their perspectives on the aesthetic and linguistic aspects of the translations provided in the film clips. A PowerPoint slideshow was screened once the films were completed, and once discussions began, with screen-shots from the films appearing for up to 2 minutes each and on a repeating loop. Since discussing translation from an audience perspective is an area which is relatively abstract, screenshots from the films were provided to help audiences visually and verbally identify, remember and compare the examples of the subtitles they had viewed.

This study explores how internationally translated film products are received in a local context such as the Waikato region of New Zealand. For this study, a combined film screening and focus group was preferred. This was to enable the social aspect of cinema going that watching films entails, and to avoid participants forgetting what they seen if the focus group took place at a later date. For the film screenings and joint focus groups, a French arthouse feature film *Things to Come* (2016) and a Korean short film *A Day* (2015) were selected as the films to be studied. The French film is a professionally subtitled one centred on the story of a professor of philosophy and the conflicts she encounters in her profession whilst looking after her family and supporting her ageing mother. *Things to Come* (2016) utilises subtitles in multiple ways to communicate information to audiences, covering all aspects of Delabastita's (1989) visual, verbal and acoustic model of communication. The subtitles in this film render dialogue, written information and audible noises such as music and an off-screen characters' dialogue. The Korean short film *A Day* (2015) deals with themes of ageing and loneliness as an elderly father attempts to reunite with his adult children who are so busy with their own lives that they forget to celebrate his birthday. This film has subtitles created by a

fan-subbing community belonging to the online video streaming and film promotion platform *Viddsee*, with subtitles provided by users interested in opportunities to subtitle content. *Viddsee* specialises in supporting emerging filmmakers and promoting independent short films to audiences from various countries throughout Asia. The two films were chosen for their distinct ways of subtitling and their significant language and cultural differences.

French films are commonly screened in the international film festival circuit throughout New Zealand, the French Film Festival has run for many years and is, “the second largest film festival in New Zealand,” (French Film Festival Website, 2018). Hence, audiences may be quite familiar with the French language, so by comparing their responses to the screening of a Korean language short film, possibly less familiar, I imagined the two films would help the audiences think about and compare how subtitling works to promote familiar or unfamiliar languages and cultures. Both films utilise subtitles aesthetically in similar yet also distinctive ways to present culture and language, which suggests that subtitles vary in purpose and presentation, so the focus will be on investigating how they play a role in audiences’ engagement with international media. The participants in focus groups were New Zealand citizens and recent migrants, aged 19 to 70, who came from various socio-cultural and language backgrounds and were living in Hamilton, New Zealand at the time of the study. Focus groups are a method of research that can allow audiences to discuss aspects of media that occur in their everyday lives. These focus group sessions took approximately one and a half hours with discussions focused around key topics on the discussion list (see appendices). The topics tended to flow easily in each session, however, as is the nature with open discussions they are not fixed or limited to the topics on the list nor the spaces in which they occur. Participants bring forth opinions and experiences that relate to their own distinct individual knowledge backgrounds, as well as their shared contributions in a group environment, discussing topics with people whom they may or may not have a prior acquaintance. In general, participants found the focus groups sessions raised their awareness of subtitling

since subtitles were something they had not explicitly thought and talked about before, but of which they had implicit or unconscious knowledge and awareness.

Focus Group Compositions

Focus Group One consisted of two males and one female student aged, 19, 22 and 28. This group were all native English speakers and monolingual, they were also all born in New Zealand. They were a group of friends with similar interests in Japanese Anime and Asian cinema who were studying first year English literature and screenwriting courses. Focus Group Two consisted of six students, five males and one female. All the male students were undergraduates, while the female was a postgraduate media studies student. The ages of the male students were 22 and the female was in her thirties. This group were all bilingual and were all international students. Three of the students were studying in the same media courses. The students came from countries throughout the Asia Pacific to study at the University of Waikato. These students could speak the following languages: English, Thai, Japanese, Samoan, Solomons Pidgin and Chinese. They were most familiar with Asian cinema and the male students were all fans of Japanese Anime. The Englishman, Solomon Islander and Samoan New Zealander students had watched many Japanese Anime and movies, as well as having experienced some films from South East Asian countries, such as films from Thailand and The Philippines. While most of the students in this group had similar interests, only a few of them knew each other. Focus Group Three consisted of three females and one male. Two of the females and male were domestic undergraduate students, all friends from New Zealand and studying similar courses. One female was an international postgraduate student in her thirties who came from Iraq. Two of the females and male were aged 20 to 21. Three of the four students were monolingual, spoke English only, except for the bilingual student from Iraq who spoke Arabic as well. These students were all very familiar with international English language films from Britain and America. The students were all fans of Japanese Anime. The international student had watched a lot of cinema from Scandinavia, Japan and countries in the Middle East such as Iraq. Focus Group Four consisted of three mature couples, one couple were in their 50's while the others

were in their early 60's except for one 70 year old. These couples all belonged to the Hamilton Film Society, attending regular sessions and were good friends. They had all seen a variety of international and local cinema as well as television series. Most of them had travelled to many different countries. Focus Group Five consisted of a female international postgraduate student from Taiwan in her mid-twenties who was doing a Masters in psychology and a New Zealand undergraduate student in her early twenties studying on a Chinese language course. These students had experienced both Chinese and English language cinema.

Online Research: Audience posts from Social Media

Subtitling in English as well as the Māori language, has previously only been a feature in Māori language programming occurring in peak broadcasting hours on the specialised Māori Television channel. However, including Te reo Māori in prime time on a regular basis for the first time, and on a predominantly English language programming network, highlighted issues relating to language policy and the revitalisation of Māori language by using the wider New Zealand media. Viewers of these programmes were aware of English subtitles accompanying the Māori language aspects of the programmes and for viewers of *Moving out with Tamati*, many did not appreciate the disruption of their normal monolingual viewing experience. Both programmes used subtitles to translate the sections that were in Te reo Māori, the Māori language, into English. *Moving out with Tamati* focuses on the housing situation in New Zealand, as house prices have risen many people are moving from expensive big cities such as Auckland to smaller cities and towns around New Zealand. The show was presented by Tamati Coffey, a bilingual television presenter who investigates why local people are moving out from the city; he addresses viewers in both Māori and English to inform them about local people and their lifestyles. These television shows were discussed in the wider media with news articles praising *The Casketeers* as an 'instant Kiwi classic' (Casey, 2018) whilst *Moving out with Tamati* was highlighted for bringing Te Reo programming into the mainstream (Otago Daily Times, 2017). Social media responses varied about the screening of these shows, revealing polarising

viewpoints from commentators on social media. Viewers of *The Casketeers* had positive reactions about seeing Te Reo Māori and learning about Māori customs in the funeral business. Whilst, for *Moving out with Tamati*, many commentaries focused on debates over the use of Māori on mainstream television.

A sample of audience responses posted in comment sections for two official Facebook pages dedicated to the programmes *The Casketeers* and *Moving out with Tamati* will be analysed using thematic analysis as well as discourse analysis. These comments were posted by Facebook users and audiences of these shows during the period of October 2017 to February 2018, which is in line with the time these shows were airing on the free to air television channel TVNZ1, as well as screening on the local online streaming site, *TVNZ On Demand*. These comments were posted by audiences up until February 2018, with no further selection of comments collected by the researcher past after this month. Though audiences have posted since the shows were on air, it is the initial responses and reactions which occurred during the screening periods which are of interest. A sample of 111 comments was collected from *The Casketeers* Facebook site, while 106 comments were collected from the *Moving out with Tamati* page. These samples of comments are selective and representative of a particular space and time-frame. As is the case with social media, posts will continue to appear past the collection date and it is likely responses have been added, edited, as well as deleted. I was interested to use these comments: 1) because public comment on subtitling is a rare event in New Zealand and 2) because I had had an under-representation of Māori participants in the other methods I used whereas debates around the use of te reo Māori are some of the most highly-charged debates around language use in New Zealand. The results of this analysis, will demonstrate a picture of online audience engagement focused around their reception of locally subtitled and bilingual New Zealand media which provides another level of insight into audiences of subtitled content.

Research Objectives

- 1) Exploring how viewers' socio-cultural backgrounds and locational experiences may contribute to their level of comfort with specific forms of translated media.
- 2) Analysing audience perceptions of cultural and lingual meanings in translated films.
- 3) Investigating viewers' patterns of usage and gratification with translated audio visual media.
- 4) Identifying any limitations of current subtitling translation techniques for both translator and audience.

In the course of the following chapter, I will report on the findings obtained from the surveys, focus groups, as well as the comments obtained from the social media webpages. The following results will deliver an insight into diverse audiences and their experiences of subtitled cinema and television, locating and critiquing the role of both global and local instances of film translation from local based audience perspectives.

Chapter 4: Findings

Introduction

In the course of this chapter an exploration into audiences located in Hamilton, New Zealand, will present a picture of audiences' statements and evaluations of both subtitling in general and two subtitled films in particular.

Firstly, an analysis of the survey findings will describe a range of audience preferences towards their media viewing as well as their experiences with travel and with languages, which contribute to their cross cultural experiences with local and international subtitled media.

Secondly, I will present the findings of focus group discussions which elaborate on audience encounters with subtitled media. In particular, through the two films *Things to Come* (Hansen-Løve, 2016) and *A Day* (Kim, 2015) where audiences critiqued the films on aesthetic, cultural and personal levels, various viewer perspectives towards subtitled film were revealed. Audience levels of engagement included their evaluations of and knowledge about modes of film production and distribution as well as the pleasures of encountering international cultures and languages through subtitled film.

Lastly, I will examine a number of comments posted by social media commentators on Facebook, which describe wider New Zealand audience experiences of local television programmes, *The Casketeers* (Lee-Harris, 2018) and *Moving out with Tamati* (Jones, 2017). These comments reveal conflicting discourses on the use of Māori language, as well as subtitles, being shown in mainstream New Zealand media.

These findings will contribute to the understanding of how national and international subtitled content engages with New Zealand audiences, revealing both similar and varied modes of engagement elicited from the surveys, focus groups and social media comments. Hamilton audiences' patterns of engagement produce significant insights which delve into both the reception of New Zealand

and international audio visual media. These findings deliver a picture of current audience practices in both Hamilton as well as the wider New Zealand media landscape, which in turn adds to the picture of global media audience studies.

Survey

Age clusters

The survey of audiences of subtitled media involved a total of 63 participants. There was an oversampling of 42 females to 21 males; despite this there was a wide age band. In total, among participants, ages ranged from 19 to 72. Grouping participants by age reveals the largest number of participants consisted of 29 females aged 19-30 years. There were 10 male participants in the age grouping of 21-30 years. The smaller age groups consisted of 13 females aged 31-71 years and 9 males aged 31-72 years. The wide age band reveals that a broad age group has experienced subtitled media. Across all ages, it was apparent subtitling is much more favoured than dubbing. It was notable that nearly all ages and genders used online streaming platforms; where there are virtual spaces where subtitling practices are frequently encountered.

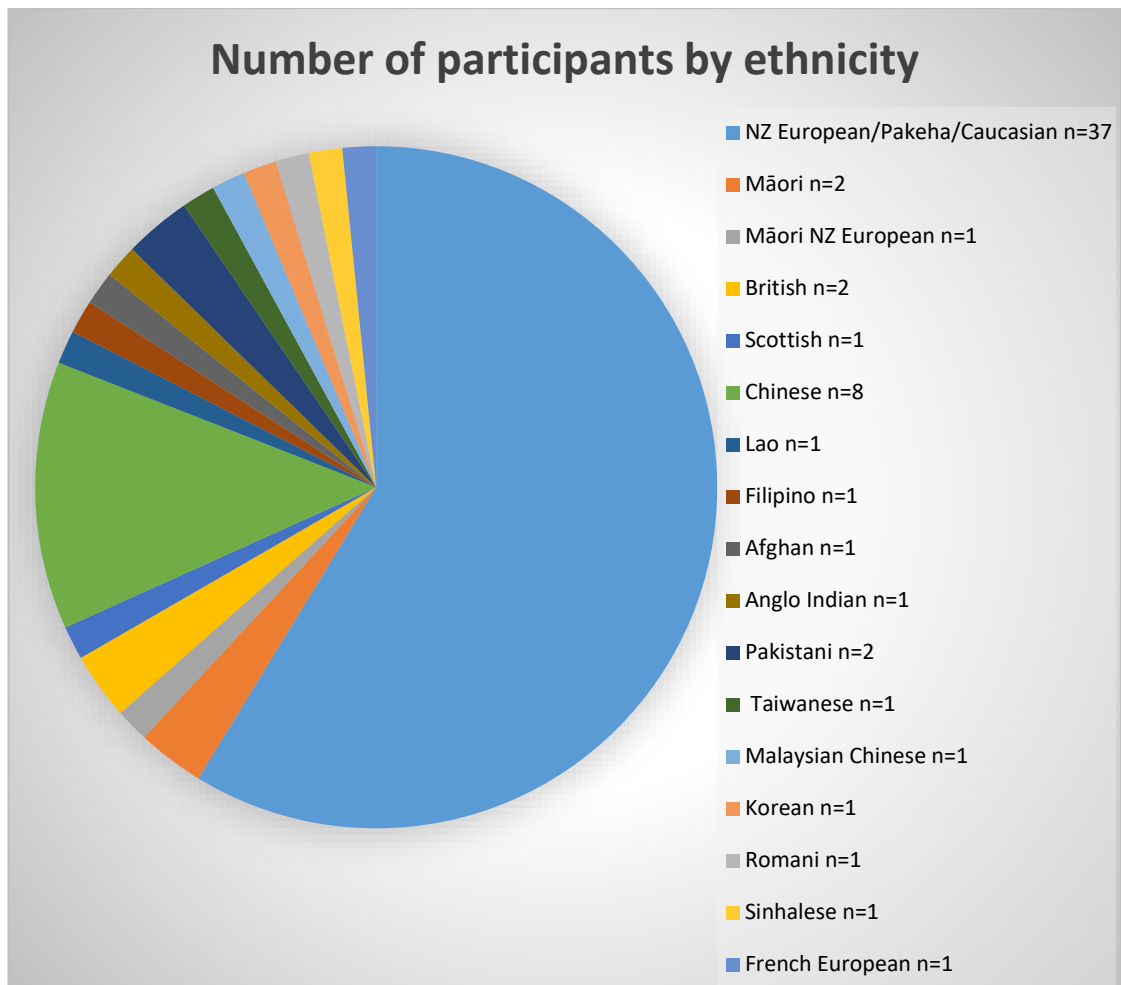


Figure 3: Ethnicity Coding

Ethnicity

The largest number of participants who took part in the survey identified as NZ European or Pākehā (non-Māori) (n=37), this was apparent across a wide band of ages, whilst the second largest group of participants were of Chinese ethnicity, all of whom belonged to the age grouping of 22 to 35.

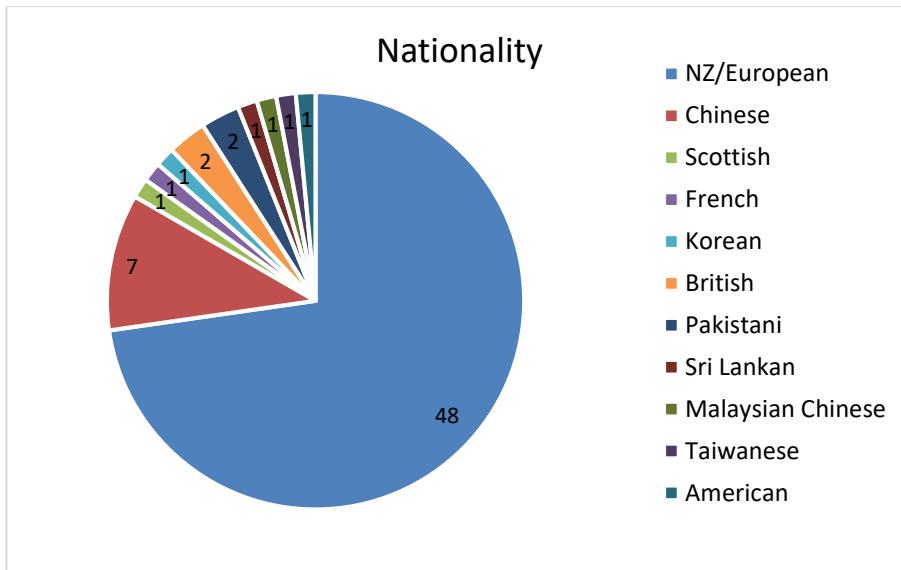


Figure 4: Nationality of participants

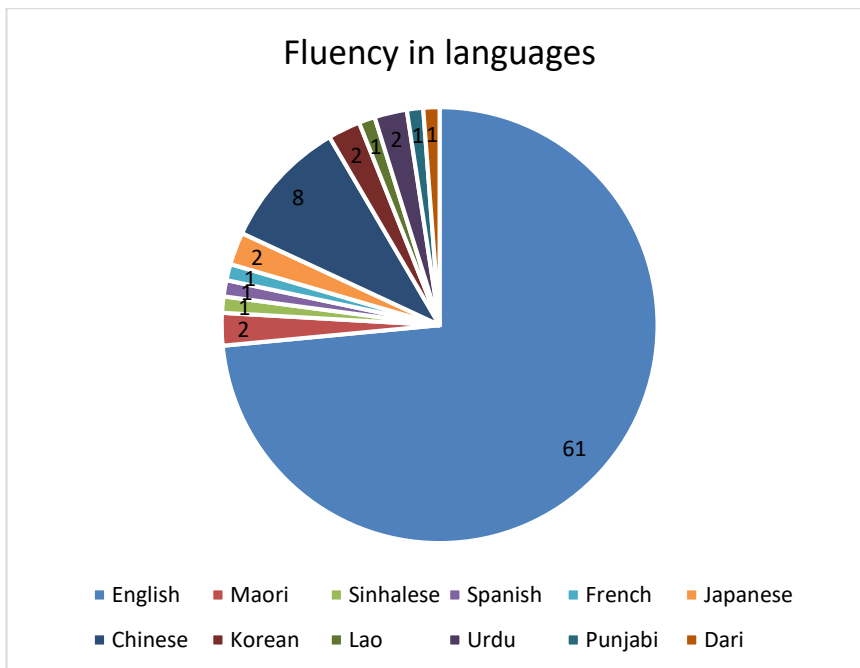


Figure 5: Fluency in languages

A total of 23 participants were English speakers and monolingual. Predominantly all monolinguals were born in New Zealand and this ability to operate in only one language was not relegated to one age group. Only one participant from New Zealand was fluent in Māori. A total of 19 participants were bilingual, these were mainly migrants who came from countries within Asia, such as China, Malaysia, Korea, Sri Lanka and Pakistan, while one came from Afghanistan. Those who were bilingual spoke the languages Chinese, Korean, Sinhalese, Urdu and Dari. Only one

bilingual came from England, while the other was from France, and these two participants were speakers of Japanese and French. Three multilinguals were apparent in this study; most of them were young females aged 19 to 28, one of whom identified as New Zealand European while the other two were born in Pakistan and Malaysia respectively. Together these participants spoke a total of seven languages: Japanese, Spanish, Tok Pijin, Urdu, Punjabi, Chinese and Korean. This number of languages spoken, predominantly by younger age groups belonging in the age range of 19 to 35, reveals a large amount of participants having contact with international media, due to their travel and language experiences, where participants have viewed content in both their native and other languages which suggests an inevitable encounter with translation such as subtitling. This shows that Hamilton audiences, and indeed New Zealand, is becoming more multicultural, as viewers are diverse in their language backgrounds, suggesting that many are familiar with several types of international media as well as various translated forms of content.

Beginner level to some understanding of Specific Languages

Table 1: Beginner level to some understanding of specific languages

Welsh	2
Spanish	4
Italian	1
French	6
Māori	6
German	3
Japanese	4
Chinese	1
Korean	1
Farsi	1
Russian	1
Fijian	1
Malay	1

NZ Sign	2
English	2

Despite there being a large number New Zealanders who spoke only English, many have slight knowledge of, or have encountered, and or are actively learning, different languages. This was apparent across all age groups and genders. Older participants mentioned some understandings of European-based languages such as Spanish, Italian, French and German. Many younger participants aged 19 to 28, who were fans of Japanese Anime and Korean dramas, claimed beginner level understandings of spoken Japanese and Korean. One NZ European female aged 23 had travelled to many countries that used the languages she was fluent in, such as Japan and other countries located in the Pacific, such as Fiji, Vanuatu and The Solomon Islands. This contact with other languages suggests that audiences may be becoming more open to learning more languages and familiarising themselves with other cultures. Many participants of this study listed a wide range of international cinema that they enjoy, some even taking beginner language courses in the languages of the international media they watch. Since international cinema is always subtitled in New Zealand, this reveals that internationally translated cinema plays a part in encouraging and mediating peoples' encounters with different languages.

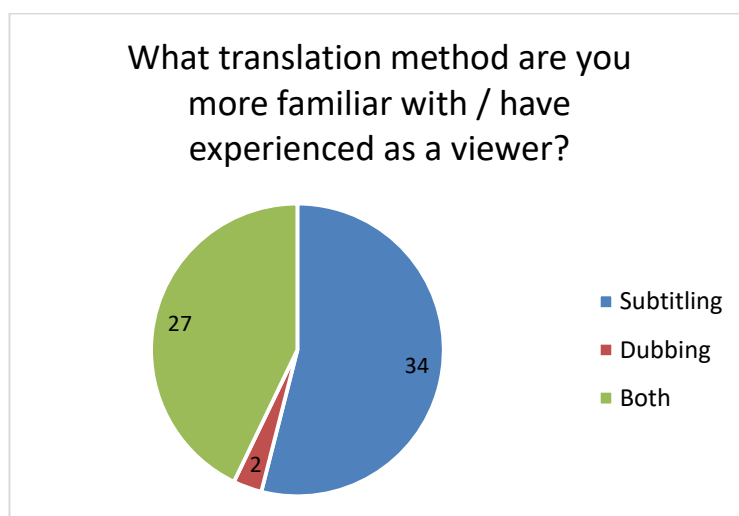


Figure 6: Translation modes and viewers

Viewers, regardless of ethnicity, country of birth, age, gender and travel experiences were predominantly familiar with subtitling. A number of participants were also familiar with subtitling and dubbing; the majority of these participants were internationally born in countries throughout Asia and Europe, except for five NZ born males. Only two males were more familiar with dubbing, a Sri Lankan male and an older NZ European male. This reveals firstly, that participants have mostly viewed subtitled rather than dubbed media, while secondly, participants have lived in or visited countries where both subtitled and dubbed media were available.

Table 2: Participant preferences for subtitles or dubbing

Both	3F	1 M
Dubbing	0 F	1 M
Subtitles	39 F	19 M

Almost all participants prefer to view subtitled over dubbed media content, while a few are happy to view either. This suggests that audiences have largely had unsatisfactory experiences with dubbing and are more accustomed to subtitled media. All Chinese participants agreed that subtitling is their preferred mode of translation for viewing international content. Several other respondents aged 19 to 56 who belonged to Pakistani, Lao, Malaysian and Filipino backgrounds also preferred subtitling. In spite of many countries in Asia utilising dubbing frequently, especially predominantly in China, this reveals that viewers are becoming more accustomed to viewing subtitled media whilst living in New Zealand. But this is also a reflection of the general translation industry itself, where in many countries in Europe and Asia, more than one translation mode is utilised. Frequently, the two modes subtitling and dubbing appear interchangeable. A few female participants, who were all native English speakers and ranged in ages from 24 to 62, offered reasons why dubbing was problematic. They noted that subtitling is preferred because dubbing can result in misplaced voices and accents, also noting that bad lip synching turns a film into a joke. On the other hand, they perceived there were fewer errors in subtitling, except for possible spelling mistakes. As dubbing is often aligned with censorship (which will be discussed further in focus

group findings) whilst subtitling is perceived as more authentic, where the source language is still audible, this suggests most viewers prefer to see subtitled media, believing it provides an uncensored and as accurate as possible picture of both international cultures and their media.

Table 3: Participant engagement with subtitle languages

Film Origin			Subtitles
English	1 F	4 M	<i>French, Korean, Chinese</i>
Māori	2 F	1 M	<i>English</i>
French	8 F	6 M	<i>English, French</i>
Spanish	2 F	3 M	<i>English</i>
Korean	1 F	3 M	<i>English, Chinese</i>
Turkish	2 F		<i>English</i>
Persian	1 F		<i>English</i>
Chinese	6 F	3 M	<i>English</i>
Iranian	1 F		<i>English</i>
Italian	1 F	2 M	<i>English</i>
German		3 M	<i>English</i>
Norwegian		1 M	<i>English</i>
Finnish		1 M	<i>English</i>
Russian		1 M	<i>English</i>
Japanese	1F	2 M	<i>English, Chinese, Japanese</i>

While participants have described their encounters with, and fluency in, a large range of languages, as well as varied travel experiences, interestingly they used English subtitles the most to view international content. Japanese Anime, as well as Chinese and Korean dramas, were most popular amongst the younger people, who would predominantly watch them with English subtitles. A liking for Japanese Anime was mentioned by several young people aged 19 to 28 who were predominantly monolingual. A few Chinese speakers preferred to view English and Korean language content with Chinese subtitles and most Chinese females

and speakers of Chinese preferred Korean and English language films. Some of the respondents preferred to use Chinese subtitles more often while others stated they used English subtitles. Older participants and most who were Hamilton Film Society members, had viewed a vast range of cinema from countries' mostly in Europe and the Middle East, as most older participants in this study were monolingual, they all had viewed these international films with English subtitles.

Media Abundance: Subtitles and Choice of Mediums

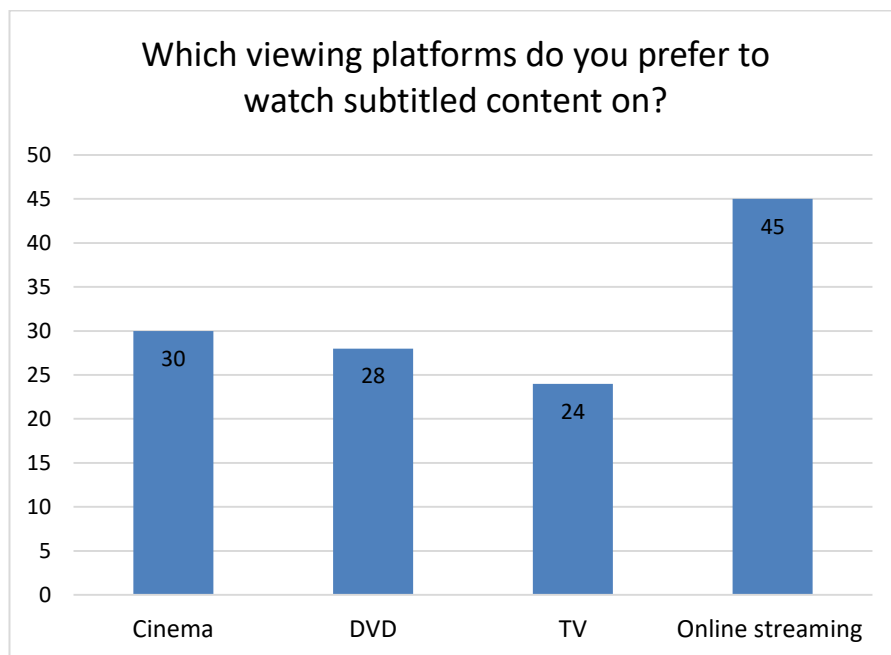


Figure 7: Subtitled content and choice of mediums

Participants had all viewed subtitled media on a range of platforms, such as at the cinema, on DVD, on television and via online streaming sites. Viewers largely approved of online streaming sites as platforms to access subtitled content, where surprisingly, most viewers aged 19 to 70 stated they used online platforms. Viewers who selected online streaming only, amounted to just 16, and belonged in the age grouping of 19 to 33 and came from a variety of nationalities. This reveals that younger age groups are indeed moving away from the traditional viewing practices of television and attending the cinema, instead, preferring the user adaptability which online streaming provides. Preference for attending the cinema only, remained mostly popular with older viewers, in the 50 plus age range. In particular, five Film Society members who were aged 58 to 70 years old

preferred the cinema only as a platform to view subtitled films. A total of 44 participants preferred a choice of all four mediums, online streaming as well as television, DVD and the cinema, and this was not limited to young people, it was the choice of a diverse number of age groups.

Watching Subtitles on the Web

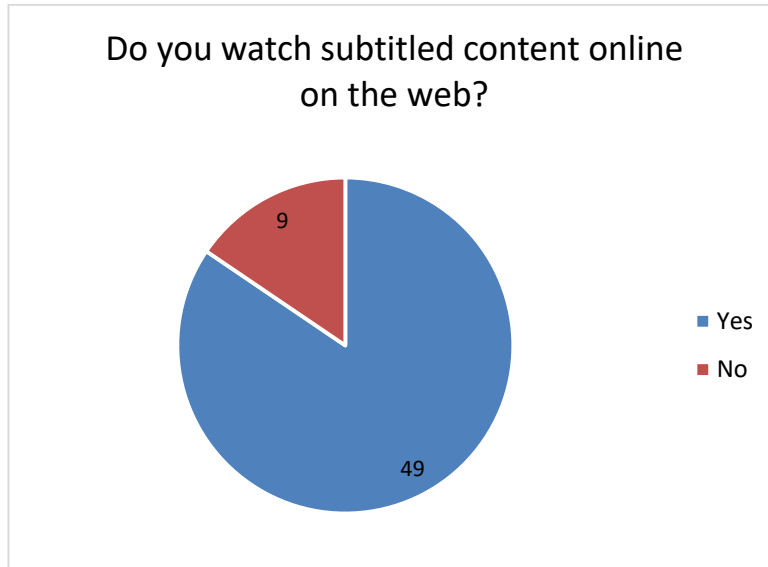


Figure 8: Subtitled content online

Streaming Platforms

Table 4: Variety of streaming platforms

Netflix	9 F	5 M
Lightbox	3 F	
You Tube	7 F	6 M
Facebook	2 F	
Twitter	1 F	
Google Search	1 F	
Crunchy Roll	1 F	1 M
Anime Lab	1 F	
Funimation	1 F	
Vice	1 F	
BBC iPlayer		1 M

TED	1 F	
Starz	1 F	
Maplestage	1 F	
Youku		1 M
iQiyi		1 M

Viewers who engaged with online streaming platforms accessed a variety of platforms to view international subtitled media. *Netflix* and *YouTube* were ranked most popular across all age groups, genders and ethnicities. Surprisingly, the amount of participants aged 50 plus using online streaming reveals, and most of them dedicated Film Society members too, that these platforms are not only targeted at younger generations. It is apparent that audiences are highly likely to access subtitled content online from popular global streaming sites, suggesting that a rich variety of subtitled content enjoyed by them can be found online. A couple of older females mentioned using a local New Zealand streaming site, *Lightbox*, which offers predominantly international English language content but also screens a number of Nordic television dramas, which suggests that these viewers engage with Scandinavian television series. A few younger females aged 20 to 23 mention watching English language videos on *Facebook*. These videos frequently appear with intralingual, English, subtitles playing, with respondents happy to use them, especially when in noisy environments. A number of NZ European viewers, both female and males aged 19 to 29, preferred streaming sites such as *Crunchy Roll*, *Anime Lab* and *Funimation* which specialise in streaming Japanese Anime. A few mentioned viewing content with Japanese and English subtitles, where these viewers are highly accustomed to viewing fan-subbed and also professional translations of anime. Chinese viewers and Chinese language speakers had particular individualised viewing patterns, where viewers aged 19 to 26 mentioned mostly using Chinese platforms such as *Youku*, *iQiyi* and *Maplestage*, where they utilise these sites to view international Korean dramas as well as Chinese and English language films.

As expected, viewers over the age of 70 did not use online streaming, whereas traditional forms of media such as attending the cinema and watching television were preferable. Overall global platforms such as *Netflix* and *YouTube* are proving accessible to many ethnicities, language and age groups located in New Zealand. A rise in global streaming is apparent, however viewers still exhibit individual viewing patterns which are also limited to specific non global platforms and content, such as British fare offered by BBC iPlayer and the previously described Chinese owned streaming platforms. Nevertheless, this reveals the proliferation of both Asian and European media forms disseminated in New Zealand via online streaming.

In spite of the large variety of viewing platforms, it is interesting to note that no viewers mention using the following local television owned and operated streaming sites *TVNZ On Demand* and *Māori TV*. The former offering a few internationally subtitled programmes, while the latter mainly offers local content subtitled in Māori and English, suggesting that viewers do not prefer these sites or perhaps prioritise the viewing of international subtitled media over local content. It also evident that online streaming appears to offer more variety of subtitled and international content than is available via traditional forms of media such as television and the cinema. This reveals audiences are highly receptive to international and subtitled media, where online accessibility to this content proves higher or indeed more personalised to viewers' preferences and viewing habits.

Cinema Attendance

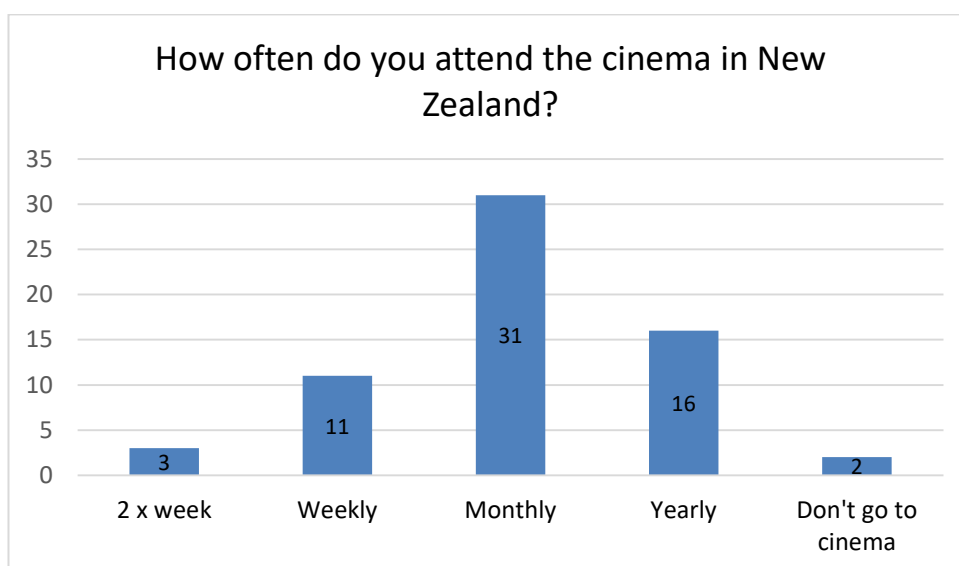


Figure 9: Cinema attendance in New Zealand

Most viewers who attended the cinema in New Zealand preferred to attend it on a monthly basis, while most Film Society members aged 45 to 72, attended on a weekly basis. This suggests that the cinema is attended as a special occasion for most participants and for specific reasons. Hamilton Film Society members predominantly go to a specialist cinema to see art house films and a large selection of World Cinema, where most films screened at The Lido cinema Hamilton are from non-English speaking countries. The membership groups reveals that this specific content shown in this specific location, appeals mainly to older age groups aged 45 to 72. As for younger audiences aged 19 to 28, especially those who enjoy Anime and Korean dramas, these are predominantly online based nowadays, so their low attendance at the cinema is not surprising. However it appears that these audiences still attend the cinema either on a monthly or yearly basis. As art house and chain owned cinemas in New Zealand are often contrasted, it appears most non film society members perhaps prefer to attend multiplex cinemas which prioritise the screening of Hollywood blockbuster films. Hollywood films have been widely screened and distributed to many audiences and countries around the world which reveals a universal audience for this cinema.

Living Abroad

Table 5: Participants living abroad

Australia	6 F	
China	5 F	2 M
Singapore	1 F	
Malaysia	2 F	
New Caledonia	1 F	
South Korea	1 F	1 M
Japan	0 F	1 M
India	1 F	
Sri Lanka	0 F	1 M
Pakistan	2 F	
UK	3 F	3 M
USA	3 F	1 M
France	3 F	
Iran	1 F	
Nauru	1 F	

Females who were born in New Zealand and identified as NZ European were the largest majority of not having lived elsewhere. While other female participants who were mainly from China, as well as two Pakistani females, had only ever lived in their country of birth and New Zealand. Regarding the male participants most NZ Europeans had not lived elsewhere, except for five respondents who were born in China, Sri Lanka, Korea and England.

Travelling the World

Table 6: Participants' travel experience

Australia	16 F	11 M
UK	11 F	4 M
USA	8 F	4 M
Argentina	2 F	
Uruguay	1 F	
Spain	5 F	3 M
Portugal	2 F	1 M
Canada	2 F	1 M
Iceland	1 F	
Japan	12 F	1 M
China	3 F	1 M
Singapore	3 F	2 M
Korea	1 F	
Hong Kong	2 F	1 M
Philippines	1 F	1 M
Malaysia	3 F	1 M
Thailand	4 F	2 M
Rarotonga	3 F	
Fiji	7 F	4 M
Samoa	2 F	
Vanuatu	2 F	
Niue	1 F	
Cook Is	1 F	
Bali	1 F	
Tunisia	1 F	
Morocco	1 F	
New Caledonia		3 M
Lombok		1 M
Tahiti		1 M

Participants have travelled both near and far distances. Interestingly, participants have made trips visiting countries where two large major languages in the world are spoken. Visiting Morocco and Tunisia in Africa where Arabic is mainly spoken, as well as travelling to Spain and other Spanish speaking countries in Latin America. A large number of participants have also travelled nearer distances, visiting several island nations in the Pacific, where several languages may be spoken alongside English, such is the case with the islands in Vanuatu. Several audience members had travelled to a variety of countries found within Asia. Surprisingly, many New Zealand participants had only travelled to nearby destinations, mainly Australia, as well as predominantly Anglophone countries, such as England and Scotland. This suggests participants are both familiar with visiting and encountering cinema in their native language, from mainly English speaking nations, but are also curious cultural travellers, encountering perhaps a variety of international media whilst travelling, and no doubt, a large variety of languages and dialects which are spoken in geographically close countries situated in Asia and the Pacific.

Accessing International Media while Travelling Abroad

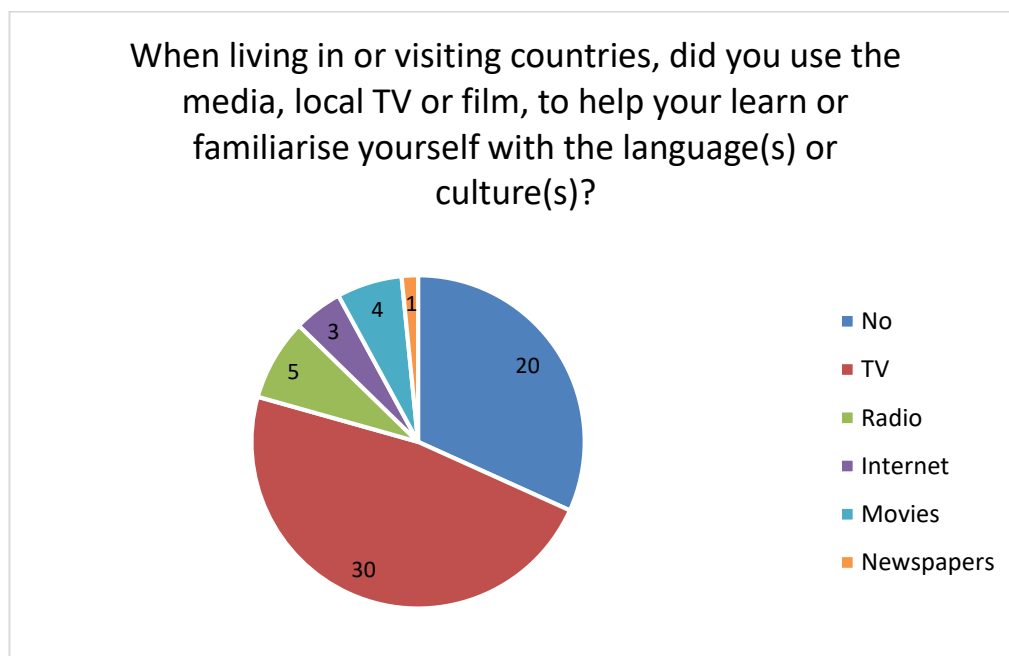


Figure 10: Accessing international media while travelling abroad

Those who recalled watching and listening to international media from the countries they were visiting, stated they did so in order to familiarise themselves with hearing the languages spoken. The most popular medium was television and there was little differentiation across the age groups, genders, ethnicities and nationalities. New Zealand born females and mostly monolingual English speakers, were more likely to use international media of the country they were visiting. Television was the most encountered platform used in the countries they were visiting: this was used predominantly to gain knowledge of the language and how it was spoken, where a few participants mentioned watching the news and local programmes, claiming that it also helped them encounter some of the cultural perspectives and social norms of those countries. A few male participants mentioned using newspapers and the internet, these respondents were mostly NZ European males and belonged to the 45 to 70 age band.

Subtitled Films: A Language Learning Tool?

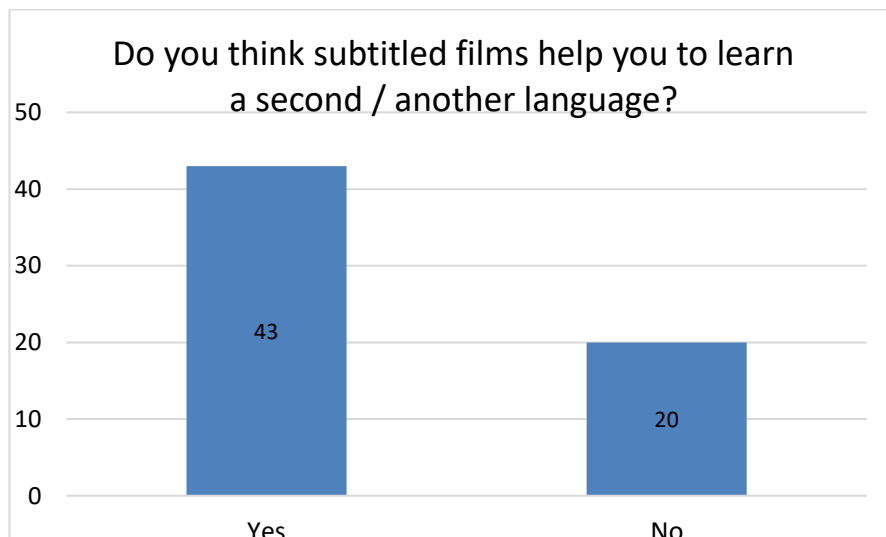


Figure 11: Subtitles influencing language learning

The majority of viewers believed that subtitled films do help with learning a language, where the majority of ages believed subtitles mostly direct audio learning comprehension, where the sounds and pronunciations of languages, familiarise them with accents and vocabulary. Despite this, only younger viewers actively used subtitles as language learning tools. These viewers were in the age

range of 19 to 29. Surprisingly, this was not limited to English as a second language speakers, where NZ Europeans who had travelled to or lived in the country of the language(s) in which they were fluent, as well as most monolinguals who were Japanese Anime fans, presented several similar reasonings that subtitles help facilitate aspects of language learning. Most cited the ways the audio and visual textual representations that subtitled films provide, function to helpfully direct their attention to specific cultural and lingual meanings. The majority, but not all older viewers, did not use subtitles as a language learning tool, as they did not find that subtitles helped them understand a foreign language.

What New Zealand television channels do you watch?

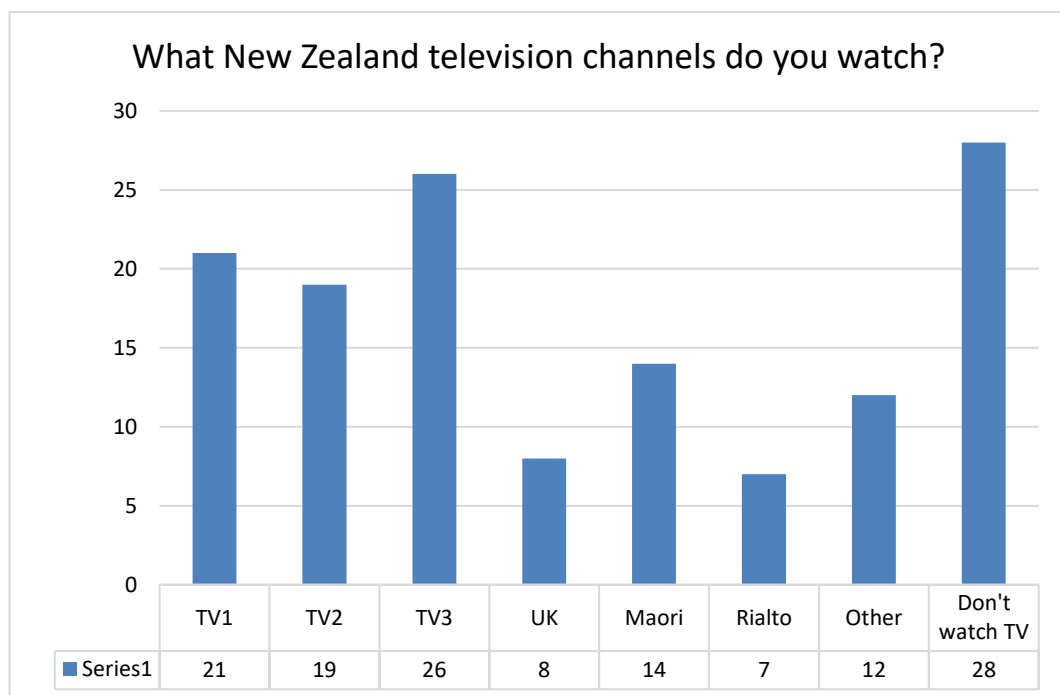


Figure 12: New Zealand television channel viewing

Audiences in New Zealand are offered a choice between local free television programming where *Māori TV*, *TVNZ 1* and *2*, as well as *TV3*, are the main local channels provided on television. A larger variety of channels are provided by viewers taking up a paid subscription through *Sky* broadcasting. The majority of audiences in this study did not watch television and were mainly aged 19 to 45 years old. This is reflective of the huge increase in viewers utilising online

streaming, which suggests that viewers are largely dissatisfied with local television programming and perhaps even with the proliferation of mainly American and English language content programming which television provides. Interestingly, a number of viewers watched *Māori TV*, several of whom belonged to the 50 to 72 age range, while only a few younger females aged 23, 24 and 25, who were second language speakers and had travelled to many countries, watched *Māori TV*. A few respondents who watched *Māori Television*, mention enjoying watching the variety of international subtitled cinema which is promoted on the channel every weekend. Surprisingly, only a small number of respondents watched *Rialto Channel*. Despite this aforementioned channel specialising in offering a selection of international language films, most respondents mention using television to view channels which screen English language content. This is perhaps reflective of many Film Society members, who predominantly choose to view subtitled films at the cinema, which provides enjoyable social and immersive experiences of films while in the company of other known film enthusiasts. Those Film Society members who do not watch television often, but use online streaming, most likely prefer to view a variety of subtitled television programmes and other non-festival scheduled films on online streaming sites such as *Netflix* and *Lightbox*.

Would you like to see local New Zealand content, such as English speaking content, to be subtitled?

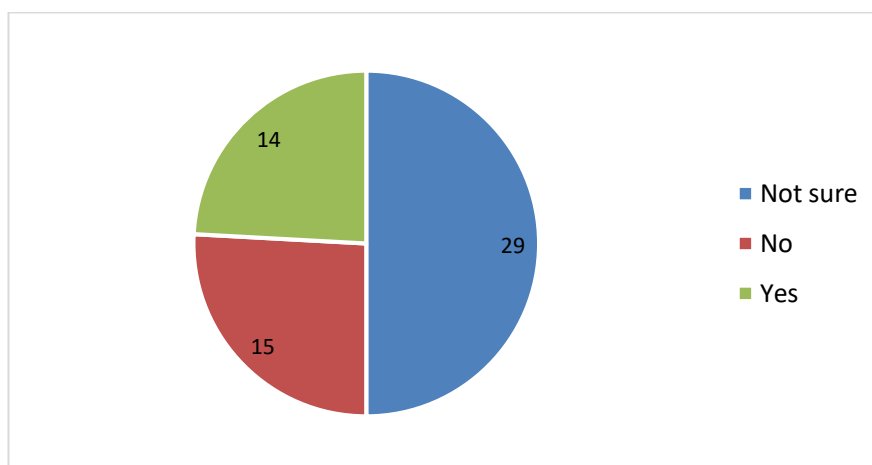


Figure 13: Interest in subtitles on New Zealand television

Audience Suggestions: Subtitle Language Options for NZ Content

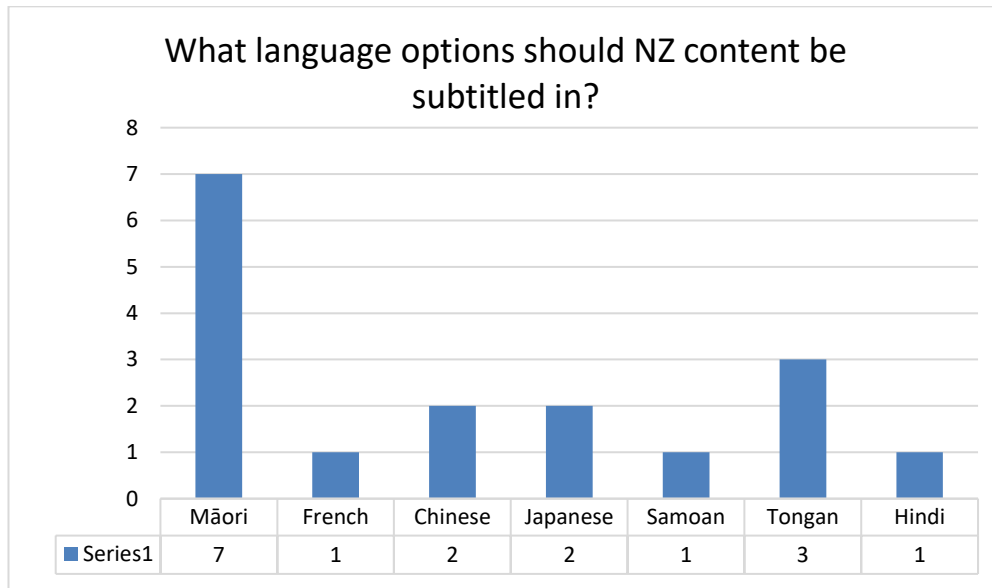


Figure 14: Preference for subtitle language options

Many respondents, especially those not born in New Zealand, were unsure about subtitles appearing on local television programming and following the example set by *Māori Television*. Perhaps many were unsure due to the political nature of language policy in New Zealand regarding bilingualism. In spite of this, several respondents, mainly young NZ Europeans and migrants from countries within Asia, suggested that other language options that reflect the increasing multiculturalism of New Zealand should be considered. A few Chinese participants mentioned that Chinese subtitles would be helpful for new migrants and older generations who are unfamiliar with local news events. While other younger viewers who were second language speakers and had visited and lived in countries such as Japan, Singapore, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands, suggested that languages such as Hindi, Samoan and Japanese be featured as subtitling options for local television. Surprisingly, two pensioners, a couple aged 71 and 72, overturned the stereotype that many older generations in New Zealand are opposed to bilingual or multilingualism being present in New Zealand society, when they suggested that Tongan be a subtitling language option to reflect the migration and settlement patterns of many island peoples from the Pacific.

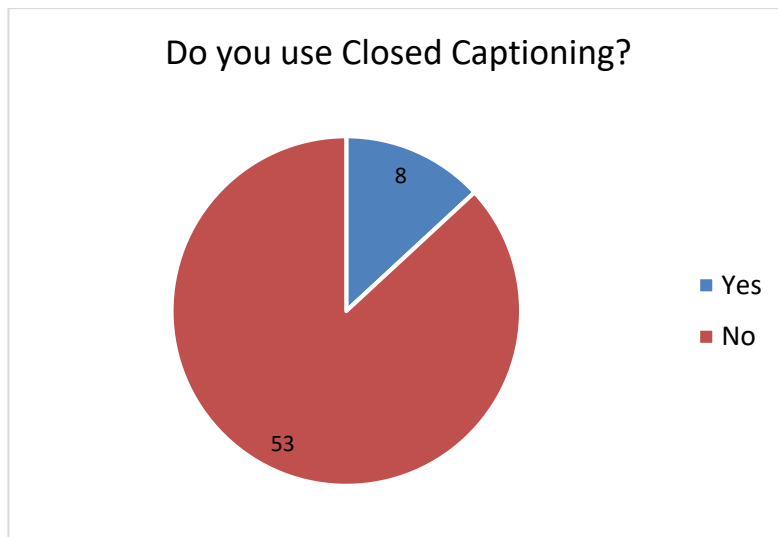


Figure 15: Participants use of closed captioning

The majority of participants were not receptive to using Closed Captioning. As Closed Captioning is predominantly provided to enable the deaf and hard of hearing accessibility to audio-visual media, it is not surprising since the majority of audiences do not have hearing impairments. However, only one young female participant was slightly hearing-impaired and utilised Closed Captioning to help her when the volume was too low for her to hear the dialogue. It is apparent that Closed Captioning is not just expressly for people with hearing impairments, because there is a noticeable increase in its popularity with younger, mainly NZ European as well as monolingual audiences. Several younger participants aged 19 to 28, firstly mention the benefits of closed captions whilst in shared living spaces, particularly when in noisy environments and for the added privacy while watching with no sound. Secondly, they feel that captions provide reinforcement of dialogue they may have missed, especially for content where characters have accents or dialects they find unfamiliar and difficult to understand. Closed Captioning appears to add to many hearing people's immersive experiences, where they can rely on captions to direct them to audible sounds which may go unnoticed, as well as to prevent audio misinterpretation occurring, especially for viewers unfamiliar with a variety of accents and voices. This also appears to be happening in wider New Zealand, with a recent study conducted for *NZ On Air's* annual "Where Are The Audiences?" report. The research undertaken by Glasshouse Consulting in May 2018, reveals there is evidence that Closed

Captioning is popular in New Zealand, where the, “use of captioning has grown steadily since 2016” (p. 63). The report reveals that several respondents, mainly young New Zealanders aged 15 to 24 and predominantly viewers coming from Asian backgrounds, utilise captions in the same way as reflected above by Hamilton audiences.

World Cinema and Audiences

Table 7: Participant preferences for international cinema

Asian	28 F	12 M
Latin American	6 F	
European	24 F	10 M
American/Hollywood	3 F	1 M
UK	6 F	2 M
Scandinavian	4 F	2 M
Middle Eastern	3 F	2 M
NZ	2 F	1 M
African	2 F	
All Cinema/No Preference	8 F	3 M

Audiences are watching films from many continents and geographical groupings, however cinema from Asia is the most popular with audiences in Hamilton. This suggests that New Zealand imports many international films from Asia and that we are exposed more to this content due to our geographical positioning in the Pacific as well as our high population of immigrants from Asian countries such as China and Korea. Japanese cinema was most popular with viewers, not just those who mainly watched Japanese Anime. This was followed closely by Chinese cinema. The second most popular film-making continent was Europe, with the majority of respondents preferring French cinema. It is not surprising that viewers are more exposed to cinema from Japan and France, where the two largest film festivals in New Zealand are, the *NZ International Film Festival* and *French Film Festival* which screen annually in Hamilton. This familiarity with films from these countries indicates a large market but also the possible over-exposure of French

cinema, where this bias emphasises how certain types of cinema are successfully marketed around the world and also gain popular distribution in New Zealand. Audiences are mainly exposed to this content at the cinema and via the *Rialto* television channel. Despite the popularity of French and Japanese cinema, participants' tastes are complex, where viewers' also deviated away from these popular cinema categories. Film Society members also listed additional types of cinema they were familiar with such as Italian, Czech, Vietnamese, Malaysian, Bangladeshi, Turkish and Iranian cinema. This conveys that audiences have been exposed to a variety of subtitled films over the years, suggesting that most attend the *NZ International Film Festival*, which is not limited to French cinema, but offers films from around the world, as well as New Zealand and Pasifika cinema. These respondents, who shared a variety of films, were mainly film society members, and NZ Europeans, which shows a wide reception of international content viewed by mostly older and monolingual members of society.

A number of participants shared that they had no preference for a specific type of cinema and were receptive to viewing a variety of cinema. In turn, this reveals that audiences are aware of the fallacy of the categorisation of 'World Cinema', due to the marketing hype created around certain films. It is apparent that this marketing does not totally dictate their preferences towards watching international subtitled films, with some audiences suggesting their choices are also influenced by recalling past viewing experiences with certain directors' works, as well as selecting films based on storylines, regardless of language or country of origin. In summary, this shows audience viewing preferences and exposure to content can surpass marketing and popular distribution avenues.

Film Festival Attendance

Table 8: Participants' attendance at international and local film festivals

NZ International	14 F	9 M
NZ Film Society Screenings	7 F	7 M
Te Aroha/Arohanui	2 F	1 M
French	12 F	4 M
Latin American	2 F	
Italian	1 F	
Spanish	2 F	
Asia Pacific	1 F	
Documentary		1 M
Seniors Events	1 F	1 M
(In)Visible	1 F	

Audiences aged 53 to 70 years old were frequent attendees at both the NZ International Film Festival and French Film Festival, which both screen mid-year during July to September. However, throughout the year many also attend other, mainly smaller, festivals. A few participants mentioned attending the Spanish and Latin American Film Festival which is also an annual event although only a small number of participants attended local Waikato based events such as the *(In)Visible NZ Film Festival* and the *Arohanui* film festival in Te Aroha. This suggests audiences like to see a variety of films, both attending local niche film festivals as well as larger film festival events, which exposes them to various film making styles from international and local cultures. The majority of respondents attending these festivals belonged to the Hamilton Film Society, with only two young Chinese respondents mentioning attending the *NZ international Film Festival*.

In summary, audiences are receptive to a variety of mediums, however there is a clear dichotomy between cinema and online streaming platforms, where these platforms mediate the most engagement with subtitled media and appear to engage audiences coming from a variety of age ranges as well as many different language and cultural backgrounds. Audiences appear to have many similar ways

to engage, or access international subtitled media, yet within these experiences are revealed individual viewing patterns which have largely been contributed to, and impacted by, physical, cultural and lingual encounters experienced whilst travelling, as well as via filmic experiences of language and cultural media facilitated via subtitles. The survey findings present evidence of a strong use of international subtitled media by participants in Hamilton, where participants are accustomed to seeking out subtitled media via a large number of platforms, this reveals that subtitled media plays a significant role in peoples' engagement with media and emphasises the vast geographical pull of globally subtitled media productions, by emphasising their reception by audiences in a local context.

Focus Groups

Participants in each of the focus groups first viewed two subtitled film clips from the films, *Things to Come* (Hansen-Løve, 2016) and *A Day* (Kim, 2015). A total of 21 participants contributed to 5 individual focus groups, where during the post screenings participants engaged in many discussions and debates on the issues of subtitling and film making to describe their experiences and their perceptions of subtitling. The following comments are allocated under thematic headings which provide audience insights into various aspects of audio visual translation and film making. These comments are organised into themes according to the questions found on the discussion topic list below.

Focus Group Questions

- Are you more accustomed to dubbing or subtitling?
- Have you experienced dubbing before?
- Are you familiar with the French language?
- Are you familiar with the Korean language?
- Have you seen many subtitled Films / TV / Web series before?
- What do you like about subtitles?
- What do you dislike about subtitles?
- What are some of the reasons that we watch a subtitled film?

- What are some ways in which subtitling can hinder the viewing experience?
- Does the colour of the subtitles matter?
- How does subtitling font (size, shape and style) make a difference to the viewing experience?
- Does it matter where subtitles are positioned in the scene?
- Do subtitles help you understand another language / culture better?
- Do you think subtitles can be used for more than translation purposes?
- Have you experienced watching creative subtitles?
- Have you experienced fan subbing before?
- Have you seen any local programmes with subtitles on national television in New Zealand?

The first question posed to focus group participants asked them about their familiarity with the French or Korean language.

Levels of Familiarity and Unfamiliarity with the Source languages of Subtitled Films

French

Participants were only slightly familiar with the French language, where contact with the language appeared minimal. However many claimed to having a basic knowledge of French, indicated by their use of the descriptions 'little' and 'basic'.

A little bit of French. [Iraqi female, 30's age group].

A tiny bit. [Female, 60 years old].

A smidgen. [Male, 70 years old]

Only three participants recalled studying French at academic institutions in both during the recent and distant past, during their schooling in New Zealand and Thailand.

I studied French long ago but now I've forgotten it. For three years. [Thai Female, 30's age group]

I took a bit of French at school during intermediate but that was quite a number of years ago. [Male, NZ European, 28 years old]

A recent British migrant aged 22, who had been living and studying in New Zealand for a few months, considered his knowledge of the language to be passive, where he could read the language but not speak it. This participant had more recent contact with the French language due to his fairly recent prior geographical proximity in England and his interaction with a French cousin.

A basic level to no familiarity with the French language was found to be the case for the majority of participants overall, regardless of age, gender, ethnicity and language backgrounds. This is most likely due to the large geographical distance between New Zealand and France, as well as many members in the groups being either predominantly English language speakers only, while others who were bilingual were speakers of languages such as Arabic, Thai, Samoan, Chinese and Japanese. However, because French cinema is yearly screened during *The French Film Festival*, and also featured in the programming for the *NZ International Film Festival*, this may explain why some audiences, such as the older age groups who belong to the film society, mention having a basic knowledge and encounters with the language.

Korean

Participants from the ages of 19 to 70 in the focus groups had no prior knowledge of the Korean language, except for encountering bits of the language in Korean TV series. Participants who said they had encountered or had a small knowledge of the Korean language were both males, one aged 19 and the other in their early twenties. They were participants in separate focus groups but had common interests, both were fans in general of Asian cinema and TV series.

I know a bit of Korean but not much. [Male, 19 years old]

I'm familiar with it. [Samoan Male, early 20's]

However, the friend of one of the participants, also coming from Samoa, argued that watching media from another culture does not mean you are totally familiar with the language itself. This brings me to the discussion on how audience familiarity with languages of international content is also hugely influenced by media distribution and marketing.

Overall most participants across all focus groups were unfamiliar with the Korean language, regardless of language backgrounds, ethnicity, gender and age. Korean films have not been shown in the *NZ International Film Festival* very often, especially in recent years, as the festival programmes from the past few years from 2015 to 2018 reveal, films featured under the category World Cinema, and in particular sourced from Asia, have predominantly been from countries such as Japan and China. Despite what seems to be very little reception of Korean Cinema in New Zealand cinemas in the past few years, online streaming sites such as the global entities *Netflix* and *YouTube* offer Korean television dramas on their platforms. A recent search on *Netflix* New Zealand shows it currently screens just over 100 Korean drama films and television series, which can explain why a couple of participants have encountered some Korean films.

It is interesting that, despite most participants in focus groups claiming little to no understanding of the French and Korean language, they chose to comment further on how subtitles can help increase their awareness of other languages and cultures through film.

Subtitles as Language Learning tools

Audiences had many discursive points to make on how subtitles help them personally with language comprehension skills. The comments below highlight how subtitles may aid them in learning language and increase their awareness of other cultures through film. The majority of participants who offered a discussion on this topic were monolingual, fluent English speakers. Only two participants were bilingual, one was fluent in Samoan, the other spoke Solomons Pijin.

Younger audience members in their 20's who were fans of Japanese Anime, were quick to note how subtitles provide clarification and confirmation for what they hear and allow them to pick up on vocabulary such as greetings. Some had also identified informal and formal structures of languages when they are in spoken form, such as lack of use, or use of Japanese honorifics.

I know a lot of people who supplement their Japanese learning through watching anime. It also allows you, even though I don't speak standard Japanese, I watch so many subs that I now pick up on certain words and know their meanings. [Female, 22 years old]

There is one phrase that is repeated in the series which means "are you there?" But they used the informal use of 'you' which could be used to take the place of somebody's name. Because in Japanese culture you are meant to use a person's name with an honorific. You pick up stuff like that from the subtitles and listening to the audio of the original language. [Male, 28 years old]

One participant who is originally from the Solomon Islands and studying in New Zealand, mentioned how subtitles in the past helped him while he was learning to read and speak English. However, once his fluency improved English subtitles were no longer a tool for language learning but for film and narrative comprehension.

When I didn't know English that was how I first learnt. But now I'm not using it to learn or speak it anymore, I'm using it to understand a film. But I have to be honest, I learnt English through them. [Solomon Islander, male, 24 years old]

Two female members from separate focus groups mentioned how subtitles have helped familiarise them with understanding the French language. In particular subtitles were mentioned as indicators to direct their listening and reading ability.

Yes, when I learnt French. And so I watched French films, the stuff you find on Netflix, it was mainly online films. I would put on the French subtitles. [Female, 20 years old]

The younger female mentioned that through using intralingual subtitles in French, hearing and seeing the subtitles in the source language, she felt they helped improve reading comprehension at the time when she was actively learning the language.

Meanwhile, another female who is a Hamilton film society member, believed interlingual subtitles, while watching an English film with French subtitles, would likely be more effective for her if she wanted to actively learn French.

I think if I wanted to learn French I would prefer to watch an English film with French subtitles. Rather than a French film with English subtitles. So I could see the words. With French it is sometimes hard to know what they have said. To me that's easier to see the words you want to learn and then hear it in your own language.
[Female, early 50's, film society member]

By contrast, another female participant and film society member, who participated in the same focus group as the participant above, believed that subtitles were not helping her personally understand the French language, even in instances when intralingual subtitles for a French film appeared.

I don't know. Because a couple of years ago we had this whole series of French films that we saw, and then I said to my husband, I think I am starting to get a grasp on French. We went and saw a film which must have been a film society film, it was in French but it had some French subtitles as well. And I realised I had kidded myself when I felt I was getting a good grasp of French. [Female, 62 years old]

One participant remarked how subtitles are vital to aid listening comprehension in particular, since, without subtitles indicating vocabulary, simply listening to the language would not be as effective.

Film society members belonging to the same focus group were also reflective on how subtitles are effective for language learning. However, unlike the majority of participants who spoke mostly of their personal experiences in relation to languages and subtitles, they discussed their knowledge of outside occurrences of

subtitles and language learning. The comments below all reflect the knowledge participants have gained through reading literature focused on research about improving literacy in children, migrants' use of subtitles, and the impact subtitling has on bilingualism in European countries.

I read some papers where subtitling English language films helps kids read. You would have a story that the kids were supposed to have read and they had a film of it. And they would have the words, the dialogue underneath. That was a way of improving their written language. Because they would see the words as well as hear them. [Female, 60 years old, film society member]

But typically refugees learn the language of the country they are in by watching subtitled television. [Female, 62 years old, film society member]

There is some research where people in The Netherlands are more adept at bilingualism because they watch so much subtitled material than we are accustomed to. [Male, 70 years old, film society member]

The participant above highlights the importance of bilingualism and subtitles as contributors to language learning, however he also makes salient the fact that countries in Europe, such as the Netherlands, view more subtitled content than New Zealanders do, so that their effects, if there are any would be more pronounced. Koolstra, Peeters & Spinhof (2002) have made claims to this being evident, which I have previously mentioned in the literature review chapter. Alongside this, the participant implies that New Zealanders do not view or are not accustomed to viewing much subtitled content. This appears evident in the wider New Zealand media as scholars like Smith (2016) have proven with the predominance and popularity of English language content. Despite this, subtitled content is available for New Zealand audiences, albeit, it is mostly international language content offered in annual film festivals and on select television channels and subscription online streaming platforms. Audiences in the focus groups were aware of the proliferation of English language media in New Zealand and in the following section, many highlight the reasons why they seek out international film.

Aesthetics of Subtitling:

Film Case Study: *Things to Come* (2016)

Text Visibility: Font Typeface, Boldness and Contrast

The majority of participants preferred the textual presentation of the French film, where only two fan-subbing aficionados disliked the boldness of the French film subtitling which they felt intruded in the shot due to its large font size.



Figure 16: Bold font (Source: *Things to Come*, 2016)

The thing I find annoying is you have to use the right font for the subtitle, you don't want it taking over the screen. You want it to look natural. Too bold. It draws away from the thing because you have this big lettering in your face. [Male, 28 years old]

In general media viewing, participants felt that subtitles font type face can distract from viewing making the subtitles illegible. For this specific viewing, they felt the French film expressed bold subtitles and many noted the importance of the shadow backing being necessary to facilitate legibility and clarity.

And it has the shadow backing so it's easier to see. [British male, 22 years old]

I don't know if they can change the colours but I know they can put black shading on them. They did it in the French movie, they put the black border on the subtitle, whereas in the Korean one, they didn't. [Male, early 50's]

I think it does have to have black around the outside sometimes. [Female, 60 years old]

One participant believed the contrast of text against the background was of good quality and did not interfere with other visual elements found in the image

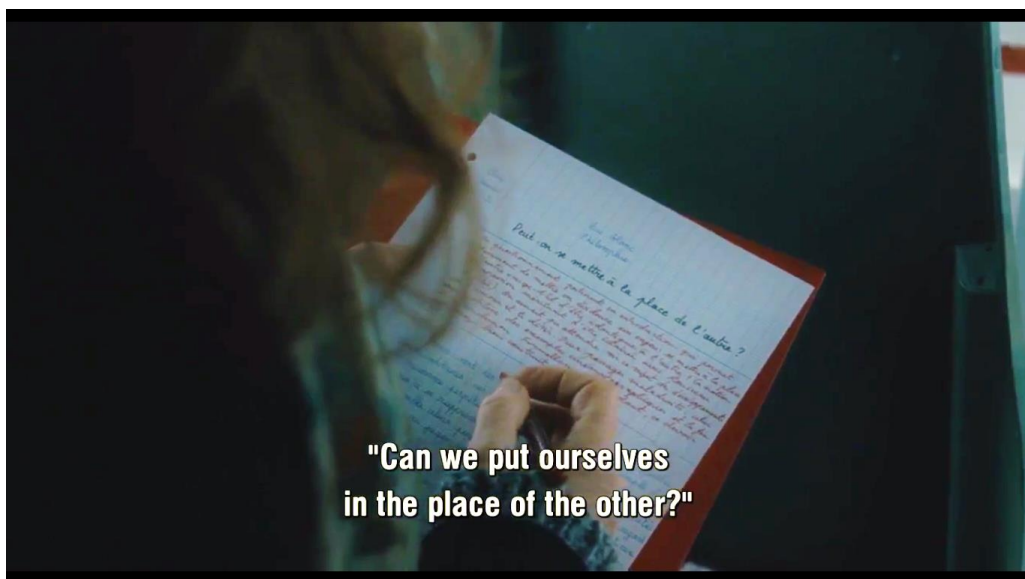


Figure 17: Contrast (Source: Things to Come, 2016)

It's a good contrast with the background and it feels comfortable to read. [Iraqi female]

Timing

Audiences had polarising views on experiences of the timing of subtitles, where most had experienced issues with timing, particularly with fast subtitle speeds.

One participant found the timing could disrupt her interpretation of the 'truthfulness' of the translation, where slow in and out times do not always correspond with the verbal utterances in the film.

The other thing is timing. Sometimes they don't get the timing quite right. You can feel that whether you understand the language or not, that this is not what they are saying. [Iraqi female, 30's age group]

Another member felt the subtitles in the French film corresponded well with her reading speed where the in and out timings were at an average pacing and representative of both during the speech time and by the termination of speech.

I like being able to adjust the speed the subtitles come up at. Sometimes they will be really fast, but in this one they begin just before speech begins and end just after speech. That works well. [Female, 20 years old]

Participants were aware of the timing of most subtitled speeds not always being representative of their individual reading speed, where the option to rewind content was sometimes highly necessary.

Too fast. I will miss some of the sentences. Yes because they say too much in such a short space of time. [Male, early 50's]

The French film which had a lot of chatter, people talking over top of each other, you really need subtitles. [Male, 70 years old]

That sometimes happens when you are watching things. That's the great thing about pausing and rewinding. [Female, 60 years old]

Position on screen

Subtitles being positioned slightly higher on the screen was considered distracting by two viewers predominantly used to fan-subbing, where the subtitles were raised slightly in the middle of the screen.

The French one, it takes up a lot of the proportion of the screen most of the time and distracts from what is actually going on. [Female, 22 years old]

It's higher up. [Male, 28 years old – in response]

I tend to find that when I watch between Chinese and Japanese, the Asian stuff, I notice that they do their best to keep the subs from distracting. This will be in movies and anime. Whereas I notice that in American and movies from other countries, they tend to make the subtitles too predominant. It takes away from the scene. [Female, 22 years old]

Whilst another viewer believed the subtitles placement on the screen was useful to refer to visual elements within the scene, as well as to connect aspects of character and plot.

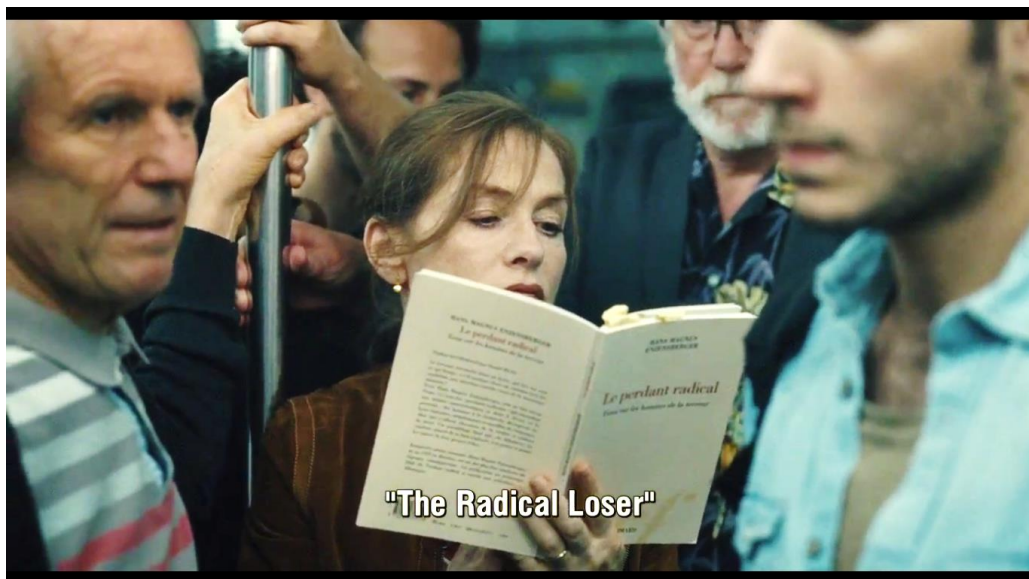


Figure 18: Textual referent positioning (Source: Things to Come, 2016)

You wonder though, when they put the subtitle underneath, like the subtitle for that book title, it makes you look at the original title. And whether if you were French and watched it, would you have been directed to it that much? I understand that she's a philosophy teacher. [Female, 60 years old]

Number of Lines

Most participants preferred the segmented two line format. However most fan-subbing viewers had quite often experienced one long line of subtitles.



Figure 19: Two Lines (Source: Things to Come, 2016)

One participant approves of the two line format and also believes the addition of more lines of subtitles would hinder her experience viewing the image.

I'm used to the two line format. Once you adjust. I don't like the one whole single line along the bottom instead of having the two lines split. But any more than that, it actually starts taking over the screen and becomes distracting. [Female, 22 years old]

One female participant believed it suited the French film with the segmentation of the lines, however she has had more experience viewing subtitles in one long line.

I like the way they have done it in this image they have used two lines instead of one. They could have done it in one line but I think it's done to reflect the plaque itself. So it's trying to preserve the character of the movie. [Iraqi female]

Film Case Study: *A Day* (2015)

Text Visibility: Colour - Yellow vs. White subtitles

These subtitles were considered normal and standard colours of subtitles by all participants. Where many argued over the pros and cons of yellow and white subtitling. Most participants preferred white subtitles, however they believe these can be detrimental to viewing, where the Korean film expressed issues with colour contrast. Most respondents recalled other experiences of viewing both yellow and white colours in the subtitled content they consumed.

The yellow is probably better than the white because the white can sometimes be lost in the background colours of the scene itself. [Male, 28 years old]

I think in this film it can get away with how it is because it's a lot slower paced and it's got a lot of slow lingering shots so I think a subtle text works a lot better for that. But if you're watching an action film, then you can get away with more ridiculous stuff. [Male, 19 years old]

The subtitles dissolved into the background where most participants found them difficult to read and proposed that shadow backing was necessary.

If the white has no shadow then it is hard to read. Especially if it is over a white [background]. [Samoan male, early 20's]

If the backing is too white or too bright to see the font, or if you have the shadow backing, it pops it out so it is easier to read. [British male, 22 years old]

The more important thing is contrast and colour rather than anything else. You don't want it to be bright white against a bright white background. [Iraqi female, 30's age group]

While most also described yellow being much brighter but just as illegible, where it too was often hidden by the image and background.

Yes. I prefer white to yellow. Yellow is more loud while white is more subtle. [Iraqi female, 30's age group]

I remember watching this movie and there was a lot of white and at the bottom of the screen and you couldn't read the subtitles. [Male, early 50's]

White background and white. There can be that problem with yellow as well. I think white is the least intrusive if it's not marred by a white background. [Male, 70 years old]

Position on Screen

Overall younger participants had most to share on the position of subtitles, which can be attributed to their wealth of experiences with fan-subbed Anime, since this content is known for flouting placement specifications that professional content tends to follow. Younger participants were particularly focused on the aesthetics of the Korean film.

It's something I have noticed, see how in the Korean one, the subtitles are lower placed. [Female, 22 years old]

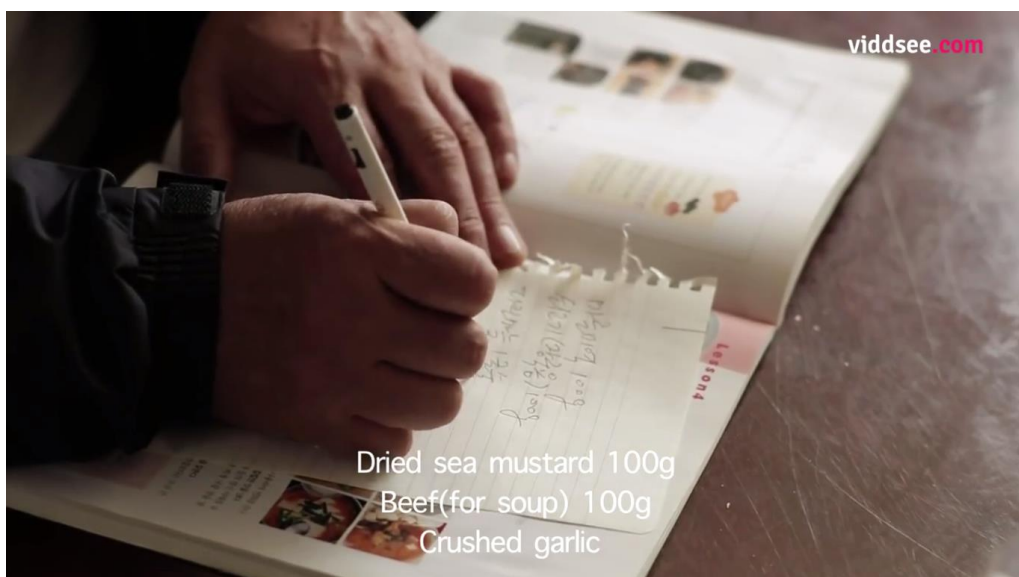


Figure 20: Visual written information (Source: A Day, 2015)

Younger participants believed the subtle placement of the subtitles on the image of the recipe book and note, allowed these visual aspects of the scene to take centre stage.

Yes. The thing I liked about the Korean one was the overwriting for the note that was on the table. You've got that on the bottom of the screen. There is also the visual aspect of the book there and it says recipe book. [Male, 28 years old]

Yes he puts that detail in parentheses as well on the actual note, so that extra bit of detail in the subtitles too, is really good. [Female, 22 years old]

Because there were no vocals going on, no one was talking. But if they were and we were trying to read the note as well then it could be a bit confusing. In this case, it works perfectly because that is the only needed translation at the moment. [British male, 21 years old]

Participants believed subtitles should on most occasions be positioned predominantly at the bottom of the screen, otherwise the viewer has to make a significant cognitive adjustment.

I find that if you are not sure where they are going to show up then I think it is easy to realise that there aren't subtitles there, whereas if they are always at the bottom of the screen and you are supposed to be reading something then you know that they are there and you know where to look. [Female, 20 years old]

When it's done badly it's really obvious. Those two films subtitles were good examples because they [subtitles] were quite out of the way and only popped up when the speaking happened. But when they become overbearing, or when they are out of place, I have seen subtitles that are at the top of the screen rather than at the bottom and that can be quite annoying. [British male, 21 years old]

Every now and then you do see a film, I mean the whole film with subtitles up the top and not the bottom. I think that is quite hard because somehow I am used to

reading at the bottom of the screen and when it's at the top I have to make a mental adjustment for that. [Female, 62 years old]

Participants also believed that subtitles do not need to be present for certain elements in the film that can be understood as universal, where a character looking at his phone and dialling a number did not require subtitles at that precise moment, however it lead them to take notice of when the next subtitles did appear.

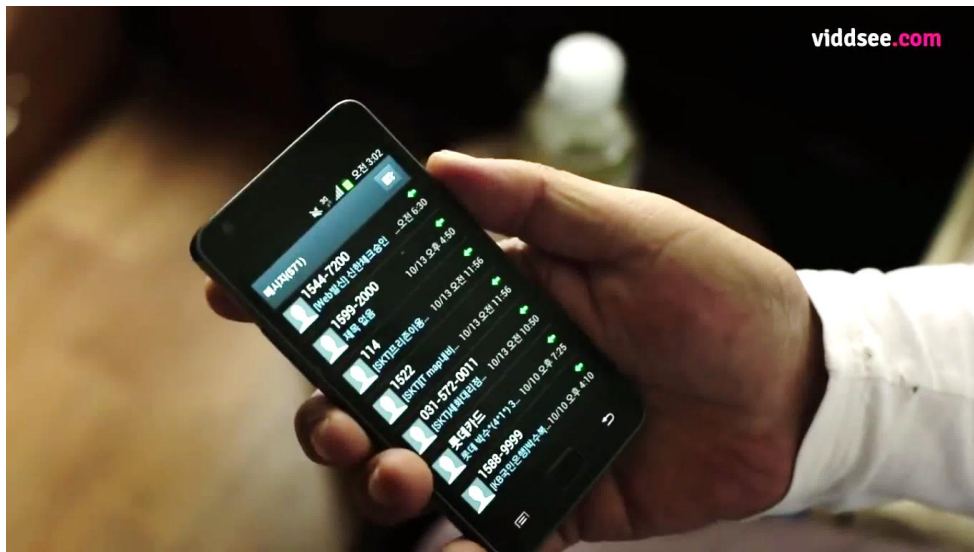


Figure 21: Phone no subtitles (Source: A Day, 2015)

It's missing the names [in subtitles] but it didn't affect me that much. [Male, 28 years old]

No because at this point, it was right at the beginning and we didn't know what was going on but as we progressed in the short film, we got the nuances that he was lonely and wanted to spend time with someone. [Female, 22 years old]

Meanwhile, later on in this scene participants felt it required the use of subtitles, where participants could infer from the previous image and the object currently within the frame that these visual aspects contribute to the larger theme of loneliness and lack of communication in the film.



Figure 22: Phone subtitles (Source: A Day, 2015)

It shows the text 'my daughter' when he tries to phone her. You assume that after seeing the photo there are two kids and he phones someone else, his son, and they say, my sister. [Male, 28 years old]

It also has some of it at the beginning as well so you can tell that there are a lot of corporate texts and things. There are not a lot of people messaging him anyway. You can infer that from the original too. [Male, 19 years old]

Number of Lines

Two participants believed one long line of subtitles was preferable for their engagement with the film.



Figure 23: Subtitle line length (Source: A Day, 2015)

I prefer the longer line. I find it easier to read. I think for me when things are segmented into two lines I am distracted from everything else going on, I collect what is going on in the film and read the line, but with the two line example, I was focused more on reading those than I was actually looking at what the character was looking at. Whereas with longer ones, I can quickly scan that and then look up at the action and have got the context of what is happening. [Female, 20 years old]

One viewer, due to her language and cultural background, is more experienced with the one line format than two lines, where films subtitled and translated into Arabic tend to position the language this way.

Subtitling for foreign movies are usually done in one long line. I had never thought about it from [either] two lines or one long one. We read from right to left in Arabic, rather than left to right so I don't know if that makes any difference. I had never thought about it before. [Iraqi female]

Subtitles as Narrative Indicators: Audience Perspectives of Cultural Nuances and Transference

Case study: *Things to Come* (2016)

Participants believed themes from the French film were better understood by the addition of subtitles, were the subtitles did not detract from their viewing overall. Font, textual boldness and position on the screen were all positively critiqued as being aesthetically helpful to refer to key visual aspects and character information within film. Despite this, only two participants found the text too prominent and bold on the screen, however they admired the correct form of English translation, when compared to a fan-subbing content which can include many errors in syntax.

The French one it has the syntax which seems perfectly translated into English. I think the translation was done really well into English. [Female, 22 years old]

One viewer felt the cultural nuances of the French film could not ever be fully understood by international audiences via subtitles, where subtitles can only provide an approximate rendering and transference of cultural themes found within the source culture of international film.

You don't understand completely why people are doing things. Even in that French film, the vociferous nature of the kids outside protesting, and if you didn't know anything about philosophy you wouldn't really know about the quote she was making them write about. Sometimes there is cultural stuff you don't know, which means you kind of understand the film but don't really understand the film. [Female, 60 years old]

Case study: *A Day* (2015)

All participants found the Korean film had lost some of the cultural nuances in its translation. Where many described the syntactic errors as well as the subtitle font itself, distracting them from making connections between visual and verbal elements which were central to the storyline.



Figure 24: *Lost in translation* (Source: *A Day*, 2015)

Participants all discussed a scene in the film which was central to the plot and caused them confusion. On the surface it was spelling, grammatical and syntactic errors that the subtitles portrayed.

There was one line in there I didn't understand at all. [Female, 60 years old]

About being dry. I couldn't work it out from the context. [Female, 60 years old]

Yes. Dry you out or something. Wear you out. [Male, early 50's]

One participant had an alternative reading for the ending of the film, where this was partially to the error in translation, but also by him missing some lines of subtitles, due to his general reading speed being slower than average.

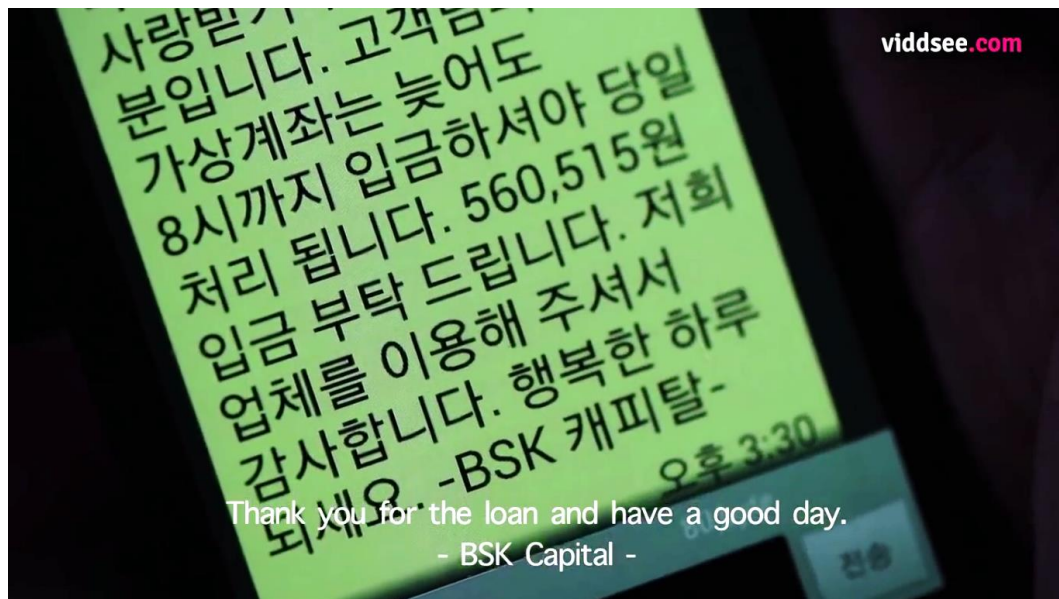


Figure 25: Lost in translation 2 (Source: A Day, 2015)

The text about the loan from the bank [Korean film], I found the subtitles there really fast and hard to read. Was that a scam text that he got? I wouldn't have picked that up and had to watch that again. [Female, 60 years old]

You think that's a scam? So the film really rested on that one line and I didn't read it all. I got a whole different meaning from the film. In my mind, I thought the bank had given him the money he needed, that he was retired and they gave him his retirement money. And that he had all this money, but he had no children and family. And he was saying, what's the point of money? I missed those last subtitles. But I think the same meaning still applies to that film. [Male, early 50's]

Another participant believed that cultural nuances were lost in the film, due her feeling that subtitles are most successful at attracting your attention when translating the verbal elements in a film, however they don't direct your attention as well when referring only to visual elements in scenes where there is no dialogue.

When that scene ran [Korean film], I looked away for a moment and didn't realise that there was going to be subtitles. So when there is no voice, because it was something he was reading, your attention is not drawn to it and I had glanced down and had not realised anything was going on. So you have to be continually watching the subtitles. [Female, early 50's]

Two Participants below recognised that it was a fan-subbed film, where they considered it to be a film made on a low budget, particularly as the subtitling produced a number of errors, suggesting the translation was not done by a professional.

It got lost in translation. They did their best to translate but in this case it got lost in translation. It's those little tells where you know it is a nonprofessional and fansubber over a professional. But you know what, who cares. [Female, 22 years old]

I think one thing about subtitles is, in a way they are not all equal. So I do see a number of films that I guess could fall into the low budget category. And they will almost always have low budget subtitles. And I am probably irrationally irritated by spelling mistakes. Often it's the wrong word but you can work out from context what the word should be. [Female, 62 years old]

In contrast two participants' noted the film's aesthetic style, such as shot composition, providing a sense of understanding of certain themes despite the previous comments on elements of the film being unsuccessful in language transference.

I thought it was so well shot that it didn't matter. [Male, 19 years old]

Yes, it was a beautiful short film. You very quickly picked up the nuances in it, him looking at the photo of him with his children and the birthday cake. Then he going and looking at the shelf of instant noodles and then he decides to go out and buy something to cook himself. This one is done really well in that it doesn't need a lot of dialogue. [Female, 22 years old]

Cultural Curiosity: Accessibility to Foreign Cultures, Storylines and Cinema

When participants were asked why they enjoy viewing subtitled content and what the reasons were behind their viewing of subtitled media, they provided accounts of various ways that they seek out, interpret and make use of international language media.

The majority of the younger participants favoured subtitled media because of the accessibility it provides them to understanding international film storylines. Participants found they were tired of the presentation of English language storylines, which were too familiar and predictable. Many believed that films that were not in the English language or even from western perspectives were more interesting because they intrigued viewers due to the cultural unfamiliarity of certain storylines, plot twists and themes.

The fact it gives us the ability to watch a greater range of movies rather than just the Hollywood and standard British films which are usually what we normally get. It allows you to see that culture and also know what is still going on. [Female, 22 years old]

Subtitling gives you a range of things to view, to read. It's through the wide range of things that I have got to glimpse other cultures, how people think, what their philosophies are and it's actually quite fascinating. I like having the ability to break things down as I read it. [Male, 28 years old]

There is just more range in the world. I get sick of watching the same stuff. [British Male, 21 years old]

Yeah. The same tropes where you can predict a story is going. But I find a different culture, in the French film I had no idea where it was going but it had direction. I couldn't predict it. My knowledge of [a] film's story is based entirely in Western English. So when you see subtitled content, it opens you up to so much more. [Female, 20 years old]

For me I enjoy foreign movies. I find that they have a different character than the usual, familiar, British and American films. [Iraqi female, 30's age group]

In particular, viewers who enjoy Japanese Anime felt that subtitles allowed them access to cinema from around Asia, noting how some content may not be widely released outside of the country of origin. Subtitled media is thus seen as niche in its distribution to wide audiences and provides a rich experience of a country's culture and media.

I also find with a lot of Japanese, Korean and Chinese storytelling it has more depth to it than a lot of American stuff nowadays. And the only way you can access it is through watching it with subtitles. Because a lot of it doesn't get translated and it's never widely released outside of their own home country. When I have been watching American things, the plots could become predictable. When I started watching things from other cultures, I have come across a lot of storylines and plot twists and things that I had never even thought of. And you feel that that is a nice surprise. That's a very interesting take on things. [Male, 28 years old]

Because what other countries consider as a plot twist is different to what we would. Some other cultures might not also be as censored so they're not afraid to break boundaries. [Female, 22 years old]

Film society members noted how films and TV series allowed them to become cultural travellers. Due to the large geographical, language and cultural distance of New Zealand from many countries in the rest of the world, many participants expressed the enjoyment and pleasures they derive from immersing themselves in cinema, particularly if they had not encountered a culture presented in the films before, they felt that they expressed something of the diversity of cultures and languages throughout the world.

I love films from other societies and also films in my own language, I only speak English. And if subtitles are the cost of seeing other films, I'm really happy to pay that price. But really it would never be part of my decision in seeing a film whether or not it had subtitles. It would be, am I interested in this? And the subtitled thing

becomes totally irrelevant really. And what someone said about people chatting over one another, maybe it's because I am an aged person, but subtitles make things more clear. [Female, 62 years old]

I think that perhaps we would miss a lot of really good films if we didn't watch ones with subtitles on them. A lot of the films I have seen and have enjoyed have been subtitled films. Sometimes it's not so much the subtitles, sometimes the cultural experience is quite different and you don't understand completely why people are doing things. [Female, 60 years old]

You need subtitles to have their moments for reading thoughts or contemplation. Because otherwise all you've got is to read facial expressions. But they do use subtitles when someone is musing over something internally. They put them in brackets sometimes, I think too, to indicate that it's not speech it's more interior thought. [Male, 70 years old]

To me it would be a selling point for a film and it was from a country I had never seen a film from before. As far as I know I have never seen a film from Ecuador, so I would see that as an opportunity to go and see an Ecuadorian film. [Female, 62 years old]

*I like subtitled movies that aren't those 'big' movies, I like little movies and I can't see them without that sort of money behind them. Like the film *The Salesman*, the Iranian film. I think the only way you would be able to see material like that is subtitled. I think there are different things you get from films. Something I like about films, is it give you a window into other people's lives and how they live them. I could have watched quite a lot of that Korean film even if nothing particularly really happened. But you saw how he lived and how he was cooking his food. There's that whole slow Turkish slow film movement. Nothing much really happens but I am still really happy watching them. I can watch them without subtitles and just in Turkish. [Female, 62 years old]*

Subtitle versus Image: Audiences Experiences of Image and Text Correspondence

Audiences were aware of the cognitive demands of subtitling and many felt that at times their viewing was not equally allotted to the image.

I think the picture shouldn't be just of subtitles, the subtitles shouldn't distract from the movie scene. I think the image should be the more important point. With the colours they may be white, I don't have any idea about the colour much but we would like to see the picture, the scene. It's not just subtitles. How to balance it. To make the movie more obvious rather than we just focus on subtitles. [Thai female]

Participants also acknowledged that at time the subtitles may demand their attention more than the image, especially in regards to language comprehension tasks where speakers of foreign languages used them to help with language learning such as reading comprehension.

It also depends on the purpose as well. For me, as an international student who came from overseas, we would like to practice English. Maybe we would like to focus on the subtitles to practice English. We can't tell if this movie is good for me, or the subtitles should be this way, because it depends on the person, the user. We will watch the movie for what reason? We will use subtitles for what reason? It depends. [Thai female]

I kind of prefer that, watching subtitles. [Samoan male]

I was studying English literature at the university they said get English, British or American movies with English subtitles to improve your reading speed. [Iraqi female, 30's age group]

One participant felt that subtitles are 'referents' to things but they generally don't distract him from the image, where the viewer can easily forget that they are there when completely immersed in a film.

If I'm watching the movie and it has English subtitles, I don't really think about the subtitles. I zone out and focus on the movie. But I do automatically look at it and then I go back. I glance at it and then I'm done. [British male, 22 years old]

One participant who had dyslexia and another who was a slower reader, felt that subtitles were distracting from the image where their focus was more allocated to the text.

I find that I end up watching more of the subtitles than the actual image. I think part of that is I have to focus more on my reading because of my dyslexia. That could be why I focus so much on it. It can distract me sometimes from what is going on. [Female, 20 years old]

In terms of reading, when you watch a film your eyes are exploring the image and the image is always built so that the story of salience is released. But when you're focusing on the text you're often starting in the wrong place, well your eyes are because you're reading that first and then you go and start exploring the image, it feels like you don't have enough time to explore the image. To explore it all. [Male, early 50's]

In addition, one participant adds, that with more frequent experience watching subtitled content means you can allot more time to absorbing the image rather than just the subtitles, which allows a more effortless viewing experience.

I used to [pause the subtitles] but now I have had more experience, you just learn to skim read through them quickly. [British male, 21 years old]

Subtitling (immersion) versus Dubbing (disassociation)

Nearly all participants had dissatisfying experiences with dubbing, where a number of them recalled bad synchronisation, cultural censorship and uncanny accents and voices disturbing their immersion with international content.

Two participants saw dubbing could be potentially effective when watching action based Anime and cinema.

It honestly depends on the voices. I prefer dubbing when it comes to anime that are very action based because having to read subtitles distracts me from what is going on. So whether I prefer dubbing or subtitling is whether or not I can put up with the voice acting in the actual anime itself. [Female, 22 years old]

Was 'Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon' (2000) dubbed? It was. When I have to read text, because I'm not a fast reader and I don't just instantly look at text and read it or take it in. But a film like that was a really aesthetic type of film which really helped because I could enjoy it the aesthetics of that film which was a significant part of it. [Male, early 50's]

There is a Brazilian show I was watching and it was set in South America and it had English dub over top of the actors who were speaking in Brazilian Portuguese and so the words do not match with the actions they make when they're speaking so it's all out of synch. I found it hard to watch. [Male, 28 years old]

Dubbing detracts from participants' engagement as they believe it censors the content by prohibiting the verbal and emotional aspects of what the actors visually portray, causing a disconnection between visual and verbal elements.

For me it generally doesn't convey the emotion of the type of voice. The quality is not as good as the original production of the film is. [British male, 22 years old]

I think that is the problem with dubbing, you lose the emotion of the person's voice. You forget that it's a combination of seeing the person say, I hate you, rather than saying the same line but with someone else's voice coming out. It just doesn't seem as intense. The emotion or connection doesn't work. But at least with subtitling, as long as your brain is doing the reading you can see the emotion in what they're saying. [Female, 60 years old]

Sometimes the voice actors are cheesy, have weird voices. [Samoan male, early 20's]

Whereas with dub I find that because of governmental regulations they censor some of it and restructure it so it is not as pure as what the original language was saying. [Male, 28 years old]

Many participants felt quality in dubbing was a hindering factor, where quality of dubbing actors' and their range of voices varies, thus engagement is interrupted easily with dubbing.

Also the level that they are at. English voice actors are not as trained or as good as overseas voice actors. [British male, 22 years old]

Another participant noted that dubbing expresses the unfamiliar but makes it too familiar, where language transference becomes uncanny and takes away from the film story and style.

I think it takes away from the character of the movie or the series in general. When you watch it and you listen to English dubbing or dubbing in your own language, it just doesn't feel the same. It seems a bit too familiar and too strange at the same time. [Iraqi female, 30's age group]

Dubbing is a big thing in Taiwan. Dubbing was a bit weird. For example I know Mickey Mouse speaks English and I tried it with a Chinese voice but it feels weird that Mickey Mouse is speaking in Chinese to me. [Taiwanese female, 26 years old]

Participants feel that the verbal aspects of international cinema, such as the tone of the voices, even if in languages unfamiliar to audiences, should be expressed aurally in the correct language and accents. Dubbing censors the original source accents, which audiences believe causes a disassociation between the story and their engagement, especially if the content portrays American accents in a location with non-American cultural settings.

Subtitling. A dubbed film I have seen that I can think of in the last twenty years. I bought a copy of 'Life Is Beautiful' (1996). It was dubbed and it was appalling. I had already seen it with subtitles. Dubbed, it was horrific. [Female, 62 years old]

Because I find dubbing so clunky. Particularly if there are people from Belgium and they have American accents, often it's American or English accents and it doesn't seem to fit and the lips don't match with what they are saying and it looks weird.
[Female, 60 years old]

Yes. It was disappointing. There was a voice to the character that I really liked and thought it suited the character really well and then to hear another voice do it and not get the same inflections and little nuances that the original character had, it was just disappointing. [Female, 20 years old]

One of my favourite films is Japanese Russian film called Dersu Uzala (1975). I have watched it with American dubbing and it's just an atrocity. It was a bad experience the dubbing for that. [Male, 70 years old]

I can't remember the last time I watched a dubbed film. I watched that online series 3 Percent. A Brazilian show which had a good story idea and was nicely filmed but it had American dubbing over the top and it was terrible. I could only bear about two episodes. Maybe if they had the right kind of accents. Like if it was a dubbed film and had people talking English with Portuguese accents it could be better.
[Female, 60 years old]

I do remember watching Jaws when I went to France, it was a long time ago, and it was dubbed in French. I had actually seen the film when I was travelling in America and I later travelled to France and saw it dubbed in French. It lost something for me because the French language, when the person was angry, they didn't seem upset or annoyed. It really lost something culturally or [the] meaning, it got lost somewhere in the translation. [Male, early 50's]

I think that's a problem with dubbing, it doesn't worry me if people are having a conversation and it's in a language that I don't speak. Because you can still have pleasure in that. Arabic is really nice to listen too. So I think when you have subtitles, you can often hear the poetry of the language that the film has been filmed in. And you can sort of appreciate that even if you have no idea what they are saying.
[Female, 62 years old]

Like for a French film and the people start speaking with Kiwi accents, that doesn't appeal to me at all. If they're in France and they're French people then they should be using French. A French accent and they're speaking English that would be alright. But not if it was an American accent speaking. [Female, early 50's]

Subtitles as Filters of Culture: Impediments to total Narrative Immersion

Older participants shared a variety of experiences where the subtitles did not always provide a helpful translation of cultural themes found in a variety of films. Discussions below interpret the pitfalls of translation and perhaps also suggest geographical distances contributing to and hindering how audiences engage and understand a cultural which is unfamiliar.

Do you think French films can be prone to word soup sometimes? The subtitles sometimes you think, what the hell is the meaning of this? Particularly when they are reflecting an inner thought or something. [Male, 70 years old]

*One of the things I do find with subtitled films, is we don't get a lot of the cultural nuances of a lot of stuff in it. Although we can say how marvellous that French film is, I don't think we can necessarily understand all of the cultural stuff in it at all. Our daughter who speaks Japanese and lives in Japan, she watched a Japanese film with us and her interpretation was completely different to mine because she can see cultural stuff in it. I think you must miss out on things because even in the dialogue you don't pick up all the things. There are other conversations going on the room and you don't know what they are saying. I really liked that Russian film *Leviathan* but I didn't really understand, I don't think, what it was like to be in that community in Russia and some of the politics of it. I understood a bit of it and that it was a really significant film but I had to afterwards go and read the reviews of it and find out what some of it was actually about. [Female, 60 years old]*

I feel like that with a whole lot of Italian films where it feels like that was just a whole lot of people. What was the point of that? [Female, 62 years old]

People go to a lot of those French films. We went to about four of them but I didn't think they were that good some of them. There were a lot of people speaking French. [Female, 60 years old]

Watching anime leaves me puzzled because it's not the same cause and effect that we're used to. It moves from something to something else and you think how did you get to here? [Male, early 50's]

And I think, where is the story? Where is the narrative? Why are they doing that?
[Male, 70 years old]

Audience Reluctance associated with subtitled films – Perspectives from New Zealand Audiences

Participants believed that people's reluctance towards engaging with international language media can be associated with and influenced by whether or not subtitles are available. Older participants considered that younger participants might have more reluctance engaging with subtitled media due to the constraints imposed by the medium of dissemination. Where many highlighted that the size and distribution of subtitles might not translate well on to smaller screens.

Younger audience reluctance

The thing that might make lots of caption film a difficult watch, we have a big TV to watch things on, but a lot of younger people watch on their phone, so if you had a lot of films that come with captioning, I bet they would be quite hacked off because you can't really read it easily. [Female, 60 years old]

Meanwhile others noted that younger people may prefer to listen more than watch, suggesting subtitles require more cognitive effort and active engagement where outside distractions are not really permissible.

My kids watch TV with their iPhone in front of them, so they don't really watch they just 'listen'. [Male, early 50's]

It is fairly depressing when you encounter students who are completely resistant to it. I taught world cinema courses and got them to watch some Finnish films and things. They did end up getting into them but there was this initial resistance. [Male, 70 years old]

I used to lie to my children when I said let's go and see a movie. They would ask does it have subtitles in it? Is it going to be depressing? I would say no subtitles and not depressing. And we would get there and it would get to a bit with subtitles and I said, when I said there were no subtitles, I lied. But to be fair, they were 10, 11 and 12. And they coped. [Female, 62 years old]

Majority of audience reluctance

Older participants reflected on a general resistance associated with subtitles, where the stigma of 'reading' more than 'watching' and subtitles being intrusive and indicators of the foreign and unfamiliar, still arouses suspicion in some people, which can detract many people from seeing international media.

I think the vast majority of people aren't open to subtitles. Because often I will say to someone you need to go and see that film. And they will ask, has it got subtitles? I will say, yes. And then they'll say, I don't go to read the film. [Female, 62 years old]

And my response is usually, if you read a novel does it have to have pictures all the way through? [Male, 70 years old]

There's another thing that is going on with subtitles that is running parallel with resistance. When you go and watch a foreign films there is also a language change and in terms of what they do in the film. I watch Danish films and they are quite slow films. You watch a guy sitting at a table for five minutes doing nothing. And it's like the two get connected, if it's subtitled it must be something weird and different. Those two things get connected in their minds and that's why there could be some resistance. [Male, early 50's]

Audience Control or Lack of Control with Subtitled Media

Participants had a range of experiences personalising their encounters with subtitled media, particularly via DVDs and online platforms.

One audience member was surprised to see how many language options were available for audiences to select in which to watch content.

If you look sometimes at the subtitled languages you can pick on a DVD, you choose one and you see all the different subtitles available. You realise how many there are. [Female, 60 years old]

Another member also recalled the adaptability of DVDs, where she mentions options to change the textual features of subtitles.

I think with particular DVDs you can change the text features. But I haven't done that myself. [Iraqi female, 30's age group]

Despite older participants being aware of the personalisation of subtitling in which DVDs can afford viewers a variety of language and textual options, older participants did not utilise these features to alter their experiences with subtitled content, however they were happy to know a range of options to promote personalisation of content was available for audiences.

On the other hand, younger participants showed they prefer to use online streaming to control their experiences with subtitled media, where, online it gives them a wider range of options to personalise their subtitled viewing experiences.

One participant prefers to customise the subtitles on online streaming sites, particularly when there are options to change the colour and text size. She notes using a particular shade which makes the subtitles more legible and the viewing experience more enjoyable.

Yes definitely. There is a Chinese show I watch and it gives you the option to choose how your subtitles will look. It allows you to adjust how big they are, how small you want them and also the colour. Because of the setting they use a lot of creams

and whites in their backgrounds and foregrounds so the subtitles can get lost. I choose to use the medium. A lot of the time in Anime it's set on top of animation you can get away with it. [Female, 22 years old]

Another participant of similar age also views subtitled content online, where he admits that viewers can have a lack of control with the subtitled formatting they are exposed to online, especially when experiencing subtitles that are not in accordance with a high standard of quality. However, if given the option and if he is willing, he chooses to locate a subtitle file online to replace the existing one to customise his viewing experience.

I will go out of my way to download a separate subtitle file for a movie if I really like the movie and don't like the subtitles that are already there. I've done it but some of them don't work. They start in the wrong place or end in the wrong place and I don't have the time or patience to fiddle around with it. But sometimes I don't mind doing it. [British male, 21 years old]

The previous commentaries shared by participants reveal an acute awareness of the viewer's control and susceptibility whilst engaging with subtitled media, where in some cases they are left constrained by the medium and in other cases, the medium permits a range of personalisation tools to encourage a positive and viewer oriented viewing experience.

SLS Subtitling and Anglophone Audiences – Locating Accents – Subtitle Use and Misuse

Audiences were aware of intralingual or Same Language Subtitling (SLS) where many believed its usage was very applicable to localise unfamiliar accents and misheard pieces of dialogue, particularly from speakers using a range of English language dialects.

One participant believed that intralingual subtitles would likely be favoured by younger audiences. In this case to subtitle a variant of American English.

An interesting thing with that, I showed 'Thelma and Louise' to my year 12 class. And the girls asked after about five minutes for me to turn on the English subtitles because they couldn't understand the American accents used. It was a real southern accent. It is actually quite broad. And I didn't realise how strong it was until they told me they couldn't understand it. A couple of girls said afterwards, thank god you turned the subtitles on, because I couldn't understand what they were saying. [Female, 60 years old]

Another viewer who generally dislikes viewing subtitles, had a similar experience to the one recalled above, where he notes subtitles can be useful for some sections of a programme when dialogue is misheard. His experience also reveals that regional American accents are not always understood, despite the proliferation of American media in New Zealand.

I was watching an American series Saving Grace which had Southern American accents and I was struggling to understand what they were saying through it. It was quite broad. I was just missing a few words. Not that I couldn't understand them, it was just occasionally I couldn't quite hear what they said. [Male, early 50's]

In contrast, one participant criticised the use of SLS subtitling, where he believed they can be abused by Anglophone, particularly American audiences, where he felt it showed a lack of cultural awareness from viewers, and encourages the promotion of a sanitised and anglicised view of international content.

I was so accustomed to it I didn't notice the subtitling in 'Sweet Country'. The other extreme, the only time when subtitles really annoy me is when films are made primarily for an American audience and there is a regional British accent and they have to subtitle it, and I can understand everything they bloody say, but it's for the dumb Americans who can't embrace a variation of [the English] language. [Male, 70 years old]

SLS subtitles also promote the differences in regional accents of Britain, as well as for certain dialects found in Australia. The viewer felt in this case recalled below, that they were particularly necessary.

I can think of two films where people were speaking English and there were subtitles. One was called, 'My Name Is Joe', which I think was in Glasgow. And his accent was really strong, I can see why they subtitled it. But with the subtitles, about halfway through the film I could actually understand what he was saying, with them guiding me. We also saw the film Sweet Country, an aboriginal film with them speaking a Pidgin English and the subtitles on that helped me understand it. [Female, 62 years old]

One younger participant believed that intralingual subtitles would likely increase in use in English speaking media and particularly by English speaking audiences in the future.

There is an American film called 'A Quiet Place'. It's entirely silent and subtitled and it's doing really well so I think that is going to increase the amount of subtitled media or the way we use subtitles is going to change in American and English language media. Maybe even European media. [Female, 20 years old]

Cultural Dissonance: Experiences of Local Dubbing

Older audiences and film society members were aware of local instances of dubbing while they were located in New Zealand and Samoa.

It was very strange. And there were these Samoan families sitting and watching it on the ferry. They were all laughing and speaking in Samoan, but it was this Asian soap opera with a New Zealand accent dubbed over the top. It was like one of those moments that was very odd and that felt weird because they would be laughing and then talking in Samoan to their partner about something that was going on in the soap opera. It was very odd. [Female, 60 years old]

Local occurrences of dubbing especially in a New Zealand accent, are relatively rare in New Zealand media, so when participants encountered New Zealand accents during the screening of an international Asian soap opera in Samoa, they had an experience of cultural dissonance and disassociation. Participants felt that this experience, recounted above, was uncanny due to their location in a country where Samoan and English are spoken, as well as their predominant familiarity

with subtitled media back home. Because the television programme was internationally imported and screened in their current location Samoa, and as New Zealand is designated as a subtitling country, they expected to hear the language of the culture that was presented on screen but mediated via subtitles into the target language, either Samoan or English.

Audiences were also aware of local instances of dubbing into the Māori language in television and film and in the process, demonstrated their awareness of the translation processes that dubbing encompasses.

With the Disney film 'Moana' it was re-dubbed. [Male, 70 years old]

One of my students re-sung it in Māori. She was the girl who did the singing for it. She spent two weeks in a studio recording all of the 'Moana' music. [Female, 60 years old]

For young audiences they were subtitling 'Spongebob Square Pants' in Te Reo Māori. That was quite strange if you know 'Spongebob'. [Male, 70 years old]

That wasn't subtitled. It was dubbed. [Female, 60 years old]

Hearing Audiences and Closed Captioning Experiences

Younger audiences are particularly open to utilising closed captions for a variety of reasons, none of which are attributed to personal hearing impairments, but which largely stem from environmental disturbances and a need for privacy.

One participant believed that closed captions are useful when unaccustomed to certain accents and dialects.

It depends if I can understand the speaker, even if they're speaking English. If it's a thick Russian accent then I sometimes turn the closed captions on, yes they are speaking English but it just kind of gets lost. Or I turn them on if I don't want to have sound but I can then still get the gist of what is going on. [Female, 22 years old]

In addition, the following participants propose that closed captions are useful when sound quality is low and sharing an environment with other people.

Sometimes. When the audio quality is bad. Sometimes I like when the movie is subtitled because my partner is cooking in the background and the kettle is boiling.

[Iraqi female, 30's age group]

When you are busy for example, looking after kids who are being noisy, you can read it [captions] instead of having the noise really loud. [Female, 20 years old]

I find I do it when you are scrolling through Facebook and they have those news pop ups with subtitles. So instead of putting the sound on and disturbing everyone else in the room, I just watch and read, instead of putting on the sound or getting headphones. [Female, 20 years old]

Aesthetics of Fan-subbing

Fan-subbing was according to participants, predominantly recognisable as an aesthetic style appropriate to Japanese Anime. Younger participants commented on the aesthetic qualities of the style as well as their acceptance of it as a non-professional style of translation which is prone to some issues with language transference.

Fan-subbing is recognisable for its ability to show incorrect translations, but viewers accept them because they recognise the effort the fan-subber made on the audiences' behalf.

We [friends] have experience watching both official subs and fan-subs. Quite frankly when we are watching a series that we really love we can ignore fan-subbing because we can get the gist of what is going on. Sure we may be losing out on a little bit but we can still understand. Yes. Sometimes you can tell it's fan-subbed but a lot of the time if they've done it well you hardly notice. [Female, 22 years old]

Fan-subbing is overt in its aesthetic style, where colloquial forms can appear as errors, especially when outdated forms of slang.

You do come across some words that could be have been translated, subbed with another word instead, sometimes you notice because there could be a flub in the spelling, you think okay that's not official but I still know what's going on. [Female, 22 years old]

Yes. There was also a series where I enjoyed the translation as it was really wrong, if that makes sense. One of the things I was watching was an Anime, 'Jojo's Bizarre Adventure', in part four they have all this crazy 80's speak throughout the whole thing because it is actually meant to be set there and I think that's brilliant. Then I watch the official subtitled version of it and I thought oh, disappointed a bit with the language. [Male, 19 years old]

Participants' were aware of the pitfalls of engaging with fan-subbed content, where translation processes of inserting the target language around the source language textual content, can disrupt participants' viewing patterns for adequate reading comprehension time.

So people will go into the video and edit, if there is enough space there and put the English underneath. [Female, 22 years old]

I find it really difficult because you have a line of x language then English, a line of x language and then English. It can be a bit confusing switching between the lines. The problem is when I watch stuff like that, I try to read all of it, what's going on in the background and in the foreground. [Male, 28 years old]

In addition, one participant believes he can recognise how much experience the fan-subber has, where he attributes this to reasons around language quality and culturally specific language, such as the use of appropriate informal Japanese slang. He and another male participant, also note the relevance of fan-subbing in the digital age, as media becomes more rapidly produced, official translation industries may not be keeping up with distributing the demand for content,

especially to wider audiences, thus the need for fan-subbed content will continue to be in high demand.

It depends if they use google translate or something. Because sometimes it doesn't work. If they haven't been fan-subbing for a while you can kind of tell. If they were, say fan-subbing a comedy show, if they've never been to the place where it is set then they won't pick up on the slang, so it's not as correct a translation as it could be. But you can still understand the meaning, even though it's not 100 percent correct. They gave it their best shot. I think it should be a more widely done thing, because there is a lot of media overseas which is really good but we don't see it because it is not spread as much. There are lot of Japanese shows which are not anime which don't have a big following overseas so they don't get translated. I think as the world becomes closer together it will become more popular. If there is a demand then there is always going to be someone to do it [fan-subbing]. [British male, 22 years old]

I think fan-subbing especially for Anime is fine. Because not every production company is going to do it in English or translate all the content. [British male, 21 years old]

In contrast one participant found fan-subbing was distracting, due to the excessive amount of subtitles and their placements in the scene.

Most of the fan-subbing creativity that I have seen has been very distracting. It doesn't work. Usually the biggest thing is placement. They try and have different speech come out in different places. In fan-subbing they would have different text messages with the English going around all the messages. It doesn't work. I've always found it too much. You lose everything in it. A lot of the time there is too much going on that you can't read five paragraphs in half a second. [British male, 21 years old]

Another participant believes proliferation of colour distracts her from fully engaging with subtitles in fan-subbed content, however she negotiates this by

adding that fan-subbers appear to show experience in their role and they do not totally make the content unwatchable.

I see. So that probably comes under crappy quality, kind of side of things. Especially when you are watching something in Japanese anime and you have things popping up and the subtitle translates it where that Japanese word is and they make it the same colour. I usually don't even read it, it's just too colourful I don't. But I don't think I have come across anything terrible where it has stopped me from being able to watch it or understand it. I think it has generally been good. They know what they're doing. [Female, 21 years old]

Creative Subtitles: Audience experiences

A variety of perceptions on creative subtitling was shared by participants, where at first most associated them with lyrics in music videos and Karaoke. Later on viewers became more aware of current encounters of creative professionally subtitled content.

In music videos I find it. When the guy is calling someone on the phone or texting, the texts are made visual. [Solomon Islander, male, 24 years old]

Lyric videos. They have all these different ways to creatively come in. For a music video it is fine. I wouldn't want to watch it for a whole show because it would be hard to focus on the video as well as the subtitles if it's coming in a weird creative way. [British male, 22 years old]

You mean like karaoke where the ball drops on top of the lines? If they were to do more of that, it would horrify me. Often these days' films are made for a specific audience ... So I don't think that would work. But artistically if you want to make an arty farty film you might do that. [Female, 60 years old]

A few participants who had seen the UK television series *Sherlock* were unaware at the time that it could be classified as subtitling.

Yes. I didn't really notice it [Sherlock] was subtitling at the time. I just read it and got on with it. I didn't notice it [the subtitles] and still got the story. Thinking about another movie, 'The Fault in Our Stars', that has little text bubbles. And I enjoyed that as well, I thought that was quite cute and added to the tone of the movie. The same for 'Sherlock', it gives you that idea of calculating and analysing different pieces of evidence. [Female, 20 years old]

Meanwhile another participant was aware that subtitles tend to be an afterthought for film distribution, noting that subtitles did not factor into the artistic part of the production process of film making.

Are you saying that subtitles are part of the artistic creation in a film? But that's not subtitling is it? But subtitling is telling you what's going on in the film. Not actually [part of] creating the film itself. [Male, 62 years old]

Older participants argued that the style of subtitling in 'Sherlock' was not subtitling, perhaps because it did not provide a translation of a different culture or language, while also, the series was not entirely subtitled and presented subtitles in a different way compared to most professionally subtitled content.

In terms of fonts? Well if you think of Sherlock, they move around the screen and they pop up with texting and all of this stuff. [Male, early 50's]

Can you call that subtitles? [Male, 62 years old]

No I don't think it is subtitling. [Female, 60 years old]

It is and it isn't. It's telling you something that you can't get out of the dialogue. [Male, early 50's]

One participant believed that the creative subtitling was a reflection of technological implications, where screens can be limited to the often, small size where information is not easily transferred in the film shot.

The other thing it does is it shows you the personal technology you would have on your phone and you can't see that easily. So it's a technology problem and you

have to incorporate it somewhere. And I have seen a couple of things where they have tried to bring up dialogue off of a phone and it is quite difficult. I don't really know how you can do it. [Female, 60 years old]

I have seen a couple of films do it but I can't think what they are. I quite like the 'Sherlock' subtitles, I thought it really added to it, a lot. It's quite artistic, because quite often the things in the frame are weird. Where they put the things in the frame are strange. Some Sci-Fi films will have the messages up on the screen. [Female, 60 years old]

Older participants as they discussed their experiences further, became more aware of creative subtitled instances, apart from karaoke and fan-subbing, where they also reflected on the rise in creative subtitled content in fantasy genres. A few discussions focused on creative subtitles being used to represent fictional languages in English language television and film series. Where one participant had an unenjoyable experience engaging with the aesthetic style this content tends to assume.

What about invented languages like 'Game of Thrones?' They're subtitled. [Male, 70 years old]

They subtitled Klingon in 'Star Wars'. [Female early 50's]

That was terrible. That new release of 'Star Wars', subtitled all the Klingon. It was all poetic and I had no idea what they were talking about. It was subtitled, they had all these guys speaking Klingon and it was like some kind of weird poetry and I had no idea what they were saying. It was almost like a form of art really. Trying to describe their languages and translated. It didn't really make much sense, it was almost making that [subtitling translation] a theme. [Male, early 50's]

Audience perspectives on Translation, Adaptation and Re-makes

Film society members had experienced a variety of translated films, as well as remakes and adaptations of international media.

There's a Welsh series, 'Hinterland', where they did it in both Welsh and English.

[Female, 60 years old]

They used exactly the same scenes and the same actors. They had to be bilingual. The one we're watching is in English. They also did it for Welsh people in Welsh. But I think by the second series they ran out of money or something and they ran it in both Welsh and English with English subtitles in between. For the first series they definitely ran it both ways. I can remember when we were in Wales and I was reading a story about how the actors found it difficult or easier, I can't remember it was one or the other while they were doing it. [Female, 60 years old]

Some films are remade in a different language but sometimes not immediately. Like the 'Girl with the dragon tattoo'. They did that in Swedish first and then made it into English. They did that with 'The Office' and lots of other TV series. I guess that's a cheaper way to do, once something has made money and you think it is going to be successful then you basically flip it. Like 'The Bridge', the Swedish series. [Female, 60 years old]

They re-made that into 'The Tunnel'. [Female, 62 years old]

'Wallander' has an English and Swedish version. I guess they see that it's actually cheaper than mucking around with the subtitles. So they re-shoot it in English. [Female, 60 years old]

Subtitling: Film Industry, Production & Translation

Older participants were aware of the relative affordability of subtitling and many were aware of quality in translation production, where they discussed the role of the translator, translation companies and also the power of international translation industries. Many considered how international films are part of a big global chain of production and distribution processes.

These days' films are often made for a specific audience, unless it's a Hollywood blockbuster. French films are made for French people ... the French aren't making them for anyone else. So they wouldn't be worried what the translation business

did with them. They really aren't concerned with their movie being outside of France. They're quite happy for it to be outside of France and make money but their industry is so heavily subsidised that they're just making it for French audiences.
[Female, 60 years old]

Presumably when a film is made they look to see if it is successful, and if it is successful then they get subtitles made to export it to other countries. Also if once you have subtitled it in English, it would then be easy to go to French and Spanish and German. [Male, 62 years old]

The role of the translator:

You can have one person watching and just typing basically. [Female, 60 years old]

Yes fewer participants really. [Male, 70 years old]

Subtitling affordability and professional experience:

That's the good thing about a cheaper film, it does make that possible rather than being really expensive. [Male, early 50's]

I think subtitling is a necessary evil I guess. The cheaper the film the less likely they [subtitles] are to move. You can tell when it's really, we go to a lot of cheap films, low budget ones, like the kind someone made on their handy-cam. Somebody's first film. If they were subtitled from somewhere like Lithuania, they've got the cheapest company to do the subtitling and so they just stick at the bottom and that's when the white on white happens. You sometimes spend most of the time watching the film hoping they will change the background for the text. [Female, 60 years old]

The power of the film and international translation industries:

The whole subtitling industry, doesn't make much for the individual, but there is a lot of money being made. There must be because once they've got the main market, Russia is a quite a big market and they're not all speaking English in Russia. But there must be a market for films in Russia, so they're busy subtitling lots of films in

Russian. There are some South American films made and I guess they [those audiences] watch Spanish and Portuguese films. So they must all be subtitled into Spanish and Portuguese. [Female, 60 years old]

Subtitling on New Zealand National Television: Audience Perspectives and Predictions

Participants had many ambivalent reservations about the current picture of locally subtitled content in New Zealand. Many were aware that subtitling plays a major role on Māori television and discussed their encounters with local subtitling in relation to the wider politicised nature of language policy and language revitalisation of the Māori language in New Zealand.

Nearly all younger participants felt that mainstream television was not likely to increase its production of locally subtitled media content, especially for English subtitled language and content, believing subtitling was only likely to remain an industry in New Zealand for Māori language media and content distributed via *Māori Television*.

Māori channel, from memory, they dubbed 'Spongebob' and put in Māori subtitles, but I wouldn't see us putting Maori subtitles on everything unless it was specifically done for the Māori TV channel. Just because as a nation we are predominantly English speakers and somewhat reluctant to speak Māori, or the older generations are. [Female, 20 years old]

I don't think it [local subtitling] would be mainstream. But it will always be there. [British male. 21 years old]

Despite this, younger participants believed there would be an increase in internationally translated media online but that it would be provided by international distributors. This suggests that audiences in New Zealand will be more likely to access and watch subtitled content online, rather than prefer to view locally subtitled television.

I don't think mainstream TV. But online being able to download and access subtitles that don't come with it. But maybe not on national TV networks. [Female, 20 years old]

There is an increase. I wouldn't say there is a large amount of original foreign language content, it's dubbed over, especially on mainstream TV. I don't know why, but the majority of stuff I have watched is English dubbed. [British male, 21 years old]

Older participants too, were ambivalent and non-committal on the state of locally subtitled media in New Zealand. Many also believed local subtitled content was only for Māori language revitalisation.

Do they subtitle on Māori television? [Male, early 50's]

Yes they do subtitle on Māori television. [Female, 60 years old]

I think it's great to have subtitles on Māori television because it helps people who are learning the language to speak it. It's a good way of learning the language because you get to hear it and read it at the same time. And you get it in acting as well. [Male, early 50's]

I would like to see Māori news subtitled. I quite often watch and listen to that but I don't know what they're talking about. It comes on at 4pm. [Female, early 50's]

Participants acknowledged the bilingual media gap, where they saw translation appearing in aspects of theatre in New Zealand and noted that there is still a largely perceived stigma around the Māori language being disseminated in the wider avenues of New Zealand media.

I saw the Māori version of 'The Merchant of Venice' film and I did like it, but I did wonder who it was for. If you are familiar with the play, it probably doesn't matter so much. It was in Te Reo Māori and I don't think it was subtitled. [Male 70 years old]

There was that fuss about 'Midsummer Nights Dream', at The Globe theatre, people were upset that parts of it were in Te Reo. [Female, 62 years old]

One participant in particular believed that monolingual and in particular, English language media in New Zealand is so prevalent that most New Zealanders are reluctant to engage in watching any form of subtitled media.

The thing is that we get a great feed from English. We are lucky in the sense that most of the films we get are mostly produced in English so we don't really have that problem. So we get so much English that the barrier to climb up on to watch subtitled films is hard for Kiwis to accept. [Male, early 50's]

It is clear that, "The audience uses subtitles not just as a guide to understanding, but as a way of evaluating the translation according to their own standards." (Schauffler, 2012, p. 22). Audiences' standards of translation vary according to their experiences, where audiences undergo complex readings of texts, as Hall (1980) and Michelle et al. (2007), have previously shown. Audience levels of engagement with the two films particularly focused on the aesthetic quality of subtitles, their preferences for subtitling and their experiences with both subtitled and dubbed content. Moreover, audiences factored in many additional experiences and contexts contributing to their level of engagement with subtitled media, drawing upon referential knowledge bases, first hand experiences and sometimes suppositions to determine how subtitling affects their perception of film thematic components via the distribution of cultural and lingual elements found in subtitles. These focus group findings thus contribute to the picture of audiences and subtitling in relation to local viewers' critique of two subtitled films, where viewer oriented perspectives of how subtitling corresponds with the image, transfers cultural understandings and influences audience engagement, reveals an interesting and varied insight into the power of subtitled media distribution.

The following section will deal with the recent emergence of locally subtitled television series *The Casketeers* (2018) and *Moving out with Tamati* (2017), where a discussion of social media commentaries on these two shows will present a current picture of peoples' attitudes and reflections on the recent bilingual

outputs on local television channel *TVNZ1*. Conflicting discourses surrounding the prominence of bilingual media, as well as subtitles being disseminated on local television, reveal an ambivalence towards the use of Māori language and media in New Zealand.

Social Media commentaries on Subtitled Television in New Zealand

The Casketeers (2018) is a New Zealand television series which aired on the local television on channel *TVNZ1*. The programme screened on television during January 2018 on Saturday nights, and post-airing became available on the free online streaming site *TVNZ On Demand*. Since the series began on air, its Facebook page received an overwhelming number of positive responses to the show. The series featured a firm of Māori undertakers and the ways in which they handled death and grieving families. In its full form the *tangihanga*, or indigenous death ritual, takes several days and is one of the cornerstones of Māori society (Nikora & Te Awekotuku, 2013).

Nowadays however it is not always possible for urban Māori families in particular to have maintained the tribal contacts nor amassed the resources to conduct such lengthy and elaborate rituals, but there are particular attitudes to, and processes around, funerals nonetheless. *The Casketeers* informed viewers of funeral processes from a Māori perspective and was something that had not been seen on television in this way before. Social media commentators particularly loved the owner of the business Francis Tipene, and his sense of humour as well as the sensitive way his family business deals with death and funeral processes. A sample of 111 comments was collected. In order to protect the commentators' rights to privacy, identifiers i.e. commentators' names, have been removed. Below I will discuss some of the main themes and discourses that surround the reception of the show in New Zealand.

An insightful representation of Māori culture and local funeral business practices on mainstream television

Viewers offered many comments on the way the show approaches the subject of death, with most responses stating that the show provides insight, compassion and humour to inform wide audiences about Māori funeral practices.

Commentators mostly used emotive terms to discuss their response to the show, such as expressions of love, laughter and pride, revealing peoples' deep connections to the theme of the show.

C1: My husband & I just watched our first episode. We laughed, cried & thought it was such a wonderful programme. We thought Francis & Kaiora were very funny, compassionate & came across as very professional

C2: I Yes we watched it last night. Was great with a touch of our kiwi humour. Loved it!

C3: A serious topic but these lot make it normal and to see the fun and humour is mint. I like it

C4: Btw, loving the program, catching up on the last 2 episodes on On Demand

C5: I am really enjoying watching you guys. The care and respect, passion and of course the humour. Just love it. I'm also learning heaps, things you want to know but never asked.

C6: My favourite show on TV right now. Love Tipene Funerals.

C7: I watched this for the first time last night and loved it. Seeing death handled with such dignity, aroha and respect was incredibly moving.

C8: Another awesome episode loved it. Really love watching and learning how the Māori culture have their tangi's.

C9: Awesome insight into your mahi, full of aroha, tau kē.

C10: Tumeke just beautiful respectful and lots of humour. I wouldn't miss it for nothing. He mihi Nui Kia koutou Katoa

C11: You all have so much respect and compassion and it shows and I have learnt so much with the cultures and thought how great and yet very funny, I would feel so at peace sending myself and whanau to you and hope the show neva stops. Thank you and the beautiful team with all you do we watched from the start and never miss it may it continue xx

C12: Pai ou koutou mahi

C13: Loving the series. Francis and his wife are so good at running their business. His humour is so entertaining along with his staff. A real eye opener as to how a funeral parlour operates behind the scenes. A very interesting show.

C14: I absolutely love how your program really portrays what is real within our cultures. It always brings warmth, laughter and transparency

C15: Very cool program, not just the whanau but having some insight behind the scenes. I think only Māori or Pasifika could pull this off

C16: Love this show, compassion, love and humour all wrapped up in one, so typically Māori. Deep respect for you and your profession...

Normalising Discussions on Death and Increasing Māori Perspectives in Mainstream Television

Several commentators belonging to Māori backgrounds described how the show helps normalise and initiate conversations about death and funeral processes with their families. The show also appealed to Pacific Island peoples living in New Zealand. The incorporation of Te Re Maori in the comments below shows a large number of speakers of the language. Ranging from a few words interspersed among dominant English phrasing, through to the final commentator whose comments are entirely in te reo Māori. That this hints at the politicisation and importance of the issue of indigenous language maintenance in Aotearoa New Zealand currently, where most people, including most Māori, are not fluent in the language, where it rarely appears (except in the form of occasional words) in mainstream discourse. Note also that several of the commentators are, from the evidence of their names, Polynesian, not Māori as such but connected by the same broad, ancestral Polynesian culture, revealing that the show reflects cultural aspects which resonate with several Pacific Island groups.

C17: I'm hooked and you're all gapping it! You know what I love about you fullas - you help to open up conversation to do with tangihanga - that's what you all do. Your program is helping to normalise tangi talk, casket talk, "where are you going to go?", "This is what I've saved up", "We need a whānau tangi fund", "This is where I want to go" conversations. I've heard it quite a few

times, and it's awesome; and it's been because of your fullas honesty and openness about your mahi. So ... we'll see you all again soon.

C18: Ngā mihi kia korua, Absolutely loved the series and really hope that there is more in the making. Your programme gives us a better perspective of the funeral industry and really love how you have a Tikanga focus service. Mauri ora kia kōrua!

C19: Thank you for the shows. You two make all of us proud for all your hard work with all family and love one Malo aupito

C20: I love this programme, professional and unique to the whanau that present the special concept of tangihanga with the utmost respect in maanakitanga cant wait for the next programme.

C21: Ngaa mihi ki a korua mahi rangatira, hei awhinatia I ngaa hunga o te pouri, kirimate me te pouaru. Rire rire paimaarire.

Audience Perspectives of Local Television Programming & Popular Audience Demand for Bilingual Content

A large number of female commentators demanded the show be made into a second series, addressing their focus on *The Casketeers* series coming to an end, comments centred on the shortness of episodes and their anticipation for future seasons.

C22: Loved the show, just too short.

C23: I hope the Producers of this show are thinking seriously of making another series?

C24: don't forget another series

C25: Have so enjoyed the series. I really hope they make a second series

C26: Hopefully another season in the pipeline? Love your show!

Commentators also stated their disappointment with TVNZ 1 and current programmes on offer on local television. This suggests that the series influenced many people's viewing habits, by contributing to their increase in watching local television, which also reveals that a number of New Zealanders are open to seeing more bilingual content on mainstream television channels.

C27: I hope they do another season, this was the best thing on TV.

C28: I agree another season would be great, so good to have something decent to watch!

C29: Why is it ending I look forward to watching this programme every week it's better than some of the rubbish they give us like *7 sharp* it's a repeat of the news. This programme makes you laugh and it's something different!!!
Come on TV 1 make some more episodes@!!

Other commentators who spoke about the show, directed their comments towards reflections on the use of Māori language itself, where one male viewer below noted how the show was a contributor to the change in the shape of mainstream television.

C30: Kia kaha to mainstream TV for producing and supporting Māori programme.

Meanwhile two commentators, one of whom was from a Filipino background, mentioned the show helped encourage their learning of the Māori language and that the show was a platform for Te Reo in the wider media.

C31: I'm loving the great sense of humour of almost everyone and I'm learning te reo in fun way at the same time.

C32: i hope they keep casketeers going on t.v.. it's so funny but also very interesting as its opens a door up for people to get to know stuff we all want to know. In depth use of Māori language is beautiful and a great learning platform, Love love love the casketeers.

One commentator noticed the particular aesthetic appearance of subtitles, meanwhile another viewer appeared perplexed by the appearance of Māori language programming on mainstream television.

C33: Just watched on demand - that was so beautiful!! Even the text font was perfect, nice work!

C34: How come this program isn't on Māori TV?

These final comments above reflect the situation of bilingual media in New Zealand, where it appears viewers are welcome to a change in *TVNZ* programming, as well as local programming schedules in general. Despite only a small number of viewers commenting on the positive use of subtitles to reflect bilingualism and Māori language learning, this suggests viewers highly positive experiences were more predominantly focused on the content and the presenters in the show. The amount of positive feedback on the screening of the television series *The Casketeers*, reveals most viewers have connected on various emotional levels to the themes dealt within this show, suggesting that viewers want more stories focused on Māori perspectives and ones to screen on mainstream television networks. Many commentators have implied that they are aware of a perceptible gap in bilingual media in New Zealand, which in turn means viewers are likely to take notice if something local emerges, especially programming which encourages Māori language use.

Subtitling, The Casketeers and New Zealand National Television: Focus Group Participants' Perspectives and Predictions

Participants in one of the focus groups I conducted were also aware of *The Casketeers*. They were members of the Hamilton Film Society and in the age ranges of 50 to 70 years old. One female participant in particular felt that the subtitles which appeared in the show, added to the meaning of the show as well as reflected the Māori language in an encouraging way. She implied that many viewers, maybe some not so open to bilingual content, were exposed to it and she felt it would make viewers take notice, as well as contribute to an increase in

bilingual media on mainstream television of which she hoped to see more of in the future.

On television on Saturday night, there was a series about an undertaker in Auckland, The Casketeers. That was interesting because they didn't actually subtitle it, but they took words that were used and gave them meaning. [Female, 62 years old]

Like a glossary? [Male, early 50's]

A glossary of things. [Female, 60 years old]

During his speech he would use English and then some Māori words. [Male, 62 years old]

A bit like a glossary instead of subtitles. [Female, 62 years old]

It wasn't a glossary. They would subtitle the Māori words, so if he used 'kai', they would have, 'kai' means such and such. [Male, 62 years old]

It was like a glossary. I liked it. I thought it was a supportive way of helping. You get all the Don Brash [conservative] sort of people who say no. And I thought this was a really elegant way of dealing with it. I thought it was a really proactive thing and good that it was on mainstream television, with a lot of old people watching. They did the same sort of thing with that [Moving out With Tamati]. I felt it was stepping into the future. You could see the way that local television could be going. [Female, 62 years old]

It appears viewers are becoming more receptive to bilingual content, and that a variety of people from different backgrounds and age groups support this type of content on television. However, the next section will deal with a number of social media commentaries provided on the *Facebook* page for the series *Moving out with Tamati*, where a large number of commentators share polarising opinions on accepting the screening of both Māori language media and also subtitled content on mainstream television networks.

Polarisation: The Case of Bilingualism, Subtitling and Moving out with Tamati

Moving out with Tamati (2017) screened on TVNZ1 during October 2017 to December 2017, a television series which presents the lifestyles of New Zealanders moving away from the crowded and expensive capital city of Auckland to smaller cities and towns around New Zealand. The Facebook page for the show received a large number of both positive and negative commentaries and debates around the bilingual presenter, Tamati Coffey, and his use of Māori in certain segments of the mainly English language programme. Many commentators' criticisms, which sometimes were so vehement they became diatribes, centred on the presenter as a propagandist for bilingualism. People also complained that both the appearance of subtitling and the use of the Māori language on mainstream local television hindered their immersion in the show. These negative evaluations were contrasted with statements by a large number of people who positively defended the use of Te Reo and subtitles in this programme. Many comments from each side centred on the wider language policy of New Zealand, debating the significance of conflicting positive and negative representations and outcomes of bilingual media in New Zealand. A total of 106 comments was collected and below I will highlight the main themes around bilingualism, Māori language visibility and local subtitling.

Bilingual Promotion as 'Unnecessary' in Predominant English Language Society & Media

Several viewers believed the show belonged on the Māori channel rather than primetime mainstream television due to its use of the Māori language.

C35: Would be a great program for the Māori channel

C36: Love the idea of the programme but the Māori language is a little too much for this particular programme. It's distracting from the theme and putting me off.

C37: Was looking forward to this show and then Tāmami started speaking. Off to TV3.

In reply: Moving out with Tamati thanks for giving it a go

C38: So what percentage of people speak Te Reo in NZ? As a tax payer we provide funding for a Māori TV channel for this.

C39: Agree with above comments, nothing against Māori language but this is not the programme to show case it, prime TV time, NO.

In reply: Moving out with Tamati thanks for watching

One viewer felt that two separate language versions would be ideal, which suggests that a number of viewers perceive that English and Māori cannot coexist in the media.

C40: Why not record it in both English and Māori? Give the people the choice

C41: I enjoy the program, but it is quite distracting, when they speak Māori. We don't all need to learn Māori.

C42: there are enough Māori channels for those who want them, not mainstream channels at prime time viewing, in my opinion.

C43: I don't understand the bi lingual part of it.

In reply: C44: Yes cannot figure out as well. What's Māori TV for?

In reply: Moving out with Tamati Deon Steyn - read the subtitles

C45: Like the idea of programme but Te Reo no thanks, emphatically no no no.

In reply: Moving out with Tamati While we gather it's not for you, we embrace the everyday use of Te Reo Māori and we are not planning to make any changes to our approach.

C46: The show is okay, but I wish you would stick to English

In reply: C47: I was thinking the same last week, so gave it the flick, we don't need it in two languages.

A number of viewers were outraged that the show aired on TVNZ1, with many citing that Māori television was the appropriate domain for all Māori language content.

C48: also why is this program not on māori tv? mainstream tv, especially prime viewing time, should be in English for the entire English speaking nation who do not enjoy separatist channels

In reply: Moving out with Tamati 80% of the show is in English & we are delighted with the extremely positive response from viewers which is reflected in the show's high ratings.

C49: Along with many friends, we no longer watch this program; reason being, that although we support Te Reo, channel 5 is the Māori channel, NOT channel 1, and it is totally rude to speak in any language, which is foreign to some viewers who are not acquainted with the lingo ... Such a shame, as program would be of big interest to many, but not in this format!!!

Bilingual Promotion as Positive Portrayal of Bicultural Language Heritage

A large number of commentators felt that the show was helpful to promote the Māori language, where most approved of the way the show was bringing Te Reo to mainstream television. Many highlighted that it was done in a positive way and was a useful reflection of the wider New Zealand cultural and language landscape.

C50: Great to see a programme that reflects us. I think it's wonderful that for the first time we have a significant amount of Reo in a mainstream programme. Brilliant and a huge step forward for NZ.

C51: Well we love the show. It's interesting to see the work/life balance these families are gaining by moving. Kai pai Tamati loving the Te Reo as well. After all it's more of NZ on air regardless of the channel.

C52: So awesome to see the show presented in Te reo Māori as well is English. This is New Zealand after all! More of this please TVNZ.

In reply: Moving out with Tamati kia ora - thanks for your tautoko

Other viewers talked about the specific acceptance of language policy in New Zealand, where many mentioned the general stigma around the use of the Māori language in society

C53: I love watching this tv show, i just read an article about how one viewer wants Tamati to stop talking in Te Reo Māori and upsets me as a NZder that people want Te Reo Māori off NZ tv :(what has NZ come to?

C54: Get over it! One land two people! Te Reo needs to be revived. I think this program merges them together perfectly.

C55: Te reo Māori, it's the indigenous language - catch up people.

In reply: Moving out with Tamati kia ora mō te tautoko

C56: I find it sad that instead of celebrating real stories of real kiwis that aren't on some weekly tournament returning to prime-time, many comments seem

to want one of our national languages banished to smaller audiences and seemingly only dusted off for Māori Language Week. This show is about change in subject and delivery, and it's brilliant. 'You can speak your Te Reo, but not while I'm trying to eat dinner' is a little too separatist for me compared to the more inclusive destination I like to think NZ is rowing towards.

C57: Can't believe the negative comments about Te Reo. I am 65, European, lived in NZ all my life 7th generation. This is exactly how it should be done ... also the new morning programme on TV 1 getting it right at last. Kia Kaha.

In reply: Moving out with Tamati & thanks for your positive feedback. Noho ora mai

Two commentators of Māori background were aware of the proliferation of English language media in New Zealand. One of them emphasised that bilingual shows encourage language learning and commitment to learning Te Reo. The viewer believed the show was delivering Māori in a way that was accessible, implying that the use of subtitles aided her in listening comprehension where hearing the language on air is helping familiarise her knowledge of the language.

C58: Māori is the first language then we got English. We can't afford to lose our language. It's great that TV 1 recognises that. Tamati, if you really listen, will help those of you who struggle with Te Reo Māori. I love it as I'm trying to learn too as part of my whanau korero with my mokos who are all Māori speaking in their whare. Deon, Māori TV already is in Te reo. TV 1 has a commitment to provide Te reo to Aotearoa. 4pm Māori News on TV1 Mon to Fri.

Another commentator who was bilingual emphasised that Māori language use in the media should be celebrated, where people should take pride in language acquisition. This in turn implies the attitude that should New Zealand follow the approach of international foreign language media, where she states the positive 'prestige' associated with other countries and speakers in the world who are multilingual.

C59: Like I don't watch programmes all in English. Dumb. Maintaining a monolingual language base is so backward. I love being bilingual. Love to be multilingual ... NZ is prob the only country a person can find monolinguals. I only watch Maori TV Te Reo programmes and the odd bilingual programme...like Tamati's one.

Subtitles as Intrusive: Signifiers of Language Disparities and ‘Cultural Dividers’

Several commentators, while perturbed by the use of Māori language on a predominantly English language network, were also outraged by the use of subtitles on primetime television. A large number of commentators who spoke against subtitles were males and appeared to be monolingual.

One commentator (below) felt the subtitles were disrupting his viewing whilst engaging with other things in his environment. He also questioned the use of both Māori and English in the show, believing they did not integrate into the concept of the show appropriately.

C60: Not a fan of the instant language splits. Trying to watch whilst doing chores and end up missing some dialogue. Why this one and not all other shows?

In reply: Moving out with Tamati all which other shows?

C60: The Bachelor, The Block, the news...any other show. Just don't see why this one has been selected, other than the bi-lingual presenter of course.

In reply: C61: Change the channel in your backwards thinking mind

In reply: C60: If you can read, you can see my first comment said I was trying to watch whilst achieving something else, so was not expecting to have to read subtitles. I have no issue with subtitles, just wanted to know why this program is being given that treatment. Why this show was selected to be bilingual and not other shows on TVNZ.

Another viewer also shared a dislike for the prominence of bilingualism and subtitled media on mainstream television. He even disputed the use for subtitles of any language on local television in New Zealand.

C62: Pity this programme is ruined by so much in Māori with English subtitles on main stream TV. Have tuned out.

In reply: Moving out with Tamati kia ora - 80% of the programme is in English.

C62: We shouldn't have to read subtitles on mainstream TV, irrespective of what language it is.

Many viewers who were against the use of subtitles and Māori language were also questioned by those who felt positively about the show, where they inquired about these viewers inability to engage with subtitles.

C63: It's not all in English so I no longer watch this program

In reply: C64: Why? Can't you read?

In reply: C65: Start reading and listening - you'll pick up some Māori words

C66: Sitting on Saturday night watching prime time public TV; why the hell are we having to read sub-titles? When did we decide that prime time television should be in Māori, with English sub-titles?? No wonder Netflix is exploding!!!

In reply: C67: so what at least there's subtitles. Always a moaner.

In reply to C66: C68: The producers of the show... don't watch it if you don't like it; it's on, so clearly the programmers think most will like it. Also very convenient for those hard of hearing!

C69: whose idea was the subtitles and Māori language?

C70: I don't think that there will be a repeat of this programme. Love the idea, Tamati is great but Te Reo sorry no. The idea hasn't worked. Disjointed, a fabulous idea ruined, such a shame, I was really looking forward to it. Switched off sorry.

In reply: Moving out with Tamati did you also object to Lord of The Rings being bilingual & using of subtitles?

In reply: C70: I didn't see any of the series of movies so I can't comment. As a rule I don't usually watch movies with subtitles.

C49: totally rude to speak in any language, which is foreign to some viewers who are not acquainted with the lingo, despite sub titles being underlined! Such a shame, as program would be of big interest to many, but not in this format!!!

Meanwhile, a few commentators were shocked by the number of negative comments focused on the difficulties many viewers had about having to read subtitles on mainstream television.

C71: People seriously can't handle reading a few lines of subtitles of one of our languages?

One viewer of Māori background disliked the subtitles for different reasons from the commentators above, where she experienced both subtitles and an audio description while viewing the show, and she felt the captions and narration disturbed the presentation of Te Reo.

C72: Hated the captioning over your Te Reo speaking

In reply: Moving out with Tamati the subtitles are translations for people who don't speak Te reo.

In reply: C72: So how are te reo speakers meant to hear the te reo. And they weren't just subtitles, they were audio captions.

One viewer below highlighted how subtitles provide accessibility to positively promote languages, implying that not many languages are subtitled and therefore given equal recognition in the media.

C73: I suppose like any other language you cannot understand has subtitles and some don't they are the ones you should complain about.

Another viewer felt that the subtitles weren't giving her a comprehensive translation of Te Reo used in the show, while another found the subtitles were aesthetically detracting from her immersion in the show due to the colour affecting the legibility of them.

C74: I don't mind Te Reo on this programme, However, Tamati, sometimes it seems you speak Te Reo but then you don't translate it for us who don't understand the language. If we are missing out then (and I hate to miss out lol), and it is only now and again, can you please just give us the English translation? Ta very much. Enjoying the programme by the way, well done Tamati and crew.

C75: Yes I agree English sub-titles annoying with white text on white background one can't even see it.

In reply: Moving out with Tamati We'll take a look at that Diane it should be easier to read.

While a number of commentators felt the use of Māori language disrupted their usual viewing patterns, it is interesting to note that many were totally against the idea of subtitles themselves, even though they were in English and provided to benefit their understanding of a language they were largely unfamiliar with. It appears that a significant number of monolingual New Zealand viewers are opposed to subtitling in general. It can be assumed from the commentaries on subtitles above, that viewers believe subtitles disrupt their immersion in a programme. It is apparent that viewers are aware of the two major stigma attached to subtitles: 1) that subtitles are signifiers of what is foreign and unfamiliar, and 2) subtitles intrude on to the image forcing viewers to work harder to process the content, by having to 'read' rather than watch effortlessly. In conclusion, this reveals that a large number of viewers of local television in New Zealand are largely unaccustomed to subtitling in a local context, where viewers who predominantly view English language programming choose not to engage with subtitled and most likely, even other international language content. It appears that subtitling is also viewed in a negative way when it is used for language revitalisation purposes in the wider media. For instance, subtitles can be tools implicated in ideological and political debates, where governing bodies can draw attention to language policy by supporting a minority language by disseminating it on screen. In this case, the subtitles are letting the language be spoken but also providing a translation into the dominant language.

Subtitles as Helpful Language Promotion Tools Reinforcing NZ Bicultural Identity

A few viewers discussed the use of subtitles in particular as tools to promote Te Reo, where many commentators felt that it helped increase people's awareness of Te Reo as well as reflected bilingualism in a positive way via mainstream media.

C76: Congratulations on such a great show. Loved the story and also the use of Te Reo! What a great way to increase its use and coverage in NZ.

In reply: Moving out with Tamati that's the plan - kia ora for watching.

In addition, another viewer proposed that bilingual media should also be equal in its dissemination of translation, by suggesting showcasing Māori and English subtitles in the same programme.

C77: This is a great concept for a TV program, and Tamati is a great guy and the ideal frontman. However, can someone explain why, when he uses Te Reo we get subtitles in English, but when he speaks in English we don't get subtitles in Te Reo.

In reply: C78: Good point

While one viewer utilised the above viewer's proposition about equal use of subtitles, and watched the show with both intra and interlingual subtitles.

C79: I watched it with English and Māori subtitles. It's so great.

In conclusion, both *The Casketeers* and *Moving out with Tamati* received polarising receptions from New Zealand viewers, particularly the latter series, where many discussed their experience viewing the programmes in ambivalent and contrasting ways. However, in my opinion both shows represent a progressive step in bridging the gap between bilingual media in New Zealand, through television in particular. The convenient nature of this sample of online comments resulted in me selecting participants for my focus groups and surveys who were more favourable to subtitles, where accessing this online discussion shows alternative viewpoints on the purposes for subtitling and how audiences may present conflicting and largely negative critiques towards both the use of language and subtitled media. The discussions above show that audience engagements with subtitled media can vary, where some people can resent making extra effort to comprehend something and that a number of racist attitudes are found among sections of the New Zealand population.

On the basis of the comments published on both Facebook pages, it seems that immersion in each of the television shows produced some form of referential and ideological causes for disruption in viewers' engagement. It is apparent that the surrounding ideological implications that language policy has in New Zealand,

especially when being mediated via subtitles, caused the subtitles to perform as tools to reinforce either people's negative or positive attitudes towards bilingualism. Viewers of *The Casketeers* largely focused on the thematic content and their many emotional experiences with the show, which were all positive experiences. A number of the commentators were also from Māori and Pacific Island backgrounds, approving of the subject being narrated from a Māori perspective, in which the topic of death was shown in a sensitive but light-hearted humour relatable to most New Zealanders. In contrast, viewers of *Moving out With Tamati* mainly focused on the subtitles and Māori language representation of the show, which differed in thematic presentation from that of *The Casketeers*, since it was presented in more of a factual and serious manner. Commentators on *Moving out with Tamati* also appeared to be predominantly monolingual members of older age groups coming from Pākehā backgrounds. Irrespective of positive or negative responses towards the programme, the majority of comments focused on the Māori language use, subtitles and the presenter's background, which suggests no strong engagement or immersive experiences with the thematic content of the programme itself.

Audiences are divided by their conflicting points of view regarding the perceived bifurcation of English and Māori language in certain domains in society. This, in turn, affects their reception of bilingual media and local-subtitled content in New Zealand, where language is a highly politicised thing. It is likely that awareness of bilingual media will become more prominent with an increase in the number of bilingual media products in the future. However, audience responses are complex and there will always be a sense of ambivalence in people's attitudes and patterns of engagement with media, even in relation to my focus topic of subtitling.

Concluding Discussion

A variety of themes have touched upon audience engagement with subtitled media, which shows that three main factors, production, distribution and reception, all in a number of ways, affect the ultimate experience that audiences have viewing subtitled media. The research design first sought to find out what audiences in Hamilton thought of internationally subtitled media, as I was aware of the relatively minimal occurrences of local subtitled content. A survey provided the best route to discover who the initial audiences in Hamilton were, their cultural and language backgrounds, what subtitled content they consume, what media platforms they utilise to view said media, and whether they have experienced two popular translation modes, that of dubbing and subtitling. I contrasted this with creating a screening and focus group session where hearing from the viewers themselves conveyed personalised experiences during both the viewing process and post screening discussions. In total, these methods provided hitherto a picture of local Hamilton audiences' use and gratifications with subtitled media. At the time of the data collection, two locally subtitled bilingual programmes came to my attention.

Investigating further, searches on the local media and translation landscape in New Zealand was mainly non-existent on the surface, and when unearthed, was sorely underrepresented in the media. It was decided that social media could provide an interesting avenue, where it attracts a large number of users. The Facebook pages for *The Casketeers* and *Moving out with Tamati*, produced a number of frustrated users, where several disconcerted users engaged in a number of prejudiced commentaries against language equality and local subtitled media in New Zealand. It was apparent there was a polarisation in peoples' acceptance towards subtitled media in New Zealand. By comparing my sample of participants who were highly predisposed to subtitled international media, with the online commentaries, this revealed an audience which largely opposed local subtitled media, with a few even stating opposition to the idea of subtitles themselves. Utilising three methods, survey, focus groups and online social media

provided a complex picture of the media and audience environment, where this study reveals that media audience methods are a vital and justified approach to seeking out audiences. While AVT Studies, have for decades ignored the audience in relation to translation, and only now are audiences being considered as active participants full of knowledge and awareness engaging in several ways with the translated media content consume, this kind of research is only just beginning. The local situation of audience patterns of engagement with subtitled media in Hamilton, as well as in the broader context of social media and news discourses surrounding subtitled media in New Zealand, has produced a discursive insight into audiences.

As evidenced in these findings, a large number of New Zealand-based participants are open to engaging with subtitled media on a variety of platforms. From attending the cinema to viewing television in the traditional context as well as via online platforms, viewers are engaging with subtitled content on various mediums. Participants in this study mentioned a variety of international media that they consume, where there was also clear differentiations between younger and older viewers, younger participants preferring Japanese Anime and Korean television dramas, whilst older participants from the ages of 40 plus, watched cinema from a variety of countries in Europe and Asia. In the age of online streaming, it is interesting to note that this receives a large number of age groups, many of whom are traditional cinemagoers as well. Viewers have strong preferences for attending the cinema and for online streaming, where the carefully selected range of films offered at the Hamilton Film Society and *NZ International Film Festival* provide audiences with a range of cinema from around the world, while a number of online streaming sites offer an extensive range of global film and television to cater to their subtitling language preferences and suit their entertainment needs.

The participants in my study, both the survey and in the focus-groups, revealed that they are cultural explorers, where participants', whether by travelling to physical places and educating themselves in the languages they encounter, or experiencing the pleasures of immersing themselves in the audio visual encounters of international media, seek out international cultural experiences.

Audiences seek out authentic and uncensored encounters with international media, where subtitling allows them to experience the rich range of audible, vocal and visual elements of film making from other cultures, where subtitles do not totally prohibit the transference of the unfamiliar cultural and lingual elements of a film. Instead they direct the viewer, by bridging the language barrier in mostly subtle ways and by leaving the source culture relatively untouched. In relation to dubbing, although experienced by a number of participants, and for some who came from countries where it is widely used, the majority of viewers preferred subtitled content, because dubbing did not convey the specific cultural, emotional and visual acting cues of a film, nor did it express the richness of the cultures that exist within a range of international cinema.

In spite of the immersive power that subtitling provides for viewers seeking out international media, they were aware that there are some pitfalls which subtitling cannot totally overcome, where some cultural nuances may never be adequately transferred and understood in the target language, and aesthetic irregularities in subtitle placement, textual colour and boldness were prominent factors contributing to hindering their viewing experiences. Viewers debated the inconsistencies in the colour of subtitles and their prominence on the screen, where subtitles could disappear into the background of a scene becoming illegible. Overall, these are small prices to pay, where the other option of dubbing would severely detract from a culturally new and 'accented' immersive experience and learning about the idiosyncrasies of world cultures and stories disseminated via filmmaking from around the world.

Where only a few Hamilton participants in this project were aware of some local instances of subtitled media being on television, most participants were not aware, largely because they consume internationally subtitled media, and overseas English language media via online streaming sites. There are some direct contrasts and divisions of viewing patterns in this study, where participants in this study were all positively acquainted with the use of subtitled media, whilst many of those who were not direct participants in this study but instead commented on social media, were opposed to the use of subtitles, especially when the subtitles

delivered a translation of the Māori language in predominantly English language content. Audiences are aware of implications of language policy in the media, where both Māori and NZ sign language are official languages of New Zealand, but there is resistance to embodying that official status in either a broadcast or online presence and the influence it has on reflecting language policy in New Zealand. Furthermore, this reveals viewers' ambivalence towards Māori language revitalisation which can inform their intentions and decision making regarding the purposes of engaging with or even disengaging from locally subtitled media. This study highlights that subtitled media reception in New Zealand will likely continue to be most prominent in the two already-dominant domains; that of the independent art house cinema, which caters to relatively niche audiences, and online streaming platforms which reach a variety of viewers coming from a large number of ethnicities, age groups and language backgrounds.

The future of locally subtitled media appears *to be in a conundrum* both at government and media operation levels as well as at reception level. In regards to media accessibility, concerns being addressed for the deaf and hard of hearing and the promotion of captioning appears niche and nebulous in regards to official legislation, despite the efforts of the *CWG* and *Able*. Further research into media accessibility and audience reception in New Zealand could explore the range of experiences of viewers of Māori background, as well as Māori language learners' living in New Zealand, to seek out their experiences and responses to bilingual media and their perspectives on indigenous translation practices. Other studies could focus on media accessibility for the Deaf and hard of hearing in order to gain perspectives from these audiences of closed captioned content from New Zealand, as well investigate their use of international media. And what of bilingual and subtitled media landscape in New Zealand? This faces tough opposition, firstly from a predominantly English language media and audience, and secondly, from the continual increase in global media platforms attracting large numbers of viewers.

Audiences appear to have a thirst for international over local. The media landscape in New Zealand is changing like most countries, with global media

becoming more accessible. Because of the abundance of internationally translated content distributed in New Zealand, it is apparent that this is competing with and possibly counteracting more output in the production of locally subtitled content, where our translation industry is relegated to certain domains in society; that of Māori language media and providing accessibility for minority groups such as those who are hearing or sight impaired. This causes subtitled media to struggle to enter mainstream society and reach and target a widespread audience of which local translated media could benefit. But because of pervasive language stigmas surrounding the equality of two of the official languages in New Zealand and audience preferences for internationally subtitled content, the media situation in New Zealand has many complex factors that contribute to the production, distribution and reception of both local and international subtitled media.

References

- Albury, N. (2016). Defining Māori language revitalisation: A project in folk linguistics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 20(3), 287–311.
- Anderson, A., Binney, J., & Harris, A. (2015). *Tangata Whenua: A History*. Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.
- Appadurai, A. (2006). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. In M. G. Durham, & D. M. Kellner (Eds.), *Media and cultural studies: Keywords* (pp. 584 – 603). Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Barclay, B. (1990). *Our own image*. Auckland, New Zealand: Longman Paul.
- Barr, S. & Seals, C. A. (2018): He reo for our future: Te reo Māori and teacher identities, attitudes, and micro-policies in mainstream New Zealand schools. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 17(6), 1- 14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2018.1505517>
- BBC (2018). *BBC Subtitle Guidelines*. Retrieved from <http://bbc.github.io/subtitle-guidelines/>
- Berger, A. A. (2016). *Media and communication research methods: an introduction to qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London, England: Sage.
- Bird, S. A., & Williams, J. N. (2002). The effect of bimodal input on explicit and implicit memory: an investigation into the benefits of within-language subtitling. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 23(4), 509-533.
- Bore, I. K. (2012). Focus group research and TV comedy audiences. *Participations—Journal of Audience and Reception studies*, 9(2), 3-22.
- Brettkelly, P. (Producer), & Brettkelly, P. (Director). (2015). *A Flickering Truth* [Motion picture]. New Zealand: PBK.

- Caimi, A. (2006). Audiovisual translation and language learning: The promotion of intralingual subtitles. *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 6, 85-98.
- Captioning Working Group. (2017). *Submission to the government administration committee inquiry into captioning in New Zealand*. Retrieved from <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO1704/S00268/all-state-of-emergency-broadcasts-need-captioning.htm>
- Casey, A. (2018, January 14). *The Casketeers is an instant kiwi classic*. Retrieved from <https://thespinoff.co.nz/tv/14-01-2018/the-casketeers-is-an-instant-kiwi-classic/>
- Channel 4. (2018). *Channel 4 Subtitling Guidelines*. Retrieved from www.channel4.com/media/documents/corporate/foi-docs/SG_FLP.pdf
- Chaume, F. (2004). Film studies and translation studies: Two disciplines at stake in audiovisual translation. *Meta: Translators' Journal*, 49(1), 12-24. <https://doi.org/10.7202/009016ar>
- Chaume, F. (2013). Research paths in audiovisual translation: The case of dubbing. In F. Bartrina & C. M. Varela (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of translation studies*, (pp. 288 - 302). London, England: Routledge.
- Chaume, F. (2013). The turn of audiovisual translation. New audiences and new technologies. *Translation Spaces* 2, 107-125.
- Chaume, F. (2018). *Part 2: Developments in translation*. (J. Díaz Cintas, Interviewer). [Video file]. Retrieved from http://www.jostrans.org/issue30/int_chaume.php
- Chiaro, D. (2009). Issues in audiovisual translation. In J. M. (Ed.), *The Routledge companion to translation studies*, (pp. 141-165). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cinemas of New Zealand. (2018). *Cinemas of NZ*. Retrieved from <http://cinemasofnz.info/>

- Conrich, I., & Murray, S. (2008). Introduction. In I. Conrich & S. Murray (Eds.), *Contemporary New Zealand cinema from new wave to blockbuster* (pp. 1 – 14). London, England: I.B. Tauris.
- Copland, T. & Giddens, S. 2018, (Winter). *Hearing Matters*. Retrieved from National Foundation for the Deaf website: <https://www.nfd.org.nz/>
- Couldry, N. (2011). The necessary future of the audience...and how to research it. In V. Nightingale (Ed.), *The handbook of media audiences* (pp. 213 - 229). Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons.
- Curti, G. H. (2009). Beating words to life: Subtitles, assemblage (s)capés, expression, *GeoJournal*, 74(3), 201-208.
- d'Ydewalle, G., Van Rensbergen, J., & Pollet, J. (1987). Reading a message when the same message is available auditorily in another language: The case of subtitling. In J. K. O'Regan, & A. Lévy-Schoen (Eds.), *Eye movements: From psychology to cognition* (pp. 313–321). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Elsevier Science.
- Davis, C. H. & Michelle, C. (2011). Q Methodology in audience research: Bridging the qualitative / quantitative 'divide'? *Participations Journal of Audience and Reception Studies*, 8(2), 559 – 593.
- De Linde, Z. & Kay, N. (1999). Processing subtitles and film images, *The Translator*, 5(1), 45-60 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.1999.10799033>
- Dennison, S. (2013). *Contemporary Hispanic Cinema: Interrogating the Transnational in Spanish and Latin American Film*. Suffolk, England: Boydell & Brewer.
- Díaz Cintas, J. (2003). Audiovisual translation in the third millennium. In G. M. Anderman & M. Rogers (Eds.), *Translation today: Trends and perspectives*. (pp. 192 – 204). Sydney, Australia: Multilingual Matters.

- Díaz Cintas, J. (2004). Subtitling: The long journey to academic acknowledgement. *The Journal of Specialised Translation* 1, 50 – 70.
- Díaz Cintas, J. (2008). Audiovisual translation comes of age. In Chiaro, D., Heiss, C. & Bucaria, C. (Eds.), *Between text and image: Updating research in screen translation* (pp. 1-9). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Díaz Cintas, J. (2018). *Part 1: Developments in translation*. (F. Chaume, Interviewer). [Video file]. Retrieved from http://www.jostrans.org/issue30/int_chaume.php
- Díaz-Cintas, J., & Muñoz Sánchez, P. (2006). Fansubs: Audiovisual translation in an amateur environment. *Jostrans: The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 6, 37-52.
- Díaz-Cintas, J., Orero, P., & Remael, A. (2007). In J. Díaz Cintas, P. Orero & A. Remael (Eds.). *Media for all: Subtitling for the deaf, audio description, and sign language*, (pp. 11 – 20). Amsterdam, Holland: Rodopi.
- Dickinson, R. (2013). Weber's sociology of the press and journalism: continuities in contemporary sociologies of journalists and the media. *Max Weber Studies*, 13(2), 197-215.
- Dwyer, T. (2015). From subtitles to SMS: Eye tracking, texting and Sherlock. *Refractory. A Journal of Entertainment Media*, 25, 1 - 23. Retrieved from <http://refractory.unimelb.edu.au/2015/02/07/dwyer/>
- European Society for Translation Studies. (2018). *Promoting research on translation and interpreting*. Retrieved from <http://www.est-translationstudies.org/>
- European Union of Associations of Translation Companies. (2018). *The Objectives of EUATC*. Retrieved from <https://www.euatc.org/about-us>
- Ezra, E., & Rowden, T. (2006). *Transnational cinema: The film reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- French Film Festival NZ. (2018). *NZ French Film Festival*. Retrieved from <https://frenchfilmfestival.co.nz/>
- Gambier, Y. (2008). Recent developments and challenges in audiovisual translation research. In Chiaro, D., Heiss, C. and Bucaria, C. (Eds.), (pp. 11–33). *Between Text and Image: Updating Research in Screen Translation* (pp. 1-9). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Gambier, Y. (2012). The position of audiovisual translation studies. In Millán, C. & Bartrina, F. (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies* (pp. 45 – 59). London, England: Routledge.
- Gillibert, C. (Producer), & Hansen-Løve, M. (Director). (2016). *Things to Come* [DVD].
- Glasshouse Consulting. (2018). *Where are the audiences?* [Research report]. Retrieved from <https://www.nzonair.govt.nz>
- Gottlieb, H. (2005, May) *Multidimensional translation: Semantics turned semiotics*. Paper presented at the Marie Curie Euroconferences MuTra Challenges of Multidimensional Translation, Saarbrücken. Retrieved from http://www.euroconferences.info/proceedings/2005_Proceedings/2005_proceedings.html
- Government Administration Committee. (2017). *Inquiry into captioning in New Zealand* (Report of the Fifty-first Parliament). Retrieved from https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/sc/reports/document/SCR_74810/inquiry-into-captioning-in-new-zealand
- Greco, G. M., Matamala, A., Orero, P., & Romero-Fresco, P. (2016, November). *Mapping Media Accessibility across the World*. Paper presented at 9th NEM Summit NEM Initiative - European Technology Platform Summit Porto, Portugal. Retrieved from https://ddd.uab.cat/pub/presentacions/2016/167131/Orero_NEMSummit_2016_231116_final.pdf

- Hajmohammadi, A. (2004). The viewer as the focus of subtitling. Towards a viewer-oriented approach, *Translation Journal*, 8(4). Retrieved from <http://www.translationjournal.net/journal/30subtitling.htm>
- Hall, S. (1997). Introduction. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 1 - 11). London, England: Sage.
- Hall, S. (1997). The work of representation. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (pp. 13 – 64). London, England: Sage.
- Hall, S. (2006). Encoding/Decoding. In M. G. Durham, & D. M. Kellner (Eds.), *Media and cultural studies: Keywords* (pp. 163 – 173). Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Hansen, A. & Machin, D. (2013). *Media & communication research methods*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heath, S. (1980). The cinematic apparatus: technology as historical and cultural form. In T. de Lauretis, & S. Heath (Eds.), *The Cinematic Apparatus* (pp. 1 – 13). London, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ho, Y. S. (Producer), & Kim, D. (Director). (2014). *A day* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.viddsee.com/video/a-day/d8vgv?locale=en>
- Horrocks, R. (2011). Introduction. A small room with large windows: film making in New Zealand. In D. Pivac, F. Stark, & L. McDonald (Eds.). (2011). *New Zealand film: An illustrated history* (pp. 1 – 27). Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press.
- Ina Global. (2014). *Cinema: the double-edged power of the European Union*. Retrieved from <https://www.inaglobal.fr/en/cinema/article/cinema-double-edged-power-european-union-7686>
- Ivarsson, J. & Carroll, M. (1998). Code of good subtitling practice. Retrieved from <https://www.esist.org/code-of-good-subtitling-practice/>
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York, NY: NYU press.

- Jenkins, H. (2006). Quentin Tarantino's Star Wars?: Digital cinema, media convergence, and participatory culture. In M. G. Durham, & D. M. Kellner (Eds.), *Media and cultural studies: Keywords* (pp. 550 – 576). Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishing.
- Johnston, L. G., & Sabin, K. (2010). Sampling hard-to-reach populations with respondent driven sampling. *Methodological Innovations Online*, 5(2), 38-48.
- Jones, A. (Producer). (2017). Moving out with Tamati – Season 1, Episode 6 [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.tvnz.co.nz/shows/moving-out-with-tamati/episodes/s1-e6>
- Karamitroglou, F. (1998). A proposed set of subtitling standards in Europe. *Translation Journal*, 2(2). Retrieved from <https://translationjournal.net/journal/04stndrd.htm>
- Keown, M. (2008). He Iwi Kotahi Tatou? Nationalism and cultural identity in Maori Film. In I. Conrich & S. Murray (Eds.), *Contemporary New Zealand cinema from new wave to blockbuster* (pp. 197 – 210). London, England: I.B. Tauris.
- Kitzinger, J. (1994). The methodology of focus groups: The importance of interaction between research participants. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 16(1), 103-21.
- Koolstra, C. M., Peeters A. L., & Spinhof, H. (2002). The pros and cons of dubbing and subtitling. *European Journal of Communication*, 17(3), 325-354. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323102017003694>
- Kracauer, S. (1947). *From Caligari to Hitler; a psychological history of the German film*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1927). *Propaganda technique in the world war*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.

- Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1940). *Radio and the Printed Page: An Introduction to the study of radio and its role in the communication of ideas*. New York, NY: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Merton, R. K. (1948). Mass communication, popular taste, and organized social action. In L. Bryson (Ed.), *The Communication of Ideas* (pp. 95 – 118). New York, NY: Harper.
- Lee-Harris, A. (Producer). (2018). *The Casketeers – Episode 1* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.tvnz.co.nz/shows/the-casketeers/episodes/saturday-13-january>
- L'Herbier, M. (Producer) & L'Herbier, M. (Director). *L'inhumaine* [Motion picture]. France: Cinégraphic.
- Mayer, L. B. (Producer), & Von Stroheim, E. (Director). (1924). *Greed* [Motion picture]. United States: Metro Goldwyn Pictures.
- McClarty, R. (2012). Towards a multidisciplinary approach in creative subtitling. *MonTI. Monografías de Traducción e Interpretación*, (4), 133-153.
- McClarty, R. (2014). In support of creative subtitling: contemporary context and theoretical framework. *Perspectives Studies in Translation Theory and Practice*, 22(4), 592-606.
- Michelle, C., Davis, C. H., & Vladica, F. (2012). Understanding variation in audience engagement and response: An application of the composite model to receptions of *Avatar* (2009). *The Communication Review*, 15(2), 106 -143.
- Michelle, C., Davis, C. H., Hardy, A. L., & Hight, C. (2015). Pleasure, disaffection, 'conversion' or rejection? The (limited) role of prefiguration in shaping audience engagement and response, *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 20(1), 1 - 18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877915571407>

- Michelle, C., Davis, C. H., Hardy, A. L., & Hight, C. (2017). Fans, blockbusterisation, and the transformation of cinematic desire: Global receptions of The Hobbit film trilogy. London, England: Springer.
- Mita, M. (1992). The Soul and the Image. In J. Dennis, & J. Bieringa (Eds.), *Film In Aotearoa / New Zealand*. (pp. 36 – 56). Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- Māori Television. (2018). *Māori programming success at 2018 NZTV Awards*. Retrieved from <https://www.maoritelevision.com/news/regional/maori-programming-success-218-nztv-awards>
- Molyneaux, M. (Producer), & Morrison, B. (Director). (2016). *Dawson city: Frozen time* [Motion picture]. USA: Hypnotic pictures.
- Morley, D. (1980). *The 'Nationwide' audience: Structure and decoding*. London, England: BFI.
- Mulvey, L. (1975). Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. *Screen*, 16(3), 6-18.
Retrieved from
<http://theslideprojector.com/pdffiles/art6/visualpleasureandnarrativecinema.pdf>
- Naficy, H. (2001). *An accented cinema: Exilic and diasporic filmmaking*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Neidhardt, I. (2010). Untold stories. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 7(2), 31 – 50.
- Nestingen, A., & Elkington, T. G. (Eds.). (2005). *Transnational cinema in a global north: Nordic cinema in transition*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.
- Nightingale, V. (Ed.). (2011). *The handbook of media audiences*. Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons.
- Nikora, L. W., & Te Awekotuku, N. (2013). Tangihanga: The ultimate form of Maori cultural expression - An overview of a research program. In M. Agee, T.

McIntosh, P. Culbertson, & C. Makasiale (Eds.), *Pacific identities and well-being: Cross cultural perspectives* (pp. 169-173). London, England: Routledge.

Nornes, A. M. (1999). For an abusive subtitling, *Film Quarterly*, 52(3), 17-34.

Noronha, S., & Papoutsaki, E. (2014). The migrant and the media: maintaining cultural identity through ethnic media. In G. Dodson & E. Papoutsaki (Eds.), *Communication issues in New Zealand: A collection of research essays*. (pp. 17 – 37). Auckland, New Zealand: ePress Unitech.

NZ Herald. (2018). Netflix picks up Kiwi television series The Casketeers. Retrieved from
https://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=12153355

O' Hagan, M. (2009). Evolution of user-generated translation: Fansubs, translation hacking and crowdsourcing. *The Journal of Internationalization and Localization*, 1(1), 94-121.

Orrego Carmona, D. (2018). *David Orrego Carmona interviewed by Lucile Desblache on empirical research in translation studies*. (L. Desblache, Interviewer). [Video file]. Retrieved from
<http://www.jostrans.org/issue30/interviews.php>

Orrego-Carmona, D. (2014). Subtitling, video consumption and viewers: The impact of the young audience. *Translation Spaces*, 3(1), 51-70.

Orrego-Carmona, D. (2016). A reception study on non-professional subtitling. Do audiences notice any difference? In *Across Languages and Cultures* 17 (2), 163–181.

Orrego-Carmona, D., Dutka, L., & Szarkowska, A. (2018). Using translation process research to explore the creation of subtitles: an eye-tracking study comparing professional and trainee subtitlers. *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 30, 150 – 180.

- Papoutsaki, E., Kolesova, E., & Stephenson, L. (2014, November). "Are we reaching all New Zealanders?" *Exploring the role, benefits, challenges & potential of ethnic media in New Zealand*. Paper presented at Ethnic migrant media forum 2014. Curated proceedings Auckland, New Zealand. Retrieved from https://www.unitec.ac.nz/eypress/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/ethnic-migrant-media-forum-2014_curated-proceedings_e.papoutsaki_e.kolesova_eds.pdf
- Peacock, C. (2017, October 22). *More Te Reo Māori in the mix on TV*. Retrieved from <https://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/mediawatch/audio/2018617624/more-te-reo-maori-in-the-mix-on-tv>
- Pearson, S. (2005). Darkness and light: Dusky maidens and velvet dreams. *Camera Obscura: Feminism, Culture, and Media Studies*, 20(58), 185-207.
- Pearson, S. (2013). Persistent primitivisms: Popular and academic discourses about Pacific & Maori cinema and television. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 122(1), 21-44.
- Perego, E., Del Missier, F., & Stragà, M. (2017). Dubbing vs. subtitling: Complexity matters. *Target*, 30(4), 1 – 33.
- Perego, E., Del Missier, F., Porta, M. & Mosconi, M. (2010). The cognitive effectiveness of subtitle processing. *Media Psychology*, 13(3), 243 – 273. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2010.502873>
- Petit, Z. (2009). Connecting cultures: Cultural transfer in subtitling and dubbing. In J. D. Cintas (Ed.), *New trends in audio visual translation* (pp. 44-57). Bristol, England: Channel View Publications.
- Pilar, O., Doherty, S., Kruger J.L., Matamala, A., Pedersen, J., Perego, E., ... Szarkowska, A. (2018). Conducting experimental research in audiovisual translation (AVT): A position paper. *The Journal of Specialised Translation*, 30, 105 – 126. Retrieved from https://www.jostrans.org/issue30/art_orero_et_al.pdf

- Pivac, D., Stark, F., & McDonald, L. (Eds.). (2011). *New Zealand Film: An illustrated history*. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press.
- QS Top Universities. (2018). *University of Waikato*. Retrieved from <https://www.topuniversities.com/universities/university-waikato>
- Ramos Pinto, S. (2017). Film, dialects and subtitles: An analytical framework for the study of non-standard varieties in subtitling, *The Translator*, 24(1), 1 – 17. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2017.1338551>
- Remael, A. (2010). Audiovisual translation. In Y. Gambier, & L. Van Doorslaer (Eds.), (2010). *Handbook of translation studies* (Vol. 1., pp. 12 - 17). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.
- RNZ. (2015). *I was beaten until I bled*. Retrieved from <https://www.radionz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/282955/%27i-was-beaten-until-i-bled%27>
- RNZ. (2018). *The Casketeers: putting the fun into funerals*. Retrieved from <https://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/sunday/audio/2018633594/the-casketeers-putting-the-fun-into-funerals>
- Robinson, O. C. (2014). Sampling in interview-based qualitative research: A theoretical and practical guide. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 11(1), 25-41.
- Schauffler, S. F. (2012). *Investigating Subtitling Strategies for the Translation of Wordplay in Wallace and Gromit-An Audience Reception Study* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Sheffield, England). Retrieved from http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/2915/1/Schauffler_Ethesis.pdf
- Schröter, T. (2005). *Shun the Pun, Rescue the Rhyme?: The Dubbing and Subtitling of Language Play in Film* (Doctoral dissertation, Karlstad University, Sweden). Retrieved from <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:6402/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

- Shelton, L. (2008). Foreword. In I. Conrich & S. Murray (Eds.), *Contemporary New Zealand cinema from new wave to blockbuster* (pp. xiii- xiv). London, England: I.B. Tauris.
- Sinha, A. (2004). The use and abuse of subtitles. In A. Egoyan & I. Balfour (Eds.), *Subtitles: On the foreignness of film*. (pp. 172 – 189). Cambridge, MA : MIT Press.
- Slater, C. (2017, October 31). *I don't think these guys have realised they are in government yet*. Retrieved from <https://www.whaleoil.co.nz/2017/10/dont-think-guys-realised-government-yet/>
- Smith, J. (2016). *Māori Television: The first ten years*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Sokoli, S. (2006, May). *Learning via subtitling (LvS): A tool for the creation of foreign language learning activities based on film subtitling*. Paper presented at the Marie Curie Euro conferences MuTra: Audiovisual Translation Scenarios Conference, Copenhagen. Retrieved from http://www.euroconferences.info/proceedings/2006_Proceedings/2006_Sokoli_Stravoula.pdf
- Stark, F. (2011). Into the blue: film making in the early twenty-first century. In D. Pivac, F. Stark, & L. McDonald (Eds.). (2011). *New Zealand Film: An Illustrated History*. (pp. 283 - 309). Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press.
- Stuff. (2012). *TVNZ is axing Teletext*. Retrieved from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/tv-radio/8075955/TVNZ-is-axing-Teletext>
- Stuff. (2018). *Netflix to stream The Casketeers, a show about Māori funeral directors*. Retrieved from <https://www.stuff.co.nz/auckland/108395538/Netflix-to-stream-The-Casketeers-a-show-about-M-ori-funeral-directors>

- Stuff. (2018). *TVNZ makes captions available OnDemand*. Retrieved from <https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/tv-radio/107117911/tvnz-makes-captions-available-ondemand>
- THE World University Rankings. (2018). *University of Waikato*. Retrieved from <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/university-waikato>
- Tuominen, T. (2013). *The art of accidental reading and incidental listening. An empirical study on the viewing of subtitled films*. (Doctoral thesis, University of Tampere, Finland). Retrieved from <https://tampub.uta.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/67927/978-951-44-9008-8.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- TVNZ. (2018). *Teletext service to close next year*. Retrieved from <http://tvnz.co.nz/tvnz-corporate-comms/teletext-service-close-next-year-5291579>
- Van de Vijver, L. (2017). The cinema is dead, long live the cinema!: Understanding the social experience of cinema-going today. *Participations*, 14(1), 129-144.
- Van Lommel, S., Laenen, A., & d'Ydewalle, G. (2006). Foreign-grammar acquisition while watching subtitled television programmes. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 76(2), 243-258.
- Vanderplank, R. (1988). The value of teletext subtitles in language learning. *ELT Journal*, 42(2), 272-281. <https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/42.4.272>
- Venuto, D. (2015, June 5) *The caption writers: How Able brings TV closer to the hearing impaired*. Retrieved from <http://stoppress.co.nz/news/caption-writers-how-able-brings-tv-closer-hearing-impaired>
- Vertov, D. (Director). (1929). *Man with a movie camera / Chelovek S Kino-apparatom* [Video file]. Retrieved from

<https://archive.org/details/ChelovekskinoapparatomManWithAMovieCamera>

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024-1054. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465>

Vincendeau, G. (2000). *Stars and stardom in French cinema*. London, England: Continuum.

Weber, M. (1998). Preliminary report on a proposed survey for a sociology of the press. *History of the Human Sciences*, 11(2), 111–120. <https://doi.org/10.1177/095269519801100207>

Weerakkody, N. (2009). *Research methods for media and communication*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.

Widler, B. (2004). A survey among audiences of subtitled films in Viennese cinemas, *Meta*, 49(1), 98–101. <https://doi.org/10.7202/009025ar>

WikiMedia Commons. (2018). *Example of SDH – non speech information (Charade, 1963)*. Retrieved from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Example_of_SDH_-_non-speech_information_1_\(Charade_1963\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Example_of_SDH_-_non-speech_information_1_(Charade_1963).jpg)

WikiMedia Commons. (2018). *Example of subtitles (Charade, 1963)*. Retrieved from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Example_of_subtitles_\(Charade,_1963\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Example_of_subtitles_(Charade,_1963).jpg)

Zalipour, A. & Athique, A. (2014). Diasporic films and the migrant experience in New Zealand: A case study in social imagination, *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 19(4), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1367877914553725>

Zalipour, A. (2016). Interstitial and collective filmmaking in New Zealand: The case of Asian New Zealand film, *Transnational Cinemas*, 7(1), 96-110.

Zalipour, A., Michelle, C. & Hardy, A. (2014). Modes of engagement among diasporic audiences of Asian New Zealand film, *The Communication Review*, 17(4), 311-335. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714421.2014.960735>

Appendices

(Appendix 1: Survey Information Sheet)



UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

Title of Project:

Help or Hindrance? NZ Audience Perspectives on Subtitled Media

Survey Information Sheet

This research is about what audiences think about film subtitling, focusing on New Zealand citizens and recent migrants living in the Waikato Region. As we live in a visual, digital and mediatised world where people can access forms of local and international media content online, creating media content that global audiences can understand and enjoy is vital.

Subtitling foreign-languages is a popular, cost-effective, method for translating content distributed to English-speaking audiences, (even if their first-language is another language) where the text onscreen hopefully improves viewers' understandings of what is going on in the film. Because subtitling is the dominant form for translated audio visual content imported by New Zealand, understanding audience members' individual language and cultural backgrounds, media consumption patterns and feelings about subtitling will form the basis of this research.

Why you?

This project wants people from different language and cultural backgrounds to comment on their experiences encountering different languages and culture through watching subtitled movies. This part of the research asks you to fill in a

survey about your experiences and opinions of watching subtitled movies. Please access the link to the digital survey provided and submit your responses online. Please post back your paper copy surveys in the stamped and addressed envelope provided.

PLEASE NOTE: While many of you will probably be able to use more than one language, the survey will be conducted in English.

Who is doing the research?

Victoria Kirk is a Masters student from the Screen and Media Studies programme at the University of Waikato. She can be contacted by email: victoriajirk@gmail.com or by mobile: 021 022 93 930. Her project supervisor is Dr Ann Hardy from the Screen and Media department, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, at the University of Waikato, who can be contacted at ann.hardy@waikato.ac.nz or by phone: 07 838 6223

The outcomes of this research thesis will be an online and print publication (a thesis) through the University of Waikato, as well as possible article submissions to academic journals.

Your Choices and Rights

- As a participant you have the choice to remain anonymous. If you choose to remain anonymous, nobody but the principal researcher and supervisor will have access to your real name.
- The data collected from this research will be stored securely on a password protected personal computer for a period of 5 years, after which the data will then be deleted.

If you wish, you may request:

- a summary of the research findings

You have the right:

- To decline to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the project up to three weeks after filling in the survey.

- To ask any further questions about the research that occurs to you during your participation

"This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fassethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240."

(Appendix 2: Focus Group Information Sheet)



UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

Title of Project:

Help or Hindrance? NZ Audience Perspectives on Subtitled Media

Focus Groups Information Sheet

This research is about what audiences think about film subtitling, focusing on New Zealand citizens and recent migrants living in the Waikato Region. Because we live in a visual, digital and mediated world where people can access forms of local and international media content online, creating media content that global audiences can understand and enjoy is vital.

Subtitling foreign-languages is a popular cost-effective method for content distributed to English-speaking audiences, (even if their first-language is another language) where the text onscreen hopefully improves viewers' understandings of what is going on in the film. Because subtitling is the dominant form for translated audio visual content imported by New Zealand, understanding audience members' individual language and cultural backgrounds, media consumption patterns and feelings about subtitles will form the basis of this research.

Why you?

This project wants people from different language and cultural backgrounds to share their experiences and ideas about subtitling. Participants are invited to take part in a focus group of approximately 5 to 10 people and discuss their encounters with subtitles and their experiences of media content after viewing two English-subtitled French and Korean language short films.

PLEASE NOTE: While many participants will be able to use more than one language, the focus groups will be conducted in English.

Who is Doing the Research?

Victoria Kirk is a Masters student from the Screen and Media Studies programme at the University of Waikato. She can be contacted by email: victoriaj Kirk@gmail.com or by mobile: 021 022 93 930. Her project supervisor is Dr Ann Hardy from the Screen and Media department, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, at the University of Waikato, who can be contacted at ann.hardy@waikato.ac.nz or by phone: 07 838 6223

The outcomes of this research thesis will be an online and print publication (a thesis) through the University of Waikato, as well as possible article submissions to academic journals.

Your Choices and Rights

- As a participant you have the choice to remain anonymous. If you choose to remain anonymous, nobody but the principal researcher will have access to your real name.
- The data collected from this research will be stored securely on a password protected personal computer for a period of 5 years, after which the data will then be deleted.

If you wish, you may request:

- a summary of the focus group discussion points
- a summary of the research findings

You have the right:

- To decline to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the project up to one week after the focus group session.
- To ask any further questions about the research that occurs to you during your participation

"This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fassethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240."

(Appendix 3 : Survey Participant Consent Form)

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM – SURVEY

Name of Participant _____

I have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the research project **Help or Hindrance? NZ Audience Perspectives on Subtitled Media**. Any questions that I have relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to three weeks after I have taken part in the research.

Please tick [✓] the box (below) **I agree to:**

Fill in the survey

If you wish to be informed about further ways you can participate in this research, such as being part of a focus group, please tick the box below:

I wish to know more about participating in this research

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my answers and responses, but I give consent for the researcher to use the answers I provide for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [✓] the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
I understand that my identity will remain confidential in the presentation of the research findings.		
I wish to receive a summary of the research findings		

Participant :

Researcher :

Signature :

Signature :

Date :

Date :

(Appendix 4: Focus Group Participant Consent Form)

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM – FOCUS GROUPS

Name of Participant _____

I have received a copy of the Information Sheet describing the research project **Help or Hindrance? NZ Audience Perspectives on Subtitled Media**. Any questions that I have relating to the research, have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions about the research at any time during my participation, and that I can withdraw my participation at any time up to one week after I have taken part in the research.

Please tick [✓] the box (below) **I agree to:**

Take part in a focus group

During a focus group session I understand that I do not have to respond to questions unless I am happy to talk about the topic.

When I sign this consent form, I will retain ownership of my answers and responses, but I give consent for the researcher to use the interview for the purposes of the research outlined in the Information Sheet.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [✓] the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
I wish to receive a summary of the focus group discussion points		
I agree that my answers and comments can be audio-recorded		
I understand that my identity will remain confidential in the presentation of the research findings		

Participant :

Researcher :

Signature :

Signature :

Date :

Date :

Contact

Contact

Details :

Details :

(Appendix 5: SURVEY)

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

Title of Project:

Help or Hindrance? NZ Audience Perspectives on Subtitled Media

Survey: for Audiences of Subtitled Films

Please note: you don't have to answer any particular question if you don't want to.

Name (first and last name or 'anonymous')

..... Age.....

Contact: Email.....

Phone.....

Country of Birth

Nationality..... Gender.....

Ethnicity / Identity.....

What countries have you lived / resided in? (Please name 5 or less)

What countries have you visited (holiday)? (Please name 5 or less)

Did you watch any translated media (film, TV, News online websites) with subtitles (text) or dubbing (voice) **when staying or living there?** Please specify i.e. name one or two (or more) countries or places, and what media content you viewed and what language(s) the content was subtitled, dubbed in.

Do you have an active or passive knowledge of more than one language? I.e. active meaning - you can speak a language and understand it (fluent). Passive meaning - you can understand a language but not speak it fluently. Please specify e.g. "Korean – not fluent I am a beginner, English - Fluent or Native)."

Do you think subtitled films help you to learn a second / or another language?

Please circle what applies to you

Yes

No

Please specify why

What translation method are you more familiar with / have experienced as a viewer?

(Please circle any category that applies)

Subtitling (text)

Dubbing (voice translation)

Do you prefer international films to be subtitled or dubbed (voice)?

(Please circle any category that applies)

Subtitling

Dubbing

In what languages and dialects do you choose / prefer / or are accustomed to watching subtitled content? "E.g. Chinese film with English Subtitles and sometimes a DVD of a Chinese film with Mandarin subtitles as it helps me with learning the language etc."

Please specify

What New Zealand television channels do you watch? (Please circle what applies)

TV One TV Two TV3 Māori Television Rialto Channel Soho
TCM

UKTV Sky Movies (Movies Extra, Action, Classics etc.)

I don't watch TV

Other channels (please specify)

Are you a member of a Film Society? Yes

No

As Māori Television content currently utilises subtitling as a translation method, **would you like to see other local New Zealand content, such as English speaking content, to be subtitled as well?** (e.g. News, NZ films, TV programmes)

Yes No I don't know

If yes, what language options would you like to see content subtitled in?

Do you use closed captioning (subtitles aimed at deaf or hard of hearing viewers) while watching local and international television content in New Zealand?

Please circle what applies to you

Yes No

Please specify why

Do you watch subtitled content online on the web? (I.e. Social media sites and Online streaming sites.)

Please specify where you watch subtitled content online, what genres of content you tend to prefer, name some examples of TV series and films that you watch and their country of origin.

Please name what types of world cinema / which countries' cinema you have a preference for (e.g. Iranian Cinema, Italian Cinema)

How often do you attend the cinema in New Zealand?

- a) Weekly
- b) Monthly
- c) Yearly
- d) Other

(Please specify) -

How often do you watch subtitled films (cinema, online or TV)? Please tick [✓] the option(s) that apply to you.

- a) Weekly
- b) Monthly
- c) Yearly
- d) Other _____

Do you attend? Please tick [✓] the option(s) that apply to you.

NZ International Film Festival

French film festival

NZ Film Society screenings

Other Film Festival (please specify)
