Introduction

Issues regarding ideology and representation in given cultures via translation has been given attention by translation studies scholars such as Andrew Lefevere and Susan Bassnett since the 1990s. Scholars in Taiwan, Hong Kong and China have adopted the concept of “translation as rewriting” from these scholars and started to examine how ideological issues affect textual production in English translated literature circulated locally. However, studies in the field of screen translation concerning ideology and representation are still rare. With the rise of globalization audiences in Taiwan has been able to more easily come into contact with television programs, films, videos, DVDs originating from other cultures and languages. Subtitling and dubbing have become necessary and have played an important role in the translation market. Previous studies have tried to answer the questions of how screen translation strategies can be used to help translators fulfill their tasks as well as what makes a good screen translator. Most of these studies have viewed subtitling as another genre for translator training while others have applied “domestication” or “foreigness” concepts of subtitling of individual movies in order to pinpoint translation problems. Notwithstanding, some important issues remain uncovered in the field of screen translation. As scholars have mainly focused on the ways in which cultural capitalism and cultural imperialism have inspired us, under the ambiguous term of “modernity,” the customs and values brought into the local area via the strong marketing and products offered by transnational companies (TNCs) have largely gone undetected and not been sensed (Tomilinson, 1991, p. 11).

Danan points out that “interlingual subtitling indirectly promotes the use of a foreign language as everyday function while bring in an interest in foreign culture.” (1991, p. 613) O’Connell believes that when dubbing is used there would be much greater scope for censorship or manipulation (2007, p.126). There are advantages and disadvantages of using either way. Different nations intend to adopt different methods for their local viewers. Criticisms have been made of dubbed foreign films, which lack of all of the interesting elements and foreignness of the original films. In Taiwan, all foreign films and programs shown on TV are required to be subtitled. For children’s programs, such as Disney Channel Taiwan, both subtitling and dubbing exist for audiovisual programs for youth and pre-school children. A great amount of cartoons and TV programs targeting young 1

children are imported from the U.S. and Japan. As a result, audiences in Taiwan have perceived foreign cultures through translation. Under this context, subtitle translators are given both a certain authority and constraints, and most importantly play a role as a mediator. Most dubbed versions adopt the translated texts from subtitle translations and revised them accordingly. Whether choosing domesticating or localizing (Venuti, 1995, pp.19-20), translators for screen translation no longer follow the grace of invisibility. Their strategies and roles seem even more significant and worthy of discussion, especially when considering what they do may involve possible conflicts against the strong ideology of Western modernity.

Disneyfication brought about by globalization has created great impacts on nations in the East since the 1980s due to its strong media power and successful marketing. Movies and cartoons have been welcomed by local markets, and so have the Disney-labeled products. Disney channel was introduced to Taiwan in 1995 and has provided family-oriented programs and cartoons and brought the images of Americans to the local audience. However, Disney’s cultural products have been introducing images, stereotypes and values of its own long before the establishment of the channel. The channel gives the company more market share, and meanwhile grants more power to reach the public on a daily basis. TV programs from Disney Channel in Taiwan targeting young children formed images and representations of identity and alterity of the West (mainly the Anglo-American world). These images and values are transformed into local cultures via translation. This study aims to explore how subtitle translators adopt their translation strategies which are due to social, economic and cultural factors, resulting in a representation of Disney in the local culture.

Disneyfication

Over the decades, globalization has brought up the world as a giant community. While studying the development of the global economy, scholars proposed ideas of McDonaldization, Toyotaism, CocaColaization or Disneyfication in order to re-examine the value systems brought to nations. While globalization brings homogeneity, it annihilates diversity and local variety. Roberston encouraged rediscovering the “local,” for fear that the dominant value systems will outweigh the others (1994, pp.33-52). Critics of globalization have aimed at “the cultural fallout of the hegemony of specific languages or cultures” (Cronin, 2003, p.52). As Bauman warns us, “anxiety and audacity, fear and courage, despair and hope are born together. But the proportion in which they are mixed depends on the resources in one’s possession.” (2001, pp.112)

Disneyfication was once introduced to indicate a process of sanitization and Americanization of classic folk and fairy tales. Steve Watts has studied Disney’s style and argues that “Disney drew from modernism modified by realism, or an aesthetic hybrid that he calls ‘sentimental modernism’.”(Wasko, 2003, p.113) Postmodern studies of the theme parks refer to “Disneyfication” as involving landscape planning. Other studies examine gender roles in Disney’s simplified
version of literature, representation of race, its contributions to American popular culture, and perception of the world. The study adopts a broader definition of Disneyfication and sees it as the strong dose of all-American ideology and value systems proposed by Disney Company and its products.

Disney Channel is an American basic cable and satellite television network, owned by the Disney-ABC Television Group division of the Walt Disney Company. It has focused on family entertainment, targeting children of all ages and their parents. Disney Channel, with the strong support of its movie industry, produces popular TV programs such as Disney Channel Original Series. The channel has expanded worldwide. Disney Channel Taiwan was launched in March 1995 as a Chinese feed of Disney Channel in the UK. All programs on Disney Channel Taiwan are broadcast with Mandarin dubbing and/or subtitles, with original voice in a Second Audio Program. It is also the first and the most popular channel for children. A. C. Nielsen indicated the channel occupies the leading market share among Cable TV viewers aged 4 to 14. According to Taiwan’s Radio and Television Act, all foreign-language programs must carry Chinese subtitles or be broadcast with Mandarin narration. Popular sit-coms such as *Lizzie McGuire, That's so Raven, Hannah Montana*, and *The Suite Life of Zack & Cody* have enjoyed great popularity and rating thanks to Chinese subtitles and dubbing. Quite a number of families in Taiwan choose to watch the programs without dubbing for the purpose of learning English. Both the dubbed and subtitled versions of Disney films have been offered in cinemas while they are showing for better viewing results, and the local audience are used to choosing the versions they prefer. Though English is not an official language in Taiwan, it is currently taught from elementary school to college. Most families in Taiwan enjoy the shows because they consider Disney’s products as harmless and entertaining. This is consistent with the result of Wasco’s study which revealed that over 93 percent of the respondents agreed that Disney promoted fun and fantasy and over 80 percent agreed on portrayal of the themes of happiness, magic and good over evil (2001, p.334).

Situation comedies are seen as a part of American pop culture, commonly seen among TV programs, yet they were rare in Taiwan before the 1980s. American sit-coms such as *Friends* have enjoyed great popularity among younger audiences since being introduced to Taiwan in the 90s. As mentioned earlier, in Taiwan there was no particular channel aiming solely at children, let alone situation comedies available for children to view. Disney’s sit-coms are seen as fun and educational because their content focuses on how children deal with occurrences in their daily lives and eventually resolve those problems and obstacles. The producers of Disney’s animated films admitted that they tend to simplify the stories and leave a simple moral (Hasting, 1993 p. 93). Stories of sit-coms often reveal optimism, individualism and desire for happiness and love. Overall, justice will prevail. The Disney universe is considered by Real as an example of mass-mediated culture, in
which meaning is structured as a semiotic system, “fixing reality both by receiving and transmitting dominant patterns of perception, structure personal values and ideology” (1977, p. 84). Real believes that Disney is not value-free, and has definite effects on individuals and the social system. He also proposes hypotheses; namely, Disney attracts participants into mass-mediated utopian typifications, and instructs through morality plays that structure personal values and ideology. The delocalization in recent decades has reinforced our belief that the “American way of lifestyle” is our everyday lifestyle. In today’s societies, media are central for production, reproduction and transformation of ideologies that represent the social world through images and concepts. Therefore, they influence the representation, interpretation and understanding of the society (Hall, 1995, pp. 81-84).

**Subtitling and dubbing in Taiwan and studies**

The present study reviewed studies relating to subtitling and dubbing in Taiwan, and in the meantime closely examined subtitling translation practices of one popular TV show (3 seasons of *The Suite Life of Zack & Cody*, 87 half-hour episodes) on Disney channel in Taiwan. The examined shows were first broadcasted on TV in Taiwan from 2009 to 2010 on TV. Rerun series have appeared on the channel occasionally.

Connell points out that higher-educated audiences accept subtitling but sometimes criticize the quality and question the correctness of subtitle translation, especially of those related to cultures, customs, jokes, and marked words (2007, p.128). On the other hand, with a dubbed program, the audience has no information about the original content and choose to believe the dubbing artists’ interpretation of the original films or programs. As a result, translators (dubbing artists) are given more authority and freedom in translating. Generally speaking, dubbing is seen as a form of *domestication* while subtitling with original sound maintains the foreignness of the content. Interestingly, for Disney in Taiwan, neither domestication nor localization but rather marketing is the main concern of translation. Most Disney animated films (especially after 2008) while showing provide both versions to allure different groups of viewers to the cinema. In other words, audiences in Taiwan could be divided into two groups and each is used to choosing their favored way to view the films. Disney animated films often succeed in Taiwan, and many have gained profits in the box office. With the same viewing habits, television audience in the area are used to tuning into the original voices.

Previous studies on screen translation in Taiwan aimed at providing translation training, and thus examined subtitling by adopting linguistic approaches. Some extend their researches by introducing cultural issues, and emphasize the importance of spotting cultural differences in order to provide better communication (Hu, 2008; Tzai,2008; Huei, 2009). Huang observed and categorized translation strategies adopted by translators in Taiwan into four types: (1) direct translation: literal translation; (2) intervention: eliminating cultural terms
not used in local culture; (3) interpreted translation: explanation; and (4) mix-interpretation: translators create neologisms to make the subtitled films or programs more interesting (2007, pp31-34). With these strategies, translators’ creations of hybrid languages promoted the programs to be widely accepted by the local audience. Though subtitling and dubbing give translators a certain amount of freedom, translators still have to abide by the restriction of the plot and the sound. These studies may provide a certain degree help for the training of subtitle translators. However, they can’t be seen as a quality assessment of screen translation, but rather were often drawn by objective observation or proposed different classification of translating strategies.

A recent study focusing on comparison between different versions of subtitles of films and programs from Taiwan and China attempted to identify the basic norms adopted in Chinese fan-subbed (fan-subtitled) versions of American program series and those in officially published episodes in Taiwan (Szu-Tu, 2010). The result of the study, consistent with several ones done by scholars in mainland China, identified characteristics in Chinese fan-subbed versions not found in the official version, including: the use of comments and zero-translation; a tendency towards domestication; and a higher translator visibility. Other studies found that fan-subbed American sitcoms or series tend to emphasize the entertainment effect and use a great many popular and colloquial words. However, these couldn’t be seen as a standard to judge which versions of subtitling are appropriate or acceptable but rather reflect what current trends exist in screen translation.

Hatim and Mason (1997) propose a different approach toward screen translation because the purpose of subtitling is different from that of the other types of text translation. The audience relies on the subtitling as an assisting tool to understand what they see on the screen. It is more meaningful to examine what values or symbols are eliminated or reinforced rather than comparing the original texts and translated ones. Based on this theory, the study aimed to explore what values or ideologies were brought to the audience under translators’ strategies.

**Disney’s ideologies and subtitling**

Disney in Taiwan has enjoyed satisfying ratings after it was first established in 1995. The majority of the shows are cartoons. All the programs are subtitled and dubbed (except for *The Good Times Between Classes*, the Chinese version of *As the Bell Rings*; it is a Chinese adaption of the Disney Channel Italy Original Series *Quelli dell’intervallo*). According to one study, parents asked the Department of Information of Taipei City Government to allow the cable TV channel to broadcast programs in English so that they could help their children learn English while watching Disney’s programs. The same study revealed that elementary school children liked to watch Disney after class, and their favorite were cartoons and TV series (Huang, 2002).

Disney’s sit-com *Zack and Cody’s Suite Life* was broadcast on Disney Taiwan
Channel from March, 2007 till 2008, and its spin-off *The Suite Life on Deck* was on from 2008 to 2012. The series, created by screenwriters Danny Kallis and Jim Geoghan, follows the current aesthetic of generic hybridization in US TV and combines the conventions of teen-comedy. The sitcom is said to be the second highest rated show on the Disney Channel, right behind *That's So Raven*.

The audience of the show in Taiwan could choose to view the series with Mandarin dubbing and/or subtitles, or with original voice in the Second Audio Program. The series is set in the Tipton Hotel in Boston and centers on Zack and Cody Martin, troublesome twins, who live at the Tipton Hotel and go to elementary school. The stories are mainly about the twins, their mother and hotel staff. The twins live with their divorced mother, a performer in the hotel lounge, and their suite life (sweet life), showing a “happy” plot full of Disney’s fantasy. Chinese translation of the title of the show as *Luxury Life of Zack and Cody*, though unable to reflect the sound effect of “suite” as “sweet”, still expresses the wealthy and Americanized life style of the characters. It is said that the series has won many awards in the United States and is seen as interesting and fun. Still some issues of racial and ethnic representation and stereotypes in the series were criticized (Dennis, 2009, p. 179).

‘Disney’s racial representational strategies have shifted or evolved over time; the result is that contemporary Disney is seemingly no longer open to charges of overt racism or over-reliance on stereotypes. Instead, the new Disney, both television and movies, reflects a shift to the politics of colourblindness – an evolution from the “presence of absence” (*Lizzie McGuire* [2001-2004], *Hannah Montana* [2006-2011]) through a targeted race-specific format (*That’s So Raven* [2003-2007], *Corey in the House* [2007-2008], *The Cheetah Girls* [2003]) to the new Black Best Friend format. While many Disney Channel shows are notable for their inclusion of main or supporting characters of colour…such representation, idealised as colourblind, instead works to locate those characters in stereotypical roles that disenfranchise, not empower, the groups represented (Turner, 2012, pp. 127-128).

Other studies targeting Disney’s racial-ethnic imagery and gender bias can also be found in media studies (Wasco, 2003). As Disney is bringing multicultural elements to its movies, it brings its special portrayals of race and often racial stereotypes. Films such as Pocahontas, Aladdin, or Mulan are important examples. As Wilson and Gutierrez suggest, stereotypes are oversimplified concepts or beliefs. These continuing stereotypes in gender, race, age and sexual orientation may cause problems (Towbin, et al., 2004).

As mentioned above, subtitles are required for TV programs in Taiwan even
with dubbing. Dubbing artists perform their tasks abiding by the translated scripts with a little authority to change the scripts (the dubbing artists often chose colloquial mandarin or catchwords to increase the humor or for lip sync). Therefore, subtitling plays a more deciding role and is the focus of the study.

**Name translation**

One important function translation plays for the comedy is name-translation for characters, for naming a character gives general impression and character forming. Different studies have proposed disagreement on how to translate names of characters’ in children’s literature. Yamazki (2002) argued against replacing foreign names with familiar ones for the change deprived child readers of the chance to realize the cultural diversity, whereas Puurtinen (1995) suggests the readability should be considered to avoid linguistic barriers created by foreign names or unusual phonological sequences or rare spelling.

The translation for characters’ names in the *Suite Life of Zack and Cody* applied a mixture of domesticization and foreignization. In fact, this strategy is applied in almost all the shows on Disney Channel. For the leading roles, two young boys, Zack and Cody, are translated into more likely a local name xiǎo chá and kòu dì, indicating they can be anyone of the boys in Taiwan. For London Tipton, a name and personality parody of celebrity heiress Paris Hilton and played by Asian actor Song, was translated into Miss Lán (as Orchid in Chinese). As for the character of Esteban, an immigrant who converses in a thick Latino accent, it was kept as the literal translation, indicating a foreign character. Several stereotypes come through with these characters. Esteban provides comic relief for the characters in the show through his foolish antics. Although Esteban reveals something about Disney’s attitudes towards race, it is through London Tipton that these attitudes become more evident. In the Western world, Song’s Asian heritage is never foregrounded, suggesting Disney’s attempt to promote “colorblind” (Turner, 2012, p. 127). Main characters in the show can be seen as bringing the stereotypes of Disney (Table 1). Translations of names somehow reinforced the closeness and distance to the audience in Taiwan. *The Suite Life of Zack and Cody* targeted middle school children and their families. The show, functioned as children’s literature, provided entertainment and knowledge of foreign cultures, specifically popular youth culture from the United States.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English name</th>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>Chinese translation</th>
<th>Meaning in Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zack Martin</td>
<td>typically the unstudious, outgoing, and often lazy twin</td>
<td>xiǎo chá 小查</td>
<td>Common nickname for a young boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cody Martin</td>
<td>an intelligent and thoughtful character</td>
<td>kòu dì 寇弟</td>
<td>Common nickname for a young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London Tipton</td>
<td>a name and personality parody of celebrity heiress Paris Hilton. A spoiled young girl living in her adult-free penthouse, not very smart.</td>
<td>Miss Lán 蘭小姐</td>
<td>Taiwanese boy di= brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maddie Fitzpatric</td>
<td>a teenage candy-counter girl at the Tipton Hotel</td>
<td>mài dì 麥蒂</td>
<td>Literal translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Marion Moseby</td>
<td>the uptight African-American uptight manager of the Tipton Hotel. He is probably more of a father to London Tipton than her own, who is seldom around.</td>
<td>Mò sī bǐ 莫斯比</td>
<td>Literal translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esteban Ramírez</td>
<td>an immigrant who converses in a thick Latino accent; works as a bellhop</td>
<td>A sī tè bān 艾斯特班</td>
<td>Literal translation with no meaning in Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arwin Quentin Hawkhauser</td>
<td>a wacky 34-year-old Greek-American inventor who works as an engineer for the Tipton; clumsy and childlike</td>
<td>ā wén 阿文</td>
<td>A common Taiwanese name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muriel</td>
<td>the hotel housekeeper, who is good-natured but lazy</td>
<td>Méi dà shěn 梅大嬸</td>
<td>Aunt Mei ; Mei=plum in Chinese</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study found several pairs of polar characters presented in the series. For example, rich but stupid hotel heir is the contrast of poor but smart candy-counter girl. Whereas one of the twins is intelligent and thoughtful, the other is the polar opposite, an un studious, outgoing, but often lazy and straight D student. This could be seen as disneyfication of reality, which emphasizes simplified facts and erases...
What can subtitle translation do to Disneyfication?
Department of Foreign Languages and Applied Linguistics

Differences while giving the audience simple morals. Moreover, the content of the show often centers on providing entertainment by mocking the characters’ behaviors and actions. The rich ones were always stupid and not happy, while the poor were happy and admired. The description of the hotel staff also reflects class stereotypes. For example, the plumber, the maid, and the bellhop were un-educated, lazy and the target of mockery while the manager was the smartest one who had to solve the problems the staff brought to the hotel. It is also worth emphasizing that Disney’s “exotic” elements in this specific sit-com are treated as entertaining. London, played by an Asian actress, was never described in the show as being of Asian descendent but as the daughter of a rich American entrepreneur while Esteban always was mentioned by his long Latin American family name.

The mixture of domestication and foreignization translation adopted by the translators did not actually neutralize racial differences, yet served to reinforced the stereotypes of the characters. The domesticating strategies allowed the audience to believe that Zack and Cody are just like any boy in Taiwan. Nevertheless, it is still dangerous for the audience to identify with the main characters and see the other ethnic groups as Disney sees them. Fujioka’s survey concluded that media could affect one’s impression of other races when direct information is limited (1999, p. 52). While London Tipton in the show is played by an actress of Asian decedent and given a name similar to one of the rich and famous in the local area, Esteban, the Latino immigrant, remained a foreigner from Latin America. Therefore, the strategy of translating names gives an ambiguous image of diverse ethnic groups from an American’s perspective. The translation of names for the sitcom series unavoidably brings the values of Disney into the world of the youth in Taiwan.

Dilemma of cultural filtering and intervention
This study found that the subtitling of each episode might be done by different translators, but mostly abided by the strategies as categorized as a mix of literal translation and explanation. Interruption or elimination was seldom found because dialogues and monologues played important roles to connect the plot and could not be deleted without confusing the context. The study also found that no episodes were omitted in the three seasons. Nevertheless, the study found instances of translators’ interventions. These were employed to make the content familiar to the audience and provide humor and entertainment that was deemed as important in translation. Therefore, ‘explicitation’ was sometimes adopted in translation. While rendering the meaning of the original lines, humour and colloquial expression were also looked upon.

The following are some examples of how subtitle translators performed their

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2 Explicitation is the technique of making explicit in the target text information that is implicit in the source text; Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies; Eds. Mona Baker, Gabriela Saldanha. 2009
In the episode Boston Tea Party, Esteban was taking the test to become an American citizen to fulfil his American dream. While some of the characters in the show help him prepare for the test, London Tipton once again revealed her lack of knowledge of the United States, her own country. Here’s the conversation.

Esteban: I am taking the citizen test of the United States, all 13 of them.

Maddie: There are 50 states.

Esteban: I need a new pamphlet (carrying an old handbook covered with dust).

Maddie: I’ll quiz you. Who is the first president of the United States?

London: I know,… he chopped a cherry tree. Don’t tell me.

Esteban: Oh, He is George Washington.

London: NO, it is not it.

Maddie: The guy on the one-dollar bill.

London: They make one-dollar bill? (Chinese back translation of the subtitle: There is a man on the bill?)

Since Washington was not on the note of the Taiwan dollar bill, and there is no one-dollar bill in Taiwan, the translator had to make a variation and still keep the humor. The Chinese subtitle translation only varied the sentence as “There is a man on the bill?” giving the same result of mocking the two characters, Esteban and London.

In the same episode, after passing the exam, Esteban said, “I am now the citizen of these 50 States.” London still insisted that there were 51 states. Maddie said to London, “You are lucky to be born here, although your hair is a little foreign.” The Chinese subtitle faithfully revealed the irony and mocking of the ignorance of London and at the same time expressed Disney’s ethnocentric ideology.

The mocking of Esteban never ended in the show. In the episode Pilot Your Own Life, Esteban tried to get rid of his Latino accent. (In the dubbed version, Esteban spoke standard Mandarin, and subtitles could not emphasize this.) In this episode, the Chinese version chose to show a slightly Taiwanese accent for Esteban’s Latino accent. Esteban learned from a teacher from Texas who eventually became a laughing stock. Esteban imitated his teachers’ Texan accent and made everyone laugh. The translator chose a dialect spoken by a certain local group in Taiwan. This strategy neutralized Disney’s stereotype of Texans having a stronger accent, but still created another stereotype of viewing a particular Taiwanese group who have a mainlander’s accent instead of a Taiwanese accent.

The similar stereotype was found in episodes featuring twin girls from the U.K. They speak in quite a posh in a British accent and are admired by Zack and Cody. Their rather naïve but Barbie-like looks (they later became models in the Zack and Cody on the Deck) could be assumed as another image of the British

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3 Texan accent could be seen as a mocking effect in some American TV programs.
from the American’s point of view and Disney’s portrayal of glamorous youth. Their strong British accents were not particularly shown in the dubbed versions, and their way of speech can’t be translated.

It seemed that subtitle translators could not but choose to translate most of the content without eliminating the stereotypes or ideologies in the show due to their faithful and/or localization strategy. Occasionally, they did censor the content they thought improper. In episode Maddie Checks In, Maddie, the blond poor candy girl, lied to a boy who she has a crush on. Maddie told the boy and his family that she was rich and stayed in the presidential suite in the hotel. The mother of the boy was rich but snobbish and said,

“Why don’t we finish the dinner your father paid for, and then come back here to see the tree Jason likes and enjoy the desert delivered by that cute Latin boy I like?”

The Latin boy here referred to Esteban. The translators chose not to translate the last sentence, and probably thought this remark was bad for children. The censorship carried by the translators happened in the show, indicating translators were aware of their duties and sometimes given a certain right to intervene.

Besides the above examples, the study found out that for the lexicons, phrases or plots involving special cultural issues, translators tried to use localization strategies to increase the entertainment effect and understandable words and phrases for a child audience. For example, when Cody got his report card and failed his English class, the translators translated the subject as “national language” (Chinese in Taiwan) to make the audiences share the feeling of Cody. In Taiwan a lot of children do not do so well in Chinese language, a very important subject. Also, all the currency and measurement was converted into that used in Taiwan, so children would mostly feel close to the situations and not experience distance from the world on TV. However, child readers thus were deprived the chance to realize the wealth of cultural diversity that surrounds them. Translators’ intentions of providing easy access to the show may hinder their audience to generate questions toward their international counterparts and provide a perspective into another culture.

One good example is the episode *Boston Tea Party*. In the dream of Zack, the main characters traveled through time to the historical moment of 1775 and witnessed Americans’ fight for independence. The whole situation was foreign to Taiwan audiences. There were many historical and cultural meanings in the show. The town crier was a special figure in the show, and he reported news using rhymes, saying while crying “Nothing going right. My cow won’t ripe, and my wooden teeth have termites.” Even with literal translation, the mocking of the town crier was lost in translation, and so were cultural differences. Translators could not provide enough information for the audience for the content because they were not familiar with American history. The result was the audience could only laugh with the joyful and hallucinatory plots and thought that the character Zack was just like
a local child, hating studying history. The simple moral of Disney and the stereotypes continued through translation. The strategy translators tend to use to give the audience easy access to the show and characters’ experiences did shorten the distance between the audience and the show, and meanwhile make the values and Disney’s mainstream thoughts blend into the locals’ minds.

As mentioned above, no episodes are eliminated and translators hardly eliminated any of the content. In other words, self-censorship was not an issue for programs on Disney Channel. That is because Disney itself has noticed that their target audiences are children and young adults. Most of the time, the programs for children try to educate the audiences via funny plots and interesting stories, such as the episodes about the Boston Tea Party and others. However, the inherent cultural issues enhanced the difficulty of translation.

It’s hard for the audiences in Taiwan to appreciate this kind of content. However, blaming the translators was never the intention of the study.

**Conclusion**

Globalization has been interpreted as turning “the world as more uniform and standardized through a technological, commercial and cultural synchronization emanating from the West” (Reberton, 1994, p.31). The accepting cultures bear some responsibility for this standardization. Disney Channel in Taiwan takes part in the everyday life of the audience via the power of mass media and has become more and more popular. Meanwhile, translation bridges the divide between the local world and Disney’s with the “domestication,” “localization” or “hybridizing” translation strategies. Both the dubbed versions and the subtitled versions were confined to the above strategies solely for marketing purposes, which was to allure even larger audiences, without knowing the possibility of enhancing the ideology and stereotypes in Disney’s world.

Tomilison pointed out those who studied cultural capitalism criticized the “imperialist nature of the values ‘concealed’ behind the innocent, wholesome façade of the world Walt Disney,” providing evidence of cultural imperialism (2001, p.41). The study follows this idea and proposed to pay more attention to the cultural impact of media texts. “TV remains a decisive arena in which struggles for representation, or more significantly, struggles over the meaning of representation, continues to be waged at various levels of national politics, expressive cultures and more authority” (Gray, 2004, p.xvi), yet it is not easy to evaluate the actual perception of children’s consequences of viewing TV or certain programs. However, studies on television and the social construction of reality have found correlation between the two.

The present study examined the subtitle translation of a popular youth sitcom on Disney Channel Taiwan using the *Sweet Life of Zack and Cody* as the research subject, and found that subtitle translators did have certain authority to rewrite the original content. Despite that, their main concern was more about marketing and
entertainment. For these reasons, they unavoidably neglected some important issues such as ideology and stereotypes brought by Disneyfication.

Many studies on the translation of children’s literature have been conducted and the number is increasing. Yet, few focused on translated (subtitled or dubbing) TV programs viewed by children. Media studies have suggested the accumulated experience (of media exposure) contributed to cultivation of children’s values, beliefs and expectation and could later influence their adult life (Huntemann and Morgan, 2001 p. 311). In Taiwan, many TV programs for children come from other countries (mainly from Japan and the United States; few come from the U.K.). These programs serve as entertainment and in the meantime function as children’s literature in some way. The study proposed adopting a similar angle to view the programs as translated children’s literature. Thus, we should look upon the role of the translators (or even the dubbing artists) and put more emphasis on the strategies of translating these programs.

Venuti’s domestication refers to “an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bring the author back home,” with the original intention to warn us of the aggressive monolingual cultural background such as Anglo-American culture. Meanwhile, “domesticating” or “localization” adopted by local translators in subtitle translation to entertain the local audience and neutralize the foreignness of Disney’s cultures may not be proper in some ways. Despite this, the fact remains such a strategy effectively allures more viewers to watch the shows, and resolves the resistance of the audience to accept the Western style of lifestyle and ideologies. Here I would like to suggest that subtitle translators for the shows on Disney Channel adopt the “foreignization” strategy and give the translated shows some foreign touch. As the translated children literature that provides children with a chance to notice and further learn about cultural diversity, the translated TV sit-com should do the same. The purpose of the study is also to appeal to the people who care about the development of subtitle translation that not only is it important to pay attention to how to translate but also what to translate.

The study is an attempt to point out the possibility that certain simplified, ethnic related and social-cultural stereotypes and ideology could spread out to audiences in Taiwan via translation and globalization. The result of the content analysis on the series may not apply to other shows on Disney Channel, but the finding showed subtitle translators most often adhered to American values while adopting the localization strategies of translation. Subtitle translators and dubbed actors should be aware of the possible consequences and given more authority when involved in the translating process. Future studies could be done to focus on the perception of children’s viewing Disney Channel shows via translation.
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