

Electoral Slogans in Jordan: A Translational and Political Analysis

Dr. Bakri Al-Azzam

Associate professor
Hashemite University / Jordan

Dr. Amin A. Al-Azzam

Assistant professor
Al-albayt University/ Jordan

Rasha Khalil

Ruba Taiseer

Abstract

Electoral slogans have been widely used in Jordanian streets since the beginning of the democratic life in the kingdom in 1989. One of the goals of such slogans is to attract people's attention and thus encourage them to vote. It should be pointed out that not enough studies have been linguistically and translationally conducted on Jordanian political slogans. Therefore, this study stems its significance of possibly being one of the first studies that are accomplished in this field. The main aim of the study is to investigate the various perspectives of Jordanian electoral slogans; i.e. the cultural, political, social, linguistic and translational viewpoints that the slogans resemble. The slogans will be thoroughly and deeply analyzed in this study by shedding light on the translational problematic areas that translators and translation scholars alike encounter when dealing with such a field of study. The socio-cultural, political, linguistic, religious, and translational dimensions of the slogans will be discussed in order to trigger the translation challenges of Jordanian political slogans.

Key Words: Election, slogans, political dimension, social dimension, cultural dimension, inadequacy, translation, problems.

1.0 Introduction

In his book, *Democracy*, Harrison (1995:2) maintains that *democracy* is a Greek word meaning 'rule by the people'. This implies that participation of society members is crucial for the benefit of their state and elections. As Davide Cadeddu explains, the enlightened force of the nation determines the path of its political future, either to guide it towards its emancipation or to drag it into hollow illusions (2012:40-42). In order to ensure democracy, democratic elections are held to select decision makers since its early start in Ancient Greek. Being well-established in Europe and America, democratic elections have begun to take place later in Africa and the Middle East (Andersen 2012:1). As for the Middle East, Jordan is considered one of the leading countries to apply democracy in all its different shapes. However, following His Late Majesty King Hussein "Parliamentary democratic life has been an essential element of the Jordanian political structure since the first years of the Imaret's emergence"(Kadir& El-Better 1994:11).

As part of the democratic life, electoral campaign slogans are implemented to communicate, convey political messages to large numbers of voters, and publicize the views of a candidate contesting an election. They aim at persuading voters and making them aware of the candidate's basic ideology and views that might be highly needed at the time of elections. In other words, slogans allow candidates to express their opinions and thoughts with regard to the change in which they wish to achieve in their society (Nakate, 2011). Electoral slogans can be socially effective for different reasons. They can express the character or aims of the candidate, and can be catchy phrases for voters at the polling time to remember. Moreover, slogans are virtually the key entrance to exhibitor's mentality and orientations. Stimulatingly, they can strongly attract people's attention regardless of their backgrounds, being different socially, economically, educationally, and more importantly politically. "A vast power can be wielded by the device known as slogan, termed in honor of the Scottish Gaelic word *slogorne*, for "battle-cry" (Kohli, Suri & leuthesser 2007:415-422).

Persuading people to vote for a candidate is vital in the political process as it is the art of what is possible; politics often shares a vocabulary with military activity, and this is specially the case with elections: both winning elections and winning wars involve running successful campaigns (Adrian 2000: 69).

Words, phrases, other parts of speech, and photos, are main components of slogans, and may have different connotations to effectively arrive at the persuasive-central purpose. In most ways, parties use the techniques of selling a product to sell themselves to voters. Texts as political billboards enjoy certain elements to be successful. For example, they must catch people's attention and "hold it long enough for the message to be taken in". This means that they must be visually eye-catching and must be brief to easily read, as they are often placed strategically along busy roads. The length of the verbal text is deemed to be limited (Adrian 2000:63), but its impact, if phrased deeply and thoroughly is tremendous. Therefore, and as a way of advertising, it is important that the slogan seeks a discourse that engages the audience and attract their attention to persuade them with the its message (Fuertes-Olivera, Velasco-Sacristán, Arribas-Baño et al 2001:1291-1307).

In translating a text that belongs to a certain culture, the translator encounters many translation challenges to convey the various aspects of meaning in the target language. To exemplify, electoral slogans, expressing candidates' tendencies and backgrounds in their own culture imply religious, regional, socio-cultural, political and economic differences. These source text idiosyncrasies are very difficult to preserve in translation, and it would be too difficult for the translator to create the same emotive power on the TL audience because of the various differences. Religious differences between source culture and target culture may lead to misunderstanding when translating religious aspects, the fact that might cause a real challenge for the translator. In Jordan, for example, 92% of Jordanians are Muslims; therefore, candidates tend to use Qur'anic verses or Ḥadīths in their slogansto stimulate the voters' interest and attention. Candidates try to exploit the religious sympathy of voters by addressing them with the religious discourse. In translation, this requires the translator to exert enough efforts to convey the slogan religious power, as the target language audience are not Islamically oriented.

Moreover, the translator should consider the Islamophobia belief in the West where people not only fear Islam as an ideology, but also all other characteristics related to the Islamic culture represented by migrants in the West (Abbas 2011:55). Thus, the translator should be aware of the words he uses, and images he draws in order to capture the meanings in the target culture free from the deformation of Islam. For Muslims, Islamic principles and terms have become part of people's social life. For example, "innaba'ḍa z zāni 'ithm" (Sūrah alḥujūrāt:12), translated by Abdullah (1984:207) as: "indeed some suspicions are sins". The verse is addressed to Muslims to have some Islamic morals and ideals such as not suspecting others because one may be considered sinful when doing so. Socially, the term is lexicalized and is quite often used in certain and specific situations when someone suspects others to be mistaken but in fact they are not. In this regard, Farghal & Shunnaq explain that nation's beliefs are the component of their cultures; i.e. the Arabic language is loaded with Islamic expressions, whereas English features many Christian expressions. That is why translating from Arabic into English would look incongruent in many cases (2011:151). Therefore, a translator's mission is not simply translating words, but rather transferring cultural messages and bridging gaps between different societies.

Another translation challenge that a translator might face is related to regional orientation and belonging. The term regional is defined as "characteristics of a region" (Webster 2003:1048). Translationally, talking about regional slogans implies a direct indication to the investment that the candidates exploit in by highlighting their regional backgrounds; a candidate, raising a regional slogan, seeks the support of people who belong to his own region. And since each region has its own characteristics, traditions, needs and sometimes language variations (Li&Kuo 2012:154-169), the candidate tends to signal his membership to that group of people living in that region, using these common features he shares with them. However, the translator has to be acquainted with these features in order to ensure the full image rendering in the target language.

Culture is of vital importance in translation, as translation aims at bridging gaps between cultures through the communicative device of language. "Culture is defined as a complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, ecology, and habits, among other things, which are acquired by members of a society. Language is the foundation upon which culture rests" (Farghal & Shunnaq 2011:150). The gap between distinct cultures such as the Arabic and the Western ones is so wide and can hardly be filled. The translator needs to be familiar with the principles of each culture and should know how to convey its features to the other opposite audience.

“The best translation of any text from one language to another is not simply a translation of some words and sentences. There are necessary an adaptation and interpretation, and differences between languages and cultures should be clearly connected” (Gurtueva & Arslan 2013: 1442-1446).

For instance, the Arabic word *jihād* (lit: to struggle in the way of Allah) is “one of the practices of the religion” that carries positive connotations for Muslims, while it holds negative connotations in the West as it is associated with extremist Muslim organizations and sometimes terrorists. In this regard, Said stresses that cultural references are language/culture-specific. They can be exotic or emotive expressions and can either be transliterated or borrowed into the target language. Most cultural expressions are translation resistant (2004:104). And as long as the process of translation compiles two cultures (Branchadell & West 2005:6), a competent translator should not be only bilingual, but also culturally oriented. As Farghal & Shunnaq (2011:150) put it, “It is axiomatic to say that a translator should be bicultural as well as bilingual if adequate translation is required. Arabic and English are two languages which are not only remote linguistically but they are also remote culturally”.

A word misunderstanding is not only a linguistic product but also cultural (Said 2004:1). However, Eva states that all things that belong to one culture can be not *foreign* in another if the latter is willing to try and understand it (2005: 117). For instance, since the Greek myths seek the suitable translations for their climax, the relationship between body and language is integral, i.e. the Latin word *lingua* can be translated into either tongue: the body organ, or language expressing the powerful and conscious device of language (Ellis & Oakely-Brown 2001:52). Besides, Politics is the most activity that relies on language to accomplish its goals; therefore, the relationship between language and politics is inseparable because language is used to formulate policies and create legal system. Political discourse has been a topic of increasing interests (Romagnuolo 2009:1-2), especially after the Arab Spring where a two-word slogan like “Mubarak Out” leads a leaderless population to upend a rooted political regime and start to radically reorganize their country (Kohl 2011:195-196).

Despite the fact that political and economic terms are limited and universally agreed, the translator still faces certain difficulties and challenges in his attempt to convey the intended meaning from one language to another. These difficulties depend mainly on the specific situation and circumstances in each country, i.e. the concept of corruption is valid in mostly all the countries, but its dimensions differ according to each country. For example, nepotism is a kind of public administration corruption that one can noticeably find in the Middle Eastern countries, where the family relationships are a priority for people of the same clan. On the other hand, this idea can be rarely seen or observed in the West, where people usually get hired for their qualifications rather than their for family names. However, forms of economic and political corruption can also exist in the West and sometimes in a systematic and law-covered ways.

Other possible difficulty occurs when giving the formal equivalence as a way of translating political terms, i.e. in a news report, for instance, translating the Arabic expression ‘al kayān ‘alshuyūnī (lit: Zionism) causes serious problems relating to the differing connotations associated with Zionism in the Arab world and the Western world. Whereas Zionism is condemned by Arabs as ‘racist, expansionist movement’, it is regarded by the Westerners as a ‘national, liberation movement.’ Therefore, the translator should not use formal equivalence by translating the foregoing Arabic expression into ‘The Jewish State’ or even ‘Israel’ (Farghal & Shunnaq 2011:15).

2.0 Data

Digital photography makes it relatively easy and convenient to compile a large electronic corpus of electoral slogans. This study is based on around 30 digital photos of the Jordanian election slogans, and for space limitation and illustration of the selected photos representativeness, few examples can be seen in this study. The documentation of these slogans was collected via digital cameras, and the data therein were saved on CD-Rom and USB Flash Drive files.

The digital photos representing slogans were taken in four main Jordanian cities: Amman, the capital city as a model of urban area, Zarqa, the second densely populated city in Jordan where most of the industries are located, Irbid, a large rural city in the north of Jordan, and Mafraq, a Bedouin city in the east of Jordan. The data were categorized according to specific subareas, or categories such as religious, regional, socio-cultural, political, economic and another group of uncategorized slogans. Among other variables, focus was made on how this data, if translated into English, will mislead the audience in case they are not oriented about the real political situation in Jordan.

3.0 Discussion

The analysis of the collected corpus shows that certain tendencies and aspects function as a hidden force behind the slogans that are chosen in the electoral campaigns. The way candidates used to propagate themselves and their ideas was expressed in as a small number of words as possible, with as much emotive power as one can expect. However, specific interests were dominant in each slogan to persuade voters by touching their main concerns and addressing their interests. In the analysis of the slogans, five main categories were identified: religious, regional, socio-cultural, political and economic. To illustrate and illuminate these different slogans translationally, they are analyzed on the basis of the above mentioned order.

3.1 Religious Slogans

Islam is the religion of the kingdom, and therefore religious men are highly appreciated and respected by most people. To stimulate Jordanian voters, some candidates tend to exploit the religious feeling by setting slogans that show their religious interests in order to persuade people that such candidates are worth being voted for. Religious slogans may have the power to attract people regardless of their social, educational, regional and economic backgrounds. Religiously driven, most Jordanians are very likely to vote for religious candidates, and those of no political or tribal belongings would vote for Muslim candidates, simply because of their belief as shown in the above discussion.

1. Al-IslāmhuwaL ḥal (Lit.: Islam is the Solution)

IFA is the most active Islamic organization in Jordan, and its slogan has always been al-Islāmhuwa l ḥal” (lit. Islam is the solution). The use of the word 'solution' indicates that the country is in troubles and is facing many problems. The Islamic organization is already aware of these different problems, and only in Islam find the the ultimate solution for them. To put it differently, Jordan faces many political and economic challenges due to many factors such as economic and political corruption, bribery and the central issue, the occupation of the Palestinian land. Besides, there are many social problems in Jordan, such as drug addiction, family disintegration and moral decay. From a perspective, the main cause of all these problems is the distance from Islam. Candidates of the IFA address in their slogan not only the religious people, but also those who are fed up because of the problems that Jordan faces. In their view, applying the principles of Islam ensures a better future for the country and the solutions of those problems. The Islamic cover of the slogans guarantees that people with religious interests and inclinations will poll for it. Furthermore, people of non-religious interests are likely to be attracted by the slogans because they believe that religion provides solutions and, if complied with completely, will help them in solving the social and economic problems.

To achieve as much emotive power as that of the source text, the translator should support the literal translation with enough details to explain the various dimensions of the slogan because literal translation would not create the same psychological impact and influence on the target language audience. Moreover, due to the stereotype, in the West in particular, about Islam as a religion of extremists and terrorists, the translator should simplify and explain this slogan by providing details and facts about Islam in order to justify the literal translation of 'Islam is the solution'. Readers of the target text would not understand that many secular and man-made solutions have been attempted and implemented to resolve the various problems, but all failed, and thus Islamic following instructions can be the only outlet to resolve the long experienced problems.

Sociolinguistically, the slogan is loaded with many sociolinguistic values in the Jordanian culture. The fact that Jordanians are religiously instilled cannot be felt in the target language if the translator does not provide enough details about the slogan. Moreover, literal translation would not be enough to illuminate the social feelings of most Jordanians who have no political inclinations, where they take a decision of voting for the Islamists at the very last moment before polling. This sudden decision is very prominent among most Jordanians and can never be the same in the Western culture, where people have their decision for which political party to vote months if not years before the election time. This dominant feeling and way of taking decision cannot be relayed in the target culture unless supporting details are provided with the literal translation. The political immaturity of a large sector of Jordanian cannot be preserved in the translation, as target language readers may be not be aware of the election process in Jordan, and the way it is performed.

2. Wa‘Aqīmushshāda Ta Lil-Lāh' (Lit.: And Establish the Evidence (as) Before Allah)

Instinctively, human beings need some conventions and restrictions to regulate their lives, and this is one of the main missions of religions. Thus, religion is a driving force that regulates people's life, and people behave and react accordingly. The most important regulator of Islam is the Holy Quran, and its verses are referred to in all aspects of Muslims' life.

The verse 'waaqīmushshāda ta lil-lāh', 'and establish the evidence (as) before Allah' (Ali, 1994:102) has been clearly and widely observed as a slogan in Jordanian elections. The slogan is directly addressing people and requires that they should be religiously responsible for the choice of the candidate. The verse 'waqifūhuminna hum mas'ūlūn' (aṣ-ṣāfāt:24) supports the idea that voters and candidates are responsible for their right and wrong decisions and actions, and people will be asked in the hereafter before God about their acts in this life. Thus, candidates with Islamic slogans are expected to respect God's word and obey it, and accordingly, take the right decisions to serve the country and the nation. Similarly, voters with Islamic and non-Islamic orientation tend to vote to candidates who are trust-worthy such as those who raise Islamic slogans, as they will be likewise asked about their choice on the Day of Resurrection.

The implementation of the verse as a slogan is challenging in translation due to many religious, social, political, and cultural differences between the source text and the target text. First, the religious inclination of most Jordanians cannot be easily relayed in the literal translation of the slogan, as electoral campaigns in the target culture do not normally have religious slogans and thus people are not used to such types of slogans. In other words, one can argue that reference to religious slogans is peculiar to certain cultures, like the Jordanian one, and cannot be implemented likewise in the western secular culture, where religion cannot be clearly felt in political slogans. Therefore, the translator should provide his translation with the explanation that religious discourse in electoral slogans in Jordan aims at stimulating voters and gaining more social support; the success of stimulation and orienting people to vote for the Islamists can never be the same in the Western open and secular community where religion does not have the same power and impact on people as that of Islam on the conservative Muslims who constitute a vast majority of Arab and non-Arab Muslims.

3.2 Regional Slogans

Though Jordan is small in size, regionality is very clear, and this is due to the mentality of people living in different Jordanian regions. Regionality, thus, plays a major role in the outputs of elections, where the interests of the region as a specific part of the country is of a high priority, even if this prioritization is at the expense of the state as a whole unit. In other words, belonging to the area and loyalty to a district are very clear in election posters and billboards. This division of belonging cannot be felt similarly in the states of law, where the state as a whole is of the same priority. As it seems, the tribal system in Jordan has contributed largely in forming the regional belonging, as tribes usually live in certain regions and close to each other creating a traditional sub-state with certain traditions and beliefs.

1. 'Al-Qaḍīya L-Falastīnīyah... Qaḍīyatī' (Lit.: The Palestinian Issue is my Issue)

Over the last few decades, the Palestinian issue has been controversial in the Middle East and the world; and since Jordan is the closest neighbor to Palestine, many Palestinians emigrated to Jordan escaping from the Israeli occupation, discrimination, and oppression. Jordan was the only country among the Arab neighboring states that gave the emigrants the Jordanian citizenship to integrate within the Eastern Jordanians and enjoy all national privileges. Palestinian-Jordanians constitute half of the whole population in Jordan, and as Jordanians have the right of possession, occupation of governmental positions, voting, and nomination for elections

The slogan 'al-qaḍīya l-falastīnīyah... qaḍīyatī' (lit.: the Palestinian issue is my issue) shows the candidate's interests and attention to the Palestinian-Jordanians. Economically and politically, those Jordanians play a major role in shaping the economic and political life in Jordan, and since the main concern of Palestinian-Jordanians has always been the Palestinian issue, candidates try to exploit such a situation to motivate all Jordanians to vote for them candidates.

Translating this slogan literally into English as (the Palestinian issue is my issue) collides with many translation challenges and at many levels, socially, politically, culturally, and linguistically. Target language readers would not understand that Palestinian-Jordanians are considerable in Jordan, and can play a major role in the Jordanian politics.

Besides, the fact that Palestinian-Jordanians are supported by Jordanian-Jordanians cannot be felt in the west, where it is believed that an internal though hidden hatred and conflict is dominant, especially after the civil war in 1970. This belief is not always true as many Palestinian candidates gain enough votes of the Eastern Jordanians due to adopting the same political interests. Moreover, both halves of Jordanians share the same political and religious thoughts, and thus differences vanish when it comes to elections and forming political bodies. On this basis, living in harmony as a life style of both human constituents cannot be felt in the literal translation, and many target language readers may not be aware of these brotherly relations. Consequently, the social and political dimensions cannot be easily relayed in the target language as readers might not be fully aware of all the slogan's political and social implications.

2. Az-Zarqā' Al-Wafīyahtastḥīqu L-Wafā' (Lit.: The Loyal Zarqa Deserves Loyalty)

Zarqa is one of the biggest cities in Jordan, and is located to the northeast of the capital city, Amman. It ranks second in terms of population after the capital city. Its people are mainly immigrants from many Jordanian regions and provinces. People immigrate to Zarqa in search of jobs and better opportunities because it is home to more than 50% of Jordanian factories and industries.

Since Zarqa is home to people from different parts of Jordan, its representatives in governments usually tend to serve their original hometowns at the expense of the city. In other words, parliamentary deputies usually serve people of their home cities and do not give enough attention to Zarqa a represented governorate. Candidates exploit the city in the electoral slogans to win votes and not as a city to represent; their belonging is either to other cities where they came from, or to Palestine, where a majority of the city population is of a Palestinian origin, and thus the international and political issue of Palestine is of the main concern for some candidates.

The slogan under discussion implies conspiracies and unfulfillment of promises made by earlier representatives. In other words, the candidate finds it a good opportunity to benefit from the pitfalls of previous elections, and exploit that for gaining people's support. On this basis, there is supposed to be an interchangeable loyalty and respect of promises between Zarqa as a city, and its people and candidates as dwellers in it.

Literal translation of the slogan into English would not relay the whole indications and implications for many social, cultural, regional, and political grounds. Therefore, the translator should provide his translation with enough details about Zarqa as a city, the variation of its people, and the problems that the city suffers from in order to quip the target language reader with enough social, political, and cultural information about the various dimension of the political slogan. Regional belonging, as social, political, and cultural values of the slogan, cannot be preserved in the literal translation as state belonging in the west is undividable, and people have the same belonging to all parts of the state. Furthermore, the fact that promises of the candidate are exclusive to the city and its dwellers cannot be clear in translation, and requires that the translator should add more details to pinpoint this fact, through which social and cultural differences can be illuminated between the developed states and the still developing ones; not only this, details are necessary to uncover the differences between the fully fledged and mature elections in the West and the traditional elections of immature communities like the Jordanian one, where regional belongings are lucid and dominant.

3.3 Socio-cultural Slogans

Languages express cultures and all related manifestations differently. Every community has its own social culture due to its idiosyncratic beliefs, notions, arts, experiences, and problems. In Jordan, for example, social culture can be clearly expressed in the political slogans where candidates elucidate these social specifics in order to gain voters' attention and support. What is surprising is that enough dedication is made on the problematic areas that the Jordanians suffer from in an attempt to gain people's support and votes.

1. Al-Āmiluhammunā (Lit.: The Laborer is our Concern)

Although laborers form a considerable category of the Jordanian society, a large majority of them suffer from many social and economic problems. They are viewed inferiorly though they are the most toiling sector in the Jordanian community, and normally accept with the least of awards or salaries. What they usually receive out of their job return does not cover even the least of their basic needs. Not only are they marginalized by the state that should deal fairly with them, but they are also exploited by candidates who find in them a fertile area to propagate their hardly achieved or attained promises.

The slogan, al-‘āmiluhammunā (lit.: the laborer is our concern), is widespread and is raised to shed light on the marginalized class of people, aiming at giving the laborers a glimpse of hope in resolving their economic problems in case the candidate wins the elections. The fact that a large majority of people belonging to this category are simple or naïve makes them an easy prey for gluttony candidates.

The mediator encounters many social and cultural problems in translating such a slogan into English. Target language readers would not understand that the Jordanian community suffers from a long-termed corruption represented in nepotism. This fact does not give this category the opportunity to compete for better jobs and salaries, as if it were their destiny to live under these terrible circumstances. In the west, however, all nationals are the same before law and such slogans can never be noticed in electoral campaigns, since it is axiomatic that all candidates are faithful to the state and the people as a whole, and their main concern is to develop their homeland even if that is achieved at their own expense. Literal translation, thus, would not be enough to convey the whole social and cultural values of the slogan, and more supporting details are required to clarify these values in the target language, where candidates and voters are politically mature and the interests of the state are of the top priority; in other words, the political corruption which is expressed in the slogan cannot be preserved in the literal translation, and only explanatory details can guarantee the transmission of the political game in Jordan.

2. Al-‘Adālafil-ḥuṣūl ‘Alā L-Maq’adil-Jāmi’īwal-‘Amal (Lit.: Justice in Getting Access to University and Career)

Higher education and obtaining a seat in state universities is one of the social problems that Jordanians suffer from. Tribalism and nepotism are major factors in the distribution of state university seats, and the occupation of jobs. Thus, getting equal opportunities in education and jobs has become a real challenge and a nightmare in the Jordanian community and therefore requires adopting national strategies from decision makers to search for solutions.

The electoral slogan, ‘al-‘adālafil-ḥuṣūl ‘ala l-maq’ad l-jāmi’īwal-‘amal (lit.: justice in getting access to university and career) highlights the social problems of ensuring a university seat and a job in Jordan. The candidate finds this social problem a good opportunity to seize in the slogan to gain enough support from a large group of people, especially those who have suffered from it. The use of the word al-‘adāla (lit.: justice) indicates the defect in the system of higher education and job occupation. Candidates use these concepts that reflect their awareness of the social problems and liability to deal with them professionally. They aim at conveying this idea to the unemployed youth who are eligible to vote, assuring that their rights are on the list of priorities to be raised in the parliament.

The translator should not ignore the social and cultural dimensions of the slogan as its connotations are vital in the election process in Jordan. For example, al-‘adāla (lit: justice) is important to be raised in slogans as it is dominant, widely practiced, long-termed, and has resulted in many social problems.

Injustice itself is a general concept that is frequently felt among Jordanians, and has been more clearly noticed in education and obviously observed by the state. As far as translation is concerned, the translator should be aware of the various perspectives of the slogan in order to convey as much meaning as possible. The fact that justice is observed in the target culture and all people are the same before law in education and jobs makes the slogan seem strange. To translationally, socially, and politically clarify the point under discussion, the translator has to add supporting details that can uncover the social and cultural connotations in the target culture. Literal translation, thus, would not enable the TL readers to understand the educational corruption because of injustice, and would not give them chance to comprehend that injustice is often observed or practiced by high ranking officials in Jordan. Besides, the social misery and suffering because of injustice in Jordan cannot be relayed in the literal translation of the slogan, as people of the target culture do not experience similar social problems like that of Jordanians, a fact that has driven the candidate to exploit people's misery in his electoral slogan.

3. 'Makāni L Mar'a L ḥaqīqibaituhā' (Lit: The Real Place for a Woman is her Home)

Throughout the past political process in Jordan and till very recently, women's presence in political positions has been very limited because of the tribal nature of Jordanians and their way of running elections. In some regions in Jordan, some male candidates raise slogans that clearly show men's more capability of occupying political positions than women, and argue that the best place for women is women's home. They aim at excluding the other gender from contending with them for the parliamentary seats.

The slogan 'makāni l mar'a l ḥaqīqībaituhā' is a case in point, as it reflects the Jordanian social and cultural superiority of men over women in the political representation. It sheds light on the typical feminist portrait of the woman as a housewife taking care of husband and children without any political or social rights to practice.

The candidate who raises this slogan might be wealthy, well-educated, open, and even descending from a prestigious family, but still holding traditional beliefs of limiting the women's role in the political life. The idea that women should occupy governmental and mainly political positions evokes Jordanian men's patriarchal mentality to stand against such ambitious women, and stop them from the nomination for elections.

Typical Jordanians tend to trust men and their abilities more than women, especially in decision-making situations. Therefore, the candidate who raises this slogan triggers in the community the fact that man is the one who should represent people in political positions and not women. The candidate aims at stimulating more social support and sympathy, especially from those who are instilled with the masculinity of the community, to gain more votes in the multi-inclined community.

To reflect as many social, political and cultural values of the slogan as possible, the translator should provide enough details that show the way people have been viewing women in the political representation. Target language readers would not understand from the translation that women should only take care of the households, and should not think of occupying political positions. Of course, the view differs from one area into another because of the social, cultural, educational, and political differences. The view against women representation in the parliament is more dominant in the regions that are tribally-dominated, where political nomination and even voting of women are directed by men. This political scenario of Jordanian elections cannot be relayed likewise in the west, where women have the same rights as men in political practice, a fact that can create a considerable political and social misunderstanding of the literal translation of the slogan under discussion.

4. 'Lanyufliḥaqawmunwallūamra Hum Limra'ah' (People Who Assign a Woman to Lead Them Will Never Succeed)

Some candidates exploit religious feeling and inclination of people in electoral campaigns in order to gain social support. The candidate of the slogan under discussion tries to make use of Prophet Mohammad's saying 'lanyufliḥaqawmunwallūamra hum limra'ah' in order to inspire the religious feeling of the Muslim Jordanians who constitute a vast majority in Jordan. As the Jordanian community has been till very recently masculine, the candidate finds it a good opportunity to exemplify the fact via a religious cover. The saying of the Prophet could have been said in a completely different situation that is different from the candidate's, and might not be appropriate here. The ignorance of the candidate and most voters alike can take the saying from its original and real context. In reality, Islam has liberated woman and given her all her rights and in all fields, in education, marriage, job, and other civil rights.

The use of this slogan shows that the candidate is not well educated in Islam, and so are his supporters or followers. According to the preacher, Tareq Suwaidan, more than 22 stories about the circumstances of this say were told, but the most convenient one refers back to the era of the Persian royal family which got expanded and had many inner problems between its members. Accordingly, Khosrau, the Persian King, killed all the males of his family except his son, so that the son would succeed his father smoothly without any fight over the throne after the father's death. Unfortunately, the son died before the father, so when Khosrau died there were no males to succeed him, the fact that forced the daughter to be announced as a queen of the Persian kingdom. When Prophet Mohammed heard the story he was wondering how a kingdom that accepted the execution of all the males of the royal family and the daughter to get the throne accordingly could succeed and flourish in its future. Thus, Prophet Mohammad's exclamation in this say was not to underestimate women's abilities to rule but rather to criticize the narrow horizon of the Persian kingdom then (Suwaidan, 2011).

The use of this say as a slogan to evoke people not to vote for women is essentially not accurate since it shows the ignorance of the candidate who raises it. Conversely, it highlights the patriarchal aspect and male-domination in the Jordanian society that restrict the boundaries of women progress in the Jordanian political life. Prophet Mohammad's say could not be fully translated in the way it was meant to be. The literal translation would show that Islam does suppress women's right in society, but it is not the truth. Therefore, a footnote is necessary to be added in order to orient the audience about the reason of this say. In this regard, consider the paradox in the 2007 municipal elections in Jordan. A female candidate who ran for a seat in the 2007 municipal elections in Mafraq, an eastern city in Jordan, was appointed a council member even though she did not receive any vote.

She did not vote for herself and neither did her husband and five sons. Although the number of registered voters in her district was 207 women, while men voters were 144, taking in consideration that voter turnout was 95 per cent. However, she got no vote at all.

She justified the result by saying "I did not vote for myself because of my commitment to my tribe, and the residents of my town were told to vote for another candidate, who unfortunately did not win... I would not break my commitment to the tribe. We are a tribal community and the priority is for electing a man" (The Jordan Times, 3 August 2007). The social, political, and cultural values of the incident can enlighten the Jordanian political scenario, which cannot be relayed in the mere translation of the slogan, that not only changes contextual truth of the saying, but also does not reflect the people's commitments of the tribally-based community.

3.4 Tribal Slogans

In 1993, a year before signing the peace treaty with Israel, the Jordanian system has changed the electoral system from Block Vote Electoral System (in which each voter cast as many votes as there were seats in the district) to 'one man, one vote' system (where voter could only choose one candidate in his district) to limit the influence of the country's Islamists. Moreover, the long period of the ban of political parties in Jordan from 1958 that were not allowed until 1989 had negative effect on political parties and have become weaker. In a context of weak political parties, the tribes have become the most important political and social organizations that played and have continued to play an important role as the main link between people and authorities. Thus, the current electoral system favors tribal candidates over urban areas where the Muslim Brotherhood has strong support. Accordingly, election has always been dominated by independent and tribal candidates, and many slogans and catchphrases have been so general and abstract as to be practically emptied of political ideologies and strategies. The aim of candidates' slogans has been just to attract tribal members' votes. (Al-azzam: 2008).

1. 'Murashahul'Shīrah Yaṭlubu L Faz'Ah Min Abnā 'I'Shīratihi' (Lit: The Tribe's Candidate Asks for The Support of the People of His Tribe)

As discussed above, it is axiomatic that the tribal relations is the most important and considerable unit in the Jordanian society. People of the same tribe usually seek the support of their tribe in all occasions. Therefore, in such a situation, where a candidate struggles to get his seat in the Parliament, the support of the tribe is the first step to be exploited in the electoral campaign. In all cases, the importance of tribal relations is never neglected in all aspects of Jordanians' life.

However, the solidarity of the tribe becomes explicitly highlighted in the electoral campaigns. Linguistically, mentioning the candidate's family name is connected with the expression 'yaṭlubu l faz'ah min abnā 'i'shīratihi' and is a private call for everyone who belongs to the candidate's tribe to vote for him. Moreover, the word 'faz'ah', 'help' is broadly used in Jordan to refer to the extreme tribal support. The tribe is, therefore, inspired to unite in order to guarantee the success of their candidate by voting only for him and not for anyone else apart from any other interests or belongings.

The literal translation of the slogan would never reflect the whole image of the Jordanian society and its tribal formation. The importance of family and tribal support in Jordan should be transferred in the translation. The literal translation of the word 'faz'ah', as 'help' in the target language would not maintain the social and cultural values as it has no corresponding equivalence implications due to the difference of the social and political contexts between the two cultures. The translator has to be aware of all these aspects in order to provide a similar depiction for the target language audience.

In general, every tribal candidate tries to employ his slogans directly and indirectly during his propaganda campaign to stimulate the tribal members and then gain their support and votes. In some cases, tribal candidates commonly campaign without electoral slogans and they only show their pictures, clans' names, and a statement indicating the consensus candidate or the candidate of the clan. Such social and cultural implications of political slogans cannot be replicated in the target culture where the tribe is melted in the law-governed states.

2. 'Murashshahu L 'Ijma' (First and Clan Name)" (Lit: The Consensus Candidate (First Name and Clan Name))

Such a slogan is raised to announce to the public that the candidate's clan has nominated one of its members to represent it in the Parliament, and that the clan's duty is to support and vote for him. Simultaneously, it is an declaration to the public that anyone proposing himself for elections from splinter and is thus unwelcomed.

The expression 'consensus candidate' holds these implications in addition to the clan's testimony of the candidate as trustworthy, honest and responsible to represent them under the dome.

The integrated relationship between members of tribes in Jordan and similar tribally-based communities cannot be noticed when translating such electoral slogan into a developed culture, like the western one. The consensuses of the tribe are a social contract that clan members should bind themselves with, and any violation is considered as a tribal crime that cannot be easily forgiven. The clan can penalize and punish those who break its rules, and can also impose sanctions of certain types on them, such as not participating in their social events.

The translator should have enough social education in order to succeed in transferring the various implications of the slogan; he should be aware of the way the internal elections are run in the clan itself before a nominated candidate is elected. In addition, the translator should be equipped enough with the clan rules and laws that are applied on the splinters, and the way that such rules are implemented and applied on them. Knowledge in the tribal formation of the Jordanian community is a necessity in order for the translator to reflect the various implications of the slogan in the target language, where people are not acquainted with such traditional ways of running elections.

3.5 Political Slogans

Political prematurity and unawareness can be convenient words to describe the political life in Jordan. Political ideas and orientations are usually vague and do not enjoy a long-run aim. A critical point that significantly affects the political march in Jordan is that decisions are made for people and not for organizations, a fact that causes confusion and loss to take place. Decision makers' mentality and mood are the conventions that govern the decision. On the basis of this, there has become an urgent need to make political reform in order to gain the stability that Jordan still enjoys, if compared with the Arab neighboring countries.

1. 'na'amlilfasād... lāliliṣlāḥ (Lit.: Yes for corruption ... No for Reformation)

It is known and agreed that Jordan has been long suffering from corruption in all its forms and types. Accordingly, corruption has become a general norm and aspect of politicians and those in charge of high positions, that have become heritage for officials, and in most cases not occupied on the basis of political qualifications. Arab Spring has encouraged people to express their opinions loudly without fears of the consequences. The slogan, thus, "na'amlilfasād ... lāliliṣlāḥ (lit. Yes for corruption ... No for reformation) ironically addresses the Jordanians in a political discourse that suits the current situation. Freedom of speech, and questioning political figures were forbidden before the Arab Spring, and may be forbidden again in case the Arab spring does not extend to include Jordan.

The slogan 'na'amlilfasād ... lāliliṣlāḥ (Lit.: Yes for corruption ... No for reformation) is ironic for the current situation in Jordan, and describes the corruption and the dead desire of state to reform. Since people have become normalized to corruption, any reformation attempts seem strange and unapproved by people. It can be argued that the terms 'corruption' and 'reformation' are widely spread and known nowadays. Thus, all candidates try to make use of them in the slogans when addressing people about the necessity of reformation and the radical solutions for corruption. The slogan under discussion looks distinct in the fact that it calls for corruption, as people are used to it and not for reformation that might be viewed as strange or even unacceptable in the Jordanian community.

The message that the candidate wants to convey is that people should let the corruption remain but the benefits of this corruption should be distributed equally. This explanation is based on the assumption that people can hardly accept changes and adapt with new situations, and once corruption is treated, it would not be accepted by a large sector of the community even by reformers.

As far as translation is concerned, the challenge lies in the political background of Jordanians which is grounded on corruption. In order for the target audience to understand the slogan, the translator should have enough corruption background about Arab politicians, officials, people, and the way elections are run.

Literal translation, thus, would not convey all political, cultural, and social manifestations of the slogan, and the translator has to provide the rendition with enough supporting details that can uncover the various perspectives of the political process in Jordan.

A lot of the political money is spent during the electoral campaigns on providing meals and means of transportation for voters, and sometimes, candidates could buy peoples' votes for money; because of such practices, the political process in Jordan usually results in the choice of unqualified deputies to represent people.

Therefore, the translator should be equipped with the Jordanian corruption culture and should be acquainted with the necessary details about the electoral slogans to faithfully render them in the target language.

2. Qā'imatsharaf l ummah: Qā'imatṣaddām Hussein sābiqan (Lit: The list of nation's honor: previously the list of Saddam Hussein)

Arab nationalism has been called for by some leaders who have sacrificed themselves for the sake of the Arabs. In the view of many Jordanians, the late leader of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, has set a very good example of Arab nationalists. The way Saddam's life was ended, and the time, the Sacrifice Day, has made him alive in the minds and hearts of many Jordanians.

The electoral slogan 'qā'imatsharaf l ummah: qā'imatṣaddām Hussein sābiqan (lit: the list of the nation's honor: previously the list of Saddam Hussein) has gained enough attention of a large majority of Jordanians. What has given this list a real support is the supply that the Iraqi regime of Saddam used to provide Jordanians with at all levels. Economically, the Iraqi regime used to provide Jordan with free oil; educationally, many Jordanians got scholarships to freely study in Iraq; and politically, Palestine was the basic issue of Saddam's regime, the regime that formed a threat to Israel, and this was highly appreciated by all Jordanians regardless to their origins.

Translating the slogan 'qā'imatsharaf l ummah: qā'imatṣaddām Hussein sābiqan (lit: the list of the nation's honor: previously the list of Saddam Hussein) is not an easy task due to the social, cultural, political, and national dimensions. At the social level, target language readers would not understand the Jordanian social and communal appreciation of Saddam Hussein as an Arab political figure. The word 'sharaf' (lit: honor) carries many cultural dimensions among Jordanians, as dignity and honor are features of Jordanians which they do not sacrifice with easily. Politically, Saddam won enough political appreciation due to his political stands that were considered by many Arabs in different Arab countries. In order to grasp enough implications of the slogan, the translator should illuminate all the perspectives that cannot be uncovered by literal translation.

Meanings understood by Jordanians such as nationalism, belonging to the Arab nation, sacrifice for the other, bravery, dedication, and seriousness cannot easily be conveyed unless the translator supports his translation with such illuminating dimensions. Also, the reasons behind the choice of the slogan such as motivating voters to support the list cannot be easily understood in the literal translation. To add, the pressure experienced on the list from the Jordanian regime to change it from 'the list of Saddam Hussein' into "The list of the nation's honor" cannot be comprehended by TL readers. The Jordanian regime was afraid of Ba'th Party followers in Jordan, especially if the list representing this party wins elections in Jordan. Such meanings which cannot even be understood by many Jordanians would not be conveyed easily in the TL if not enough footnotes are added.

3.6 Economic Slogans

Jordan is one of the poor countries in the Arab World and suffers from the lack of natural resources if compared with other neighboring countries. This lack of natural resources apparently affects Jordanian economy although it has well-qualified laborers in all fields. The limited movement of trade because of the shortage of resources has made Jordanians think of depending on themselves and not resorting for long-term loans which loaded Jordan with debts. Financial corruption is one of the main features of the Jordanian successive governments, a fact that made it difficult to ignore by candidates; rather, many slogans displayed this corruption in a way that attracted people of different social, cultural, economic, regional, and educational levels.

1. Sadād L-Madyūniyāh Min Jiyūb L-Mukhta Li Sūnwalfāsīdīn (Lit: Repayment of Indebtedness from the Pockets of Corrupts and Embezzlers)

Debts of Jordan have alarmingly increased over the last few decades and the problem cannot be resolved but through imposing more taxes and raising prices without considering the Jordanians miserable situations. As publically known, Jordanian debts are due to corruption resulted from Jordanian top officials, who exploited their positions to confiscate the Jordanian assets. This left the country in terrible situations that locals began to feel them and highly suffer from the consequences. Jordan's economy is among the poorest in the region, with insufficient supplies of oil and other natural resources; besides, the state suffers from shortage of water and faces an array of fundamental economic challenges such as high rates of poverty, unemployment, inflation, as well as a large budget deficit. As a result, Jordanian citizens show more interest in their daily affairs rather than concerning with the thorny political issues plaguing the Middle East region. Accordingly, the majority of candidates for the parliamentary elections struggle to attract voters' attention by shedding more light on the daily life problems faced by citizens.

This is contrary to the past when the situation in Palestine and other Arab territories occupied by Israel, and the Iraqi issue were occupying large areas in the program of the candidates in Jordan.

It should be indicated that questioning corrupts has remarkably been exploited by candidates to gain more street support. The slogan 'sadād l-madyūniyyāh min jiyūb l-mukhta li sūwal-fasidīn (lit: repayment of indebtedness from the pockets of corrupts and embezzlers) clearly reflects the people's real desire to eradicate and dry all sources of corruption where top officials and considered politicians are involved; i.e., politicians who have made use of authority and political power.

The fact that the candidate of the slogan does not enjoy an educational background is seen in the Arabic structure of the slogan; it can be argued that the candidate could have not revised the slogan, somebody has suggested it for him, or the writer of the slogan could have made the grammatical mistake. The Arabic 'al-mukhta li sūn' in the slogan should be 'al-mukhta li sīn' being a governed noun of the genitive construction in the Arabic grammar. This also pinpoints that candidates do not give attention to the language used in their slogans as combating corruption is the highest and top priorities and not the language itself; it can also be added that many addressees are careful more about the state issues and not the language, or are not well-educated. The translator should reflect all these linguistic, social, cultural, economic, and political perspectives side by side with the translation to grasp as much meaning in the target language as possible.

2. An-NiftutahtaqqdāMiNā Was Tikhrājuhuhimmatī L-Ūlātahta L Qubbah (Lit: Oil Is Under Our Feet and Its Extract is My First Task Under the Dome)

Jordan suffers from the shortage of natural resources, and if such resources are available, not enough serious efforts have been made to search for them. Oil and gas are two of the many natural resources that studies have proved to be available and abundantly in the Jordanian land, especially if the geographical location of Jordan is considered being bordering Iraq and Saudi Arabia, the two largest oil producing countries in the region.

The slogan 'an-niftutahtaqqdā mi nā was tikhrājuhuhimmatī l-ūlātahta l qubbah' (lit: oil is under our feet and its extract is my first task under the dome) shows that oil, which is the main source of economy in many neighboring countries, exists in Jordan and in great quantities. It is known among Jordanians that the kingdom enjoys an abundance of oil, and other resources such as gas, but politicians have never been serious to make political steps in their regard. This has driven the candidate to be dare enough to choose his slogan, which could have been built upon geological and scientific studies that prove the abundance of natural resources. In order to attract voters' attention and orient them in their polling, the candidate has clearly shown that his main interest and concern, if winning the elections, will be the real search and digging out for oil.

Literal translation of the slogan as 'oil is under our feet and its extract is my first task under the dome' would not convey the real social, cultural, political, and economic problems. TL readers would not understand from the literal translation that there are tangible social problems such as poverty and unemployment due to the non-exploitation and investment of natural resources. Moreover, TL would not understand that such resources are under the control of politicians and they are the only ones who have right to search for that. Besides, it would not be clear in the translation that most corrupts belong to Jordanian politicians, and Jordanians do not live in a state of law where all people are the same before law, if compared with the states of law in the west, where all people are equal regardless of their positions' power.

4.0 Conclusion

In the light of the above discussion, the present study has shown that the translation of Jordanian electoral slogans into English is challenging for linguistic, cultural, social, political, religious and personal reasons. As a whole, the discussion has revealed that the significance of Jordanian electoral slogans lies in the many variables that are worth being discussed. The study has shown that the language of slogans has been stemmed from the long-term experiences of Jordanians, and translating the slogans can never be comprehensive if social, political, regional, tribal, and religious values are not considered.

More importantly, what has been noticed in the study is that candidates have benefited from the Arab Spring and have found it a good opportunity to express themselves with a good space of freedom without fear of authorities. Besides, the discussion has pointed out that candidates make all efforts to benefit from the various problems that Jordanians are suffering from in order to gain voting support.

References

- Abbas, T. *Youth Work and Islam: A Leap of Faith for Young People*. Sense Publishers, The Netherlands. Retrieved April 28th, 2013 from Springer Database: http://rd.springer.com.ezproxy.uaeu.ac.ae/chapter/10.1007/978-94-6091-636-6_4
- Adrian, B. (2000). *Language of Politics*. Folrence, KY, USA. Routledge.
- Alazzam, Amin Ali. (2008). Political participation in Jordan: the impact of party and tribal loyalties since 1989. Doctoral thesis, Durham University: UK.
- Abdullah, A. (1984). *Sūrah alḥujurāt. The Holy Qura'an Text Translation and commentary*. Kuwait: That Es-Salasil Press.
- Andersen, R. (2012). Consequences of Economic Inequality, Support for democracy in cross-national perspective: The detrimental effect of economic inequality. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 30, 389-402
- Branshadell, A. & West, L. M. (2005) *Less Translated Languages*. Philadelphia, USA. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Cadeddu, D. (2012) *Reimagining Democracy: On the Political Project of Adriano Olivetti*. Springer US.
- Ellis, R & Oakley-Brown, L. (2001) *Translation and Nation: a cultural Politics of Englishness*. Clevedon, GBR. Multilingual Matters.
- Eva, H. (2005) *Translation and Cultural Change: Studies in History, Norms and Image-projection*. Philadelphia, USA. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Farghal, M. & Shunnaq, A. (2011). *Translation with Reference to English and Arabic*. Dar Al Hilal for Translation: Jordan.
- Fuertes-Olivera, Velasco-Sacristán, Arribas-Baño et al. (2001). Persuasion and advertising English: Metadiscourse in slogans and headlines. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33(8). Retrieved on July 1st from <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.uaeu.ac.ae/science/article/pii/S0378216601800266>
- Gurtueva, T. & Arslan, H. (2013). Literary Translation of Text and its perception by Students. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 70. Retrieved on July 2nd from <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.uaeu.ac.ae/science/article/pii/S1877042813002103>
- Jihad. *Wikipedia The Free Encyclopedia*. Retrieved April 28th, 2013. From <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad>
- Kadir, A & El-Better, M. (1994). *The Jordanian Democratic March Toward Rooting And Comprehensiveness*. Press and Publication Department.
- Kohl, D. F. (2011). Getting the Slogan right. *The Journal of Academic Librarianship*, 37(3). Retrieved on July 1st from <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.uaeu.ac.ae/science/article/pii/S0099133311000668>
- Kohli, C. Leuthesser, L. Suri, R. (2007). Got Slogans? Guidelines for creating effective slogans. *Business Horizon*, 50, 415 – 422. <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.uaeu.ac.ae/science/article/pii/S0007681307000730>
- Li, H. & Kuo, J. (2012). Learning regional transliteration variants. *Information Processing & Management*, 48(1). Retrieved on July 2nd from <http://www.sciencedirect.com.ezproxy.uaeu.ac.ae/science/article/pii/S0306457311000215>
- Merriam-Webster, Incorporated. (2005). *Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data* (11thed). Springfield, Massachusetts, USA. John M. Morse.
- Nikate, shashank. (2011). Campaign Slogans at <http://www.buzzle.com/articles/campaign-slogans.html>
- Romagnuolo, A. (2009) *Political Discourse in Translation: A corpus-based perspective on presidential inaugurals*. *Translation and Interpreting Studies*. 4. 1-30
- Said, F. (2004). *Cultural Encounters in Translation from Arabic*. Clevedon, GBR. Multilingual Matters.
- Surah Al-Hujuraat. *Interpretation of the meaning of The Noble Quran*. Dar-us-Salam Publications. Retrieved Aril 27th, 2013. From <http://www.dar-us-salam.com/TheNobleQuran/>
- Suwaidan, T. (2011). *Shubhatuḥadīth: Lanyufliḥaqawmunwallūamrahumlimra'ah*. Retrieved September 15, 2013, from YouTube Website: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5x24hUxFaOI>
- The Jordan Times, New Female Council Member Wins Seat with Zero Votes, 3 August 2007.
- Third World Countries. *One World Nations online*. Retrieved April 28t, 2013. From http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/third_world_countries.htm
- Vargas-Hernández, J. *THE MULTIPLE FACES OF CORRUPTION: TYPOLOGY, FORMS AND LEVELS*. University of Guadalajara. México <http://www.ameppa.org/upload/Typology.pdf>