



uOttawa

L'Université canadienne
Canada's university

FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES
ET POSTDOCTORALES



FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND
POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

Aysha Abughazzi

AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

Ph.D. (Translation Studies)

GRADE / DEGREE

School of Translation and Interpretation

FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT / FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

Translation and Public Opinion: The Press in Jordan

TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

Annie Brisset

DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS

Salah Basalamah

Marc-François Bernier

Najat Rahman

Luise von Flotow

Gary W. Slater

LE DOYEN DE LA FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES ET POSTDOCTORALES /
DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

**Translation and Public Opinion:
The Press in Jordan**

By

Aysha Abughazzi

School of Translation and Interpretation
University of Ottawa

Supervised by

**Annie Brisset
School of Translation and Interpretation**

*Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
of the University of Ottawa
for the degree of Ph.D. in Translation Studies*



Library and
Archives Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-15004-7

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 978-0-494-15004-7

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.


Canada

Dedication

*To my unforgettable late father, whose memory
has led and will always lead my way*

*To my dearest mother, who enlightened
and smoothed the way for me towards success*

*To my exceptionally special husband
Mamdouh who supported me during
the difficult times of my study*

*To my sweetest angles,
my daughters Dana and Deema
Who tolerated a lot of agony
Through the times I was away from them*

*To my special sister Kifah
Who acted like a mother to
My daughters and took good
care of them during my absence*

*A special dedication to my friend and supervisor
Annie Brisset, who was more than a supervisor to me*

*To my two families, and to whoever stretched a hand
and helped pave the way for my success*

To all these persons I dedicate my thesis

AYSHA ABUGHAZZI

Translation and Public Opinion: The Press in Jordan Abstract

My thesis explores the *reflexive* and *constructive* roles of translation in the press, epitomized through studying *translation in the press in Jordan* since 1989, a year marked for democratization in Jordan. The body of translated texts, mainly 'meta-news' as exhibited in the Jordanian newspapers constitutes defined political 'discourse' that is designed to form particular collective identities and institutional effects perpetuated through regulated discursive strategies. As an ideological apparatus, the media system responds to and reflects its environment. In Jordan's quasi-democratic political environment and under the weak economic infrastructure of the press, *articles* imported from foreign media constitute a pivotal medium for regulating access to information and harnessing the process of opinion-formation. Most specifically, translation contributes to moulding and maintaining a more balanced '*glocalized*' viewpoint of world events, a liaison and compromise to the tension between the dominant Western media discourse and the domestic value systems. This mediated 'in-between' alterity enables the press to accelerate social development through negotiating public agendas and setting platforms for dialogue and debate in the public sphere. Strategies of text selection and exclusion are determined by journalistic news values as well as by domestic ideological frameworks. Examination of the dynamics of translation behaviour in the press raises fundamental questions concerning the dialectical relationship involving the media institution, the translator, and the audience. Within a marketing perspective in modern press institutions, the implicit notions that translators form of the audience as a collective entity, are emphasized as key factors that affect the logistics of text production and translation decisions. The translator in the media setting sees her/himself as a prototypical *representative* of the community s/he belongs to. Studying the complex impact of geo-political, macro-economic, demographic and socio-cultural forces on translation strategies can help anchor a more profound understanding of the nature of both the media outcome and readership. Finally, the corpus of the press emerges as a rich ground for multi-layered scholarly research that incorporates journalistic values and ethics – that are exclusively pertinent to the print media – into Translation Studies.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude explore la fonction à la fois *réflexive* et *constructive* des articles étrangers qui paraissent en traduction dans la presse. Le cas étudié est celui de la Jordanie depuis 1989, point tournant vers la démocratisation du pays. Le corpus des articles traduits dans la presse jordanienne – des méta-informations pour la plupart – constitue un véritable discours politique dont les stratégies récurrentes visent à façonner des identités collectives et à produire certains effets institutionnels. En tant qu'appareil idéologique, le système médiatique réagit à son environnement en même temps qu'il en est le reflet. Dans le milieu quasi-démocratique de la Jordanie dont les infrastructures de presse sont économiquement peu développées, les *articles* empruntés à la presse étrangère jouent un rôle décisif dans l'accès à l'information et le façonnement de l'opinion. La traduction contribue plus précisément à construire et à maintenir un point de vue plus équilibré, à la fois global et local, sur les événements qui surviennent dans le monde. Les articles émanant de l'étranger servent de liens et offrent un compromis dans les tensions entre le discours dominant des médias occidentaux et les valeurs locales. L'altérité «intermédiaire» ou hybride qui en résulte permet à l'institution de la presse d'accélérer le développement social en orientant et en négociant les agendas publics, en offrant un forum pour le dialogue et le débat dans la sphère publique.

La sélection et l'exclusion des textes étrangers relèvent de stratégies sous-tendues aussi bien par les valeurs journalistiques que par les courants idéologiques internes. La dynamique des pratiques et des comportements traductifs de la presse soulève des questions fondamentales sur la relation dialectique entre l'institution journalistique, le traducteur et son lectorat. Dans la perspective commerciale qui anime la presse moderne, l'idée implicite que les traducteurs conçoivent le lectorat comme une entité collective est un facteur clé dans la production journalistique et dans les décisions qui entourent ce qu'on traduira et comment. Le traducteur de presse se conçoit comme un *représentant* prototypique de la société auquel il ou elle appartient. Étudier l'incidence complexe des forces géopolitiques, macroéconomiques, démographiques et socioculturelles sur les stratégies de traduction permet de mieux comprendre la nature du produit médiatique et du lectorat.

Au final, le corpus des traductions journalistiques apparaît comme un terrain de recherche fertile et complexe pour la traductologie, notamment sur le plan de l'éthique et des valeurs propres à la presse écrite.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	3
Chapter 1 – The Politics of the Media.....	24
1. The Political Environment: A Historical Overview.....	24
2. Press Laws	29
2.1. Pre-Liberalization (1923-1988).....	31
2.2. Post-liberalization (1989-2005).....	32
3. The Media System in Jordan	36
4. The development of the Press	37
5. The Economics of the Print Media	45
5.1. Government Ownership.....	46
5.2. Capital Requirements.....	48
5.3. Penalties.....	49
6. The Scope of Free Expression.....	50
Chapter 2 – The Information Marketplace	55
1. The Economics of readership.....	55
2. Audience Images.....	59
3. Readership expectancy.....	65
3.1. Socio-economic aspects.....	65
3.2. Literacy, Education and Knowledge.....	67
3.3. The Social Network.....	73
3.4. Frames of Meaning.....	77
4. What does the Jordanian public like to read?.....	84
4.1. The Press	84
4.2. The Book Industry.....	93
5. Parallel Writing: Imperatives of Readership.....	99
Chapter 3 – Mapping Translation	106
1. Translation Practices as Norms.....	106
1.1. The System of Translating.....	117
1.2. The Case of <i>Al-Rai</i>	123
2. The Need for Translation.....	131
2.1. Censorship.....	132
2.2. Informativity.....	146
2.3. Diversity.....	154
2.4. Professionalism	161
2.5. Credibility and Objectivity.....	165
3. Selecting Policies.....	173
3.1. Newspapers.....	173
3.2. Opinion Writers.....	191
3.3. Opinion Articles.....	197
4. News Values.....	198

Chapter 4 – Translation as Discourse	211
1. Translation as an Exchange of Opinions.....	211
2. The Way Jordanian Columnists Write.....	216
3. How Different is the Translated Discourse?.....	237
4. Building Bridges: Hybrid Texts.....	243
4.1. The Coin Model.....	248
4.2. The Intertextual Chain.....	253
5. Translation as Testimony.....	255
6. Foreign Models to Emulate.....	259
7. The Glocalizing Role of Translation	262
7.1. The Global-Local Nexus.....	264
7.2. The Globalization Paradigm.....	266
7.3. Globalization in Crisis.....	270
7.4. The Effects of Glocalization on Jordan.....	274
8. The Visible Translator: When Punctuation Talks.....	278
Conclusion	286
Bibliography.....	290

List of Tables

Table 1.1	Press laws and corresponding political events	30
Table 1.2	Current and recent newspapers in Jordan	38
Table 2.1	GER at educational institutions in Jordan (2001)	
Table 2.2	Frequency of themes per region appearing in Al-Rai (1997)	86
Table 2.3	Regions which received the highest coverage in translation	88
Table 2.4	Distribution of Publications per subject matter	96
Table 3.1	Sections of interest to <i>Addustour</i> readers (2004)	120
Table 3.2	Regional distribution of <i>Addustour</i> website readers (2004)	121
Table 3.3	Average of soft news translated (1987 – 2005)	124
Table 3.4	Democracy as received in Jordan from 1993 – 2004 on a scale of 1 (low) to 10 (high)	138
Table 3.5	Democracy abroad as perceived in Jordan form 2000 – 2004	139
Table 3.6	The most trusted media sources in Jordan (1998 – 2003)	167
Table 3.7	Most trusted sources of political news (%)	168
Table 3.8	Average of translated articles per nationality of source publication/monthly average	174
Table 3.9	List of source publications for translation	176
Table 3.10	Top writers whose articles are translated	193
Table 4.1	Percentages of computer and Internet users in Jordan (2000 – 2004)	268
Table 4.2	The use of satellites within the Jordanian society (1998 – 2003)	269

Introduction

In today's rapidly growing postmodern world, the communication of information is of paramount importance. The media in general and the press in particular play a pivotal role in the dissemination of knowledge. Since we live in a multilingual world, translation emerges as a necessity. Strangely enough, the two vast fields of research, namely Translation Studies and Media Studies seem to virtually ignore each other. My study seeks to provide an interlocking juncture between the two fields. It will mainly deal with the role of translation in the media in disseminating information. Reciprocally, it will seek to illustrate what research in Media Studies can add to Translation Studies. For this purpose, I will be using the press in Jordan as a case-study to bring about an understanding of this crossroad. I will first introduce the basic contours of the theoretical framework informing this study. Then, I will present the basic concepts and logics of the study and define the theoretical elements involved in media production and translation in general.

As a frequent reader of the Jordanian newspapers, I have observed, and read, a large number of *opinion articles* written by non-Jordanian writers translated into Arabic that appear in daily newspapers on a regular basis. It captured my attention that one or more pages of the mainstream daily newspapers have explicitly been, at certain periods, designated as 'translations.' Moreover, the translated texts have almost always been related to *political* issues, the majority of which are related to Middle Eastern conflicts. As these articles share substantially similar text-typological and thematic-constitutive features within the same newspaper, the identification of such a pattern brings over the belief that translated texts constitute a recognizable discourse.

The present study, therefore, aims at examining the use and function of translated articles imported from foreign media by the Jordanian press as a means to regulate access to information and steer public opinion. It exemplifies how translation helps create a link between the globalized world views and the local views, by introducing the concept ‘*glocalization*’ (the concept will be explained shortly). The project is meant to be a critical contribution dealing with the meaning and significance of translated texts within the historical and political context of Jordan and the Jordanian press. It discusses in more general terms how translation interferes in the complex process of the reproduction of ideological frameworks of the Jordanian society. The study is situated in Translation Studies, but it draws on theories of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Media Studies.

The three broad mechanisms within which media discourse is built up are economic, political and cultural. An account of the print media in a given setting must consider the economics and politics of the news organizations, the nature of the market which these organizations are operating within, and their relationship to the state.¹ It is also important to attend to institutional aspects of the media, including practices of text production within the institutions of the press, and practices of text consumption and reception within society. A further consideration is the wider sociocultural context of mass media communication, the social and cultural structures, relations, practices and values which frame the mass media, shape mass media communication, and are shaped by it. Before pursuing those broad aims, it will perhaps be helpful to first address the question of what is distinctive about the print media system, and what it could add to Translation Studies.

¹ The term ‘news organizations’ is used in Media Studies to describe institutions that run newspapers and magazines, based on the premise that the primary function of these institutions is the production of *news*.

Why study the press?

The print media have certain properties which distinguish them from other forms of communication. The role they play as opinion leaders in shaping public opinion is also greater. The significance attributed to the media stems from their capacity to reinforce if not create images of the world. However, the precise function and structure of the press can only be understood within the context of existing political and socio-economic factors in a given country. Media texts are “‘barometers’ of cultural change”, to borrow Fairclough’s metaphor (1995: 52). There is an intimate, organic relationship between the structure of the news institutions and the discourse disseminated by these institutions. Neither the institution nor the functions of journalistic products can be understood properly without reference to the other. The activity of translation that takes place in such an institutional setting cannot be examined as isolated from the whole institutional, social, political and cultural framework surrounding it. Recent approaches in CDA acknowledge the ‘ideological apparatus’ function of the press (van Dijk: 1998b). The intellectual elaboration of ideology has been taken up and popularised by media institutions (McNair: 1998). The study thus introduces the press as a locus for the study of ideology as epitomized through translation.

Journalistic values of *newsworthiness* emerge as distinct criteria that govern translation strategies in the field of journalism, hence adding a new dimension to translation that does not exist in relation to other fields of study. These journalistic values of newsworthiness include values like proximity, conflict, timeliness, importance, impact and interest (DeWerth-Pallmeyer: 1998). In light of these values, translators negotiate

between the ideological demands of social discourse and the exigencies of journalistic values. The impact of these values will be discussed later.

Unfortunately, Translation Studies abounds with studies that use isolated and fragmented examples from the press. Yet, there is little theoretical focus on the press in the context of international news transmission, let alone in the Arab region or specifically in Jordan, and what research exists is predominantly devoid of critical analytic framing. On the other hand, in studies dealing with international mass communication, translation is either completely ignored or only mentioned in passing. But the influence of translation on the paradigm of globalization, and the influence of globalizing forces on translation can no longer afford to ignore the media as potential instruments for the development of civil society, particularly in a global context. The present study, thus, hopes to contribute to linking Media Studies and Translation Studies through the contextualization of translation in the institutional context of the press.

Why Study the Jordanian Press?

Jordan is located in the Middle East in the Fertile Crescent region to which Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq and Syria belong. The location of Jordan in a volatile area has made it subject to different political conflicts. Since its establishment in 1921, Jordan was ruled by Monarchy. Over the last fifty years, the Jordanian public discourse was shaped by the production and reproduction of issues related to Arab nationalism and the Arab-Israeli conflict. These different ideologies are manifest in the media discourse. Because of its large Palestinian population and its geographic location, Jordan has been “particularly sensitive to the repercussions of the Arab-Israeli conflict” (Brynen 1998: 72). While Jordan lies in a turmoil region, it is, unlike its neighboring countries,

relatively politically stable. The last two decades marked a striking political change in Jordan. Since the democratization process started in 1989, Jordan was committed to 'political pluralism.'

The press in Jordan is interesting to study because of the *constructive* role of translation in steering public opinion and its *reflexive* role in mirroring the political ebbs and flows as well as the ideological frameworks of the various sectors of the Jordanian society. Since the translated texts are thematically political, the study is driven into incorporating the framework of political studies. Media scholars have agreed that the media is always interested in depicting 'conflict' wherever it occurs (Miller: 1994). The political events which occur on a daily basis are "reported, analyzed and inevitably commented upon both by supporters and detractors alike" (Asmar 2000: 17). The role of the press as commentator brings about the need for translation. As Basil Hatim says, "before there is translation, [...] there has to be a need for translation" (1991: 12). Translation departments in the Jordanian newspapers have an informative project. With the existence of a certain level of government censorship on the press, and the weak economic infrastructure of newspapers as newsgathering apparatus, the press relies on Western news agencies for reception of news. The externally-produced articles which are imported through translation *compensate* for the limitations of the press. In her study on difference incurred in translation within the context of the Quebecois literature, Sherry Simon (1992) asserts that translation (in literary context) can function as either *replacement* or *supplement*. Translation activity and discourse aim at undertaking these functions. My major objective in this study is to show that translation compensates for the limitations of journalistic modes of functioning and professional standards of the

Jordanian press. According to *Al-Rai* chief editor Abdul-Wahab Zghailat, the news organizations managements see translation as a means for creating mechanisms of dialogue and debate of ideas and beliefs in different social settings by introducing different views contained in the Western media as opposed to those of the local media (Interview with Zghailat: 26.4.2005). The Jordanian society contains a mosaic of ideological orientations ranging from traditionalists to secularists. The complex geo-political and demographic situation makes transitions in public discourse highly controversial. The pro-Western foreign policy helps the country move towards political democratization and modernization. The diplomatic efforts of King Abdullah II seek to introduce Jordan into the global political and economic order. The disparity in stands between the pro-American government and an anti-American society has created episodes of tension between the government and the public, affecting the degree of censorship imposed by the government over the press. The press seeks to achieve a more equitable social order by nourishing the public sphere with information and diversity of opinions. The informative and discorsal roles of the press are maintained through translation. The study, thus, aims at providing, in the analyses developed, clear insights into the social, political and ideological processes at work.

Under the patronage of King Abdullah II, the Jordanian press is currently undergoing a dramatic change towards establishing professional standards of journalistic practices. The press, still an emerging institution, is partly dependent upon foreign media sources to provide both diversity and depth of coverage. The Western models are imported with the aim of enhancing the professionalism of journalism. The various issues around freedom of the press and censorship are not only closely relevant to translation

practices, but they are also reflexive of the more traditional kind of political democratization in Jordan. It is clear that there has been rapid and dramatic change in the Jordanian media environment, the effects of which are only beginning to make themselves felt. The translated discourse forms an ideal locus for examining these changes. For this reason, such an examination needs to be synchronic as well as diachronic, all at once. Although the literature on the political situation and the media in Jordan is abundant, very few studies investigated translation as such in the Jordanian press. One such study is an MA thesis by Al-Momani (2002) from Yarmouk University in Jordan on translation in the Jordanian press. The researcher deals with the language of newspapers from a stylistic point of view focusing on the formal characteristics of news writing. The study is divided into two parts; sociological, looking at the sources of news and their motivations; and textual, examining original news reports and their translations during periods of political crises. The researcher focuses on *news items* which are not translated locally in Jordan, but imported through news agencies in Arabic. The study does not approach the translated articles, which are clearly designated as ‘translations’ *per se*. The study pays almost no attention to the synchronic development of the press, although it aims at examining society in juxtaposition to the print media.

As mentioned earlier, my study will focus on the print media, although reference to other media forms will be made when necessary. In this context, it is important to note that the term ‘print media,’ as used in communication theory, usually includes forms that use the written word such as periodicals, flyers, books, etc. In this study, this term will be used exclusively to refer to the newspapers and magazines, to which I will also refer from time to time as ‘publications’.

The Media System in Jordan

The media system in Jordan is classified as *transitional*.² The system appears to be unsettled and is still undergoing change. The system favors governmental controls over the press but allows some measure of freedom of expression and diversity (Rugh 2004: 25). For the last half century, freedom of the press has gone through stages of 'ebb and flow'; a term frequently used by scholars and journalists to describe the oscillating status of the press and its relation to politics.

There are four mainstream Arabic dailies in Jordan. The newspapers with the highest circulation rates are *Al-Rai* (Opinion) and *Addustour* (Constitution) which are partially owned by the government. The other two *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* (The Arabs Today) and *Al-Ghad* (Tomorrow) are private. *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* are the closest newspapers to the government stance, and perhaps have a greater ability to influence the overall tenor of public debate than the private ones, given their wide circulation. The daily *Al-Rai* will be the focus of my study, whether in quantitative or qualitative analysis, but not to the exclusion of other newspapers, as the activity of translation appears on routine terms in all dailies. I will also use the English daily *The Jordan Times* as an example of translations from Arabic into English. I excluded the television and radio from my study because of their multi-modal nature and the complexity of the technological characteristics of each news medium. Studying different forms of the media will, thus, only lead to more generalizations and probably misleading results. I have also excluded the weeklies from my study since the activity of translations does not appear

² The definition of 'transitional' system and an elaboration of the concept will come in Chapter 1.

systematically on their pages. An overview of the media scene in Jordan will be given later.

The analytical Framework

Every discipline draws on its own methodology to show its tenets of development. At the same time, there is convergence in certain aspects such as approaches to studying texts (e.g. the linguistic approaches to translation (Catford: 1962; Nida: 1969) and Media Studies (Bell: 1991)), though they are different in their scope and rationales. For instance, the linguistic approaches to translation focus on the concept of 'equivalence' which does not exist in Media Studies. At the same time, approaches to the study of 'text' have widened in both disciplines to become more descriptive. For this purpose, it is necessary to lay out and expand the framework of studies of texts in quantitative terms so as to provide a useful tool to construct theoretical paradigms linking the two disciplines. This is crucial so that the relationship between Media Studies and Translation Studies does not fall into the pitfall of abstraction. The move in TS from the abstract to the actual, and from the prescriptive to the descriptive has been the trend since the 1980s. As translation scholar Edwin Gentzler explains

The focus in translation investigation is shifting from the abstract to the specific, from the deep underlying hypothetical forms to the surface of texts with all their gaps, errors, ambiguities, multiple referents, and "foreign" disorder. These are being analyzed – and not by standards of equivalent/inequivalent, right/wrong, good/bad, and correct/incorrect... which can help us gain increased insight into not only the nature of translation, but the nature of intercultural communication as well. (Gentzler 2001: 4)

While Gentzler unoptimistically announces in *Contemporary Translation theories (Ibid.)* the dominance of "certain values and aesthetic assumptions [...] as understood by Western critics", the present project constitutes a study from the third world that, although it will rely on Western models and approaches, will display different approaches

and ideological paradigms on which media discourse is built. A comprehensive study is needed that can illustrate the techniques and strategies of the tradition of translation in a third-world country, yet to be understood outside post-colonialism theory.

With the cultural turn towards the end of the 1980s (Bassnett and Lefevere: 1998; Robinson: 1997; Snell-Hornby: 1988), the need to study translation as a cultural phenomenon in a broader setting, rather than as a confrontation of two isolated texts, was emphasized. The discipline started to look at corpora that contain enough authentic data to give significantly new insights into interrelations and networks, at the perceived status of authors and translators, and so on, directing the attention of a project to the contextual and historical underpinnings of translations. The intercultural studies began with the study of literature, expanding later to include other genres, in the same way the polysystem theory expanded (Even-Zohar: 1979).

This is where corpora fit in. Analysis of the data as presented in newspapers needs to be quantitative, and the data built into corpora. Such endeavours require time-consuming quantitative analyses. The rationale behind such projects is to generate empirical data “as a sample of the parent population of translated texts that one wants to study” (Laviosa 2002: 25). Thus, for such studies to be fruitful, as in the present case, analysis needs to follow a top-down pattern, starting with quantitative analysis. Critical discourse analysis approaches are then applied to explain interactions between the mass media, politics and society on the one hand, and translation on the other (see below). The corpus of translated texts (which will be described later) can be analyzed with the help of different theoretical tools that address various issues. For instance, the analysis focuses on textual and discursive patterns, the arrangement of facts, arguments and frames in both

the local and foreign publications – in other words, the whole balance between information input and discourse input. It is important to examine the individual perception of the translator, institutional orientations of the mass media and a variety of subtle interaction processes between media, state and society. In Media Studies, the quantitative approach was mostly adopted by reception theories (McNair 1998), while discourse analysts (Fairclough: 1995; van Dijk: 1998b; Kress: 1989), though deal with collective identities do not rely on the quantitative approach. The convergent point to the two sub-disciplines can be realized when a phenomenon like translation builds such corpus. In this way, Translation Studies contributes to Media Studies. Since journalism is an account of mediated ‘reality,’ this case study will not be predicated on a literary frame of reference or literary approaches which dominated TS for the last half century, although that frame remains close at hand.

The body of translated texts in my study is perceived as *discourse* rather than isolated cases of translation. Fragmentary analyses published so far on the Jordanian press have tended to sketch the background to a given text (the immediate situation of communication), not to a given discourse (sociohistorical underpinnings). Such analyses are mostly based on the relationship between linguistic structures and their interpreted meanings. Texts selected for analysis in the present study are looked at synoptically as configurations, as patterns based on *instantiation*, whereby an instance mirrors a generalized instance type. In this sense, it is imperative to acknowledge the intertextual relationship between the chains of articles published regularly on the pages of a given newspaper. The chain of interrelated texts forms what Fairclough has called an ‘order of discourse’, a concept that Fairclough borrowed from Foucault (1972) and adapted to

Media Studies. In this sense, it refers to the way in which diverse genres and discourses and styles are networked together. It is a social structuring of semiotic difference – a particular social ordering of relationships amongst different ways of making meaning (Fairclough 1995: 55). The local commentary forms a distinct order of discourse that has its own form of consciousness. The translated commentary forms a different semiotic order. Nonetheless, the two orders of discourse are intertextually related, as will be seen later. The intertextual relations can be seen as emerging between and within orders of discourse, so that local writings relate to one another and at the same time they interact with the translated articles, in direct and indirect ways.

What can be attained from the study of texts as discourse articulated within ‘orders of discourse’ is the affirmation that ideology cannot be stripped of the semiotic forms of articulation, envisioned through linguistic and textual means. Fowler explains that “similar forms have different significances in different political and historical contexts” (1991: 9). A study that is predicated on critical discourse analysis calls for a detailed examination of the historical context. Thus the study of translations in the press setting should be linked to the political history of the state and the historical development of the press so as to establish a frame of reference for the corpus and its study. Establishing such a frame of reference is a preliminary stage to analyzing and understanding the beliefs and values underpinning social and political life in the Jordanian setting. Diachronic analysis of different orders of discourse belonging to the same historical period will be fruitful for examining such values.

Both descriptive translation studies (DTA) which were initiated by the Tel Aviv school by Toury (1980, 1995) then substantiated and expanded by Hermans (1997, 1999),

as well as the cultural approach to translation agree on the intercultural interaction between two cultural traditions. The two sub-disciplines supersede the notion of equivalence to investigate translation on a macro-level. Although the discipline of TS is young, the collective efforts exerted during the last thirty years by various scholars have managed to establish the infrastructure of TS. Studies in DTS used corpora for attaining reliable results for analysis. Yet, they ignored the role of readership in the production of discourse. Such role is intensified when readership is seen as a collective entity. Most studies carried under the umbrella of DTS investigate literary works (Bassnett and Lefevere: 1998), of which readers may constitute collectivities. Although the significance of readership is acknowledged, the nature of the recipient culture is not investigated. Toury confirms that the position or function of a translation within a recipient culture “should be regarded as a strong governing factor of the very make-up of the product, in terms of underlying models, linguistic representation, or both. After all, translations always come into being within a certain cultural environment and are designed to meet certain needs of, and/or occupy certain ‘slots’ in it” (1995: 12).

The present study gives readership a more prominent role in the production of translation. Readership needs to be particularly foregrounded when dealing with translation in the press. Traditional linguistic theories in both Media Studies and Translation Studies are not sufficient in this respect as they privilege the study of text to the detriment of the power of the reader. As Fowler explains, the reader is not a “passive recipient of fixed meanings” (1996: 7). In this sense, a marketing perspective in modern news organizations presupposes that audience must be factored into the news production formula, since perceptions of the audience help shape the journalistic product within

news organizations. The concept of ‘audience images’ is powerful in constructing the translated text, as translators’ perceptions of their readers determine the ideological framework of their output. Based on interviews carried out with a number of translators, the key to action seems to be in forming an implicit identification with their readers, using themselves as prototypical audience members (Interview with Barhoum: 28.5.2003; Sabri: 2.4.2005). The translator in this sense, acts as a *representative* of the audience. Although the issue of audience has been introduced and discussed in Translation Studies, particularly in target-oriented theories (Nord: 1997a, Toury: 1980), yet little has been written about how the anthropological and demographical dimensions related to specific audiences factors into the translation process taking place within a journalistic environment. On the other hand, media scholars who are ‘text- and discourse-oriented’, (such as Bell (1991), Bell and Garrett (1998); Fairclough (1995, 2003); and Dijk (1985, 1988)) tend to base their findings on examination of journalistic genres that are related to ‘news’, such as news stories, to the exclusion of translated discourse whatsoever. This may be attributed to the belief that media institutions are primarily ‘news institutions.’ As such, emphasis is placed on news items. Chapter 2 is dedicated to social aspects of readership. The notion of ‘audience’ will be examined on two levels: the social-economic and the ideological. Hence, studying translation in this setting contributes to the sub-discipline of the ‘sociology of journalism.’ The study illustrates how studying translation as a journalistic genre, excluded so far in Media Studies, contributes to a better understanding of the audience.

The study also draws attention to the translator. Perceiving translating as a kind of behaviour – in terms of being a decision-making process – entails acknowledging the

psychological aspect of the process (Levy: 1967). In recent years, the agency of the 'translator' has acquired more importance in TS (for example, Robinson: 2001; Hermans: 1996). The translator in the Jordanian press is in charge of selecting texts for translation and as such plays a key role in determining what should or should not be translated, that is; what order of discourse is made accessible to readers. Although the newspaper implicitly determines the general policies affecting translation selections (by determining which foreign newspapers to sign exchange agreements with, for instance), the mundane decisions regarding which articles to translate and how to translate them are the translator's responsibility. The translator predicates her/his selections on the "appellative function" (Bühler: 1990) of the potential articles. The overall process of translation takes place within a network of social actors. Translation is followed by an editing process, which means that it is not the outcome of an individual endeavour. It involves the cooperation of the translator with other personnel, such as senior editors and copy editors. The time-governed tasks of the translator are, thus, the outcome of a collaborative work. Nonetheless, the translator remains the key agent of the discursive process intended by translation.

Different Writing Models

The study will show that local commentary shares certain discursive features that allow it to stand as a distinct 'order of discourse' (Fairclough: 1995). There are differences in writing traditions and textual styles between those of the domestic writers as opposed to the foreign writers who are selected for translation. The modes of writing of both local and foreign writings are textually variable and are linked to argumentation patterns used by the two. The demand on translation in the press stems partially from the

disparity in writing conventions used by indigenous and Western writers. The rhetoric of the local commentary has developed certain expository norms (Toury 1995; Robinson 1999) that can be seen in terms of the relationship between informativity and modality. Informativity refers to “the extent to which a presentation is new or unexpected for the receivers” (Beaugrande 1981: 139) while modality is used here to refer to the degree of *probability* of a proposition of an *entire text*. Thus it is studied as a discursive rather than a textual device. While a large portion of the Jordanian articles tend to be abstract, the foreign articles are more concrete. Furthermore, the local articles are customarily imbued with a certain degree of emotiveness. Emotiveness refers to a highly emotion-charged mode of language. I will study the phenomenon of emotiveness from a critical discourse analysis point of view, in which the sociosemantic import of emotiveness is coded by public discourse. Emotiveness affects modality as it mitigates the truth value of arguments made by writers. Translation contributes in introducing a mode of writing that is variable. By doing so, it creates a ‘space in-between’ the two modes of writing. ‘*The coin model*’ is introduced to explain this phenomenon. This model refers to the capacity of the translated discourse to create two faces of a given discourse, namely the mode that reflects emotiveness and the other that reflects information. Seeing it from a different angle, it provides different interpretations of a given event. This space is created, not by taking extreme sides in a given conflict but by compromising the extremes – when they exist – in the two orders of discourse. Translation, according to this model, functions as a method of development. It has played and still plays an important role in shaping the editorial canons and stylistic conventions of the commentary. The disparity in orders of

discourse creates a dialogue that may be internal for the reader or external, shared by society to learn more about itself and its values by becoming aware of alternative beliefs.

In order to achieve this goal, the translated discourse had to be seen as occupying a higher rank in their writing and information models. While translation products are perceived as derivative by-products by mainstream translation theories (Venuti: 1992), the translated discourse enjoys a high position in terms of informativity, diversity and credibility within news institutions. Translation, although derivative, has a prestige which allows it to play a *testimonial* role. The material brought into a discourse from external sources is meant to make arguments as convincing as possible by showing that the general opinion formulated in the text is based on facts and experience. The importation of testimony from Western resources is indicative of the existence of a hierarchy in the way the Jordanian press in general and the translators in particular perceive the status and the credibility of foreign discourse.

The Glocalizing Role of Translation

The present study attempts to locate the problems of translation within the much broader phenomenon of globalization. The paradigm of globalization is studied in TS in terms of a polarity between globalization and tribalization (Schäffner: 2000). This dichotomy assumes two distant poles rather than stretching in relative positions over a continuum that allows a space in-between. The study deals with the role of translation in creating a cultural space in the press along the line of what is known in political and media studies as the 'new Global-Local Nexus' (Hafez: 2000). This nexus describes the link between what is seen to be global or local. The present study will show that translation in the press attempts to dismantle this dichotomy by claiming to create an in-

between zone along the cline between what is local and what is global. I will be using the term '*glocalization*' to refer to such a process. The term '*glocalization*' is a blend of the two terms '*globalization*' and '*localization*'.

Translation in the Jordanian press is predominantly West to East. The press contributes to the reversal of the flow of information pattern through its English and French newspapers. Thus, translation in the Jordanian press is used as a means for destabilizing information flows. While the Arabic newspapers import Western frames of thought, the English and French Jordanian newspapers export their nationalist discourse. Glocalization can, thus play a normative reform function by aiming at creating a mid-way between the local-global paradigms, through establishing two-way adversary communications. This link can be established by domesticating foreign paradigms and foreignizing local paradigms.

Levels of Analysis

The examination of the dynamics of translation raises some very new and fundamental questions. Such questions include: How does translation relate to the wider processes of social and cultural change? What particular representations and transformations are produced and how these differ from other recontextualizations of the same events? And finally how does translation help orient the Jordanian public opinion? In order to answer these questions, a multi-layered analysis is necessary. The study attempts to answer these questions from the perspectives of Translation Studies, Media Studies, and critical discourse analysis.

In order to answer such questions, analysis of translation in the press will be carried out on two levels. The first type of analysis will be quantitative on the macro-

level. The second level of analysis will examine the micro-level shifts. Thus, analysis will follow a top-down pattern, so that the general patterns identified in translation will be studied first, and then the pragmatic or semiotic shifts that support the decisions on a macro-level analysis will be projected and analyzed. The significance of analyzing translation on macro- and micro-levels as explained by Hermans stems from the fact that “the quantitative aspect strikes a balance between economy and credibility...while the qualitative aspect is a matter of interpretation and judgement” (1999: 70). The qualitative analysis is based on recognizing texts as signs. However, the study does not focus on the detailed structuring of individual texts. The central attention of this study will be on the evolving patterns of discourse traceable across the print media discourse.

The first level of analysis will focus on the collection of data that forms the corpus of my study in quantitative terms. For three years, I visited newspapers and archives where I took note of every page that included translations. Being cumbersome as is, the findings directed the study towards building the corpus which consisted mainly from the pages titled 'translations'. The corpus consists mainly of what I would call 'meta-news.' By 'meta-news' I mean any form of commentary on news including opinion articles, editorials and columns written by journalists or pundits. In the Jordanian press, pages which contain translations are flagged as 'Translations.' The genre covered under the title 'Translations' is opinion articles. In this study, I will use the word *article* to refer to these opinion articles. News items are excluded because they are imported as is from news agencies and not translated locally. Books are occasionally translated and published in episodes on a separate page titled 'Studies.' Opinion articles nonetheless constitute the core of the corpus. Appearing on a more regular basis than books, articles

constitute the dominant translated genre. Reference to titles of some books is made in brief in Chapter 3 to confirm the translators' thematic preferences towards coverage of political issues. Because the translation output is voluminous, the study is limited to certain time-space parameters. Concerning translations into Arabic, the corpus is limited to *Al-Rai*, the mainstream newspaper in Jordan. The majority of data and examples are taken from the daily *Al-Rai*, but are not exclusive to it. The period of focus investigated extends from 1989 to 2005. I chose this period for the following interconnected reasons. First, news coverage in the national dailies in the 1970s and 1980s can be described as being "erratic and poor" (Asmar 2000: 23). Newspapers content was limited and little translation was done during that period. Second, the year 1989 is an important year in the contemporary political calendar of Jordan, as it marks the beginning of political democratization. Democratization bears direct implications on freedom of the press and hence, the need for translation. Third, the introduction of new technologies most conspicuously since the 1990s, such as the Internet and the satellite, and the social changes that have ensued prompted the media institutions to reconsider their information policies. Such developments, which reached full force in the 1990s accelerated the pace of communication and allowed the Jordanian public to be exposed to other regional and international forms of media (Eickelman and Anderson: 1999). These changes have resulted in more diversification of the media content. The need for translation augmented to cater for the increase in demand for information. Fourth, as a consequence to such an expansion of the media outlets, a trend towards the reversal of news flow from East to West started to take place, instigated by major political events such as the attacks on the World Trade Centre on 11.9.2001, the American attacks on Afghanistan in 2002, and the

American war on Iraq in 2003. Based on the findings of the study, it is no exaggeration to say that during the first five years of the twenty first century the Jordanian press yielded more translations than it did during the previous thirty years. As for translations made into English, the articles chosen for qualitative analysis are mainly taken from *The Jordan Times*, being the official English newspaper with the widest circulation.

During my collection of the corpus, the study created various inventories including an inventory of the names of authors who are translated the most. Every writer's name was enlisted, eventually forming a list of over a hundred names. The gist of it is given in Table 3.10 on page 193. Another inventory was made of the foreign publications (newspapers and magazines) from which translators selected their potential articles. Again the results came in scores. They were classified according to nationality and were pinned down eventually into the most frequently translated ones, the results of which are given in Table 3.9 on page 167. In both cases the study exhibited a tendency towards American authors and publications. And finally, the study attempted to discern the source languages translated as well as the nationalities of the source publications. Such inventory was intended to find out if translators adopted certain preliminary norms (Toury 1995) in their translation activity. The study did find such a regulatory pattern, the results of which will be discussed in Chapter 3. The study also found that translations mostly covered issues which are mainly political, religious, historical, cultural/civilizational, geostrategic, and economic as reflected in the contents of the relevant papers.

These two levels of analysis are supported by extra-linguistic data. These include surveys, statistics and studies that can validate the two previous levels. Such data is

relevant to the list of books published by the mainstream publishing houses in Jordan to see what genres form high literature for the Jordanian public. For over two years, I visited over a dozen publishing houses and obtained a list of publications issued by the publishing house. Whenever possible, I carried out interviews with owners of the publishing houses such as my interviews with Ghazi Al-Sa'di, owner of Dar Al-Jaleel for Palestinian Publications and Studies on 14.6.2003 and Maher Al-Kayyali owner of Arab Establishment for Studies and Publication on 14.6.2005. my major concern was focused on the type of books and genres mostly published and – if applicable – translated. Another set of data is obtained from the surveys carried out by the press or by research institutions on various issues such as readership, democracy and freedom of the press. One such source for statistical data is the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) at Jordan University. Surveys carried out by CSS concern political life in Jordan with a special eye towards the media and readership. Two surveys used in my study involve the level of democracy as perceived by Jordanians and credibility of international media outlets *qua* Jordanian media outlets. Another study was carried out by The Centre for the Protection and Freedom of Journalists concerning freedom of the press as perceived by journalists. The significance of such studies lies in enabling the researcher to evaluate the implications of censorship on the journalistic process and hence its impacts on translation.

Interviews with translators working in news institutions, as well as chief editors, editors, and other personnel in the media sector proved to be very insightful for understanding translation in action. Over three years I paid visits to translators on the job. Translators and editors gave first hand descriptions of their translation and editing tasks.

In order to learn about the strategies implemented in translation, translators working at various newspapers were interviewed more than once over the period extending from 2003 to 2005. Special focus was addressed to translators working in *Al-Rai*. Translators were asked questions related to their tasks. For instance, in my first visit to *Al-Rai* in 2003, my questions addressed the issue of readership. Relevant questions concerned the way translators perceived the audience and the feedback translators got from the audience. In my second visit in 2004, my concern was addressed to translators' preferences of translated texts, in terms of nationalities, languages and writers. This coincided with the stage where my corpus was almost ready up to 2004. My questions for the year 2005 were more specific to translation strategies and to qualitative evaluation of the texts. The interviews in 2005 were especially significant because I could obtain feedback from the translators themselves on the texts that I found and used in this thesis. A lot of explanation was given on the options and selections made by the translators themselves. The answers they gave confirmed the quantitative data supplemented in the study, as explained in details in Chapter 3. Interviews with chief editors of *Al-Rai*, *The Jordan Times*, *The Star* and *Sheehan* were useful in learning about the managerial and editorial policies that may directly or indirectly affect translation activity. For instance, the claim that Rugh (2004:11) made regarding the exclusion of readership of newspapers in the Arab World – Jordan included – to the elite class was negated by all interviewed chief editors. The importance of the above-mentioned interviews and statistical data lies in attempting to obtain reliable data directly elicited from those involved in the journalistic process of news production which *can* confirm the quantitative data provided in the study.

Chapter 1

The Politics of the Media

Having presented the conceptual tools to support my project, I shall now turn to the historical background that makes possible a full account of its particular logic. This chapter will address the different political dimensions that draw the broad lines of the habitat in which media discourse is nurtured; namely the political situation in Jordan and the economic infrastructure of the media. In exploring these issues, it is not my intention in this chapter to expound in great detail on the history of the Jordanian press or the political life in Jordan – which have been studied in depth by other media and political studies scholars - but rather to identify the key historical and political junctures underpinning specific journalistic practices. The journalistic practices themselves will be the topic of chapter three. The account on press laws and the development of the press will project the key turning points which have influenced the functioning of news institutions. This background is necessary to provide a holistic overview on the political culture in Jordan, especially for those who are not familiar with the Jordanian situation. This chapter does not contain literature related to Translation Studies, but is a preliminary stage that will help establish a link between translation and media studies, along with its political package.

1. The political environment: A Historical Overview

In any society, the political setting defines more than any other set of considerations the institutional forms of the media systems, and subsequently the

functions which the workers in affiliated media institutions are expected to perform. Jordan's course of political development has been characterized by political vulnerability and economic dependence (Brand 1991: 3); the former deriving mainly from its long borders with Israel and the large number of Palestinians among the kingdom's population, and the latter due to the dearth of its natural resources. Jordan's Gross National Product (GNP) was US\$ 1,750 in 2001.³ The presence of a large Palestinian population in Jordan placed Jordan at the center of the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1948. Jordan has played and is still playing a dynamic role in the ongoing peace negotiations between Arabs and Israelis. As will be illustrated below, these events have influenced legislation involving the press.

Since its establishment as Emirate of Trans-Jordan by the British on 15.5.1923 as a national state prepared for independence, Jordan had been ruled by monarchy.⁴ The emir was to rule Transjordan with the help of a constitutional government and British advisors (Najjar 2001:79; Salibi 1983: 87-88), The network of advisors developed later into a legislative council. The British Agreement with Jordan in 1930, the Palestinian revolution in 1936, and the preparations for the Second World War created political tension and a national movement in Jordan during the 1930s and 1940s. Jordan gained its independence formally in 1946 during the reign of King Abdullah, who was killed in Jerusalem in 1950. After a brief reign of King Talal (9.1951-8.1952), his son Hussein ascended the throne in 11.8.1952. King Hussein's forty-seven years of reign were full of political challenges and witnessed a significant leap for Jordan in which the King attempted to establish Jordan as a modern state. His first accomplishment was the

³ Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO, 2005. The amount is given in billions.

⁴ Reference to dates will be patterned as dd/mm/yyyy.

Arabization of the Jordanian army⁵, then the termination of the British treaty in 31.5.1957 (Pundik 1994: 301).

Israel was established over the former Palestine in 1948. To curb Israeli expansion, Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq went into war with Israel. Following the defeat of the Arabs, 600,000 to 700,000 Palestinian refugees streamed into the East Bank of Jordan (Flapan 1987: 83)⁶ changing demographic realities in Jordan (Shreim 1984: 63). The West Bank was officially annexed to Jordan on 24.4.1950. Until 1989, and with the exception of short and intermittent periods in the 1950s and 1960s, Jordan maintained emergency laws over the years. The super power status of the Soviet Union and the advent of Jamal Abd al-Nasser, the popular president of Egypt and his frank Arab nationalism, in the 1950s and 1960s, brought about two ideological trends onto the Jordanian political scene; communism and pan-Arabism, both of which the pro-Western regime was not enthusiastic about. The October 1961 parliament elections resulted in a new sixty-seat parliament, with equal representation for the East and West Banks of the Jordan River. When Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was established in 1964, the question of who represents the Palestinians came to the surface. In 1967, Jordan underwent the Arab-Israeli war, resulting in another surge of around 250.000 – 300.000 Palestinian refugees to Jordan (Najjar 1998: 128). Rivalry escalated between the Jordanian authorities and Palestinian commando (fida'yeen) groups inside Jordan, as the power of the Palestinian commandos mounted within Jordan. In September 1970, an internal conflict between the PLO and the King led to a short-term civil war between

⁵ Arabization means the allocation of the chief and top positions in the army to Jordanian citizens rather than British ones, as was the case before 1952.

⁶ In the study by Najjar (1998), the number of Palestinian refugees he provided was 400.000 to 450.000 refugees.

Palestinian commandos and Jordanian armed forces, resulting in the ouster of Palestinian commandos from Jordan. In October 1974, the Arab League recognized the PLO as the “sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people” (Brynen ^{et al} 1995: 74).

In the mid-1980s, negotiations between King Hussein and the PLO failed to end in a federated Jordanian-Palestinian state ruled by the King. Reacting to the breakdown in talks with the PLO and Israel during spring 1986, King Hussein announced in 10.10.1986 that national elections would be postponed. The outbreak of the Intifada (uprising) in the West Bank in 1987 diminished any prospects of a federation, due to the “apparent allegiance of West Bank demonstrators to the PLO” (Najjar 2001: 89) “prompting the King to sever all administrative ties to the occupied territories in July 1988” (Mufti 1999: 104). The growing economic difficulties in Jordan resulting from losing its status as a semi-rentier country⁷, and to a debt-rescheduling agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) led to a severe currency and economic crisis. In response to price increases on fuel, bread and other goods, rioting broke out in the pro-regime southern parts of Jordan on April 1989, (Al-Mousa 1998: 59). The riots made the King reconsider Jordan’s domestic policy. Liberalization was seen by the King as the optimal solution to overcome the conflict.

Democratization started with the holding of parliamentary elections in November 1989 (Najjar 2001: 85). Jordan’s administrative disengagement from the West Bank in 31.7.1988 made the King direct his attention to domestic economic and political reforms. The major shifts towards pluralism were revealed through signing a national pact (the National Charter), legalizing political parties, and granting greater press freedom. The National Charter, which was drafted by thinkers representing all political trends in the

⁷ Jordan was aided by the Gulf oil-producing countries in the 1980s, financially and with oil products.

country, was a contract between the regime and the people. It guaranteed a pluralistic system in return for allegiance of all political parties to the Hashemite monarchy. The Charter was endorsed and approved on 9.6.1991. On July 1991, most martial laws in force since 1967 were repealed, making the liberalization promised in 1989, a reality (Najjar 2001: 86). The Political Parties Law was passed on 1.9.1992 paving the way for multiparty elections in the summer of 1993 and strengthening democratic rights and public and individual freedoms (Hawatmeh 1991: 13).

The Iraqi invasion to Kuwait in August 1990 caused waves of Jordanian expatriates to return to Jordan. An estimated 300,000 – 400,000 migrated between 1991 and 1996 (Sharoni and Abu-Nimer 2004: 188), adding to Jordan's economic deficit. Jordan's government refused to join the USA-led coalition against Iraq. The open support of the Jordanian public to Iraq in its war against the coalition helped dictate King Hussein's foreign policy during the 1990-1991 Gulf War.

The USA-sponsored Middle East peace process, which began in 1991 with the Madrid Peace Conference, brought King Hussein's desire for a settlement with Israel into conflict with the Jordanian public's distrust of Israel and the United States. The gap between official foreign policy and public opinion, coupled with the ongoing economic crisis and high rate of unemployment, led to growing domestic discontent. King Hussein, with the desire to resolve the economic situation, participated in the peace process and eventually signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1994. The treaty triggered debt cancellation from the United States and other Western creditors (Sakr 2002: 109). However, austerity measures imposed by the government led to riots in August 1996. Changes in the Election Law in 1993 and restrictions on public demonstrations sought to

eliminate the opposition's public voice while keeping the veneer of political liberalization. Moves to restrict press freedom, however, provide the most visible venue of the regime's moves to silence Jordan's opposition. As the 1997 general election approached, the government slammed the democratization process into reverse. The rights given to political parties in 1993 were withdrawn in 1997.

In 1998, King Hussein's health deteriorated. He died in February 1999, and was succeeded by his son King Abdullah II. Since ascending the throne, King Abdullah II worked on solving the complexities of the political and economic situation in Jordan, while trying to maintain security and stability in the country. King Abdullah moved quickly to reaffirm Jordan's peace treaty with Israel and its relations with the United States. During the first year in power, he refocused the government's agenda on economic reform. In 2003, the U.S.-led attack on Iraq encountered public discontent against the war, and support for Iraq in Jordan (and in other parts of the world). The pro-Iraq anti-American attitudes are manifest in the Jordanian mass media discourse. Jordan's continuing structural economic difficulties, burgeoning population, and more open political environment led to the emergence of a variety of political parties. Moving toward greater independence, Jordan's parliament has investigated corruption charges against several regime figures and has become the major forum in which differing political views, including those of political Islamists, are expressed.

2. Press Laws

Is it a coincidence that democratic life in Jordan is described as "two steps forwards, two steps back" by a local journalist a decade after the landmark parliamentary elections of 1989 (Henderson 1997) at the time that the freedom of the press is described

in terms of “ebb and flow” (Najjar: 1998)? Such correlation between political events and degree of freedom of the press is a *de facto* matter, as it shows the intertwining correspondence between the media and the political life. This relationship can be detected from the following account on the development of the press laws and the press in Jordan. Thus, the following section will focus on the legislative life of the press. The correspondence between certain political events and changes in press laws is briefed in Table 1-1 below. A more detailed elaboration will follow.

Table 1-1 Press laws and corresponding political events

Press Law (Year)	Political Events	Nature of Press Law
1927,1928	Ottoman Interference	Ottoman publishing laws
1939, 1945	2 nd World War	Based on the 1935 Defence of East Jordan Law
1948	Establishment of Israel/ Palestinian emigration into Jordan	Stringent
1953, 1955	Communism/Pan-Arabism	Further specifications and restrictions
1967	Arab-Israeli war/ Palestinian emigration into Jordan	Strict rules of publishing
1973	Arab-Israeli war	Very strict, ultimate power to Council of Ministers
1993	Democratization/ multi-party parliament	Most liberal
1997	Internal conflicts following Jordan-Israel peace treaty	Very stringent restrictions
1998	Overturning of previous law	Similar restrictions as in 1997 law
1999	Ascension of King Abdullah II	Relaxing some articles off the 1998 Law
2001	11.9.2001 attacks on World Trade Center	Restricting some already-relaxed articles of the 1999 Law

Since the appearance of newspapers in Jordan, the press was directly influenced by the publishing laws, which were at first unsophisticated. Shreim (1984: 9) states that the media content has changed drastically since the 1920s in quantity and quality. After

the 1923 Law, a number of amendments were made, the last of which was in 2001. A general preview of press laws shows the oscillatory nature of these laws. I will divide the life of press laws into two key milestones; pre-liberalization and post-liberalization.

2.1. Pre-liberalization (1923 - 1989)

Jordanian governments have tried to regulate the press since 1923. The first newspapers in Jordan were official government publications. Article 21 of the 1923 Basic Law of the Emirate of Jordan states that “the press is free within the domain of the law and it should not be searched or investigated prior to publication” (Najjar 2001: 79). The first law that was activated in Jordan was the Ottoman publishing law in 12.3.1927, which was recurrently amended in 1928, then later in 1939 and 1945. These later amendments were based on the 1935 Defence of East Jordan Law. Its purpose was to act as a shield against the German and Ottoman influence on Jordan during the Second World War. This law gave the government extra powers to waive constitutional guarantees, censor the press inside Jordan, and control the entry of publications and mail from abroad.

The repercussions of the Arab-Israeli conflict were evident in the press laws since the establishment of Israel in 1948. The 1948 Press Law, which was enacted following the Arab-Israeli war in the same year contained more stringent restrictions on press content than previous laws, reflecting war conditions (Shreim: 1984). The Jordanian government reacted to what it saw as an Arab-Nationalism threat (Najjar: 2001) by reviving the Defense Law regulations on 18.8.1954. This allowed it to cancel newspaper licenses without the necessity of showing cause, dissolve political parties, and prohibit political assemblies. The two press laws that were enacted in 1953 and 1955 brought

further specifications of the nature of topics and material prohibited from publication. Both laws required the owners to supply samples of their typefaces and to report any changes. Six newspapers were closed for six months in early 1955. On 20.12.1955, East Jerusalem newspapers went on strike to protest against the imposed censorship (Haurani and Al-Tarawnah 1986: 159). The year 1956 witnessed a relatively less suppressive period, but it was short-lived.

The 1967 Press Law, following the Arab-Israeli war, helped the government control the entry point into the profession by dictating - through licensing - who is permitted to practice journalism. It brought strict organizational rules for regulating publications. The Jordanian-Palestinian conflict in 1970 and the third Arab-Israeli war in 1973 was reflected in the 1973 Press Law, which gave the ultimate power of press regulation to the Council of Ministers. It also deprived the press of some of the legal guarantees the press had previously enjoyed when it stipulated that the decisions of the Council of Ministers on licensing were not subject to review 'by any quarter'. The law required newspapers to submit samples of their pre-published material to the Ministry of Information (Shreim 1984: 141-154). During the 1980s, Jordanian newspapers operated under strict government censorship and control (Najjar 1991: 129). The Arab-Israeli conflict remains a sensitive issue for the government. The way this subject is handled and presented by the local newspapers has often been a central issue that steered government-press relations.

2.2. Post-liberalization (1989 – 2005)

During this period, five press and publications laws (now being called press and publication laws (PPL) rather than press laws) were legislated. Of these five laws only

the 1993 Law took shape in a period of general political liberalization (Najjar 1998). The 1993 PPL, the first after the embarking of democratization, removed many of the repressive provisions of the 1973 press law, making the press freer than at any time in its history. The 1993 PPL marked a major turnabout of media law reform. Mainly, the 1993 PPL announced the era of openness to public opinion and allowed the emergence of new more outspoken publications.

However, criticism in the press abounded from unpopular foreign policies (peace and normalization with Israel, a turning away from the Jordanian alliance with Iraq) and economic policies (the IMF structural adjustment package). In January 1995, King Hussein asked the then Prime Minister Abdal Karim Kabariti to design a communication policy to “deepen people’s practice of democracy and dialogue and foster the creation of constructive criticism” between officials and citizens (Rugh 2004: 139).

At the same time, the government filed 66 lawsuits against journalists and newspapers for violating the PPL and the Penal Code. Being intolerant to what it called the *sensationalist press*, the government decreed amendments to the 1993 PPL in May 1997, resulting in a broad outcry and the boycotting of the November parliament elections by nine political parties and thirteen professional associations. The 1997 amendments restricted the freedom of the press in Jordan in five main areas: restrictions on editors, reversing privatization of state-owned newspapers, raising minimum capital requirements for newspapers, revising prohibitions on content, and increasing penalties for violations of the PPL (Najjar 1998: 133). The situation changed so dramatically since 1993, following the rising opposition in the media that Toujan al-Faisal, a then member of parliament, described it as the “Law for Nationalizing Thought” (Najjar 2001: 91).

Protests against the law broke out including demonstrations in late May 1997. On 26.1.1998, the High Court of Justice ruled that the temporary amendments were unconstitutional because the provisions were enacted while parliament was not in session (*Ibid.*).

In mid-1998, King Hussein instructed the government to prepare a new press and publication law to prevent what he considered to be “slandorous reporting on the Palestinian-Israeli talks” (Rugh 2004: 141). In a letter to the Prime Minister he said the law should “deter anyone from harming Jordan’s ties with Arab states or adversely affecting national unity” (*Ibid.*). The government’s press bill was ratified by parliament on 9.8.1998 incorporating many of the restrictions in the 1997 PPL. It contained several articles reversing the democratization and freedom of the press and giving the government more control. It eliminated appeals to the denial of licenses. It banned any news relating to the armed forces or security forces or defamed heads of Arab friendly and foreign states, and allowed the courts to close publications for reasons of ‘public interest’ or ‘national security.’ The 1998 law gave the government powers to issue fines, withdraw licenses, and shut down newspapers. The Penal Code also authorized the state to take actions against anyone who incited violence, defamed a head of state, disseminated “false or exaggerated information outside the country that attacks state dignity or defamed a public official” (Najjar 2001: 100-3).

With the death of King Hussein in February 1999, his son King Abdullah II promised a return to policies of political liberalization in Jordan. In a speech in parliament in March 1999 he said “press freedom should be as high as the national flag”⁸. In February 1999, for the first time since 1967, the government allowed Palestinian

⁸ 1999 *World Press Freedom Review*, Jordan section

newspapers to be sold in Jordan. In May, he ordered abolition of censorship of foreign publications entering Jordanian territory (*Ibid.*). In September 1999, amendments were made to the 1998 PPL, relaxing some controls over the press and revoking certain particularly restrictive articles such as the prohibition of any information considered to be an attack on the royal family, the army, the currency, the legal system, national unity or Arab heads of state. However, the authorities could still rely on the Penal Code to take journalists, writers, and politicians to court for the crimes of lese-majesty (insulting the king or royal family), inciting sectarianism, or disparaging a foreign country. Amendments were endorsed in October 1999, lowering the capital requirements for newspapers, reducing the scale of fines for journalists, and cancelling the fourteen contentious and vaguely worded restrictions on content.

Following the 11.9.2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, many of the changes made to the 1999 PPL were reversed, on the grounds that the old code “did not cover the current need to face up to terrorist acts and punish them” (Najjar, 2004: 261). The amendments to the Penal Code provided for the closure “permanently or temporarily” of publications with items that are “defamatory, false, harmful to national unity or the state’s reputation” or that carry news that incite holding illegal public meetings or disturbing public order, or news instigating acts of religious and racial fanaticism (*Ibid.* ; 262). Another more-balanced press law, promising more reform is anticipated in 2006. Although the ceiling of freedom of the press is recognized by journalists to be moderate, the King comments on the performance of some journalists

and newspaper managers from time to time, emphasizing the importance of credibility and objectivity in news coverage and commentary.⁹

3. The Media System in Jordan

Media scholars have classified the media in the world into four system types, namely; (1) authoritarian, (2) libertarian, (3) social responsibility, and (4) totalitarian. Rugh in his investigation on the Arab media systems argues that the “Arab media has some characteristics which set it apart from systems elsewhere that none fits neatly and completely into any one of these categories” (2004: xvi). Hence, Rugh has classified the media systems in the Arab world rather differently. He categorizes them into the following types: mobilization, loyalist, diverse, and transitional. The media in Jordan is classified within the last category. The Jordanian press is described as ‘transitional’ because the system itself still remains under debate, and appears to be unsettled. It is still undergoing change, the outcome of which is uncertain. It is a rather complex system that contains strong elements favoring governmental controls over the press, alongside some elements that provide some measure of freedom of expression and diversity. The largest circulation print media are those partially controlled by the government. Smaller publications exist which are owned by parties or private individuals. The former, “national newspapers,” tend to have more influence on the public debate than the latter, partially because of their large circulation. Also, although the constitution speaks about free speech and press, there are many laws on the books which give the government the power to take action against newspapers and journalists for what they publish. The government attempts to influence the press but generally uses legal means, especially

⁹ *Al-Rai*, 19.4.2005.

through the courts (*Ibid.* : 25 & 121). Self-censorship exists but restrictions on press freedom are openly discussed. The law in Jordan requires that owners of newspapers be Jordanian nationals.

The classifications suggested by Rugh, and other media scholars, imply that these systems are static, while the political realities in countries like Jordan, assert that the form of the media system may vary within certain periods of political changes or events. For instance, in 1997, the print media in Jordan undertook the role of 'social responsibility' in which it attempted to speak for the public and criticise the government for its foreign policy and domestic legislations. Soon afterwards, the system turned into an authoritarian one, starting to relax into a transitional one only in 1999. The illustration of these transitions is crucial for the explanation of shifts incurred in the media content at these different periods.

4. The development of the Press

In this section, I will enumerate the main newspapers in Jordan, though not exhaustively, as the number of newspapers which appeared since the establishment of Jordan, exceed a hundred. Besides, the Jordanian scene had witnessed considerable incidents of births and deaths of newspapers, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. My main intention is to give the reader a historical overview on the circumstances that led to the survival of the current newspapers or to the short-lived cycles of other publications. Table 2-2 below gives a brief description of the key press publications for the last two decades, starting with the publications that are still on the newsstands.

Table 1-2 Current and recent newspapers in Jordan

Name	Year of establishment	Type of publication & status
<i>Al-Rai</i>	1971	Governmental, broadsheet, Mainstream national
<i>Addustour</i>	1967	Governmental, broadsheet, Mainstream national
<i>Al-Arab Al-Yawm</i>	1993	Private broadsheet
<i>Al-Ghad</i>	2004	Private broadsheet
<i>Jordan Times</i>	1975	English mainstream
<i>Al-Aswaq</i>	1993	Economic, closed in 1999
<i>Sawt Al-Sha'b</i>	1983	Semi-government broadsheet daily, closed in 1998
<i>Shihan</i>	1988	Private political weekly
<i>Al-Sabeel</i>	1994	Party, Islamic Brotherhood
<i>Al-Bilad</i>	1995	Private
<i>Abbed Rabbo</i>	1996	Satirical, closed in 1998
<i>Al-Majd</i>	1994	Private Islamic
<i>Star</i>	1988	English, French, Russian mainstream national

Prior to 1948, the only newspapers being published in Jordan were two low-circulation Amman weeklies, *Al-Naser* (Victory) and *Al-Urdun* (Jordan). In 1948, some leading publishers and editors who had worked in Palestine after World War II, fled from Israeli occupation to Jordan's East Jerusalem where they established Jordan's first daily newspapers, following the ones that were established in Jaffa in Palestine; *Filastin* (Palestine) in 1911 and *Al-Difa'* (Defence) in 1933.

The 1950s is considered the birth era of the modern Jordanian press, due to the establishment of the Jordanian Press Association (JPA) on 17.3.1953. The print media developed in quality during the 1950s and early 1960s. The press of the 1950s was described by a Jordanian government publication as "flourishing" with more than forty newspapers and magazines in print, many of which were party rather than mass publications (Shreim 1984: 24). *Al-Urdun*, which in 1949 became a daily, did not hesitate

to criticize the government. In 1959 and 1960, the dailies *Al-Jihad* (The Jihad) and *Al-Manar* (The Perspective), respectively were established, followed by the weeklies *Amman Al-Masa'* (The Amman Evening), *Akhbar Al-Ussu'* (The News of the Week), and *Al-Hawadith* (Incidents). The official government news agency "Jordan News Agency (JNA) – known as Petra – started in 1965. Shortly afterwards, the Publications and Press Department (PPD) which acted as an arbiter, was innovated as an affiliate to the government. The government accused the press of the 1950s of being "non-Jordanian, with loyalty to foreign ideologies", an allusion to the communist and Arab nationalist publications of the period (Al-Mousa 1998: 36).

The June 1967 Arab-Israeli war, which resulted in Israel's occupation of East Jerusalem, also impacted on the press as most of the Arab journalists fled from Jerusalem and the West Bank further eastward. The government then issued new licenses on condition that the four old Jerusalem dailies would merge into two Amman dailies: *Filastin* and *Al-Manar* merged into *Addustour* while personnel of *Al-Difa'a* and *Al-Jihad* joined to publish a new daily, *Al-Quds* (Jerusalem). This merger was ostensibly embarked to improve the quality of the press, but the move was widely regarded as an attempt to evoke more support for the government. In 1968 a new daily paper *Al-Difa'a* emerged as the third reincarnation of the old Jaffa paper.

In the summer of 1970, when the Palestinian commando (fida'iyeen) movement seriously challenged the Jordanian government, the government used its powers to control the press. It closed the two dailies *Addustour* and *Al-Difa'a* on 14.6.1970. The government allowed them to reopen two weeks later because it was not strong enough to

control the new fida'iyeen daily *Al-Fateh*¹⁰, which took their place and became, along with other Jordanian newspapers, an even more outspoken pro-Palestinian critic of the Jordanian government. However, after the government regained control of the country in September 1970, *Al-Fateh* disappeared. At the time, the government established a new paper, *Al-Rai* in 1971 to help promote the official viewpoint. In 1983, *Sawt Al-Sha'b* (Voice of the People) was established as a national broadsheet daily. The latter closed in 1998 due to low circulation.

In November 1988 the government issued executive orders dissolving the boards of directors of the three existing daily newspapers *Al-Rai*, *Addustour*, and *Sawt Al-Sha'b* and appointed its own managers and chief editors. The government also forced private newspaper owners to sell their shares to the government (Najjar: 1998). The situation started to change in 1989. After the parliamentary elections on November 1989, the atmosphere for freedom of expression in the print media improved. On 11.12.1989 the government reinstated the former elected boards of directors of the press companies it had taken over in 1988, in effect lifting the direct government controls imposed in the previous year.

The November 1989 elections and the launch of democratization encouraged public debate. Following the Gulf War in 1991, and the influx of experienced journalists and "fairly large numbers of literate, newspaper reading expatriate[s] returning from Kuwait" (Al-Mousa 1997: 20)¹¹ and enhancing the media circles, the new openness led to a proliferation of publications that ranged from the serious political to some scandal-

¹⁰ The paper *Al-Fateh* was named after the popular name of PLO's military wing.

¹¹ The media system in Kuwait is featured as "diverse". It exhibits a considerable degree of diversity and freedom of expression. Government influence over the media in this system is limited (Rugh 2004: 99-101).

driven weekly papers. The PPD's own records indicate that, between 1993 and 1997, around eight licenses were granted to individuals, nineteen to political parties, fifty-eight to companies, and 355 to specialized publications (*Ibid.*).

The private and party press in 1992 was concentrated in the weeklies. By September 1997, there were twenty-one weeklies. The most popular weeklies include *Shihan* (Shihan, a sarcastic proper name), *Al-Majd* (The Glory), *Akhbar Al-Ussbu'* (News of the Week), *Al-Sahafi* (The Journalist), the Islamist *Al-Liwa'* (The Banner), *Al-Bilad* (The States), the English/French/Russian *The Star* and a political magazine *al-Ufuq* (Horizon) (Al-Mousa 1997: 4). Indeed, one of the biggest breakthroughs in the recent history of the Jordanian print media was the emergence of privately-owned weeklies. After legalizing political parties in September 1992, political party newspapers began to appear, and some of them clearly took positions in opposition to the government. *Al-Jamaheer*, the Communist Party newspaper banned in the 1950s, was revived in the wake of the 1993 Law, along with papers such as *Al-Ahali* (Masses) of Democratic People's Party, *Al-Masira* (The March) of Democratic Progressive Party, *Al-Fajr al-Jadid* (The New Dawn) of Socialist Democratic Party, *Al-Mustaqbal* (The Future) of the Future Party, *Al-Nahda* (Renaissance) of National Constitutional Party, *al-'Ahd* (the Pledge) of the Pledge Party, *Al-Hurriya* (Freedom) of the Liberty Party, *Nida' Al-Watan* (Call of the Homeland) of the Popular Unity Party and so on.

Given the fragmentation of the country's opposition, and financial instability, this section of Jordan's press generally failed to build up a large following even before the 1997 clampdown. The exception was *Al-Sabeel*, the Islamist weekly established in 1993 and owned by members of the Muslim Brotherhood. Ironically, frequent criticism by *Al-*

Sabeel of what it called “indecent and obscene” material in other newspapers provided the government with ammunition in its attempts to justify the tough curbs of the 1997 and 1998 PPLs. Ministers claimed that sections of the press were themselves in favour of tighter laws.

In the mid-1990s, some weeklies gained a reputation as tabloids for unprofessional *sensationalism*, but others such as *Shihan* and *Al-Majd*, which are still operative, came to be regarded as serious and valued forums for news and commentary on public affairs. The mid-1990s also saw the birth of political satire in the Jordanian press, with the launch of the satirical *Abed Rabbo*¹² in August 1996. This weekly's first issue sold 10,000 copies. Sales subsequently reached 26,000 at their peak, a relatively high rate for a weekly in Jordan. A few months into its existence, *Abed Rabbo* published a photograph of members of the security forces beating up journalists protesting outside the Prime Minister's office, juxtaposing it with a denial from the Minister of Information that this had taken place. Faced with the capital requirements and fines of the 1997 press law, *Abed Rabbo* closed in June 1997, making a brief reappearance on the newsstands in the spring of 1998 (Sakr 2002: 117).

The year 1996 witnessed a marked increase in prosecutions and warnings against what the government considered to be an “irresponsible” journalism of some weeklies (Campagna 1998: 46). Litigation was intensified by the 1997 press law amendments. According to the figure reported by Ministry of Information, the latter raised sixty-three cases against newspapers between July 1993 and July 1996 under the PPL and Penal Code; including fifty-eight against weeklies. *Al-Bilad*, solely faced twenty-six cases.

¹² *Abed Rabbo* is a cynical proper name. It is not linked to any known political character.

Although the popular weekly *Shihan* avoided closure, it faced twenty-nine cases as of September 1996.

The May 1997 PPL amendments required daily and weekly newspapers to increase their capital base twelve fold (see below). It imposed fines of up to JD25,000 (US\$35,225), and/or suspension or closure of papers for violating vaguely worded restrictions on content. Inevitably, mergers and “voluntary” closures followed, but the stronger dailies resisted. The Ministry of Information suspended thirteen weeklies as of September 24, 1997 and revoked the licenses of twelve of these two months later for failing to increase their capital to the required standard amount of \$420,000, leaving only four independent weeklies publishing; *Shihan*, *Al-Sabeel*, *Al-Bilad* and *Al-Majd* (Campagna 1998: 45).

Whereas the government-backed *Al-Rai* has been in existence since the early 1970s, the privately owned and more self-assertive daily *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* (The Arabs Today) managed to attract a loyal following within months of its launch in April 1997 (Sakr 2002: 115). Its circulation was estimated at 70,000 in 1999. The newspaper’s daring policy and its confrontations with the government during late 1990s lowered its circulation. Currently the rate is 35,000 copies.¹³ The other privately owned daily, *Al-Aswaq* (Markets), started as a business weekly in April 1993 but began to publish daily later that year. By late 1999, its low circulation (around 7,000 copies) had forced it to reduce the number of pages to cut costs and finally to close in 1999.

In November 1999, King Abdullah II called for a Media Free Zone near Amman where publications would not be subject to censorship. In February 2000, Jordan passed a law implementing this idea. In July 2000, Information Minister Taleb Rifai said that he

¹³ An interview with Head of Circulation Department at *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*, 27.4. 2005.

expected privatization to be complete in three months. However, privatization was then postponed indefinitely. At the time when the media zone project was hitting the headlines, Jordan's government-owned newspapers continued to dominate the country's print media sector. Non-government media were still struggling for survival, under the weight of financial difficulties brought about by the government's ability to limit their access to information and advertising (Sakr 2002: 126).

In August 2001, because of the unstable regional situation, the Jordanian government began to restrict freedom of the press, closing newspapers and arresting editors, thus, reversing some of the liberalization started a decade earlier. By 2003, four dailies – *Al-Aswaq*, *Sawt Al-Shaab*, *Al-Akhbar*, and *Arab Daily*¹⁴ – have been shut down, leaving only two foreign-language and three Arabic dailies. In September 2004, a new private daily broadsheet *Al-Ghad* (Tomorrow) was established on strong financial basis. By 2005, the life-and-death situation of newspapers has stabilized somewhat. The surviving mainstream newspapers are the two semi-governmental dailies *Al-Rai*, and *Addustour* (with a circulation rate of around 70,000 and 50,000 per day respectively), and the private *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* and *Al-Ghad*. Although *Al-Ghad* seems to be reaching high rates of circulation, it is too early to assess the success of the newspaper. As for non-Arabic-language newspapers, there are two; *The Jordan Times* and *The Star*. The daily English-language *The Jordan Times* is an affiliate to Jordanian Press Foundation (JPF) which also publishes *Al-Rai* and the children's magazine *Hatem*. It has a circulation rate of around 10.000 per day in hard-copy and 30.000 hits per day in electronic format, according to its responsible editor Samir Barhoum.¹⁵ *The Star* is a weekly affiliate to

¹⁴ *The Arab daily* was a low-circulation English-language affiliate to *Al-Arab al-Yawm*.

¹⁵ Interview with Samir Barhoum, 25.1.2005.

Jordan Press and Publications Company which publishes *Addustour*. It publishes in both English and French. Recently it added a two-page section in Russian. Finally, there are no Jordanian newspapers in the Diaspora. To sum up, currently Jordan has a variety of publications that range from leftist to Arab nationalist to Islamist.

5. The Economics of the Print Media

The economic infrastructure of news organizations constitutes a pivotal part of the politics of journalism, and it may be dictated by political venues. The economics of media institutions, such as funding practices and ownership, govern publishing practices, management policies, and to a large degree the journalistic content or 'discourse.' Media scholars assert that the content of the press appears to be directly correlated with the interest of those who finance it (McNair: 1998). The need to examine the nature of funding practices and financial requirements imposed on the Jordanian press is dictated by the fact that "different types of funding impose different constraints on the press" (Yodelis 1975). The production of journalism is largely the "business of an industry" (McNair 1998), owned and controlled by either individuals, conglomerates of individuals or by government. Journalists and other workers are employees, strongly influenced by those who own or control their organizations.

The press organisations are pre-eminently profit-making organizations. They gain profit by achieving the highest possible readerships. The media institutions in Jordan have by and large been established on a weak economic base. Although the financial situation for some newspapers is becoming strong enough for privatization, the government managed to put pressure on the Jordanian press in three major ways; government ownership, capital requirements and penalties.

3.1. Government Ownership

Patterns of ownership are directly linked to political policies as the press becomes more fully integrated with ownership interests (Fairclough 1995: 43). When press organisations are - fully or partially - owned by the government, issues such as the institutions' economic relationship to the state and censorship come to the fore. This manifests itself in the manner in which news organizations are structured to ensure that the dominant discourse conforms to what the state considers to be appropriate for publication. For instance, the government took a harsh stand in the 1960s and 1970s against promoting communism through the media. The political apparatus can control their financial resources as a means of exercising pressure or censorship. The consecutive Jordanian governments have attempted to monopolize ownership of the newspapers with the higher circulation rates. They introduced partial ownership into law in 1967 and the owners of the papers were forced into that arrangement (Al-Mousa 1986: 176). According to the March 1967 provisional Press Law, the papers had to be published by joint stock companies with a minimum of capitalization equivalent to US\$42,000, of which the government had to provide one quarter. That was the first time the Jordanian government consolidated its hold on the press directly through partial ownership. The situation remained unchanged until the 1990s.

By 1992, the government owned sixty-one percent of the Jordan Press Foundation, which had published the daily *Al-Rai* newspaper since 1971 and *Jordan Times* since 1975, and thirty-five percent of the Jordan Press & Publications Company which had published the daily *Addustour* since 1967. Other government agencies owned

sixty-seven percent of the fourth daily, *Sawt al-Sha'b*, which closed in 1999 (Kamalipour and Mowlana 1994: 129-130).

The 1993 PPL had promised some privatization of the press. Article 19(d) called for the government to reduce its ownership of the press to thirty percent by 1997. The 1997 PPL, however, dropped Article 19(d). The amendment allowed the government to maintain its shares of two-thirds of the Jordan Press Foundation and one third of the Jordan Press and Publications Company.¹⁶ The subsequent laws showed little prospect of an imminent reduction of state ownership of the press. Privatization of the press, which had been a frequent subject of discussion in Jordan for a decade, surfaced again after the accession of King Abdullah II in 1999, and became a subject for negotiation in parliament and between government officials and the press. Though the issue of privatization gathered momentum, state ownership of the two daily newspapers was still maintained by 2005. The government's interest in their profitability ensures that these papers have priority for advertising from state-owned enterprises, news stories from the state news agency Petra, and favourable publicity on the state-owned television and radio (Sakr 2002: 114).

Al-Dar Al-Wataniya (National House for Publishing and Distribution), the publishing group responsible for the daily *Al-Arab al-Yawm*, the Amman evening paper *Al-Massaiya* (Evening), and the successful weekly *Shihan*, is partly owned by Jordan's National Bank and Engineering Association. *Al-Arab al-Yawm* which is known for its more daring and outspoken points of view became subject to harassment in which obstacles created by formal and informal state regulations of the press played a major part

¹⁶ Jordan Investment Corporation, the investment arm of the government, still holds fifteen percent of the capital of the Jordanian Press Foundation (JPF). The Social Security Foundation (SSC) holds forty-seven percent of the foundation's shares, and the SSC also owns thirty percent of the newspaper *Addustour*.

in the group's mounting financial difficulties. These views in turn increased its vulnerability to state intervention. The services of Petra were withdrawn from *Al-Arab al-Yawm* in July 1999 on grounds of "unethical reporting" (Sakr 2002: 115). Being ostracized in this way compounded the financial deficits for two years during which state-owned enterprises placed virtually no advertising with the paper.¹⁷ It, however, survived and remains a popular privately-owned newspaper till this day.

5.2. Capital Requirements

Laws requiring minimum capitalization for the establishment of a newspaper can be used to inhibit the proliferation of small publications that have the tendency to oppose the government. The 1997 PPL, for example, required daily newspapers to have a base value of capital resources of JD 600,000 [US\$840,000] instead of JD 50,000 [US\$70,000] and JD 300,000 [US\$420,000] instead of JD 15,000 [US\$21,000] for non-daily newspapers so as not to lose their licenses. Because of the enforced increase in the newspapers' capital, many newspapers came to closure. Many of the surviving newspapers and magazines were sponsored by the government or trade unions to cover the costs of publication. The two government-supported and the two privately-held dailies all could meet the new capital requirements. Rather, as Mufti (1999) argues, "the new capital requirements were aimed at the tabloid weak newspapers that were privately owned and operated. Most of the weeklies could not raise the potential capital to meet the new requirements." A few weeklies were able to meet the requirement. In late

¹⁷ The group's financial situation deteriorated in 1999, staff laid off filed lawsuits saying their salaries had not been paid. Coming close to compulsory liquidation under the terms of Jordan's recently amended Companies Law, the paper moved to avoid this in November by halting publication temporarily while the group's finances were restructured. In December 1999, however, its assets were frozen when the Social Security Department raised a case against it for unpaid fees.

September 1997, the government suspended a total of thirteen weekly newspapers for not complying with the JD 300,000 minimum capital requirement. The October 1999 PPL lowered the capital requirements for newspapers, now that those which the government wanted to dismiss were already closed.

5.3. Penalties

Penalty is one of the means that the government uses to exercise influence over the print media. Penalties for violations of the PPL in Jordan curb not only the maintenance and survival of publications but also determine the material that should or should not be published in these publications. Penalties increased with the 1997 Press and Publications Law amendments. Newspapers and journalists can be fined for what they publish. It is no wonder that the penalties and the violations to begin with, were aggravated between 1994 and 1997. This was the period following the major political shifts in Jordan's foreign policy towards Israel; a shift from a hostile relation to a normalized one.

All in all, the 1997 PPL cumulatively controlled the press by imposing all of the above restrictions. It gave newspapers three months to comply with a twelve-fold increase in capital requirements. It made the existing prohibitions on content even stiffer, quadrupled the fines for contravening them, authorized the government to close publications permanently, and reinstated the 1973 requirement that chief editors should have worked full-time in the press for ten years (Sakr 2002: 111).

In May 2005, The Centre for the Protection and Freedom of Journalists carried out a questionnaire regarding the degree of freedom of speech in the press. The questionnaire showed that 36.5% of journalists believed that the Penalties Law is the

most negatively influential law that curbs freedom of the press, followed by PPL (28.1%), then The State Security Law (21.9%), then the Audio-visual Media Law (14.6%). In general, 5.2% of the journalists believed that all the previous laws accumulatively affect the freedom of the press in a negative manner (*Al-Rai*, 26.5.2005).

6. The scope of free expression

Jordan is a state party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and, therefore, has committed itself to upholding the right of freedom of expression. In practice, however, it makes ample use of the ICCPR provisos in Article 19 (3) that allows certain restrictions in the interests of respecting reputations, protecting national security, public order, and public health and morals. Censorship of the press in Jordan is recurrently justified (by the government) on the grounds of protecting national security, public morals, etc. Journalists are required from time to time to fight against political censorship. In tense periods, journalists even accept these constraints and practice self-regulation.

There have been significant governmental restrictions on the print media content, and journalists, especially after 1999, practice self-censorship. The newspapers, however, still manage to display some freedom of expression and some diversity, within limits. The government from time to time passes guidance on content to the press, directly or indirectly. A recent example is King Abdullah's meeting with chief editors of the dailies and weeklies on 19.8.2005, in which he emphasized that journalists should be careful in their commentaries when discussing issues related to Iraq, as some news stories and opinion articles have upset Jordanian-Iraqi relations (*Al-Rai* 19.8.2005). The King urged journalists to take into account Jordan's national interest and relationship with a

neighbouring country. The editorial staff in news organizations – from the chief editor to the editors, columnists, and translators – know the position of the government on most key issues and practice journalism according to governmental standards.

The various press laws, even the most liberal one in 1993, included certain prohibitions on content items, or what can be called ‘taboos’. In case these prohibitions are violated, the government has the authority to act against these infractions, through different channels (1993 PPL No. 33, articles 10, 38, and 213, which replaced Law No. 16 of 1955). Since the law’s inception, the Ministry of Information has employed the “vaguely-worded content bans” (Campagna 1998: 45) to refer journalists to court for coverage of sensitive topics. Journalists are also subject to the Penal Code, whose provisions mandate prison sentences and/or fines. Journalists may be prosecuted for offences such as “inciting sedition, defamation, innuendo or publishing false news” (*Ibid.*).

The different PPLs, since 1953, specified different taboos and different ways of dealing with infractions of these taboos, all still maintaining the same spirit. For instance, Article 40 of the 1993 law restricted the prohibitions to “*news*” (Najjar 1998: 132) while the new version of Article 40 in the 1997 law expanded forbidden subjects to include the publication of *news, views, opinions, analysis, information, reports, caricatures, photos or any sort of publication that disparages* any of these parties, threatens national unity or endangers the national currency. Sub-article No. 11 forbids the publication of any government document that is confidential in nature. Large numbers of journalists and publications were penalized under these provisions (Sakr 2002: 110). Article 40 also gives the government the authority to withdraw the license of any newspaper or magazine

if a publication threatens “the national existence, unity or security”, infringes on “the constitutional principles of the kingdom,” harms the “national feeling”, or offends “public decency”. The law specifically forbids publication of news about “the royal family” unless approved by the Royal Court, or articles defaming “religion” or contrary to “public morality” or unauthorized “military and secret information”. Nudity or sexual images and violence are excised. Such adjustments for national tastes and state regulations are not unique to Jordan. The 1997 amendments led to self-censorship among journalists and editors. A representative of one of the weeklies said: “Before the new law, we would never talk about the king, but we would criticize the government for its concessions to Israel. Now, we can’t say anything” (Campagna 1998: 45). Even the partially government-owned dailies were affected. A journalist from the daily *Addustour* said that the paper had withheld some twenty articles and columns he had written about “the retreat of democracy in Jordan” (*Ibid.*). Under the 1998 PPL, persons accused of violating these prohibitions are tried in a special court for press and copyright cases. Although the 1999 PPL cancelled the state’s unlimited powers to censor, suspend or permanently close newspapers, it permitted authorities to punish independent journalism.

In the period leading up to and following the 1994 Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty, the weeklies took the lead in reporting and advocating opposition to the accord and normalization of relations with Israel. The Ministry of Information responded by pressuring the weeklies. On 2.8.1994, Nidal Mansour, then chief editor of the weekly *Al-Bilad*, was detained for “publishing an article on the activities of parties fighting against normalization with Israel” (Campagna 1998: 45).

One of the reasons why the daily *Al-Arab al-Yawm* was targeted by the government in mid-1990s is the newspaper's extravagant reporting on sensitive political issues. In 1998, it investigated a water pollution scandal that hit Amman during that summer. Following the publication of news about the arrest of armed groups, the newspaper was brought to court. In comparison to *Al-Rai*, for example, such stories tend to be covered by *Al-Rai* after an interval of three to four days, because the latter has to gain permission from a government official before submitting a government-related item for publication. At the time, King Hussein said, "Freedom has its limits. The limits are: not encroaching on other people's freedom, not harming the nation, and not mocking national interests and unity" (Campagna 1998: 44).

The weekly press came under fire for its tabloid-style coverage and inaccurate reporting. Issues related to public morals and religious sensitivities are generally not tolerated by the public. Headlines in one weekly in 1995 such as "Four-Year-Old Child is Married to a Fairy and Practices Sexual Intercourse with Her" and "Parties Start after Midnight and Homosexuals are Known", caused outrage not only in parliament - particularly from Islamist deputies, but also condemnation by the public and the Jordan Press Association (*Ibid.*: 46). In January 2003, the Jordanian State Security Prosecutor closed the weekly newspaper *al-Hilal* and jailed two of its editors and a reporter for allegedly defaming the Prophet Muhammad (*Jordan Times*, 26.1.2003). The latest attack against the weeklies came from King Abdullah on 19.8.2005 in a speech at the Parliament. The core of the attack concerned the non-professional and tabloid-like manner in which some weeklies report news.

In spite of the relaxation of censorship by the 1999 PPL, and the proposal of the free media zone in early 2000, many journalists were still not sure about the boundaries of “free speech.” Infringement of taboos was still criminalized under Jordan’s Penal Code. Journalists do not doubt that the Penal Code would be used to charge journalists with editorial or non-editorial offences. One of the elements that Sakr (2002: 111) feels contributes to the opacity of the concept is that “there are no constitutional provisions to make respect for freedom of expression binding on the executive, the legislature, or the judiciary.” In a response to a report on freedom of the press prepared by the Upper Council for Information on April 2005, Prime Minister Adnan Badran mentioned that the government encourages freedom of the press, and that it will not interfere in the journalistic process as long as it falls within the scope of the national interest and the national basic agenda. He explained that “our definition of a responsible journalism should not be understood as defining a ceiling to freedom of the press, especially when it concerns national security” (*Al-Rai*: 19.4.2005; translation by author).

The task of deciding whether press content is reasonable and objective falls to the Press and Publications Department (PPD) within the Ministry of Information (Sakr 2002: 111). But it would be impractical for editors to submit every item to the PPD. The PPD takes procedures once an incidence of taboo infraction is made. However, as journalists and editors know the position of the government towards sensitive issues, they are careful in what they write and what they choose to publish. In other words, they practice self-censorship. Comment and criticism are carefully guided, and articulated goals for the community conform with goals of the regime itself. The regime merely restricts anti-regime content in the local print media.

Chapter 2

The Information Marketplace

He who pays the piper calls the tune
- A proverb

1. The Economics of Readership

The aim of this chapter is to show how the operation of the press in general and the activity of translation in particular are related to social determinants of journalistic output, mainly, the audience and society, in order to enable us to interpret and understand how and why this output is structured in a certain way. The print media system responds to and reflects its environment, particularly the geopolitical, socioeconomic and cultural realities. Those features of social life shape, influence and govern the form, style and content of the press. It would be a mistake to treat readership as a marginal factor in the field of journalism, and consequently in any treatment of translation that takes place in the press. The journalistic production, in our case the translated discourse, is viewed as the outcome of a wide array of cultural, technological, political and economic forces, specific to the Jordanian society at certain phases of the political development of the Kingdom. The functions of the translated discourse in the press can only be understood within the context of these existing realities. Understanding the content, meaning, role and impact of the enterprise of translation in the press, thus, requires the “description and analysis of the broader social context within which it is produced and of the factors of production which determine that context” (McNair 1998: 3). Such societal factors or ‘social factors’ as named by Klaus Bruhn-Jensen make themselves known in media

institutions in the form of “economic, bureaucratic, and normative pressures which shape journalistic work” (1986: 49). More specifically, the chapter will shed light on ideological structures underpinning the construction of translated texts in the Jordanian press. In order to answer the question of “what factors related to *readership* affect translation in the press?,” the chapter will make use of statistics, surveys and interviews, in order to project how journalistic products are evaluated from the translators’, the institutions’ as well as the audience’s perspectives.

Recognition of the relationship between the journalistic product and the audience dates back to the 1950s when media scholars such as Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm in *Four Theories of the Press* (1956) suggested that the shape of the media was inextricably bound to social elements that govern society. In the 1990s, communication and media scholars have taken a renewed interest in analyzing the audience and its impact on the communication process, such as Ang (1991) in *Desperately Seeking the Audience*, Newman (1991) in *The Future of the Mass audience*, Ettema and Whitney (1994) in *Audiencemaking: How the Media Create the Audience*, and McNair (1998) in *The Sociology of Journalism*. Similarly, news editors and producers have often adopted a marketing orientation that seeks to give newsreaders what they want, or at least what they believe they want. Although the issue of audience has been introduced and discussed in Translation Studies, particularly in target-oriented theories, yet little has been written about how the anthropological and demographical characterization of audience factors into the translation process taking place within a journalistic environment. On the other hand, media scholars who are ‘content- and text-oriented’, (such as Bell (1991); Bell and Garrett (1998); Fairclough (1995, 2003); and Dijk (1985, 1988)) tend to base their

findings on the examination of journalistic genres that are related to 'news', as in news stories, to the exclusion of translated discourse whatsoever. This may be attributed to two reasons. First, media institutions are principally 'news institutions', so the emphasis is placed on the core genre that constitutes the flesh of journalism, and that is news items. Second, translated texts do not emerge as a genre that flags itself in Western newspapers. Therefore, in dealing with translation, the principles and values related to news items will be valuable since the same values govern the editorial policies in respect to the translated discourse.

Fairclough (1995: 12) has highlighted two aspects of the relationship between the mass media and other parts of the network of social institutions they operate within. These are "their relationship to ordinary life (the 'lifeworld') on the one hand and their relationship to business and commerce on the other." The two aspects seem to construct a continuum where the first aspect is related to critical sociological analysis of the audience while the latter analyzes journalism from the institutional point of view, i.e., the economic infrastructure of the journalistic process. The link between the two aspects of the social network depends on a flexible 'supply and demand' principle. The relationship is reciprocal between the two tendencies in the way the print media are shaped by, and in turn contribute to shaping the social system overall.

While the political and economic factors intervene in structuring the *journalistic institutional regulatory environment*, it seems that the audience factors as the key element in structuring the *media production* per se, since the economic factor is based on producing what has the potential for selling. The press seeks to give for the audience what they are *interested* in. Brooks *et al* go so far as to list audience as the first criterion

of newsworthiness, maintaining that “the audience is the backdrop against which reporters and editors consider questions of news value” (1988: 5). To examine journalistic audiences from an institutional perspective, regulatory and political factors, as well as economic pressures are considered, while examining the ‘lifeworld’ of the audience requires looking into social, cultural and ideological trends of the public. While Chapter 1 dealt with the economic dimension from a political and a regulatory point of view, the following section will shed light on the economic trend from an institutional perspective.

The economic perspective can be briefly illustrated by the news organizations’ tendency to perceive readers as ‘consumers’ in a ‘market.’ McNair (1998) summarizes this trend by viewing the journalistic product as

a ‘*commodity*’ offered for sale in an information marketplace. Like all commodities, it must have a ‘*use value*’ and an ‘*exchange value*’ for potential customers. It must be both functional and desirable – a fact which has had considerable impact on the content, style and presentation of journalism in recent decades. The print media institutions, by default, compete with each other for market share. Seeing readers as customers establishes that the newspaper writes what is of interest to a designated group of readers who would, for various reasons, be interested enough in the newspaper to buy it. (1998: 101)

Fairclough also sees media texts from this perspective “as ‘cultural commodities’ produced in what is effectively a ‘culture industry’ which circulate for profit within a market” (1995: 42). The majority of news organizations fulfill their social responsibility towards their readers by publishing what readers are inclined to read and pay for (Lavine & Wackman, 1988: 255). This economic perspective affects both content and communicative style. Considerations of what makes the newspaper sell are likely to be reflected in the choice of topics and genres covered by the newspaper. Headlines (especially on the front page) stand as reliable markers of topical recognition as they prioritize readers’ interests. The proportion of pages allotted to each section in the

newspaper is another indicator. For instance, allocating specific pages to deal with Israeli-related topics is indicative of the importance of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for the readers. News beats are set up on the tacit premise that the audience is particularly interested in certain topics or is especially affected by those topics.

The audience parameter explicitly and implicitly factors in the entire makeup of the news organization and the news making process. McNair (1998: xiii) argues that tacit notions of the audience are also part of the overall philosophical approach taken by the editorial staff of news organizations. The impressions that editors form of the audience constitute a vital part of media research and are known by media scholars as ‘audience images’.

2. Audience Images

Audience images are fundamental to the overall makeup of the journalistic production and are addressed by managements in news organizations, since “audience research helps the news organization determine what kind of news appeals to audience interests” (DeWerth-Pallmeyer 1997: 96). The ‘appellative function’ of texts suggested by Bühler (1990) seems to be highly attended to and addressed by senior editors and news directors who appear to voice the most sophisticated understandings of readership requirements, stemming from philosophical understandings of the overall goals the management seeks to accomplish.

The importance of the images of the audience was recognized by media scholars as back as the 1950s, in works of Pool and Shulman (1959) and White (1950). In his book *The Audience in the News* – which he dedicates to the role of the audience in the construction of news – Dwight DeWerth-Pallmeyer (1997) argues that audience images

are quite important in the construction of news, but are not easily detected. He contends that although journalistic images of the audience may be incomplete, they do exist and powerfully help shape the work of journalists in producing journalistic texts. During the routine daily work of the journalists, images of the audience are not easily detected because the audience is seldom explicitly addressed. Yet, it is a mistake to therefore assume that the audience is not an important component of the editorial policy. Much of what editors know about their audience is not so easily defined or assessed. What they know about their audience is embedded in their work routines and is not easily expressed. This 'tacit knowledge' as named by Polanyi (1966) formed the basis of Schön's model (1983). According to this model, Schön developed the *knowing-in-action* model to explain how editors work. By this notion he meant knowledge that is used in performing a task without conscious deliberation. Schön structured this notion on implications of *tacit knowledge* – the idea that much of what we know is difficult to articulate and understood on a subconscious level, and is therefore, not easily described. Thus, images of the audience develop out of everyday work of the editor. Schön contended that professionals learn to do their job, based on past experience, although they might find it hard to verbalize (1983: 49).

Schön's theory can also be used to explain how translators work in the newspaper setting. Much of the translators' understandings of the audience are tacitly built into their everyday chores and translation tasks. Translators do learn about their readers. However, on a day-to-day basis, translators typically have little time to seriously ponder how well they are communicating with an audience. Therefore, translators do not readily voice a

formal theory or model about their audience. Their knowledge of audience is an example of Schön's (1983) *knowing-in-action*.

To find out about how well translators know their audience, I interviewed a number of translators working at *Al-Rai*, *Addustour* and *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*.¹⁸ I asked about their impressions of the Arabic-dailies readership. The overall image presented was that of a politicized audience, inquisitive and interested in political issues. Their readers have a variety of interests. They vary in education and intellectual backgrounds, but they have some common interests. They share a single language and a single culture. The readers in general have a strong sense of pan-Arabism, and they see themselves as being distinct from Western culture. That is, they have their own cultural identity. According to translators, the Jordanian readership includes readers with different educational levels, who respond to different types of publications. Translators explained that readers of dailies tend to be more intellectual than readers of weeklies, as dailies tend to maintain a higher level of credibility and reliability of news carried in the newspapers. The sensationalistic tactics that are used by some weeklies to attract their audience are mostly addressed to the less educated classes of the public. The tabloid-like style adopted by some weeklies resembles the man-in-the-street code of communication. Highly-educated people normally go for high-quality types of writing and critical analyses presented by dailies, to which translated articles contribute. Readers of the dailies tend to be more circumspect and critical about the journalistic discourse, though this does not mean that such a category does not read the weeklies.

¹⁸ Interviews with Mahmoud Barhoum and Raghda Aziziyya from *Al-Rai*; Badi' Abu-Eideh and Amal Al-Sharqi from *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*, and Raheed Sabri and Amal Abdullah from *Addustour*, 2004-2005.

Although no specific description of audience subclasses in terms of gender, age or social classes was put forward, all interviewed translators agreed that their readers are inquisitive for information, which they felt they had a duty to provide. They asserted that their translation philosophy was based on what they *felt* would appeal to the Jordanian reader.

But, are these images always abstract? According to Schlesinger, although total audience remains an abstraction, journalists do have some working sense of their audience, whether accurate or not (1978: 107). DeWerth-Pallmeyer argues that images of the audience are “varied and fragmented” (1997: XI) which means that editors and journalists do not develop a formal audience theory for their work. My contention is that these images can be de-abstracted and made real *on occasion* by letters (or letters to the editor) or telephone calls, emails or random encounters in public places and from talks the media personnel hear on the street. Newspapers administrations also attempt to de-abstract their readers in different ways. This type of information is most frequently obtained from within press organizations through public relations departments and circulation departments, particularly in large media institutions, or from other research institutions that carry out studies and surveys and are engaged in formal audience analyses. The audience images that exist in the minds of translators are, therefore, not the only way in which the audience has a bearing on the translations that are produced.

The Jordanian press cooperates with research institutions that carry out studies on issues related to the press such as The Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) at Jordan University, and The Center for the Protection and Freedom of Journalists. The press also cooperates with publishing houses to follow up the new published books that have the

potential of being bestsellers. Newspapers also carry their own surveys and polls. Since 2003 the Jordanian newspapers have been running polls on their electronic websites on issues related to politics, media, internal affairs, etc. The results they obtain are analyzed and used as a feedback for their work. It is also important to remember that journalistic products are the outcome of cooperative efforts by translators, journalists, editors, copy editors, and chief editors who pass any in-house or street comments on a given item to co-workers in the institution, and probably to other institutions.

To name one relevant study, The Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) has been carrying out a yearly survey on democracy since 1993. The survey includes questions related to media and readership, though the specific nature of the questions varies from one year to another. Newspapers rely on results announced by the CSS. Translators are aware of these studies. Chief translator Mahmoud Barhoum of *Al-Rai*, for instance, was the one to draw my attention to these studies, explaining that their findings are one way of enabling him “to sense the pulse of the street” (2004). The 1996 CSS survey showed that 52.3% of the respondents read dailies, while 38.5% read weeklies. The 1999 polls displayed a decline of the percentage into 43.9% for readers of the dailies, and 17.0% for readers of the weeklies. According to the same study, 12.9% of the dailies readers read articles and editorials, while 3.6% of the weeklies readers were interested in articles and editorials.

Following a speech delivered by King Abdullah II to Parliament members on 19.8.2005, in which he expressed his dissatisfaction with the performance of some weeklies, *Al-Rai* polled its readers of the electronic version on its website. From 22.8.2005–28.8.2005, the question posed was “Do you trust the weeklies?”, to which

26.23% answered in the affirmative and 73.77% in the negative. The following week's poll (29.8.2005–5.9.2005) held the question “Do you read the weeklies?”. The results again overweighed negatively as 58.71% answered that they were not interested in the weeklies in contrast to 41.29% who did read the weeklies.

Although such polls are not necessarily reliable, they roughly show the correlation between readership and political events. For instance, the decline in readership between 1997 and 1999 may be attributed to the two restrictive press laws in 1997 and 1998, resulting in a sharp drop of the freedom of the press. Furthermore, the findings draw the attention towards audience's reading preferences towards the dailies. Similar polls were conducted in 2005 by *Al-Rai* regarding its columnists and commentary writers. The polls, which were conducted from 11.8.2005-21.8.2005, named the regular columnists at *Al-Rai* and asked the respondents to rate them in sequence of the most-read columnists. The results are not significant for my study, but they show the newspapers' endeavors to have a better understanding of their readers' interests.

Results like these tend to be discussed at the highest levels in press institutions with the aim of tracking the reasons behind any drop in readership rates, or readers' disinclination towards some columnists, as such problems may lead to low circulation of a given newspaper. They help the newspapers discern any problems in their products and probably attempt to rectify and improve the performance of their workers or even make amendments to their regulatory editorial policy. They also help define the types of readers that are attracted to dailies and weeklies. Such findings are especially significant to translators, because their translation activity falls in the same genre category of what these local writers provide: commentary. It wouldn't be an exaggeration to say that

translators' work is to a certain extent grounded on the low rates of the local commentary readership, since their translation discourse compensates for what these local commentaries lack, as will be seen in Chapters 3 and 4.

3. Readership Expectancy

What kind of audience are we looking at in the Jordanian context? Different socio-cultural and anthropological aspects related to the Jordanian public are directly linked to the newspaper readership, such as literacy, the demographic component and the ideological and religious orientations of members of the Jordanian society. An overview of these aspects will help us see what products are sellable to the Jordanian audience.

3.1. Socio-economic Aspects

Like many other countries in the region, Jordan is currently undergoing a transition from a preindustrial to a postindustrial economy, though in slow steps. It is facing tremendous challenges as it moves from a rural to an urban economy (Gerner 2004: 3). In 2003, King Abdullah announced an agenda of economic reform as a national priority. Jordan continues to industrialize its economy and modernize its society, in an attempt to establish what Michael Hudson calls "a linkage with modernity" (1977: 230). The most common modes of subsistence in Jordan are agriculture, commerce, small-scale industry and natural resources. Pastoral nomadism is now rare in Jordan. The mixed economies linked urban, nomadic and agricultural communities in interdependent relationships of reciprocity and market exchange. The trend toward urbanization has resulted in the concentration of large groups of people in burgeoning cities where they have easier access to mass media. The increasing rates of literacy have created a larger

newspaper-reading public. These socioeconomic transformations have profound impacts on the structure of society, human activity, and the role of media and educational institutions.

The flow of information has intensified with the new technological developments since the 1990s, particularly in the field of communication by the Internet and the satellite. Citizens who can afford the Internet and satellite have access to regional and international media outlets. The capital – Amman, a large metropolis – solely accounts for over half of newspaper circulation. In more rural and poor areas, the media channels become less accessible, but they do exist. The Internet opens up new sources of information to the public and the media alike. Although a high percentage of the population has TV satellite, most Jordanians do not have Internet connections in their homes, and many compensate for this shortage through Internet cafes¹⁹. The low rate of Internet users has enhanced the need for translation in the press. A large portion of the public relies on the translated discourse in newspapers to remain in contact with international news and views that do not appear in the traditional mass media. The satellite gives the public access to more news channels, such as the two pan-Arab satellite channels *Al-Jazeera* and *Al-Arabiyya*.

Quantitatively, newspaper readership has expanded dramatically during the 1990s following democratization and the appearance of new publications. This can be seen through the circulation rates of newspapers – dailies and weeklies – to meet the different interests of the public. In a country with a weak economic base, the daily circulation rates of *Al-Rai*, *Addustour*, and *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* are respectively 70,000, 50,000 and 35,000 copies, let alone other publications, including other dailies and weeklies. All the dailies

¹⁹ Supportive tables will be provided in Chapter 4.

are sold for nominal prices (20 piasters (15 American cents)). Newspapers rely mainly on advertisements as a primary source of income. Notwithstanding the economic conditions, education emerges as a very influential factor on the growing circulation rates.

3.2. Literacy, Education and Knowledge

Jordan has a population of 5,183 million (Global Monitoring Report 2005: 254), the majority of which has received a fair amount of education (see below). In view of the economic problems and low GNP (US\$ 1,750 in 2001 (*Ibid.* : 255)), Jordan surprisingly enjoys high education ratios. The Global Monitoring Report issued by UNESCO in 2005 shows that Jordan enjoys a high rate of adult and youth literacy. The adult literacy rate (15 years and over) was 90.9% (95.5% for males and 85.9% for females) in 2004 compared to 81.5% (90.0% for males and 72.1% for females) in 1990 (*Ibid.* : 262). In the same vein, the youth literacy rate (15-24 years) was 99.4% (99.3% for males and 99.5% for females) in 2004 compared to 96.7% (97.9% for males and 95.3% for females) in 1990.

The literacy ratio is also high in comparison to other Arab countries. As a matter of fact, Jordan has the highest rate of literacy in the Arab World, even higher than Lebanon, which is known for its diverse media system, democratic urbane society and the proliferation of publications and publishing houses.²⁰ The average adult literacy rate in general in the Arab countries is 62% (73% for males and 51% for females) (*Ibid.* : 129) and the average youth literacy rate is 78% (84% for males and 72% for females) (*Ibid.* : 132). Table 2-3 shows the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) for the various levels of education in 2001:

²⁰ While Jordan had a ratio of 90% in 2000, Bahrain which came next had a rate of 87% followed by Lebanon with a rate of 86 % (Rugh, 2004: 3).

Table 2-1 GER at educational institutions in Jordan (2001) ²¹

Level of education	Total ratio	Male ratio	Female ratio
Primary age group 6-16	98.6	98.4	98.7
Secondary age group 12-17	86.3	85.3	87.4
Tertiary	31.0	31.3	31.3
Technical and vocational	42/1000	-	-

The high rate of GER signals the central role of education. The national agenda of modernization enforced primary education as compulsory for all children. Thanks to free public schooling, all sectors of society can send their children to school. However, higher education is often considered by the public to be the average level of education. The large number of universities and colleges distributed across the country symbolizes this interest. There are eight public universities, twelve private universities, and a large number of colleges – vocational and research institutions. These institutions supply the country with more educated people.

Education enjoys an important status in the lives of Jordanians for economic and political reasons. From an economic point of view, employment – as is unemployment ²² – is directly affected by people's qualifications and education. People with higher education get better jobs, which means a higher income. Labor migration has played and continues to play a major role in shaping social and economic structures throughout Jordan. Jordan exports 'expertise' more than it exports 'potash and phosphate' – its main national resources. For decades, Jordan has relied on the flow of expatriates' income,

²¹ *Ibid.* , pp. 286, 310, 318, and 319 respectively

²² The percentage of unemployment in Jordan was 14.4% in 1999 (Tuma 2004: 236).

which helps support the national per capita income. To be able to migrate to other countries, people need qualified education, whether academic or vocational. The best and brightest young people of a generation often migrate to get jobs in the Arabian Gulf, Europe or North America.

Education was particularly important to the Palestinians who lived in Jordan. Arthur Goldschmidt Jr. explains this tendency from a psychological point of view, by referring to Palestinians' frustration with the old Arab regimes as a result of their failure to defend them against Zionism and imperialism. "[A]lthough lacking the economic advantages and political rights of their Arab hosts, [Palestinians] became increasingly educated and politicized" (2004: 64). Palestinians outside Israel/Palestine lost interest in macro-militancy as an efficient weapon against Israel. Palestinians from different economic backgrounds, who felt beleaguered and powerless, found themselves driven into a different type of battle. Erudition was sought as a substitute weapon. "Knowledge is power" was adopted by many intellectuals in the last fifty years or so. Knowledge became an agent of transformation and change, a mean to help them create a discourse that asserts their political rights.

Attaining higher levels of education contributes to the creation of a literate middle class, which forms the core for media readership and in turn leads to more pro-democratic political movements. Parsons argues that "the print[ed] media can flourish only to the degree that a domestic population is literate" (Parsons, 2004: 54). McNair avers that different types of readers dictate the style in which the journalistic product is expressed. He argues that

[t]he extent to which journalism produces 'a believing subject' is, then dependent on many things, not least the extent to which we apply our critical faculties to its output. Tired, lazy, or uneducated audiences – may find themselves being seduced by the smooth glossy tones of the television news anchors, the seamless editing and the hi-tech newsgathering... On the other hand, alert resourceful and educated audiences are quite capable of adopting, negotiating or rejecting the interpretive frameworks of the journalistic messages they read, see and hear. (1998: 43)

In this sense education and erudition create 'critical readers.' This type of readers requires a level of journalism that meets its inquisitive mindset.

Rugh (2004: 3), however, claims that in most Arab countries "the press remains primarily a medium reaching elite groups." His claim is based on the standards identified by UNESCO according to which a given country should provide 100 copies of daily newspapers per 1,000 inhabitants, while in 1996 Jordan had a rate of only 42. According to the same study the total circulation rate of daily newspapers in Jordan was 250 per 1,000 in 1996⁽²³⁾. These rates do not give the complete picture of the situation in Jordan. While Rugh's view could be true with respect to the exclusion of readership to the elite three decades ago, when only citizens of a certain educational and financial status could have access to and read newspapers, this is far from being the case today. Besides, Rugh does not specify what he means by 'elite.' According to Webster's Encarta Dictionary of the English Language, 'elite' is defined as "a privileged minority, a small group of people within a larger group who have more power, social standing, wealth, or talent than the rest of the group" (2004). According to this definition of 'elite', the readership is definitely not exclusive to the elite. The middle class forms a larger slice of newspaper readers than does the elite in the Jordanian society. When asked whether the newspapers were addressed solely to the elite, the translators and chief editors who were interviewed

²³ "World Development Indicators" (worldbank.org: March 2003), and UNESCO (unesco.org: March 2003).

unanimously rejected this claim. Zghailat, chief editor of *Al-Rai*, contended that readers of the newspapers belong to different segments of society, albeit not all of them buy newspapers. He asserted that workers in the same working environments do share newspapers, as pass-along readers, if they can't afford to buy them, even the disadvantaged, being eager to know about the goings-on in the world.²⁴ The CSS surveys showed that in 1999, 68.3% of those who read a newspaper paid for it, a higher rate than 1998, when only 46.5% of those who read a newspaper paid for it. Almost 4% of those who do not buy a newspaper are not content with the local newspapers.

The journalistic product does cut across hierarchical classes in society when it comes to reading non-Arabic newspapers, because reading in a non-native language, like English or French, requires high language skills that are mainly acquired through education. In this sense, it would be the intelligentsia and the educated middle-class who read such publications. These roughly constitute the readership for the commentary sections of the newspaper, original or translated, though readership is not exclusive to them. The commentary sections include the opinion articles and editorials. With the emergence of mass literacy and the expansion of modern standards of life, newspaper readerships grew and press content began to reflect the developing agenda of social reform.

National *daily* newspapers maintain the highest percentage of readership in Jordan, for two reasons. First, the government gives these newspapers priority for governmental announcements and access to news through the Jordanian News Agency (Petra). Second, the newspapers seek to maintain what media sociologist McNair calls the “investigative tradition” in which “the broadsheets maintain an older tradition of critical,

^{26.4.}
21 Interview with Abdul-Wahab Zghailat (April 2004).

investigative, expository journalism, more recognizable as a 'fourth estate' overseeing standards of public life and the elite's misbehaviour" (1998: 118). The investigative approach is the supporting pillar for *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*, as it tends to investigate issues critical to the Jordanian public. The eighty-page *Al-Rai* maintains its readership by seeking to cover a large variety of areas, to which translation contributes. Most daily newspapers contain the following regular sections: local, regional and international news; economic section; advertisements (commercial, governmental and legal); entertainment; opinion and commentary (local and translated); sports; society news; literary and cultural sections; technology and science besides other secondary sections. *Addustour* tends to provide more details and lengthy analyses on primary local and international issues than *Al-Rai*. Thus, media institutions recognize the didactic and informative role that they can and often play in the lives of their audiences, and the importance of news "to the liberal ideal of well-informed citizens acting rationally in democratic contexts" (*Ibid.* : 114). The variety of newspapers is intended to meet the ambitions of young generations whose steadily growing enthusiasm in seeking information poses a challenge to these newspapers.

The inquisitive reader is symbolized through the following situation. A translated article that appeared in *Al-Rai* on 5.12.2004 under the title 'إسرائيل وليس النفط سبب أزمتنا'²⁵ (It is Israel, not Oil, the Cause of our Crisis) was sourced as 'Internet.' Because the documentation was not sufficient and given the nature of the article, which gave an interesting opinion about the reasons behind the American invasion of Iraq, I inquired about the source of the article from *Al-Rai* chief translator Mahmoud Barhoum,

²⁵ The original article is written by Charley Reese under the title 'Not What You Think' published in the antiwar.com website on 20.11.2004. The title in Arabic means 'It is Israel, not Oil, the cause of our crisis.'

interestingly to learn that he had received five to six other phone calls inquiring about the same article. Barhoum explained that the translation department receives calls from readers from time to time inquiring about some articles, not only for sourcing but asking for further references about a given subject, or giving their opinions. The opinions they receive constitute one form of feedback that they rely on in their work. Such feedback indicates that the Jordanian reader is a critical reader who seeks knowledge that is not completely attended to by the regular local media channels.

3.3. The Social Network

An anthropological perspective on demography, ethnicity and social class in the contemporary Jordanian society will be used to illustrate the contexts and processes of daily interactions through the media. An anthropological approach to society views human social behavior “through the twin lenses of *modes of organization* (social, economic, and political) and *frames of meaning* (values, beliefs, ideologies, affect and worldviews)” (King-Irani 2004: 303). To come to terms with the demographic factor requires a more complex analysis of the two modes involved. Such an analysis ought to approach the Jordanian society not as monolithic or unchanging, but as dynamic, diverse (heterogeneous) and similar (homogenous) all at once, at different levels in different times in history.

Kinship has often been the primary mode of organization structuring politics, economics, and morality in the Jordanian society (King-Irani 2004: 302). Jordanians are known for their loyal attachment to their families and flexible kin-based collectivities, such as the lineage and the tribe (Khoury and Kistiner 1990). Kinship relations not only mediate individuals’ personal, economic, and political lives, but also structure the state

institutions and organizations (King-Irani, 2004: 302-306). For example, the Jordanian monarchy still bases much of its power – particularly in the military and security services – on traditional systems of loyalty based on family and village. For years, desert Bedouins have dominated the Jordanian monarchy's security services.

With sentiments and values associated with close family relations, the social structure of the Jordanian society helps keep oral communication channels open amongst its members. "Families tend to be close, stay in frequent contact, and discuss a variety of matters among themselves on a regular basis" (Rugh 2004: 13). Friends and work partners supplement and exchange information and news in various forums. Oral communication, thus, continues to be important as a channel for information. It supplements the print media in the dissemination of information. Rugh further explains that "face-to-face spoken communication has always been important in Arab society, and the traditional reliance on information from friends and personally known individuals has continued as a strong preference among Arabs. Information from the impersonal mass media is not necessarily trusted more just because it is printed or broadcast. In fact, its credibility is in some cases lower because the source is remote" (*Ibid.*). For example, Iraqi and Palestinian citizens coming to Jordan from Israel/Palestine and Iraq bring with them first-hand stories of the goings-on in these regions. Until recently – and before strict rules of credibility were applied – journalists would use the data they obtained from these witnesses to supplement their stories. Trusted friends talk openly about matters that are politically too sensitive to appear in any detail in the press. The major difference between reported events and verbal communication is that newspapers are more responsible for credibility and authenticity.

The Jordanian society is demographically heterogeneous. Eastbankers are the indigenous inhabitants of Jordan. Before the consecutive immigrations into Jordan, the population was mostly “rural, nomadic and tribal in social organization” (Tuma 2004: 221) especially in the southern and eastern parts of Jordan. With the oncoming of immigrants during the last century, Jordan hosted West-Bankers (Palestinians), Circassians, Chechens, Armenians, and Druzes. While the last three collectivities are minorities who have adapted to the local culture, Palestinians form about 60% of the population. Jordan also hosts about 300,000 Iraqis, as a result of the Gulf war in 1990 and the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. Notwithstanding this ethnic diversity, the society is monolingualistic, with Arabic as its formal language. All Jordanians, regardless of ethnicity or religion, speak Arabic, the official language of Jordan. Most Jordanians are Muslims, with a minority of Christians. Islam is the official religion, but the legal and civil codes are only in part based on the religious code, *shari’a*. The various ethnic groups in Jordan share essential cultural attributes and traditional customs as Islam gives them a common heritage. Legislative power rests in the bicameral National Assembly. In the 110-member Chamber of Deputies, elected by suffrage to a 4-year term, nine seats are reserved for Christians, six for women, and three for Circassians and Chechens. No distinctions are made between Eastbankers and Westbankers. The 40-member Senate is appointed by the king for an 8-year term.

Contemporary Jordan has a mix of traditional and modern social structures. These range from Islamic traditional structures to the more liberal pro-Western secular trends. Forms ranging from “politicized Islam to hip hop youth culture” (McMurray 2002) cut across the various social categories. The ethnic differences do not correspond to

socioeconomic distinctions. People live in urbanized, rural and arid areas. They belong to different social classes, from the elite to the bourgeoisie, the middle class and the proletariat. Individuals identify themselves through hierarchies within these social categories as much as they do within ethnic categories, mainly in social networks. Although the society is heading towards modernity, it has not moved into a Western liberal-democratic model. Large sectors of the population tend to adopt conservative social norms. However, the area is undergoing generational change. The new generations seem to be more open to change than older generations. This change can already be felt in the new blood nourishing civil institutions as young ministers, media institutions managers, and other decision-makers in leading positions in public organizations are taking charge of the civic institutions. This mix in socio-economic and ethnic structures has brought about a hybrid society that is more open and tolerant towards societal differences and disparities.

As King-Irani contends, ethnicity in the Middle East presents many definitional and methodological challenges for researchers since “ethnic groups often behave like kin-based tribal groupings, especially in the way they mobilize their members by invoking a shared identity in some contexts, while segmenting into competing groups in other contexts” (2004: 316). For instance, southern Eastbankers share similar social norms with southern Westbankers, more than both do with northern inhabitants of both East and West Bank. Some immigrants from Palestine who had entered Jordan prior to 1948 were thoroughly integrated into the local society. Old people (amongst Eastbankers) still tell stories of how it was easier for them prior to 1967 to go to Jerusalem than to go to Salt

(southwest of Amman) or to go to Hebron than Amman. Many Eastbank families have their roots in West Bank, as the family system cuts across regional borders.

For all ethnicities and sectors of society, the tribe or extended family remains the nucleus. Gerner describes the impact of this structure as follows:

The networks are usually based on extended families and geographical connections to a region or village. Within these networks, linkages are first and foremost social or economic and only then political. However, as politics become more local, the strength of the existing social networks increases. As a consequence, political control can change at the top of the system with relatively little change at the bottom” (Gerner 2004: 86)

The significant outcome of such hypothesis is that loyalty remains a cross-border sentiment. King-Irani explains that “citizenship, an identity category that derives its significance from the jural, formalized relationship of each individual to the nation-state, carries much less emotional, moral, legal, and political weight [...] than do identity categories rooted in ideologies of mutual assistance, oral duty, and group solidarity – that is, kinship, ethnicity, and religion” (2004: 307). When the official political agendas or policies do not coincide with the public’s standpoints on a given issue, a conflict occurs between the interests of the state and the public, such as in 1994, when steps towards normalization with Israel were met with enormous outcry from the public. The outcry came from all sectors of the public regardless of their ethnic affiliations, because normalization was seen as a threat not only on a local level but also to the entire Arab region.

3.4. Frames of Meaning

History played a central role in shaping people’s collective identities, perceptions of one another, and general attitudes towards the region’s conflicts and prospects of their resolutions. The long and complex history of confederation between Palestinians and Jordanians dates centuries back before the nation-states were imposed by colonial

mandates at the beginning of the twentieth century. This confederation had resulted in having two peoples integrating in one hybrid society, and sharing one culture and feeling of destiny.

An analysis of the influence of hybridity must take into account how the parties define themselves and how they are viewed by others. It is important to note, however, that the meanings assigned to particular notions of identity and community change over time. Thus, a careful examination of the two main Palestinian and Jordanian collectivities should underscore the changes in their composition, self-image, and perceptions of and interactions with one another. It is crucial to evaluate the interrelations between Eastbankers and Palestinians in Jordan on two hierarchical levels. First, these relations need to be seen as operating between Palestinians as a distinct collectivity from Jordanians with a Palestinian identity and an aspiration to restore their homeland. Second, it must be seen on a pan-Arab level where both collectivities belong to one Arab nation and work together for a common goal. The two collectivities were linked by their strong sense of belonging to one nation, a sentiment that is shared by the majority of the population in the Arab world.

Hybridity emerges as an influential demographic factor that has a bearing on the content of the Jordanian press, mainly due to the presence of the numerically preponderant Palestinians in Jordan since 1948 and of the Iraqi immigrants since 1990. Accordingly, events occurring in Iraq, Israel and Palestine receive priority in news coverage. Hybridity is realized technically through inter-marriage between and among these different collectivities. Kinship and marriage, as two social institutions, play a salient role in the coherence of the Jordanian society. They also highlight the political and

psychological dynamics of ethnicity while hinting at the existence of conflicts within and between the different collectivities within and across borders. This reveals that “the social class structure characteristic of society and the recent imposition of national boundaries... do not coincide with ethnic, religious or linguistic boundaries” (King-Irani 2004: 302). Hybridity reflects the frames of meaning and modes of belonging provided by primary identity categories.

The monarchy has sustained this unity over the years and was quite resilient in dealing with the demographic and ideological influences on the structure of society. King Hussein’s slogan in the 1990s was “equality amongst all Jordanians regardless of their origins.” Since 1989, political parties adopting different ideological orientations and members belonging to various ethnic affiliations became eligible for democratic election into Parliament and are co-opted into government. One case in point is the crisis that King Hussein faced in 1995-1996, when a strong Islamic movement attempted to invoke changes in the legislative system. The King chose to integrate Islamists into the government rather than banning them (Gerner 2004: 116). Anderson explains that institutional flexibility and inclusiveness, have aided the monarchy in the process of state formation (2000: 55). Palestinians feel closer to Jordanians than they do towards citizens in the other neighboring countries. This is partly because of the close cultural ties they share. Palestinians have cherished King Hussein’s initiative in granting the Palestinian refugees citizenship, a step that was not taken by the governments of other neighboring Arab countries, such as Egypt, Lebanon or Syria.

A brief review of the main conflicts that faced the Jordanian polity will help identify a number of significant turning points in this system. Following the

establishment of Israel in 1948, the West Bank was claimed to be part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The West Bank was occupied by Israel in 1967. The “communal divide” between East Bankers and Palestinians has led to periodic episodes of tension in the kingdom, culminating in the armed conflict in 1970. Following the conflict, feelings ran high with animosity between the two parties and distinct identities of so-called Jordanians and Palestinians. The martial laws were imposed until 1988 when King Hussein gave up administrative responsibility for the West Bank, necessitating a restructuring of the electoral districts to distribute seats to East Bank only (Gerner 2004: 116). The declaration of liberalization and nonpartisan elections in 1989 contributed in having the Palestinians in Jordan align themselves more to Jordan, as they were represented in the Jordanian Parliament.

Jordan’s sovereignty over and claim to the West Bank created the two conflicts of representation and political loyalty. Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had competed till late 1980s on who represents the Palestinian refugees with Jordanian citizenship. This left a large community of questionable loyalty. The issue of loyalty can explain why members of Parliament who take hard-line stands in Parliament concerning Israeli-related issues such as normalization, are most often East-Bankers. Palestinian members of Parliament tend to be more balanced, so as not to be accused of having double loyalty.

Colonialism created an Arab-nationalist movement, intensified by Israel’s occupation of Palestine. Therefore, Palestinians have always represented “an essential element in the Arab nationalist amalgam” (Tétreault 2004: 148), especially when the Egyptian leader Jamal Abdul-Nasser called for national Arab unity and the rescue of

Palestine from Israeli occupation. This conflict, as well as the Cold War era, gave rise to the dissemination of a set of ideologies such as socialism, nationalism and pan-Arabism during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. In this context, it is important to mention that since its establishment, the Jordanian monarchy has chosen to align itself politically with the West, a trend that explains why the Jordanian monarchy was not enthusiastic about the adoption of socialism and communism by a minor sector of the Jordanian populace. These original ideologies have undergone significant transformations in recent years as people attempt to reconcile the tensions between democratic practices, pan-Arabism and the aspirations of a national Arab state. The positions and policies on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have soon been mixed, not reflecting the monolithic stand of the 1960s. The Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement in 1979 partially changed the structure of the conflict from an Arab-Israeli conflict to a Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The 1990s were a turning point in the ideological structures of the Arabs. Following the Gulf war in 1991, and the participation of some Arab states in the war against Iraq, peoples' sense of Arab-nationalism weakened, replacing it more with patriotism, especially amongst Palestinians in the Israel/Palestine. The signing of the Oslo Accords by the Palestinian Authority and Israel in 1994, blurred the lines amongst the public between 'us' and 'them', and the conceptualization of Israel as an enemy. Subsequently, the escalating conditions in Palestine and Israel increased the opposition to the Oslo Accords and exposed internal divisions and conflicts within both Palestinian and Israeli societies. These divisions, which became clearer following the signing of the Oslo Accords, involve questions of identity and community and contending views not only about the boundaries between Israel and Palestine and the relationship between them but also about the social and

political character of each society. The invasion carried out by Israeli Prime Minister Sharon on the territories already-handed to the Palestinians, his assassination policy and isolation of the Palestinian leader Arafat and the Palestinian leadership in 2002 and 2003 contributed to the rising influence and support for Hamas and Islamic Jihad and the pan-Islam ideology not only in the Palestinian streets, but also amongst the Jordanian public. The dynamics of the conflict, the range of acceptance of the solutions has dramatically changed throughout the course of the conflict, for all parties involved. At the same time, the central issues underlying the conflict have not been dramatically transformed. One such set of issues involves the competing claims of two national movements for the same piece of land. There is a broad consensus among Palestinians that the principles of national self-determination and territorial sovereignty are inseparable and crucial to the survival of the Palestinian people (Sharoni and Abu-Nimer (2004: 192). Pan-Arabism and national integration surfaced again in 2003. The military intervention of the United States in Iraq on weak grounds and its support of Israel revived a strong feeling of anti-imperialism and neo-colonialism. The extensive and ongoing conflicts that were taking place in the region created ideological chaos with a Jordanian pro-Western regime and an anti-Western populace.

The above-mentioned setting has determined the publishing priorities of the media in three main ways. First, tension involving Israel, the United States and neighboring Arab states remain a critical concern. The impact of this tension on the internal politics and public is massive. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has shaped the lives of at least three generations of Israelis and Palestinians. It has played a central role not only in the daily lives of Palestinians and Jews living in Israel/Palestine, but also in

the lives of people living outside Israel/Palestine, throughout the Middle East, many of whom see their existence as inseparable from political developments in the region. Palestinians not only have their hearts back there in their homeland, but are left with many unresolved issues, such as the Israeli occupation, refugee rights, Jewish settlements, water rights, the status of Jerusalem, and many more. The Iraqi situation is no less chaotic. The Palestinian-Israeli struggle and the recent Iraqi-Iraqi-American struggles remain a preoccupation for people and a pivotal issue for debate²⁶. The myriad informal institutions of Palestinian society nourished the development of a distinctive Palestinian identity despite the absence of a Palestinian territorial state (Gerner 1994). The Jordanian press contributed to the build-up of these ideological frames and provided a forum for such debates. Up-to-date developments related to the regional conflicts have been addressed attentively by the press. Heated debates rise in momentum at crucial political turning points.

Second, these conflicts are not only seen as state-to-state conflicts, but as regional crises. The two conflicts, reminiscent of the French and British mandates a century ago, invoked a pan-Arabism ideology, supplemented by a neo-colonial anti-imperialistic ideology. The press can openly attack American imperialism and its prolonged domination over Iraq in the same way the press did after 1948, whereas it cannot address the same sort of criticism towards local political agendas.

Third, since violations of human rights and (violent) events relevant to the Arab-Israeli conflict take place incessantly, news about the Arab-Israeli conflict occupies the pages of newspapers every single day. Since 2003, events about Iraq receive a similar

²⁶ I am using the triple compound form 'Iraqi-Iraqi-American' to indicate the struggles in Iraq on two levels: Internally amongst the Iraqis and externally between the Iraqis and the American forces.

share of attention in the media. As different versions of reality are disseminated through the Western media, the Jordanian media deem it pivotal to convey their own version of the story(ies) so as to inform the international community of variable viewpoints.

4. What does the Jordanian public like to read?

4.1. The Press

The description above shows that the Jordanian society is culturally and ethnically plural, and rooted in a highly literate culture. Given this set of circumstances, and the public's line of thought and philosophies, it is no wonder that the Jordanian public is a "politicized audience." The political issues take up about a quarter of the total number of pages in the dailies, including news items, feature stories, commentaries, translations and scholarly studies, as judged from the newspaper sections. These sections on a regular basis occupy around fifteen pages of the newspaper which may total around sixty-five to seventy pages.

Merely looking at daily newspapers headlines can often give some indication of the local concerns and preoccupations of the Jordanian public. The front page is usually devoted to major national, government, regional, and international news and to the lead editorial. Ghaith Adayleh, senior editor at *Al-Rai* mentioned that his philosophy in news editing is to create on the front page a mix of local, regional and international news that has the potential to have the greatest impact on readers so that they would flip the pages to read the rest of the stories (Interview: April 2004). The front pages of the Jordanian dailies are customarily sectioned into major local news (mainly related to the King or government), and Arab-related news besides any foreign beat news. Since the inception

of the daily Jordanian newspapers, news about Middle Eastern conflicts appears on the front page almost every day.

The CSS conducted a survey in 2004 to examine what the public perceived to be the top compelling issues for the Jordanian polity. Upon asking the respondents to name the top five problems that Jordan faces and to prioritize them from the most central downwards, the results came as follows; “poverty and unemployment” (52%), “financial and administrative corruption” (27%), “the Palestinian issue” (17%), “enhancing democracy and freedom of speech” (3.1%), and finally “the Iraqi issue” (0.9%). In a nutshell, the most conflicting issues for the audience were political and economic, with the local economic problems objectified as holding key priorities. At the same time, the two external problems were identified as the Palestinian and the Iraqi issues.²⁷ Such hierarchy of the problematic shows that Jordanians identify themselves with the Iraqi and Palestinian peoples. It also reveals that Jordanians perceive their role in resolving these conflicts to be functional. No doubt, geographical proximity is one factor for this interest, as the two countries share borders with Jordan. But this interest is also related to how the Palestinian and Iraqi issues are seen from the perspective of the ‘national struggle of Arab countries against Western imperialism.’

In 1997, *Al-Rai*, with the cooperation of Abdullah Damdoun from Jordan University, compiled a subject Index, a reference handbook for subjects that appeared in the newspaper for the year 1997. The initiative was taken by *Al-Rai* so as to find out the topics that were covered by the newspaper and the volume of items covering each domain of topics. Unfortunately the idea of the index was not repeated for the following years (for financial reasons according to Damdoun (Interview April 2004)), but a look at the

²⁷ In 2003 survey, the Iraqi issue ranked as the fourth most important problem.

subject index shows the macro-themes that are covered by the newspaper. The index is arranged in terms of countries or regions (as macro-themes), and sub-classified into minor themes (in the field of politics). The index also provides an account of frequency of occurrence. His index provides titles of articles relevant to each domain, but for the sake of my study, a quantitative summary of his results will suffice. The results are shown in Table 2-2 below.

Table 2-2 – Frequency of themes per region appearing in Al-Rai (1997)

Theme	Fr.*	Theme	Fr.	Theme	Fr.
Jordan	1475	Algeria	48	Pakistan, Qatar	15
Palestine	655	Russia	47	Albania, Morocco, Yemen	14
Israel	442	Lebanon	46	Libya, Saudi Arabia	12
Arab World	184	Islam	45	Cyprus, Peru	11
United States	164	Iran	44	Japan	10
International	163	Sudan	43	Asia, Greece, Kuwait,	8
Turkey	113	Middle East	42	South Korea	7
Iraq	88	Britain	33	Afghanistan, Bahrain, Bosnia, Poland	6
U.N.	87	China	32	Africa, Chechnya, Indonesia, North Korea, Spain,	5
Europe	84	Zaire- Congo	24	Cambodia, Ireland, Switzerland, Sierra Leone, Tunisia	4
Egypt	61	France, Germany	21	Cuba, Guatemala, Italy, South Africa	3
Syria	51	India	16	Balkans, Bologna, Canada, Croatia, Serbia, Vatican, Vietnam	2
				Other countries (total= 27)	1 each

* Fr. = Frequency

The table shows that in terms of occurrence, articles related to Jordan are on top of the list, which indicates assigning priority to local news and events. Issues related to Palestine, Israel, and the Arab World (including the United States) come as second in topic-range, followed by issues related to other regions (or international constituencies)

whose political developments and agendas have a direct or partial impact on Jordan such as Turkey, Iraq, the U.N., and Europe. The rest of the countries are categorized as low-important topics for the newspaper. In general terms, the table shows how areas of interest taken up by the newspaper are prioritized. The coverage of these areas roughly corresponds to the results of the CSS on the public priorities of national agenda, which was done years later (see above). The first preoccupations for readers are seen to be problems related to Jordan, followed by problems related to Palestine, and then to other neighboring countries. From a journalistic point of view, these topics are addressed because of their journalistic values of conflict and proximity, a topic that will be discussed in Chapter 3.

To confirm readers' interest in political issues, I carried out a similar quantitative research on translated articles in *Al-Rai*. For three years, I compiled a corpus that consists of what I would call "meta-news", that is, texts that comment on the news and evaluate current events, including the translated articles, editorials and books. The quantitative data include the name of source publication (newspaper, magazine or book), name of original author, and title of the article. I used the titles of articles to get a tip on the themes and topics that translated articles or books dealt with. For unclear titles, I skimmed through the article to get a better idea about the subject-matter of the article. The research covers translations done from 1989, the year of democratization for Jordan to August 2005. Due to the large variety of topics and regions covered, the best strategy to obtain a manageable set of results was to sort the articles according to their pertinence. Even with this sorting, I had to expand them to larger geographical units to make the table reader-friendly. Although this table does not hint at the exact topics covered, it

provides a cursory insight into the regional coverage through the translation discourse. This abridged version of the data will suffice for the purposes of the study. The results are given in percentages rather than in numbers because many articles are interrelated with more than one region, such as articles that concurrently discussed issues related to Iraq and the United States. The results are shown in Table 2-3 below.

Table 2-3 Regions which received the highest coverage in translation²⁸

Area	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Jordan	0	0	0	0	.3	.9	0	0	.3	0	0	0	0	.2	.2	0	0
Palestine	30.2	12.1	<i>10.3</i>	26.3	34.1	21	26.1	30	25.7	30	19.7	10.7	40	37.4	13.6	<i>21.1</i>	15.6
Arab World	1.2	7.3	65.4	<i>20.1</i>	8.9	4.5	9.3	8.2	6.3	3.9	3.5	14.3	2.8	5.2	7.5	5.2	13.8
Iraq	0	0	0	5	1.3	.9	2.2	.6	1.6	6.2	4.6	0	0	3.1	28.7	15.3	<i>19.4</i>
U.S.A.	<i>19.7</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>10.3</i>	18.8	<i>18.4</i>	7.6	7.9	<i>11.1</i>	<i>14.2</i>	<i>17.5</i>	<i>15.1</i>	30.3	<i>21.4</i>	<i>18.1</i>	37.2	31.6	25.2
Western Europe	4.7	19.5	3.5	2.4	2.1	8.8	4	8.4	8.5	8.8	12.8	1.8	0	4.8	2.5	7.8	1.7
Russia	4.6	12.3	3.5	5	7.1	<i>16.5</i>	<i>12.9</i>	6	10.9	2.5	9.3	12.5	7.2	3	2	1.4	5.2
Eastern Europe	1.2	9.7	0	5	7.7	6.7	9.7	4.5	4.9	3.6	8.1	0	4.3	.4	0	0	.3
South America	2.3	2.5	0	0	1	4.5	1.8	1.3	1.6	2.5	0	7.1	0	.5	0	.4	0
Mid-Asia	5.9	2.5	0	0	.7	2.7	1.8	5.5	2	1.3	0	5.4	4.3	10.3	1.2	.4	2.2
Far East	8.1	2.5	3.5	3.8	4.4	5.8	7	7.3	5.6	7.5	9.3	3.6	1.4	1.8	.5	1	1.6
Turkey & Iran	4.6	0	3.5	2.4	2	.4	4	1.9	2.3	1.3	4.7	0	1.4	2.6	.7	1.4	6.2
Africa	1.2	4.8	0	0	2.8	8.1	4.4	3.8	2.6	0	1.2	0	2.9	.3	0	.4	.3
International*	16.3	2.5	0	11.2	8.4	11.6	7.1	10.5	11.9	11.3	10.5	14.3	7.1	3.2	4.4	6.4	3.8
Ideology	0	2.5	0	0	.8	0	1.8	.6	.3	3.6	0	0	7.2	9.1	1.5	7.6	4.7
Australia/Canada	0	4.8	0	0	0	0	0	.3	1.3	0	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0

* This section includes issues related to the U.N., economics and issues of a global nature.

²⁸ The areas receiving the highest percentage of coverage are highlighted for each year; the highest percentages in bold, the next in italic.

The first overall result of the analysis of subject areas represented through translation in the press is that the majority of the translated discourse covers political issues. The two non-regional categories covered by the translation activity fall within the field of politics in the sense that they are also politically oriented, namely International macro-economic and ideological issues.²⁹ The table also shows Jordanians' priorities in ranking domestic, international, economic and political issues according to their importance for citizens. Astonishingly, political issues related to Jordan are meagrely covered through translations, where a Jordanian press is expected to focus primarily on Jordanian issues. It could be argued that probably the international media does not deal with Jordanian issues, but this is not the case, as Jordan has been and is still a politically active mediator in the regional conflicts. One prominent factor that can be suggested in this regard is the censorship that inhibits sharing criticism with the local polity. According to chief editors of the daily *Al-Rai* and weekly *Shihan* (Interviews with Zghailat and Fukhaida in April 2004), the local political situation is deemed too sensitive to jeopardize raising any dissenting voices to provoke any internal conflicts. This sector of interest is dealt with by the local sections – news and commentary – of the newspapers, where local writers have learnt to recognize the line between approved and disapproved criticism of the political system in Jordan.

As much as translation attempts to cover a wide range of topics relevant to many areas and regions, translators display a tendency to place more significance on certain conflicts and regions. The focus on politics in Jordanian newspapers coincides with diversified political coverage of certain areas. Although the percentage shifts from one

²⁹ By 'international macro-economic issues' I mean issues of an international nature such as economic problems related to financing, oil, or problems of a global impact such as food, ecology, climate, etc.

region to another at different periods, it seems that translators have always been more engaged with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, conflicts related to the Arab World, and the United States. An average of about half to two-thirds of the articles was confined to Middle Eastern conflicts. Because the United States is the world's only superpower and is involved in many aspects of life in the Middle East and North Africa, and because its foreign policies affect the lives of the Arabs in many ways, Arab media editors constantly report on what the United States is doing. The importance of this result lies in the fact that these conflicts have occupied a considerable space in Jordanian dialogue during the last a few decades.

Although my research confined the quantitative analysis of translated discourse to Al-Rai, my preliminary research on the other Jordanian newspapers came up with similar results; translations in the Jordanian press are thematically focused on politics. The outstanding position of political communication points to a marked news flow in this direction. The newspaper's average of three to four translated articles per day gives a cursory insight into the political orientations and trends of the audience in Jordan. Media scholars have emphasized journalists' and editors' subjectivity in their selection priorities of news coverage (e.g., Bell 1991; Fairclough 1997). Such subjectivity tends to appear in stronger terms in the selection strategies of potential articles for translation. Events occur arbitrarily, whether natural or man-instigated, but the decision to recognize the significance of given events to the exclusion of others calls for a human agent. Translators decide to identify the events that deserve more meta-news – that is more analysis and criticism on current daily events. The audience concerns are talked about in terms of “interest”, or in terms of “how many people are affected,” and so forth

(deWerth-Pallmeyer 1998: 28). There is the built-in acknowledgment in the editing departments of the press that audience members are particularly attracted to and affected by the goings-on in certain areas of the world or certain issues. For example, the geopolitical factor, in the case of Jordan, determines that the audience is mostly interested in events that are related to the Middle East, as clearly reflected in the translated discourse. Whether events occur in Israel/Palestine or Iraq, some segments of society are likely to be familiar with the communities or areas in these regions. The high percentage of articles commenting on on-going events is clearly the result of the unusually high level of violent conflicts taking place in the contemporary Middle East. As Fohrbeck, et al. argue, the media has a “conflict-focus perspective” (Fohrbeck et al. 1983: 49). As can be seen from Table 2-2, translators give these stories prominence, because public debates about these issues are collectively raised. Given the constructive roles that translators can play, translators may become a means of expressing the *public mood* in a society, as much as they form and define collective ‘*public spheres*’ (Habermas: 1989) of debate for the audience.

The Katrina hurricane, which hit the southern coasts of the United States on 30.8.2005 is a case in point. The hurricane caused tremendous devastation for cities in the southern states of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. As a large-scale natural catastrophe, the story received the major headlines of the front pages of most North American and Western European newspapers even before the hurricane did actually strike these areas. The news about the hurricane was sketchily reported in the Jordanian press. Only after the event started to take a more interactive social and political dimension – particularly pinning criticism on President Bush and his administration – did

it receive attention in the Jordanian press. Articles commenting on the event appeared in both Arabic and English newspapers, and a number of articles were translated on this issue. Three articles on this issue were translated and published on 6.9.2005. The article 'It's black people who are dying, so Bush doesn't care', written by columnist David Smith in the British *Observer* on 4.9.2005, was translated and published at *Al-Rai* under the title 'عنصرية واشنطن في مواجهة إعصار كاترينا' ('Bush's Discrimination in the Face of Katrina's Inundation'). The article 'The Bursting Point' written by David Brooks from the *New York Times* appeared under the title 'ترقبوا (الإنفجار العظيم) في أميركا' ('Be Alert to the (Big Bang) in America'). The last article 'Homeland Security in a Perfect Storm' written by Eric Holdeman in the American *Christian Science Monitor* newspaper on 2.9.2005 was published as 'الأمّن الداخلي الأميركي في مهب الإعصار' ('America's national security facing a hurricane').

To confirm the audience's political orientations, it is important to mention that translators show interest in the translation of books, mainly books that deal with politics and history. Such books are translated by in-house translators and published in episodes in the Jordanian newspapers. These books quite often deal with current or historical political issues that are of interest to the readers such as Uri Avnery's *Israel Without Zionism* (1971), Bob Woodward's *The Commanders* (1991), Ramsey Clark's *The Fire This Time: U.S. Crimes in the Gulf* (1992), Donna Arzt's *Refugees Into Citizens: Palestinians and the End of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (1996), Thomas Friedman's *The Lexus and The Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (2000), and many more. The published episodes appear quite often in the section "Studies", and may replace the translated articles. The translated books in the newspapers are correlated to the

translations of books that are carried out in the book market. Given the weak economic conditions of a large segment of the population, and their incapacity to buy books, the translated books published in the newspapers offer a more affordable source that would compensate for what the readers cannot get in the book market.

4.2. The book Industry

What could the study of the book industry add to the study of translation in the press? The study attempts to bring the medium of the book into mass media and translation studies research in two ways. First, by focusing on the genres and subjects most prevalent in the Jordanian book industry, I hope to evaluate what constitutes high literature for Jordanians in society and explore how the dynamics of book selection reflects the tension between “cultural responsibility and commercial necessity” (Haughland 1994: 787) that critics say characterizes the book industry in general. This could in turn lead to a better understanding of the interests of the Jordanian audience, a shared aim for my study of translation discourse in the press. The study of the book industry shows an analogy between the press and book industry research in terms of the relationship between readership and the economic view to book marketing. This correspondence becomes critical as the two enterprises cut across one another. I attempt to explore the published ‘literature’ sold by the mainstream publishing houses, which I think is culturally and politically significant. I argue that both translation in the mainstream print media and publishing activity in mainstream publishing houses, in different and complex ways, are embedded in cultural and political economies. They deal with the same themes and both are subject to the same type of censorship.

The book industry has always been conceived as a commercial enterprise governed by the same rules as the press. The book industry, like any industry, has sometimes conflicting goals: to produce what is considered the best with a profit. The perceived conflict between cultural responsibility and commercial reality is at the heart of what distinguishes publishing houses agendas. Different publishing houses may conceive of their missions in different ways. "Some publishers think most exclusively in terms of producing maximum profits while others see themselves as responsible to the general public" (Coser et al, 1982: 15).

In her study of the commercial value of the book in *Books as Culture/ Books as Commerce*, Haugland (1994: 789) argues that the book has always been a commodity, produced and sold for a profit. Thus it was vitally necessary from the outset to print only those titles that would satisfy a clientele, and at a price which would withstand competition." Yet observers of the book industry have consistently characterized it as different from other industries. For them, the book industry is an integral part of the culture of the country: "its product is not bound paper, but ideas." (*Ibid.*: 796). This assumption lies behind most contemporary analyses of the book industry.

Sociologists have argued that the supposed conflict between culture and commerce masks important assumptions about cultural value. Bourdieu (1984) argues that labeling some work commercial and some non-commercial, a dichotomy that characterizes so much discussion of books and publishing, is an important strategy for marking the differences between high and popular culture. Popular books, those most likely to be on the bestseller list – serve an important function. They define the new books that may be considered high culture. The opposition between cultural value and

commercial or economic value is the key to understanding the high/low, elite/popular distinctions that characterize our understanding of culture. Stuart Hall writes that the structuring principle here is “the tensions and oppositions between what belongs to the central domain of elite or dominant culture and the culture of the periphery” (1977: 33).

In order to identify such “dominant culture and the culture of the periphery” to perceive the types of products that would construct the high/elite literature in the Jordanian market, I looked into the types of books that are introduced to the market. My findings are elicited from lists of publications issued by the four mainstream publishing houses in Jordan. I also explored the lists of best sellers that appear on Al-Rai on a weekly basis. Although both types of lists do not necessarily comprise translations (though they do include some translated books), they may give an insight into the nature of readership in Jordan, and what is considered by the public to be high/popular culture.

The book publishing industry in Jordan is small by regional standards. Large publishing houses are a few and fewer still are regional publishing houses that have branches in Jordan and other countries. Although some publishing houses cooperate with other regional publishing houses in Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt and Iraq, the exchange occurs on a small scale. Notwithstanding the small size of the market, it shows the kinds of writing brought into the market. In order to know which publishing houses are the largest in Jordan, a list of all publishing houses was obtained from the Union of Jordanian Publishers. According to the administrative coordinator of the Union Ashraf Ma'areef the largest four publishing houses, which are known at the local and/or regional level, are: Dar El-Karmel Publishing House (DKPH), The Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES), Dar El-Jaleel for Publishing & Palestinian Research & Studies (DJPP), and

finally The Arabic Establishment for Studies and Publications (AESP). I will present the quantitative findings of only two, namely Dar El-Karmel Publishing House (DKPH) and The Arabic Establishment for Studies and Publications (AESP). The lists of publications by these two publishing houses carry a variety of subjects and genres, while the other two (The Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Dar El-Jaleel For Publishing & Palestinian Research & Studies) as their names indicate, are more specialized in Palestinian and Middle Eastern studies. Table 2-4 provides a quantitative summary of their publications for the last a few years, translated books included, though not specified.

**Table 2-4 Distribution of Publications per subject matter
At AESP and DKPH (2001-2004)**

Field	The Arabic Establishment for Studies and Publications		Dar El-Karmel for Publishing & Distribution	
Year	2004	2001	2004	2001
Literature	51	24.6	76.6	57.7
Politics	8.7	11.1	9.2	25.1
History	3.1	4.4	4.1	6.5
Religion	1.1	2.2	0	0
Travelling	16	0	0	0
Biographies	4.2	6.7	4.1	2.5
Psychology	0	2.2	0	0
Arts	2.1	0	0	0
Linguistics	0.5	31.1	1.2	2.3
Sociology	0.5	2.2	1.2	0
Economics	1.5	4.4	1.2	0.3
Cultural studies	8.7	2.2	1.2	1.4
Others	2.6	8.9	1.2	4.2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

The table shows that the largest portion of books issued were literary books, with percentages as high as 51% and 76.6% respectively in 2004 for AESP and DKPH. Studies in politics and culture accounted for 17.4% of the publications for AESP while they accounted for only 9.2% for DKPH in 2004. One significant feature is the drop in

publications related to politics since 2001. While the AESP publications in politics in 2000 accounted for 11.1% of all books, this percentage dropped to 8.7% in 2004, and from 25.1% in 2001 to 9.2% in 2004 for DKPH. The precedence of fiction over non-fiction books in these two publishing houses is meant to outweigh the imbalance in the volume of books in political studies produced by other local and regional publishing houses, which according to Al-Kayyali, owner of AESP, are welcomed by the public.³⁰

With the publications of the other two publishing houses (DJPP and CMES), the scale is tipped for books in the fields of politics and history. With almost 95% of publications in politics, the dominant field in the book industry emerges as “political studies.” The Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES) publishes books and a monthly report on current developments related to the conflicts in the Middle East. Since 1996 and until June 2004, CMES has published 74 books and studies in this area. Since its establishment in 1978, Dar El-Jaleel (DJPP), which is responsible for the Hebrew translations for *Al-Rai*, has been specialized in the Arab-Israeli Struggle. Until July 2005, 219 books were published. Of these 77 (35.2%) are translations from Hebrew.

According to the preface to the list of publications of Dar El-Jaleel, the main purpose of the house is “to provide the Arab world with knowledge on the Zionist line of thought and agendas that govern the policies of the Hebrew state” (2005: 5; translation by author). It also aims at providing Arab media institutions, decision makers and the public with news and information about Israel, stemming from the rule that says “know your enemy.” The preface explains, “we are in urgent need of a modern information system that can deal with this issue, not only locally but globally too. Such a matter requires

³⁰ Interview with Maher El-Kayyali, owner of the AESP, 16.4.2005.

special informational structures that have the ability to disclose the Israeli policies to the Arab public” (*Ibid.*; translation by author).

Dar El-Karmel was established in November 1983. It illustrates its policy in a preface to the list of its publications as “giving special attention to the issues related to the Arabs, especially the Palestinian problem and the Zionist-Arab struggle, through publication, distribution and translation of books in this field. The House also gives attention to literature (poetry, novels, drama, fiction) whether they were Jordanian, Palestinian or regional” (2004: 4; translation by author). In 1995, Dar El-Karmel inaugurated a branch in Jerusalem “in an attempt to unlock the cultural siege imposed on the people in the Occupied Territories for over 30 years, and rendering the Arab books handy to them” (*Ibid.*). In 2001 it opened another branch in Baghdad in another “serious attempt to penetrate the cultural siege imposed on Iraq” (*Ibid.*).

As these prefaces show, these publishing houses have their own agendas and areas of interest. Being successful so far means that their products have the potential for mass-appeal. However, it should be mentioned that the high traditions of the book industry in Jordan are primarily of interest to the intelligentsia. Apparently these types of books have constructed a legitimate tradition of their own. However, high culture is not inherently built up by the readers’ interests only. Promotion of certain books helps make them known to the public. One such example is the promotion of best sellers at *Al-Rai*. It allocates half a page per week in its Culture section to informing the audience of the best sellers in the Jordanian book market. The choice is based on contacts with publishing houses that report the books that have been or are believed to be highly appealing to the public. About ten books are introduced every week. The section gives a brief review of

each book, with one book prescribed as the bestseller receiving more coverage at the top of the section. By following up the section for two months (April and May 2004), I found the results matching those of the publishing houses. Judging from the best-seller section at *Al-Rai*, books in history, politics, and literature are the ones that become bestsellers. *Al-Rai* constitutes a crucial source of information on and evaluation of books. The reviews are extremely important in setting the tone for the reception of books. Furthermore, based on what is said to be highly requested by the readers, the demand for those books further increases. In this sense, the media does not only meet readers' demands; it also plays a *constructive* role, in which the newspaper steers the readers' attention to certain topics. *Al-Rai* promotes these books and makes them sellable. In other words, the newspaper helps create these bestsellers. As Coser *et al* put it, "best sellers are not born; they are made" (1982: 18).

5. Parallel writing: Imperatives of Readership

As a point of conclusion, I would like to illustrate how both implicit and explicit understandings of the audience function as important factors in the construction of texts. Translators as well as writers work with a variety of understandings about their audience developed through their routine journalistic activities that do make a powerful impact on the shaping of their products. Pool and Shulman (1959) for example, argued that different impressions of the audience led to different levels of accuracy in written reports. One case in point is an article that was published at *The Jordan Times* on 12.8.1990. Before introducing the article, let me give a brief idea about *The Jordan Times*.

The Jordan Times has a different readership than that of the Arabic dailies. It is an affiliate to the Jordan Press Foundation which runs *Al-Rai*. However, *The Jordan Times*

has a totally separate editorial staff. The philosophy of the newspaper as expressed by Samir Barhoum,³¹ responsible editor, is to convey the Jordanian point of view on different issues to non-Jordanians, whether they live in Jordan or abroad. Barhoum mentions that since the newspaper was transmitted electronically in mid-1990s, the number of its readers doubled. The electronic hit-count shows that the number of readers exceeds 10,000 per day, a number, according to the newspaper's circulation standards, is reasonable in a small country like Jordan. The newspaper is also distributed on a daily basis to embassies in Jordan, Jordan embassies in other countries, the Royal Jordanian Airlines, and UN organizations working in Jordan. The existence of a fixed body of foreign readers helps the newspaper follow a distinct editorial line and have it read by non-Jordanians.

The following article is written by the prominent veteran Jordanian columnist Fahed Fanek who writes for both *Al-Rai* and *The Jordan Times*. The example demonstrates how understandings about different readers can create two different versions of the same argument. Ten days after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990, Fanek wrote an article in the 'Opinions' section at *The Jordan Times* titled 'What Outsiders Should Understand about the Gulf'. The article runs as follows:

To a foreign journalist rushing to Amman to cover the Gulf crisis, quite a few issues may not readily be understandable. Most of the questions asked deal with the details and implications of a certain issue rather than with basics and fundamentals of the issue. Here are some examples:

A question that is often heard is why the Jordanian public opinion is so overwhelming and blunt in supporting Iraq unconditionally and irrespective of what happened to Kuwait? The simple answer is that Jordan is one of the very few Arab countries with any measure of democracy and freedom of press and expression. Given that the Jordanians have been free to express their true feelings and reflect the true mood of the Arab people, only the Egyptian press, which is owned and run by the government and the ruling party, and some other media organs, contend that the Jordanian press reflects the position of the government. Foreign observers in Amman hopefully realize

³¹ An interview with Samir Barhoum, 2.4.2005.

that the press here is indeed reflecting the position of the man in the street in the handling of the situation in the Gulf.

A second question is asked about why the Jordanian people and press are less sensitive to the plight of their Kuwaiti brothers? The answer is that Jordan was even-handed when the crisis erupted between Iraq and Kuwait. Jordan tried to intervene to prevent escalation and reach a peaceful solution to the conflict. But after August 2 the problem was not between two Arab states any more. It developed to become an issue of foreign intervention in internal Arab affairs. We cannot be neutral between Iraq and Israel, or, for that matter, between Iraq and imperialistic power, new (America) and old (Britain). That explains why the Pan-Arab nationalists in Jordan have been appealing to the Syrian leadership urging it to end the bitter rivalry with the regime in Iraq, because the question now was no more just an inter-Arab problem but also a matter of Arab solidarity against a foreign aggression. Jordanians are definitely grateful for the Kuwait government and people for their past assistance to Jordan, but we don't feel that they are now a party in a bloody dispute, and we understand fully that they come last on the worries of Americans and Israelis who only want to control Arab oil and suppress the resurrection of Pan-Arab nationalism.

Another question is why we might not sound to care for the sovereignty of Kuwait. "Don't you understand that I may be the next target on the Iraqi president's hit list?" they ask. Well, our answer to such a question is that we in the Arab World, rightly or wrongly, think of ourselves as one nation. In the same way that the Germans are one nation, irrespective of the number of states and regimes they or we may have. There is no Arab people or Arab ruler who openly disputes this universal fact. The borders between Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq were agreed upon between a British officer and a French counterpart. The borders between the sheikhdoms of the Gulf were marked in the desert by painted barrels by the British occupation. The Arab Bedouins of the area do not recognize any of these borders ...

This article is addressed to non-Jordanians whether inside or outside Jordan. It appears to be more specifically addressed to foreign journalists who came to Jordan to cover the events of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict. Apparently Fanek was trying to illustrate and explain the Jordanian point of view in the conflict which the foreign journalists are believed not to comprehend and/or approve. The full article consists of seven paragraphs, of which I provided the first four for the purpose of illustration. Two days later – on 14.8.1990 – Fanek writes an article in *Al-Rai* which deals with the same issue. The article is considered an *autotranslation* of the same argument, but *adapted* to the local Jordanian public. The Arabic text can be regarded as a parallel target text. The article which is written in Arabic, is titled 'أيها الصحفيون الأجانب .. افهمونا' ('Foreign Journalists ... (try to) understand us'). The article goes as follows, with my translation of the article in English.

Translation by the researcher	The original article by Fahed Fanek
Yesterday we tried to explain what our guest foreign journalists found hard to understand. We told them that the Jordanian public opinion is not against Kuwait or the Kuwaiti people. But, it is with Iraq against the American and Israeli intervention, and that the reason why Jordanians expressed their Pan-Arab sentiments vehemently is that they enjoy more democracy and freedom of expression than other Arab citizens. Therefore, they are more able to express their feelings without fear. We also told them that our utter disrespect for the borders that separate the Arab states is because we unanimously consider ourselves as one nation that is divided, and not as 20 nations, as they believe it to be, and that the borders amongst the Arabs are made by the British, the French and the Italian. Today comes the foreign journalists' turn to help us understand what we can't understand. Why are the international legitimacy and the Security Council resolutions applied selectively, so that they are imposed on one Arab state and not imposed on Israel that has occupied an Arab territory, crossed its borders and played down the UN resolutions? And why does America move rapidly and strongly to stop the Iraqi (aggression) on Saudi Arabia which did not take place, while it does nothing to eliminate the Israeli aggression once it happened or within the following 24 years? And why does America allow itself to intervene in independent states like Granada, Panama and Liberia, and topple free governments in Chilli and Iran, and others? Are these actions legitimate from the point of view of international law, or is it that America has the right to do things that others are not allowed to do? Why does America tremble when the Iraqi army invades the Kuwaiti territories but shook her shoulders heedlessly when the North Vietnam troops invaded South Vietnam territories, despite its commitment towards its friends in the South? And what is the ethical difference between freezing the Iraqi funds in America which are the amounts for the oil that America has bought from Iraq and already consumed, and hostage kidnapping and bargaining? And why does America think that it can take Arab monetary hostages, without any reason, while Iraq has no	حاولنا يوم أمس توضيح ما قد يشق فهمه على ضيوفنا من الصحفيين الأجانب. فقلنا لهم أن الرأي العام الأردني ليس ضد الكويت والكويتيين، ولكنه مع العراق ضد التدخل والإحتلال الأمريكي والإسرائيلي، وأن السبب في شدة تعبير الأردنيين عن المشاعر القومية هو أنهم يتمتعون بأكثر قدر من الديمقراطية وحرية التعبير بالنسبة لأي شعب عربي آخر، وبالتالي فإنهم الأقدر على التعبير عن حقيقة مشاعرهم دون خوف. وأن عدم احترامنا الشديد للحدود التي تفصل بين الدول العربية عائد لكوننا نعتبر أنفسنا بالإجماع أمة واحدة مقسمة ولنا ٢٠ أمة كما يظنون، وأن الحدود بين العرب مصنوعة ومن صنع الإنجليز والفرنسيين واليطاليين. واليوم يأتي الدور على الصحفيين الأجانب لمساعدتنا في فهم ما يصعب علينا فهمه، فلماذا تطبق الشرعية الدولية وقرارات مجلس الأمن بشكل انتقائي، ففرض على بلد عربي ولا تفرض على إسرائيل التي تحتل أراضي الدول العربية وتجتاح الحدود وتستتهر بقرارات الأمم المتحدة؟ ولماذا تتحرك أميركا بسرعة وبقوة لوقف (العدوان) العراقي على السعودية الذي لم يقع في حين لا تتحرك بأي صورة لإزالة آثار العدوان الإسرائيلي عندما وقع أو خلال ٢٤ سنة تالية لوقوعه؟ ولماذا تسمح أميركا لنفسها بدخول دول مستقلة أجنبية مثل جرينادا وبنما وليبيريا وتقلب حكومات حرة في تشيلي وإيران وغيرهما، فهل كانت هذه الأعمال شرعية من وجهة نظر القانون الدولي أم أنه يجوز لأميركا ما لا يجوز لغيرها؟ ولماذا تهتز أميركا عندما يجتاح جيش العراق أراضي الكويت ولكنها تهز كتفيها دون اكتراث عندما اجتاحت قوات فيتنام الشمالية أراضي فيتنام الجنوبية بالرغم من التزامها نحو أصدقائها في وما هو الفرق الأخلاقي بين تجميد أموال الجنوب؟ العراق في أميركا وهي ثمن نفط تسلمته من العراق واستهلكته وبين عمليات أخذ الرهائن والمساومة عليهم. ولماذا تظن أميركا أنه يحق لها أخذ رهائن عربية ماله بدون مبرر ولا يحق للعراق الرد بتطبيق الحكمة العربية: من أخذ مالك خذ روحه؟ يهمننا أن نفهم ما إذا كانت أميركا وأوروبا سوف تتكالب ضد المغرب فيما لو اجتاحت موريتانيا مثلاً كما زحفت على الصحراء المغربية أم أن المعركة معركة نفط فقط لا غير؟ وإذا كانت المعركة معركة الحفاظ على مصالح

right to answer back, responding to the Arab old saying: He who takes your money, you can take his soul? We need to understand if America and Europe will collaborate against Morocco, for instance, in case it invades Mauritania just as it crawled onto the Moroccan Desert, or is it a battle for oil, no more? If the battle is one of maintaining Western interests in the Arab oil, and curbing the (serious imbalance) resulting from the potentials of a huge Arab army, then, why does America push some Arab states to bring over their armies as scapegoats, putting them in the front lines as shields to protect the lives of American soldiers, on the pretext that the American army cannot endure human casualties? Isn't the Arab soldier dear to his family, or should he die defending the American interests in oil? Understand us.	غريبة في النفط العربي ، ومعالجة (الإختلال الخطير) في التوازن الناشئ من ضخامة وقدره جيش عربي، فلماذا تزج أميركا ببعض الدول العربية لتسوق جنودها ككيش فداء ، وتضعهم في الخط الأمامي كدرع لحماية أرواح الجنود الأمريكيين بحجة أن الشعب الأمريكي لا يتحمل الخسائر البشرية ، فهل الحندي العربي رخيص علي أهله وهل يجوز أن يموت دفاعا عن المصالح الأمريكية النفطية؟ افهمونا.
---	---

The writer sought in the English version to *persuade* the foreign readers of the reasons behind Jordanians' support for Iraq by explaining the Jordanian point of view, while the Arabic version sought to give an *account* of the encounter between Fanek and the journalistic body. The last sections of the Arabic article carried a number of exclamations and questions, rhetorical ones. It follows that the function of the first article was *persuasion*, while the function of the Arabic article was *exclamation*. This is shown through comparing the quantum of background information that Fanek provided in the English article to the foreign readers, such as the development of the freedom of the press in Jordan, the colonial history of the region and the strength of Arab nationalism as an ideological force in Jordan. Such background information is known to the Jordanian readers but may not be readily known to the foreign reader or journalist (as a reader). The same background was not given in the Arabic version, simply because it would be bombarding the readers with what they already know. Adversely, Fanek reduced what he wrote in seven paragraphs in the English version into one paragraph in the Arabic article.

This is related to the technique of using given information as opposed to new information (Halliday 1978) in discourses which carry ideological messages. For the foreign readers, the background history was set as new information, while it was reduced as given information for the local readers. Fairclough suggests that in any representation, the writer has to decide what to include and what to exclude, and what to 'foreground' and what to 'background'[...] Certain details might be expected to be back-grounded or excluded altogether on the grounds that they are common knowledge which the audience might be expected to share (1995: 2). The English text was adjusted by Fanek to norms of acceptability in the target culture. The use of the interrogative emerges as a normal technique by Jordanian columnists at *Al-Rai* which has not been used by Fanek in his English text. These discursive techniques will be studied in more detail in Chapter 4.

To sum up the chapter, the demands of the marketplace have driven the content of newspapers towards more politicized expository forms of coverage. The sociological significance of studying translation in the press, through the study of readership, arises largely from the audience's expectations of a distinctive form and content making translation discourse a means of meeting public needs for information. Translation enjoys a central place in public discourse as it constructs and reflects the local public sphere as will be explained in the following chapter.

Translation serves as a metaphor for what really goes on in the newsroom. Translators are predominantly concerned with gathering information and crafting 'stories' that appeal to the Jordanian public. The tacit understanding is that certain kinds of stories are the ones most likely to attract and maintain an audience. What translators see as their primary task, then, is creating a product. Their focus is on what Ryan and

Peterson (1982) labeled *product image*; a product or a story that makes a special connection with their readers or viewers. Tacit notions of the audience interfere as part of the conscious decision-making process. The press, on its part, attempts to be better informed about the interests of readers. Simple models of communication imply that the extent of audience input into the journalistic product lies in direct relation between the audience and the translator. Much of the translators' understandings of their audience are internalized in this way. Both the technical requirements of producing the news and the news values that characterize the journalistic products are imbued with a sense of the audience. According to translators' own testimonies, the key for translators' internalization of readers' interests seems to be in the translator's tendency to form an implicit *identification* with her/his audience, using her/himself as a prototypical audience member (Interviews with Barhoum 2005; Al-Sharqi 2005). In a way, translators see the audience as something like themselves and therefore view themselves as *audience representatives*.

Chapter 3

Mapping Translation

Can I borrow your mouth?
- Author

1. Translation practices as norms

Translation in the Jordanian setting is taking on increased importance in both the conceptualization and circulation (transmission) of the culture of newspaper publishing, as suggested by the interviewed translators and chief editors in each newspaper. The translation department in every Jordanian newspaper constitutes an indispensable part of the editorial staff. Translation activity and discourse aim at compensating the limitations of journalistic modes of functioning and professional standards of the Jordanian press. Sherry Simon (1992), in her study on difference incurred in translation within the context of Quebecois literature, asserts that translation (in a literary context) can function as either *replacement* or *supplement*. She adds that it is important to distinguish between the two, arguing that the first is undertaken for reasons of legal or commercial constraint to stand in place of a previously existing text, while the latter is a legal obligation, where translation is optional and seeks to integrate the alterity of the text into the receiving culture to expand its repertoire (1992: 161). While Simon does not explain whether the two functions can co-exist in a sole translation or how these functions are realized, I would further argue that translation in the press fulfills the two functions. Source texts – used in specific home media systems – have certain inherent properties that make them qualify as translations. These properties, which the local system lacks, *replace* and

compensate for local inadequacies. Where shortcomings are kept to a minimum, translation *supplements* and enhances the status quo professional practice of journalists and columnists alike. In a unilingual country as Jordan, English is used as a foreign language, rendering people's access to external sources of information *dependent* on their mastery of English. Those who do not know English well enough depend to a certain degree on translation for their political and cultural participation.

With the political and journalistic background established in the previous two chapters, I will now focus on the core issue of the study, and that is the translation activity per se, to see in more concrete terms the impacts of the political and journalistic context as well as readership in Jordan on translation activity. I will explain the function and position of translation in the news market and the factors that bring about the survival and perpetuation of this activity. The factors determining what to be translated are mainly journalistic and ideological. In this chapter, I will deal with the journalistic values while the next chapter will focus on ideological concerns.

In order to cover some preliminary ground, I will advance some general postulates, namely: (a) translators manifest a preference towards a given set of translation options, reflecting translational *norms* that Toury (1995) has suggested may govern translation activities of certain cultures; (b) although translators work with no formalized model, they (unconsciously) use *news values* (which will be discussed at the end of the present chapter) to steer their translation selection criteria. Therefore, these strategies impinge on the professional conventions of journalism and are the result of mundane journalistic decisions; (c), the selection pattern manifests a hierarchy in translators' perceptions of the outer world and *dependency* on Western media systems; (d) translation

exists because it is based on asymmetrical power relations within and between the foreign and local social and media systems; and finally (e) translation, as a dynamic process, participates in the generation of new forms of knowledge for the audience and thus in directing and enhancing public spheres.

One precept for understanding translation discourse is asserting that news is not simply a reflection of reality as it spontaneously happens, but rather a planned enterprise, even if decisions have to be made within short notice. This is no more explicit than in the selection strategies of texts that comment on the already selected set of news. The translation behavior in the press reflects a designated set of preliminary and operational norms (Toury 1995: 58). The preliminary norms, or the pre-translation options made by the translators play a crucial role in the orientation of discourse and the selection of potential individual texts. They rely to a certain extent on the textual, ideational features of the original text. The operational norms, on the other hand, are target-oriented, dictating the textual make-up and shifts incurred in translation. Toury has emphasized that norms have a central role in determining a definite translational policy. In the stages prior to the act of translating itself, they dictate the selection of texts to be translated, determining what source languages and models are preferred by a given target culture. Translators manifest an understanding of their readers' preferences towards maintaining certain values, which is reflected in the decisions they take to accept or reject a given text. Toury's models are mostly pertinent to literary genres. However, this does not hinder the fact that if his hypothesis can be extended to include what I would call 'ideational models', his theory can encapsulate writing models in the press. Studying translation norms in light of reception theory – in Media Studies – can be done by

showing how the local readers “expect” translations to manifest certain norms that are variable from the norms manifested in the local rhetoric.

Translated texts are the end product of a complex series of processes which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially-constructed and journalistically-determined set of parameters. The translated artifact is ‘manufactured’ according to a complex set of mundane criteria, which are probably more or less unconscious in editorial practice (see news values in section 4 on page 196). The final product of the translated text in the domain of the press is the outcome of a group effort. The draft copy of the translated text goes through a chain of personnel, starting with the translator who makes the decision to select and translate a given text, through an editor or two (mostly a senior editor) and ending with copy editors. The tasks of these editors include shaping and polishing the news messages by editing, rewriting, or eliminating sections of the message. Therefore the decisions made by the translator would normally conform to the editorial policies of the news organization s/he works in. The translator needs to refine and edit the draft translation before handing it to the next person in the chain. In fact, translators in *Al-Rai* and *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* have the title of editor/translator.³² The editor who revises the translator’s final text, has the liberty to make modifications to the text rendered by the translator which vary in significance according to what s/he perceives to be appropriate or inappropriate to the newspaper’s editorial policy. In other cases space considerations would entail cutting variable parts of the text, to allow it to fit into a designated page. Unfortunately, it is not easy to determine whether the elimination of a given segment of the text is due to space considerations or

³² Translators who belong to a journalistic institution have membership in the Jordanian Association of Journalists. Only Jordanian translators are allowed into the association. For instance, translator Amal Al-Sharqi from *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*, who is an Iraqi national, is not allowed into the association.

other reasons, except in a small number of cases. I would venture to say that the largest proportion of shifts made to already handed-in translations is based on institutional editorial policies. This assumption results from the interviews that were carried out with the different translators and editors at the local newspapers. However, there are other instances where shifts, mainly textual, can be identified as the result of conscious appropriation by the translator. The text can never be identified as a final product until it is seen on the pages of the newspaper. Therefore, any analysis of the translation decisions in this context has to be done by studying the translation *product* rather than the *process*. Any study of the process requires observation of the translators at work or through some other techniques, such as the Think-Aloud Protocol suggested by Kussmaul (1995), and better still the ethnosociological method used by Latour (1987). However, these approaches are beyond the scope of the current study. My findings are based on studying the translation end-product, though many of the explanations for the dilemmas translators encounter in opting for certain strategies are obtained through interviews with translators themselves (Interviews with Barhoum: 18.6.2004; Abu-Eideh: 17.8.2005).

The first step into the study will begin from the target translations. Beginning with the translated texts proves realistic as the target texts are the ones available for the readers. Many readers do not seek to search for the original unless for specific reasons. As Hermans (1999: 39) explains, looking for possible answers to the question *why* translations turn out as they do [...] means starting the investigation at the receiving end, the target pole. A target-oriented approach [...] contextualizes the translator's activity in functional terms. Respecting the complexity of translation in its cultural, social and historical context, it urges attention to the whole constellation of functions, intentions and

conditioning factors.” He adds that “the target pole is not necessarily the place where the answers to ‘why’ questions will be found. From a methodological point of view however it is both a sound and an economical first move.” To confirm Hermans’ approach, the answers to the *why* question will be found in the source texts rather than in the translated texts.

For the purpose of verifying my postulates, and arriving at reliable results, I will use quantitative data to elaborate on the activity of translation, based on the corpus collected over three years from Jordanian domestic papers. A general mapping of this activity will prove to be useful. The majority of data and examples are taken from the daily *Al-Rai*, but are not exclusive to it. The empirical portion of this study is based on an examination of the translations published in the daily *Al-Rai* from 1987 to 2005. The examination involves several types and stages of data collection and analyses. The first type of data collection focuses on text typology. A typology of translations in the Jordanian press will first have to make a distinction between two interrelated text types: translations of news and translations of commentaries. Although the majority of translated texts fall within the soft news category (commentary), a fraction of the translations covers hard news (news items). My quantitative data is limited to the soft news category since the pages allocated to translations and designated as such by page title mainly include soft news, i.e. articles, editorials and op-ed columns. I counted the number of articles in each issue that contained translations for each month and computed an issue average per month. Then I computed an average of articles for each year. The results are shown in tables 3-3 and 3-8 below.

The relevance of presenting typological analysis of the journalistic product can be manifested through exploring what text types are more appropriate for the purposes of translation in the Jordanian context. The journalistic products are multiple, and if a distinctive text type is selected on top of the other types, the selection would rather carry some sort of significant indications about the philosophy behind translation activity, since each type of text is appropriated in accordance with the particular function intended by it.

McNair classifies journalistic output into five basic types:

- *news reports* that inform us of what is happening;
- *feature articles* that present more in-depth reportage and analysis of a particular subject;
- the *commentary* or *column*, in which a journalist presents his or her readers with an (assumed to be) authoritative viewpoint on a particular issue;
- the *interview* which probes the views and policies of those in the news; especially politicians and celebrities.
- the *editorial*, in which a newspaper or periodical "speaks out" in its 'public voice' (McNair 1998: 9-10, emphasis in original text).

Each of these discursive types, with their distinctive rhetorical styles, aesthetic conventions and communicative functions, contributes to the totality of what journalism is. Of these five types the activity of translation in the Jordanian press is focused on those genres that are analytical rather than narrative in nature, that is, the ones related to the *commentary* and *editorial* sections of the newspapers, which I have identified as 'meta-news'. This is done for two reasons. First, the news reports (the hard news) are either local or international. Translation customarily deals with international or regional issues. It rarely covers local events, as these local issues are covered, analyzed and commented on by the domestic writers. International news reports are imported from news agencies in Arabic. This means that these news reports are translated in these news agencies into

Arabic and arrive through the Jordanian News Agency (Petra). They are published as is (in terms of language). Second, the analysis of the commentary and especially the translated discourse is functional because it renders a key manifestation of the relationship between the media and the political environment. In general, the Jordanian media institutions, including TV and Radio are active in their commentary.

The second stage of data collection focused on thematic analysis of these texts. I investigated the macro-themes that are covered by this page by noting the subject-matter of each translation, relying mainly on titles of articles (given the large size of the corpus). The majority of titles were clear enough to identify the subject area covered, but for those which were vague, I had to go through the whole text to determine the subject matter of the text. The results are shown in Table 2-4 in Chapter 2. Third, I took note of the news organizations (newspapers, magazines, special research institutes, etc.) from which source articles were taken for translations, as well as their nationalities. The quantitative summary of this analysis is shown in Tables 3-8 and 3-9 below. Finally, I noted the most frequently translated writers of the source texts, the results of which are shown in Table 3-10.

This sort of data collection and analysis is intended to pin down whether the translations form a pattern, in terms of selections of themes, source publications or writers. This pattern would eventually show the translational norms adopted by translators. It has proven convenient to study translation by looking at it as a norm-governed behavior, so as to study the corpus within a social framework that can explain the parameters that dictate these norms. The quantitative and empirical evaluation of translation discourse in the press is a potentially fertile field that situates the study within

a historical framework. Such an expansive study enables the scholar to get closely in touch with the dynamism that triggers the translation as is. What themes are addressed on a more regular pattern or which newspapers are taken in as source newspapers is a particularly worthwhile inquiry for the social implications they bear.

The theoretical orientation of this study requires that the research object meets several criteria. First, the translated discourse must be seen as a designated body of texts that has the potency of acting as cultural or intellectual authority. The accomplished translation discourse indeed earned an important status in the local journalistic life. All dailies have distinct pages for translations that are specified as such. Though they are named differently, they are known by the public to reproduce foreign artefacts in Arabic versions. The translated discourse serves as a filtering device for the variable points of view that readers of the newspapers often look up to as variant from the local discourse. The sheer fact that every newspaper has a translation department designated to translate a given set and type of texts on a regular basis gives some idea on the significance of translation for the newspaper. The translated product acts as an important factor in marketing the newspaper. According to chief editors and translators in the Jordanian dailies, these pages attract a large segment of the audience and reinforce the mass-circulation of these newspapers (Interviews with Zghailat: 26.4.2005; Barhoum: 2.4.2005). Second, any analysis that undertakes to explain the development of translation norms (and shifts thereafter) has to be synchronic and diachronic at once, as shifts in translation behavior reflect the dynamic development of journalistic behavior of the newspaper along a stretch of time. Translation in the press tends to be selective by

default. Translators choose the potential texts they want to translate from a wide range of articles and publications, the selection of which forms a central argument of the study.

A distinction has to be made between translations from Western publications into the *Arabic* Jordanian newspapers, and those from and to the local *foreign language* Jordanian newspapers. Generally speaking, the largest portion of translations is uni-directional, from West to East. That is, while Jordanian newspapers abound with translations of articles taken from Western newspapers, there is little translation in the opposite direction, and these are usually taken care of by the local newspapers, namely *The Jordan Times* and *Star*. This marketing line of the Western product is sponsored by the institutional policies which aim at propagating the Jordanian voice to the rest of the world (Interview with Zghailat: 26.4.2005). The intellectual production is hardly received internationally beyond a limited circle of specialists and Arabs – mainly expatriates living abroad. But even with their limited scope, a crucial category of readers can be very influential; namely Western journalists, who *may* have the capacity to mobilize the public sphere in their own countries.

It should be noted, however, that one of the objectives – as much as a methodological trait – of my study is to discover and track a pattern of translation behavior in the press, i.e. translation norms. As norms are more visible in the translations of the Western articles in the Arabic Jordanian press, I place more emphasis – corpus-wise – on translation *into* Arabic from other languages rather than the other way round. This is, however, not meant to underestimate the latter's importance, as these translations can be functional in propelling the local ideological standpoint outwards. Except for a small number of examples qualitatively analyzed, I have excluded the translations from

Arabic into English from my quantitative analysis because of definitional incompatibility. Since most of the articles written in English (in the Jordanian English and French newspapers) do not have corresponding Arabic “parallel texts” that can be juxtaposed as source and target texts, they do not conform to the basic definition of translation proper. They may, rather, be treated as adaptations of their Arabic versions. On a macro-level, the entire newspaper, published in English or French, can be considered as one form of ‘re-writing’ incorporating the use of a foreign language as a mediator of discourse. Furthermore, these texts do not appear systematically in their Arabic and English versions and the writers are few. The articles that appear in the English dailies constitute one form of *autotranslation*, where a writer presents an article in one language and then re-writes it in a different language. While I am inclined to classify these texts as one form of interlingual translation since they may be seen as a two-language interaction, they fail to fulfill the condition of having corresponding material, similar in length, content and logic. Such considerations raise the fundamental question of what translation consists of. The narrow definition of translation (*vis-à-vis* translation proper), as Delabastita points out, is “in danger of being applicable only to very few, well-selected cases, and of being unsuitable for a description of most actual facts” (1989: 214). Especially in the context of news institutions where news is transmitted and disseminated through wire services and news agencies, the publication of news messages is made possible only through the process of translation. However, in the current study, these news items are excluded, even though they are the outcome of translation, since they are not processed locally. Rather, they are translated in their home agencies. This being so, they do not constitute representative examples for the test of ideological shifts in translation, as do the ones

translated locally. The occasional translations contributed by the readers, in the Technology or the Cultural sections will not be included either, as they represent individual cases of translation.

1.1. The system of Translating

The following section studies more closely the journalistic policies in the news institutions concerning translation. Translation exists in all four mainstream dailies and some weeklies. Since the activity of translation appeared in the newspapers, they covered roughly the same genres or text types; mainly meta-news including commentary in the form of articles, editorials, feature stories and books. All the newspapers translate *articles* that deal with *political issues*.³³ Articles that deal with economic issues or topics that bear global interest, such as poverty, armament, natural phenomena, and industry can be seen from time to time. Episodes of translated books casually take a turn, particularly when no urgent events require the immediate attention of translators. For the most part, the source newspapers and magazines are almost the same, even though they vary over the years (see below), depending on political events and institutional and governmental policies and regulations. The list of source publications suggests that there appears to be a preference towards a spectrum of publications, languages and nationalities. The language pairs that are involved in the Arabic dailies may vary from one newspaper to another, but all newspapers share the English-Arabic pair. All the translators in the dailies happen to be experienced translators who have worked in the field of translation for not less than

³³ I will use the word *article* hereafter to refer to texts that comprise commentary including editorials, op-ed columns, and opinion columns.

ten years, with only three, with an average of four years of experience.³⁴ For example, the two main translators of *Al-Rai*, M. Barhoum and R. Aziziya, have been working in *Al-Rai* for twenty five and fifteen years respectively. Here is an overview of each of these newspapers, ending with *Al-Rai*, as it will receive the most exhaustive analysis.

Al-Arab Al-Yawm, the privately owned newspaper with a circulation of 35,000 copies a day, and which labels itself as the ‘other opinion newspaper’, seems to have recognized the importance of translation by allocating a department for translation. Translators have followed a systematic pattern of translation behavior since the establishment of the newspaper in 1996. The newspaper runs a three- or four-article page titled ‘Tarjamāt’ (‘Translations’) five days a week, excluding weekends, i.e. Friday and Saturday. The translation department consists of three translators, each of whom provides an article every day. Badi’ Abu-Eideh is an Italian-Arabic translator while Amal Al-Sharqi and Awni Abu-Ghoush translate from English. Once a week, a feature story is run in the newspaper’s weekly supplement that is selected from different foreign resources, translated and edited by those translators. The newspaper occasionally recruits part-time translators for translations from French or Spanish.

Al-Dar Al-Wataniyya for Publications, which owns *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* also owns the weekly *Shihan* established in 1986, but which is run by a different administrative and editorial staff. *Shihan* has improved its content and reputation over the years. This improvement is seen through its being viewed by observers as a serious weekly rather than as sensational, as it was once considered at the beginning of the 1990s. *Shihan* also produces translation, though not as systematically as does *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*. It sought to

³⁴ By years of experience I include the years that some translators have obtained in different institutions, not necessarily in the designated newspapers of my sample, according to the translators’ stories. The study does not, however, include translators working in the newly established *Al-Ghad*.

revive its reputation and status as one of the serious weeklies in Jordan since 2000, under the management of the young chief editor Khalid Fukhaida and his staff members. The scope of the newspaper was extended by incorporating translated articles in the body of news and opinions presented to the Jordanian audience. The articles are basically taken from American and British newspapers. Since late 1990s, *Shihan* incorporated Hebrew translations, which ceased to appear in 2002 upon the passing of the translator.³⁵ The newly established private daily paper *Al-Ghad* has incorporated translation on its pages too, with similar selection trends as the other Jordanian dailies. However, the newspaper will be excluded from the analysis because of its short history.

Addustour is the second mainstream government-sponsored daily in Jordan. *Addustour* is not as expansive in its translation circulation as are *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* or *Al-Rai*, although it has a larger group of translators in the translation department, who are not less experienced than the translators in the other newspapers. While *Al-Rai* has part-time translators for languages other than English, *Addustour* is the only newspaper that has permanent translators of French (Hayat Atiyya), German (Mustafa Abdulla) and Hebrew (Nawaf Al-Zarow). Although the quality of translations produced is highly regarded, as judged by many observers, the translations appear only twice or three times a week on the page 'Madarāt' ('Orbits'). Raheed Sabri, a bright English-Arabic translator at *Addustour*, complains that she produces two articles per day which do not necessarily find their way to publication.³⁶ The translated articles may be used internally by the Studies Department in the same newspaper to produce reports and studies on current political issues. According to Amal Abdulla, an English-Arabic translator, the

³⁵ An interview with Khalid Fukhaida, April 2004.

³⁶ Interviews with translator Raheed Sabri at *Addustour*, Amman, 15.6.2004; 2.4.2005.

translations produced by the department can be used internally for studies or for editorial reference as columnists often rely on consolidating their articles with information taken from the translated texts.³⁷ This reflects the degree of professionalism and accuracy that commentators and columnists show in their articles that are published at *Addustour*. The decline in the proliferation of translations on its pages is attributed to the newspaper's institutional policy of maintaining the local traditions of its editorial line. The newspaper is known for its more traditional and national orientations. Probably maintaining such an approach entails putting more emphasis on local commentary rather than on external ones. *Addustour* polled its readers on its electronic website, between 28.11.2004 and 15.12.2004 to be informed on the question of the most-frequently read sections of *Addustour's* electronic version. Although the results of such polls (being carried by the newspaper itself) may not be very reliable, they give a rough idea about the interests of *Addustour* readers. The results came as follows:

Table 3.1 Sections of interest to *Addustour* readers (2004)

Number of respondents	Percentage	Section
1975	33.2	Sports
1803	30.3	Local news
1217	20.4	Arab & International news
503	8.5	Commentary & opinions
453	7.6	Economy
Total 5951	100	

Readers of commentary accounted for only 8.5% of the total readers of the newspaper. Whether the traditionally marked views of the newspaper, and hence the limitedness of translation in the newspaper is directly linked to the circulation rate of the newspaper and type of readership cannot be verified. And whether the reading of local commentary in

³⁷ Interview with translator Amal Abdullah at *Addustour*, Amman, 2.4.2005.

other Jordanian newspapers faces the same low rate cannot be established. However, from my own observations, I could suggest that the rate for local commentary reading is not much higher. What can be established though is that *Al-Rai* maintains a more open policy in its editorial policy, by compensating for restrictions on its commentaries with translations as it is more closely scrutinized by the government. In all cases, this low percentage of local commentary readers would only lead us to question the status of these writers as creative commentators on events.

On the other hand, the electronic website of *Addustour* is most widely read by the expatriate community as appears from the following poll, which the newspaper carried out between 23.10.2004 and 23.11.2004. The question posed by the newspaper was: From which part of the world do you browse *Addustour*? The results were:

**Table 3.2 Regional distribution of
Addustour website readers (2004)**

Location	Number & Percentage of respondents
From within Jordan	2307 (25.8%)
Arab World	2342 (26.1%)
Europe	1408 (15.7%)
America & Canada	2347 (26.2%)
Other	555 (6.2%)

Table 3.2 shows that the percentage of the public who read the electronic version of the newspaper from outside Jordan approximates 68% of the total number of readers of the electronic version. This could indicate that readers who are abroad are interested in learning about Jordan's local news and get associated with local pens, being already

exposed to alternative media. The newspaper's focus on local news helps maintain readership outside Jordan.

The Jordanian Press and Publishing Company, the publisher of *Addustour*, also issues the weekly newspaper *Star* which is issued in three languages: English, French and Russian. To confirm the local interest hypothesis, the two-page section issued in Russian is dedicated to the Russian community living in Jordan, which approximates 30,000 of the population.³⁸ It should be mentioned that the *Star* does not print the same news in the three languages. Though similar news may be published in the three languages, every section has its own audience, and the type of news published meet, accordingly, the requirements of the designated audience.

The Jordan Times, which is published by The Jordan Press Foundation is an independent English daily established in 1975. The newspaper has a daily column titled "Arabic Press Commentaries". This column provides briefs on the major commentaries appearing in the Arabic Jordanian newspapers, as well as some other Arab newspapers. This column does not only constitute a translated version of these articles, but is edited to highlight the key points and opinions in these articles. Furthermore, the newspaper has a daily page titled 'Opinion & Analysis' which carries opinions written by Jordanian and other foreign writers. As mentioned earlier, some of the articles are "autotranslations" made by Jordanian writers, such as Fahed Fanek, Rami G. Khouri and Walid Sadi who may also be writing for other Jordanian newspapers, mainly *Al-Rai*. These articles may be written by these writers in one language and published in a given newspaper, then they will have another version of the same article published in *The Jordan Times*, of course in English, or vice-versa. The article is not a duplicate replica of the original article, but it is

³⁸ An interview with Maha El-Shareef, Chief editor of the *Star* newspaper, Amman, May 2005.

still viewed as one type of rewriting. This page normally carries opinions that are addressed to foreigners, planned to affect international public opinion. The role the page attempts to achieve is not huge, since its international readership is minimal in comparison to other international newspapers. However, opinions may reach foreign journalists who may have the power to influence their governments' decision-making policies.

1.2. The Case of *Al-Rai*

The activity of translation in *Al-Rai* began on a small scale in the 1970s. The translation department at *Al-Rai* consists of two permanent translators working on translations from English, with a part-time team translating from English, French, and German. Chief translator Mahmoud Barhoum is the prime contributor of translations and is in charge of revising and post-editing the translations forwarded by the part-time translators working from English. The other language pairs are only post-edited by the senior editor (as a gatekeeper for content compatibility with editorial policies)³⁹. According to Barhoum, the translation page in the newspaper stands as the second most-read page, though no evidence has been provided to support the claim. The newspaper itself has a circulation rate of 70,000 copies per day.

The year 1989 marks a watershed for the study as it marks the beginning of democracy in Jordan. However, my research included the two years 1987 and 1988 for comparison purposes of the pre- and post-1989 eras. The following table shows the average number of translated articles that appeared at *Al-Rai* covering the period from March 1987 to August 2005. The figures are obtained by counting the number of articles

³⁹ Interview with senior editor at *Al-Rai* Ghaith Adayleh, Amman: 18.6.2004.

translated along the months may vary, yet the averages give a close estimation of the translation activity for each year. This arithmetic method is adopted because of the very detailed and lengthy nature of the statistics. Table 3-3 below gives an insight in simplified form of the volume of translation taking place in the last two decades. It includes translation of articles, books and news items, though the latter is not included in the final calculations, being hard news.

Table 3.3 Average of soft news translated (1987–2005)

Year	Average of Translated articles/month +	Average of Books (episodes)/ month =	Average per year	Average of news items/day*
1987	84	0	84	10
1988	98	0	98	12
1989	28	0	28	9
1990	19	7	26	10
1991	8	8	16	11
1992	33	11	44	9
1993	30	2	32	9
1994	30	8	38	7
1995	23	9	32	8
1996	28	3	31	9
1997	29	5	34	8
1998	31	10	41	7
1999	30	1	31	6
2000	17	5	22	8
2001	17	0	17	7
2002	151	0	151	13
2003	118	0	118	13
2004	79	3	82	12
2005	63	1	64	10
Total	916	73	989	
%proportion	92.6%	7.4%	100%	

* This category includes news items that are translated from Hebrew and Israeli publications which appear on the "Palestine" page

As can be seen from the figures above, the percentage of translated meta-news in general overarches both the translations of books and hard news. *Al-Rai* averages 64 pages in length, but it can reach 86 pages with regular and daily supplements. The pages of *Al-Rai* in 1971 – the year in which *Al-Rai* was established – and of the 1970s in general witnessed the launch of translation activity, starting with translations of books on political issues, mainly translated from Hebrew, one of the first being Uri Avnery's book '*Israel without Zionism*' in 1971. The topic field of the book, as well as the translation of news from Israeli newspapers that started roughly in 1978, signifies that the translation orientation was set right from the beginning towards political issues, and towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. The first form of translations carried out in *Al-Rai* since late 1970s was the translation from Hebrew into Arabic of news stories appearing in Israeli publications, especially daily newspapers like *Haaretz* and *Yedioth Aharanoth*. When Dar Al-Jaleel for Palestinian Publications and Studies⁴⁰ (I will refer to it hereafter as Dar Al-Jaleel) was established in 1978, with its Hebrew translation services, *Al-Rai* signed an agreement with it, whereby Dar Al-Jaleel would supply the newspaper with translations of news items that appear in the Israeli newspapers. These translations appeared on a page titled "Occupied Palestine" – titled after 1994 as "Palestine." Dar Al-Jaleel is owned by Ghazi Al-Sa'di, a famous expert and writer on Palestinian issues, who was expelled from Palestine by Israeli forces along with chief translator in the House, Bader Oqaili in the 1970s (Interviews with Al-Sa'di and Oqaili; 14.6.2003). Al-Sa'di also writes a weekly column on the 'Palestine' page at *Al-Rai* along with studies and analyses published in the newspaper from time to time. Dar Al-Jaleel works in cooperation with *Al-Rai* and the Jordanian Army Forces. The latter provides Dar Al-Jaleel with the mainstream and

⁴⁰ Dar Al-Jaleel is symbolically named after the Galeeli mountain in the northern part of Palestine.

national Israeli newspapers on a daily basis. Until 1994 the page was exclusively dedicated to the translation of news that covers daily events in the occupied territories. The number of news items has remained roughly the same since the outset, averaging between seven to thirteen items per day. Dar Al-Jaleel also translates news broadcast by the Israeli Radio. The page includes a section for obituaries, as well as news about daily events with a focus on news of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli captivity. This page was – and still is – considered a vital source because it provides the Jordanian public with unique information about their fellow people and relatives in Israel/Palestine, as well as political developments on a closer micro-scale.

The 1980s displayed an increasing surge of translation activity, with the translation of articles starting roughly in the mid-1980s, a period in which Jordan was being governed by martial laws. At this juncture, the freedom of the press was running through a sensitive and restrictive stage of Jordan's political life. The quantitative analysis of 1987 and 1988 shows that translation activity was thriving in those two years, reaching an average of 84 and 98 translated articles per month respectively, an average only reached thereafter in the 2000s. The translation activity declined abruptly at the beginning of the 1990s, for two reasons. Translator Mohammad Al-Abadi from *Addutour* explains that the economic difficulties incurred by the Gulf War and the return of around half a million Jordanians from the Gulf reduced the inclination and participation of many then-influential civic institutions for financial support to media institutions at the time. This caused a decline in agreements made with foreign newspapers or research institutions (Interview: 2.6.2003). Second, practicing democracy for the first time in

decades, the Jordanians were given an open forum to express their opinions freely, incurring no urgent need to borrow 'mouths' from abroad.

Until 2002 the newspaper dedicated one page per issue to translations, increasing the space allotted to it to two pages in 2002. The page which varies in terms of frequency of appearance over the years, has been labeled 'Tarjamāt' ('Translations') since the 1970s. Before the advent of the Internet, *Al-Rai* signed agreements with many international media institutions which provided *Al-Rai* with their publications on a regular basis. The agreements, which were signed with American, French, British and German news organizations, were as costly for a medium-sourced newspaper such as *Al-Rai*, as they were for the other Jordanian newspapers with similar agreements. The survival of these agreements along the years is a witness to the significance of translation as perceived by the top decision-makers of the newspaper(s). Around 1997, *Al-Rai* substituted hard copies of these original newspapers with electronic versions. Looking for articles in the Internet made their access to foreign publications easier, according to the testimony of Raghad Aziziya from *Al-Rai* (Interview: 18.6.2004).

The political developments and signing of the Jordanian–Israeli Peace treaty in 1994 changed the content and mode of presentation through media channels. This is evident in many ways. The Jordanian Radio dedicated a one-hour program every morning since the 1970s for broadcasting personal radio messages sent by Palestinians in Jordan, to their relatives in the occupied territories.⁴¹ After signing the treaty, the program ceased to broadcast, as more channels of communication were open to the Jordanian and Palestinian public. For the same reason, and with the introduction and reinforcement of

⁴¹ This program was called "Rasa'el Shouq (Letters from the missed) and was delivered by Kawthar al-Nashashibi.

normalization with Israel, the Hebrew channel in the Jordanian TV, which had broadcast since 1974, closed. With the new openness of early 1990s, the page 'Occupied Palestine,' which was now named 'Palestine' incorporated articles that were written by Israeli writers and translated from Israeli newspapers, a genre that was not approached in the past by Dar-Al-Jaleel.⁴² With an average of two articles per day, these translations appeared on the "Palestine" page.

The period from 1993 to 1999 witnessed moderate translation activity, a time when the move towards professionalism of the press was highlighted by the government and King Hussein. The years 1997 and 1998 saw the lowest levels of press freedom, and translations were subject to very meticulous standards. This can be sensed through the narrow selection of topics on sensitive issues, particularly the peace treaty with Israel.

The major deterioration of the political situation since 2000 has had a deep effect on the activity of translation, causing it to skyrocket. A surge of events needed coverage and analysis starting with the outbreak of the second intifada in 2000, Israel's military reoccupation of land that formerly had been relinquished to the Palestinian Authority and the invasion of Israeli troops into the Palestinian cities of Jenin and Rafah in April 2002.⁴³ The boom of translations started in the aftermath of the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on 11.9. 2001, the American invasion of Afghanistan, and the

⁴² In late 1990s *Al-Rai* often reverted to the title "Occupied Palestine" or "The Occupied Land" more than once.

⁴³ The Israeli army gradually but systematically invaded areas that had been handed over to the Palestinian Authority (PA) as stipulated in the Oslo Accords. Moreover, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon started a political assassination campaign, targeting key leaders and activists of all Palestinian factions. Palestinian militants responded with intensified shootings directed at Israeli settlements. A growing number of suicide bombings targeted Israeli cities and towns. These violations generated high rates of civilian casualties, hardening the hearts of populations on each side against compromise with the other. The Israeli forces and policymakers used these attacks as a pretext to launch massive retaliation operations into densely populated Palestinian areas in West Bank and Gaza. (Sharoni & Abu-Nimer 2004: 192).

massive violations of human rights taking place in the Occupied Territories: “the long-term ghettoization of Palestinian cities and villages due to Israeli military closures, roadblocks, [and] the security wall,”(Gerner 2004: 125). The volume of translations reached a high point in 2003 with the American invasion to Iraq. All these events were of direct concern to the public. The newspapers covered the events in depth. These events received extensive regional and international media coverage, requiring a matching coverage in the local arena. A significant development in translation activity in terms of quantity and variety called for changing the title of the page from ‘ترجمات’ (Translations) into ‘صحافة عربية وعالمية’ (Arab and International Press) to allow for the growing number of articles that commented on the breaking events. For instance, parts of the articles that were assigned to the ‘Palestine’ page were relocated to the page ‘Translations’ when certain events taking place in the Palestinian territories needed to be highlighted or when the space on that page was not sufficient for all translated articles. As a special interest page, “Palestine” had its readers who sought the hard news. The page ‘Translations’ later named as ‘Arab and International Press’ would attract readers interested in soft news. To quote one example, the months of April and May 2002 – the period when Israeli troops attacked Jenin – witnessed an overriding increase in the number of translated articles from Israeli newspapers to reach 70 and 62 articles respectively in the ‘Arab and International Press’ page, let alone the articles that appeared on the ‘Palestine’ page.

During the 1990s some Arab publications were not allowed into Jordan. In 2001 a portion of these publications were re-admitted to the country. English articles written and/or published by the Arab offshore newspapers, such as *Al-Hayat* (Life) and *The*

Middle East were translated and published on the 'Arab and International Press' pages.⁴⁴

The Arabic articles were mainly taken from Lebanese newspapers, like *Al-Safir* (The Messenger) and *Al-Nahar* (The Day), and from newspapers publishing in the Gulf, such as *Al-Itihad* (Union) and *Al-Khleej* (The Gulf). These articles which were normally contributed by these newspapers or copied with prior consent, added variety to the viewpoints presented in the newspaper, while at the same time make translators available to work on the translation of other articles.

Translations of articles taken from Israeli newspapers publishing in English (and sometimes in Hebrew) were added to the page. Another page was also added under the title 'الرأي والرأي الآخر' (The Opinion and the Other Opinion) to allow for more translated articles. Most of the articles that appeared on this page were taken from mainstream American newspapers. This page was intended to provide articles that held different points of view that may oppose the dominant Jordanian opinions. According to Barhoum, the U.S. Embassy in Jordan facilitates the shipment of American newspapers to the mainstream Jordanian newspapers, which in many ways can be seen as an American attempt to steer the discourse in a direction that gives more exposure to the American frames of thought. With the growth in the volume of translated material, translations started to appear on a daily basis, sometimes occupying three pages of the newspaper. For the years 2003 and 2004, *Al-Rai* distributed a monthly Arabic supplement to the monthly Parisian magazine *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

In general, translations of political texts remain dominant in the press, with a tendency towards soft news. Roughly speaking, if we want to take into account all the

⁴⁴ Offshore newspapers have their main editorial offices outside the Arab World, but consider their target audiences as being within the Arab countries... They focus on reaching a pan-Arab readership (Rugh, 2004: 165). Most of these newspapers are Lebanese.

pages that are the result of translation efforts, in one way or another, the total number of pages would reach six to seven, if we consider the “Palestine” page, the international and regional pages, which reach three to four pages on a regular basis. The peace process, as well as the economic transformations and the transnational trend towards globalisation, all contributed to the expansion of the volume of translation.

2. The Need for Translation

The material collected was approached as a whole rather than a mere reservoir of isolated ‘examples’, testifying to a more or less “regulated behaviour” taking place within a certain historical setting:

There are indeed several cases where a *multitude of candidates for a source text* may exist. In cases of this kind, any attempt to justify a researcher’s selection of a source text would depend, at least in part, on what the target text itself exhibits, which would render the establishment of the source text’s identity part of the comparative analysis itself. In each one of these cases, the reasons *why* the text actually picked was deemed preferable as a source text constitute an interesting issue in itself. (Toury 1995: 74)

The issue of selection is fundamental in my study. In order for the analysis to be comprehensive, selection is seen on many levels: the selection of text types, resource publications, languages, nationality of publications, writers, and finally themes. The determination of the parameters behind selection decisions depends on a number of domestic and external factors, some of which are journalistically determined while others are politically-oriented. From a professional point of view, certain journalistic values such as informativity and diversity have dictated the potential category of publications and writers qualifying for translation. Basically, the commentary such as articles and editorials are being translated by all four broadsheet dailies in Jordan. It would be of significance to analyze the factors that gave birth to the emergence of translation of

“meta-news” in the field of politics. Relevant to this question is the premise that, factors and properties related to the recipient culture on a macro-level brought about the need for translation and determined the genres translated, along with themes covered, while the selection of texts on a micro-level is determined by features in the original texts. With the proliferation of outlets, societies are overwhelmed by too much information. According to testimonies of chief editor and translators at *Al-Rai*, the newspaper, with the aim of moulding public opinion and organizing public behaviour, attempts to sift and sort information and judge it on the basis of their own experience.

There are some target constraints that inhibit the professional standards of journalism in Jordan, some of which are professional while others are political. The political constraints are related to censorship imposed on the journalistic product while professional constraints are related to performance of the local press. The following section will illustrate how these political and journalistic elements affect translation in a direct manner by exploring the features and factors that are inherent both in the source and target environments.

2.1. Censorship

Censorship, seen as controls imposed on publications content through governmental intervention, is considered the key restriction that causes the dependence of the Jordanian press on the importation of various frames of discourse into the local sphere. As previously shown, the press laws have helped keep the journalistic discourse under scrutiny by several government agencies, including the Information Ministry, the Interior Ministry, and the Defense Ministry, all of which have authority to police the discursual practices of the media and to take action against unabiding newspapers and

journalists. The government has several legal means of control and influence over print media, including enforcement of taboos spelled out in the law; litigation of other legally designated offenses; economic pressure; and control over the importation of foreign print media. But what is the impact of this complex system of laws and political influences on the content of the print media, both in news play and in commentary? Does the system permit the press to express diversity of opinion, and criticism of the government, and if so to what extent? How did this affect translational activity?

In fact there is some criticism of the government in the print media. Even government press controls and inefficient government practices are criticized. Limitations of press freedom are subject to regular discussion in the political arena including the press. The government often influences the content of the print media indirectly, or by persuasion, and journalists practice some self-censorship. Najjar (1998: 127) mentioned that the Jordanian press tends to be muted in its commentaries and slow to react editorially. Yahya Shuqair, a columnist at *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*, summarizes the issue with the metaphoric title of one of his articles published in *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* on 18.7.1997: ‘*الصحافة يجب أن لا تنام مع الحكومة في فراش واحد*’ (The government and the press should not sleep in one bed).

In the mid-1980s, under martial laws, the newspapers used translations as an outlet for expressing views that were *carefully* accepted in the print media and for obtaining information ‘*embedded*’ in the articles.⁴⁵ The influx of translated discourse in this period is attributed to the ‘necessity’ of finding an alternative outlet for speech and source of information. The topics covered by the translated articles ranged between global issues and regional ones. The period between 1989 and roughly the mid-1990s was

⁴⁵ Interview with Barhoum, Amman: 28.5.2003.

the peak of democratic public practice of freedom. The newspapers were allowed more space to express diverse opinions, to the extent that some local writings were exceptionally sensationalist and unprofessional. The figures in Table 3.3 on translations carried out in this period show a low activity even during the Gulf war, presumably a global newsworthy event. Although many news items on the event were imported through news agencies to cover the war, a very small number of articles were translated in this regard. The lowest rate of the volume of translation activity is found in 1991 (with an average of eight articles per month). Journalists and writers were given the opportunity to express their viewpoints regarding how events turned out to be. It is no coincidence that the highest rate of freedom of the press practiced in this period, conversely correlated with the lowest rate of translations. The standpoint of the regime and the public were aligned, rather than conflictual (Mufti 1999: 103). The unified stand meant that the viewpoints which were expressed were tolerated by the regime. The translated texts which appeared in the newspapers in this period reflected the emerging anti-imperialist attitudes of the public. Furthermore, as an emerging democracy, it was an experimental stage where writers (and the public) were given the opportunity to express their opinions in a responsible and sensationalist-free manner. Consequently, the need to import opinions from abroad was minimal.

The situation started to change after the passage of the Political Parties Law in 1992. Tension between the government and the press mounted over the coverage of several political issues. The press supported Iraq in the Gulf War in 1991 (Al-Mousa 1997: 5), but it did not support the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty. The treaty was met with skepticism amongst the Jordanian public and press. Public opinion was divided between

acceptance and rejection of the treaty, and even more so in respect to normalization with Israel. Such an oppositional public stance led to the imposition of more constraints on freedom of expression, culminating in the strict press law in 1997. While the old version of Section 40 of the 1993 law forbids publication of *news* that disparage the King or the royal family, the armed forces, the security forces, and heads of friendly states, the new 1997 version expands forbidden subjects to include the publication of “*news, views, opinion, analysis, information, reports, caricatures, photos or any sort of publication* that disparage” any of them, threaten national unity, or endangers the national currency (Najjar 2001: 89; my emphasis). When censorship included articles as well, even translated articles reduced in number. For instance, the month of April 1997, one month before the passing of the law, saw 40 translations, while May 1997, one month later, saw only 24 translated articles.

A major crisis was precipitated in 1997 when a weekly published a story revealing intimate marital affairs and homosexuality (Najjar 2001: 132). Islamist deputies demanded that the government amend the press law to stop publications that “carry indecent, obscene and unacceptable articles that tarnish our cultural values and traditions” (*Ibid.*). Chief editors agreed not to cross the three main lines that are considered “taboo” for the press: national unity, cultural values and traditions, and the personal lives of individuals. The decision was not popular for some journalists who considered such lines too broad for the exercise of any meaningful press freedom, as the local articles at that time expressed. At this point, calls for the professionalizing of journalism in the press were mounting whether by the King, the government or managers of the serious print media.

Anticipating a relaunch of the stalled Middle East peace process following the Israeli election scheduled for 1999, the regime evidently judged that the risks attached to allowing “unfettered press comment on highly sensitive Israeli-Palestinian negotiations were too high” (Sakr 2002: 113). Some columnists expressed their anger and discontent and some articles were provocative in tone. Many columnists wrote articles complaining about how they were not allowed to express their attitudes freely and that their articles were mostly “altered”. One example is the article written by the renowned columnist Sultan Hattab in 12.7.1997 on *Al-Rai* carrying the title of ‘التطبيع’ (the “normalization” of normalization). The press was accused of causing tension, and hence censorship was applied. As a solution, translation emerged as a substitute ‘voice’. Though in small steps, articles written by Western writers carrying messages relevant to the local voice were translated and introduced to the public at times as a substitute – a *replacement* in the sense proposed by Simon (1992) and at others as a supplement. This censorship was active during the processing of the peace process in the new millennium. As Najjar (2004: 261) explains it, “Jordan [...] always felt the need to shield itself from the fallout of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with tough press legislation to curb hostility to its alliance with the West.”

The next lowest rates of translated articles occurred in 2000 and 2001 (with averages of 17 and 14 articles per month respectively). The year 2000 witnessed an unstable journalistic period in which new regulations were studied to improve the professional standards of the press such as credibility and objectivity. At the same time, until September 2001 and with the exception of the intifada in 2000, the two years were relatively calm event- and conflict-wise, as no major controversial issues took place that

would require the interpretative interference of the translators. Translation did not gain real momentum until 2002. The scene totally changed with the averages rocketing from 14 in 2001 to 151 in 2002. The remarkable increase of translations is a direct result of the political events in Israel/Palestine and Iraq standing as optimal material for news coverage.

The government justifies its open-eyed policy towards the print media as initiated by necessity. Being as vulnerable and unstable as it is, Jordan, for which security and political stability is of vital priority for its survival, cannot jeopardize having newspapers cause dissent among the public through partisan debate. For example, in April 2005 a journalist at *Al-Ghad* reported on a suicide attack in Iraq that was carried out by a Jordanian citizen in terms of 'martyrdom.' The report angered the Iraqi people leading to tension in Jordanian-Iraqi relations. The Jordanian press openly and vehemently criticized the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 and supported Iraq. But it had some reservations against the subsequent new Iraqi (American-supported) regime. In April 2005 King Abdullah met with the chief editors of the national newspapers and the director general of the Jordan News Agency urging them to be careful in what they write stating that "the media was partly responsible for the misunderstanding between Jordan and Iraq" (*The Jordan Times*: 20.4.2005) harming the Iraqi-Jordanian relationships, which were in a delicate stage of re-building. In a related development, Prime Minister Adnan Badran, urged Jordanian and Iraqi journalists to help "remove impurities that might appear in bilateral ties." Badran also told top representatives of Iraqi media outlets that Jordan and Iraq "share the same destiny." He added that the "flourishing" freedom of expression as well as political and intellectual pluralism in Iraq now would enhance the

Amman-Baghdad ties”, given that Jordan “will always back a neighbouring country’s efforts to restore security and stability” (*Ibid.*). *The Jordan Times* describes the issue as follows: “the directions came after the daily *Al-Ghad* published an “inaccurate” report on the Hilla terrorist attack”. *Al-Ghad* chief editor Ayman Safadi explained that “[p]ublishing the report was a technical error” and did not represent the opinion of the paper, which denounced the attack “in line with its firm stand against terrorism and killing innocent people.” (*Ibid.*; all quotes are in the original text).

One inherent feature of the original texts that sparks translation is seen through the translators’ assessment of these articles as being constructed in more free political environments of press and democratic practices. Both the public and the press admired other sources which were not submitted to a similar degree of censorship as was the Jordanian press. The Jordanian public rate their practice of democracy at a moderate level according to a study carried by The Centre for Strategic Studies (CSS). The study aimed at evaluating the practice of democracy in Jordan since 1993 on a yearly basis to assess peoples’ satisfaction with the progress of democratic reforms⁴⁶. The results of the public opinion polls are as follows:

**Table 3.4 Democracy as perceived in Jordan from 1993 - 2004
on a scale of 1 (low) to 10 (high)**

Year	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Average	4.58	*	4.83	4.55	4.88	4.91	5.54	5.75	4.90	5.05	5.45	5.56

* Average not given for 1994

Since 1993, when General elections were established in Jordan, the highest average for the practice of democracy was 5.75 in 2000, the year in which media reforms were

⁴⁶ People understand democracy to refer to freedom of opinion, press, freedom to join political parties, and participation in political opposition activities (e.g. demonstrations, sit-ins, publications, essays, carnivals, lectures, opposition political seminars). Among these criteria, Jordanians view freedom of press as the most safeguarded in Jordan followed by freedom of opinion and then freedom to join political parties (CSS, 2004: 5).

promised by the new king. This rate is not very different from the 2004 rate (5.56), which roughly resembles the situation nowadays. In the survey for 1998, the last conducted during the lifetime of King Hussein, participants gave Jordan's democracy a score of 4.91, which was the highest in his lifetime since the democratic elections in 1993. The CSS explains that the reason why Jordan is still at the middle of the scale is that citizens do not feel that public freedoms are safeguarded to the extent to which they feel secure enough to express their views (CSS, 2004: 3).

The CSS also polled the public in the 2000-2004 surveys on their perception of the degree of democracy in a number of countries. The study does not explain the criteria behind the selection of a given set of countries, to the exclusion of others, but it stands to reason that these countries are within the most influential in the political arena in Jordan. The results are presented in a top-bottom hierarchy, as follows:

Table (3.5) Democracy abroad as perceived in Jordan from 2000-2004*

Country	2000	2002	2003	2004
Egypt	4.89	4.86	4.65	4.60
Iraq	2.72	2.35	1.68	2.24
Israel	7.91	7.22	7.30	7.45
Jordan	5.75	5.05	5.45	5.56
Lebanon	6.24	6.28	6.44	6.30
Palestine	3.28	2.95	2.63	2.90
Syria	3.83	3.71	3.95	3.64
Saudi Arabia	3.57	3.82	3.40	3.74
USA	8.51	7.77	7.44	7.55

* This section on how respondents perceived democracy was not carried out in 2001. The table shows that the respondents conceived the highest rates of the practice of democracy and freedom of speech to be found in the United States of America and Israel.

Amongst the Arab countries, Lebanon enjoys the highest rate. These three countries have higher rates than Jordan. In contrast, Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Palestine and Iraq have lower rates. Notice that the rates dropped in 2003 for both the USA and Israel, which is attributed to the American invasion of Iraq, how the public related this to Israel, and their skepticism of the concept of democracy in relation to these two countries (CSS: 2004: 5). The two states still maintained the highest rates though, because even in these conditions, respondents perceived freedom of speech to be guaranteed. These results are significant for translation in the sense that the highest rates for democracy correspond proportionally with the highest rates in the sources from where translated articles are selected (see Table 3.3 above and Table 3.8 below). It is no coincidence that the largest proportion of translated texts comes from the United States of America and Israel. Besides, translations taken from European publications are normally selected from Western European newspapers published in countries that enjoy a freedom of expression, namely France, Germany and The United Kingdom. In the last few years, articles written by Arab writers (whether in English or Arabic) came from foreign Lebanese newspapers. The media systems in the three states (USA, Israel, Lebanon) play the role of social responsibility.⁴⁷ The reason behind this as explained by Zghailat, chief editor of *Al-Rai* is that these countries have more freedom of speech and writers are given the liberty to criticize governments without fear, unlike the situation in Jordan (Interview, 26.4.2005).

As mentioned earlier, newspapers such as *Al-Rai* and *Addustour* publish the results of these polls in their newspapers. As a matter of fact, translators in both newspapers referred to the polls in showing how they evaluated the participation of the

⁴⁷ The concept of 'social responsibility' refers to the media's "responsibility to ensure that all viewpoints were expressed and that conflict was elevated to a plane of discussion" (Whitaker et al: 2000: 11).

public. To show journalists' satisfaction with press freedom, a questionnaire was carried out by the Centre for the Protection and Freedom of Journalists from 2.5.2005-5.5.2005. It addressed Jordanian media personalities and journalists working at different media institutions such as Jordanian dailies, weeklies, specialized newspapers, off-shore newspapers and Jordanian TV & Radio.⁴⁸ The number of participants was 100 of which 96 responded. Fifty-two were from *Al-Rai* and twenty-seven from *Addustour*. The results, which were published in *Al-Rai* on 26.5.2005, contained an analysis of the results and comparison to the questionnaires which were carried out in 2003 and 2004.

The results of the questionnaire, which were published at *Al-Rai*, showed a conspicuous improvement and optimism in the journalists' belief that media freedom has improved. Fifty-five percent said that freedom of the press has slightly improved, while nine percent said it has witnessed a remarkable improvement; twenty percent said it hasn't changed while ten percent mentioned it had diminished. By comparing the results of the 2004 and 2003 questionnaires, it appears that the freedom of the press is on its way to improvement, though at a slow pace. For instance, 48.6% of the journalists who participated in the 2003 questionnaire mentioned that the journalistic situation has not changed, while 22.2% said it has retreated. Analysts attributed the improvement to the royal decrees and directions, and governmental procedures that have created a more positive environment for journalists (*Al-Rai*: 26.5.2005).

Journalists and columnists stated that they are still under different types of pressure; 40.6% mentioned that they were under pressure in 2004 because of their opinions and attitudes and the material they wrote and/or published, while 57.3% said

⁴⁸ Off-shore newspapers are the Arab newspapers that are published in Europe and run by Arab expatriates. They may be published in Arabic or in the language of the country in which the newspaper is published.

they were not, 2.1% mentioned that they could not remember whether they had been exposed to pressure.⁴⁹ During 2004, 39.6% of the media personnel reported to have been forbidden from publishing news, reports, articles or studies they wrote or carried out, while 59.4% said they were not forbidden. One percent said they did not remember. These figures indicate that censorship as well as self-censorship still exists on publications. Compared to 2003, there has been some improvement, as the percentage of those whose journalistic products were forbidden from publishing has declined from 52.8% in 2003 to 39.6 % in 2004. Analysts see this as a positive sign. In general, 49.1% of journalists and media personnel attributed the censorship of Jordanian daily and weekly newspapers to the political situation. National security doctrines view the potency and unity of the nation as superior to issues raised by private citizens and various social groups within the nation. Jordan is one of those countries that see stability, social order and national cohesion as taking precedence over a free press.

While translation may contribute to *sensitive* issues shared with the Jordanian polity such as criticism of the peace treaty with Israel and negative reporting about “friendly” states, it does not help with the basic *taboos*. That is, news about the royal family, articles or news defaming religion or contrary to public morality and unauthorized military and secret information. As Table 2.5 in Chapter II showed, the average of translated articles related to Jordan does not exceed 0.9% of the total discourse at best. Translated articles usually deal with external political issues, rather than local ones. In relation to local issues, translation does not play the ‘watchdog’ role of

⁴⁹ The type of pressures that the journalists were talking about was the following: personal threat 16.7%, phone calls 11.1%, complaint at the Jordanian Association of Journalists 9.3%, cancellation of news about to be published 5.6%, undefined interferences 5.6%, modification of the writing style 5.6%, phone calls from government officers 3.7%, warning against writing certain topics 3.7%, and finally no pressures 3.7% (*Al-Rai*: 26.5.2005).

informing the public about the faults of their own government. The element of censorship helps explain the strategy of exclusion, that is, why certain topics are not addressed. On top of the censored topics are articles that are critically related to the monarchy. Sections of the articles that critically relate to or touch upon policies, or provide news about the king are normally omitted. One example is an article written by Michael Jansen and published in *The New York Times* on 24.3.2004. The article that appeared in *Al-Rai* on 29.3.2004 is titled 'Sharon's vision'. It commented on the assassination of Hamas leader Shaikh Ahmad Yassin by Israel on the 26 of March of the same year. In the article, Jansen reports the willingness of Sharon "to accept the risks posed by killing the Shaikh for several reasons". In one section he writes:

First, Sharon finished off the moribund peace process for the foreseeable future. No Palestinian, and indeed, no Arab leader would dare meet with Sharon on the aftermath of the murder. *Sharon's action amounted to a slap in the face of Jordan's King Abdullah, who met with the Israeli leader just a few days before the strike in Gaza with the aim of restarting negotiations.*

The italicized section of the above quote was totally omitted in the published translation.

The apparent reason is the negative attribution ascribed to the King with the phrase "a slap in the face of Jordan's King Abdullah". At the end of the article, the writer concludes:

Finally, Sharon has never given up his personal, extravagant plan for rearranging the demography and political structure of the region. He has been encouraged to pursue this plan by the Bush administration, which has its own equally extravagant and impractical ideas for remaking the area. *When Sharon invaded and occupied Lebanon in 1982, Sharon expected that he would be able to drive the Palestinian refugees living there into Syria and Jordan. Sharon planned to use the confusion caused by a mass migration of Palestinians to expel West Bankers across the river into Jordan and transform the kingdom into the Palestinian state. Sharon refuses to acknowledge that the Palestinians have an attachment to their national identity and homeland. He considers them simply "Arabs," mere pawns who can be moved from place to place on the chess-board of the region.*

Again, the italicized segment was not included in the translated article, causing a reduction of the text by eliminating passages which related to the King or Jordan's internal policies. The 'gatekeeper', whether it is the translator, who might not have translated it in the first place (being an editor him/herself), or senior editor who eliminated this section, considered this fragment a sensitive issue that impinges upon Jordanian strategic policies towards the Palestinian issue⁵⁰. Comments on Israeli policy are important for the public, but the gatekeeper fears that such comments may arouse patriotic sentiments within the readers.

However from time to time, the translated texts do inform the audience of stories or events that are not routinely published on pages of the local or regional sections. For example, an Op-Ed article 'The News We Kept to Ourselves' written by chief news executive of CNN Eason Jordan on 11.4.2003 in the *New York Times* appeared in *Al-Rai* on 13.4.2003 under the same title 'الأخبار التي احتفظنا بها بأنفسنا'. The article disclosed news about Iraq under Saddam Hussein's leadership that became known to the Jordanian public for the first time. One example concerns Saddam's son Uday's plan to assassinate King Hussein in 2002 for giving asylum to Saddam's two runaway sons-in-law. Such news was not disclosed therein for security reasons. News of a similar nature can be disclosed in an "embedded" form in a translated text but not through a statement issued by the Royal Court. Such strategies are conscious acts, in which the translator/editor deliberately compromises the facts because of the anticipated consequences of presenting the facts.

⁵⁰ The concept 'gatekeeper' refers to persons "who open and shut the gates of communication, determining what an audience sees, hears and reads" (Whitaker et al, 2000: 9).

In an article which was published in *Al-Rai* on 13.7.2004 under the title “ادعو إلى ” صحيفة أصولية! (‘I am calling for a fundamentalist journalism’) — columnist Mamoun Fandi, who writes for the off-shore *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (The Middle East), responds to a number of objections against one of his previous articles, in which he criticized the Arab media system. In his article he confirms the same criticisms he made in the previous article and urges journalists to take his view seriously rather than ‘criticize’ his ‘criticism.’ He addresses four aspects that inhibit “professional” Arab journalism. These aspects are closely related to why translation becomes a functional tool in the press. In one section of the article he writes:

Original article in <i>Al-Rai</i> Mamoun Fandi	English translation (by the researcher)
التعميم الأول، وهو شديد وجارح ، يقول أن الصحافة العربية حرة وربما ناجحة تحت الإحتلال ، بمعنى أن التغطية من الأراضي الفلسطينية التي تحتلها إسرائيل، أو العراق الذي يحتله الأميركيون والبريطانيون ، هي تلك التي تتحرك فيها الكاميرات العربية بحرية وتنقل بعض ما يحدث هناك ، ولكن القنوات ذاتها التي تقدم لنا ما يحدث في العراق أو في فلسطين ، لم تقدم لنا أي شئ عن أحداث القامشلي في سوريا ، أو أي حدث في قطر (محاولة انقلاب مثلا). الفرضية الأساسية هنا ، والتي تحتاج إلى نفي أو اثبات ، هي أن الصحافة العربية حرة وجريئة عندما تعمل تحت الإحتلال ، أما في الداخل العربي "الحر" فهي صحافة صامتة ، أو هكذا تبدو.	The first generalization, which is harsh and hurtful, purports that Arab journalism is free and maybe successful under occupation. That is, media coverage from the Palestinian Territories occupied by Israel, or from Iraq which is occupied by the Americans and the British, becomes free where the Arab cameras move freely and report to us what goes on there. But the same channels that reported to us what was going on in Palestine and Iraq, did not report to us any of what was going on in Al-Qamishly in Syria, or in Qatar (e.g., a coup d'État). The basic hypothesis here is that the Arab media is free and brave when it functions under occupation, while inside the “free” Arab world, it is silent, or so it seems.¹⁵

In a report prepared by the Upper Council for Information, the relegation of freedom of the press to a medium level is attributed to the difficulty of obtaining information, which accounted for 33.8% of the factors, according to a questionnaire answered by journalists

(*Al-Rai*: 19.4.2005). Analysts do not specify whether the information they refer to concerns local or international events. In general, information is a key issue in journalism, and lack of information creates a serious marketing problem for the news institution, since the audience would purchase the newspapers that they believe provides the utmost amount of reliable and credible information. The press resorts to translated texts to complement the newspaper with what writers cannot openly publish. The role that translators play in filling this gap gives them high status in the editorial hierarchy.

3.2. Informativity

The term informativity designates “the extent to which a presentation is new or unexpected for the receivers” (Beaugrande 1981: 139). In journalism it would refer to new information presented to the audience. The degree of informativity in the translated texts depends on text typology, so that ‘hard news’ in news items exhibit a higher degree of informativity than ‘soft news’. This is basically because the inherent purpose of news items is to “inform” the readers about new facts. Given that mass media play an important role in shaping international images due to the distance between the audience and world events, the Jordanian newspapers, like other international newspapers, attempt to construct a global culture that informs Jordanians about events. As Louw (2004: 152) puts it “if distant issues are not reported, they do not “exist.” People have always had the desire to learn about things unknown to them. The newspapers fulfill the role of answering the informational questions that readers ask.

However, the Jordanian journalism industry is still not as developed as it is in the Western world. Although attempts are being made at various levels to expand and develop this industry, many local factors, mainly the weak economic infrastructure of the

media institutions, still impede the technical development of the profession. The key shortcoming is related to the mechanism of newsgathering. As Rugh (2004: 127) contends, the Jordanian press “lacks thorough investigative reporting.” He attributes this to mechanisms of newsgathering. Jordan still does not have an adequate and an advanced correspondence system to cover events around the world. Most news items are “imported” rather than “homemade”.

According to the above-mentioned article by Mamoun Fandi, Arab journalism functions as a “news receiving” as opposed to a “news gathering” system:

Original article in *Al-Rai* (13.7.2004)
Mamoun Fandi

English translation (by the researcher)

فمثلا الصحافة الغربية معروف أنها صحافة جمع معلومات (News Gathering) أي أن يذهب الصحفي إلى مصادر عدة لتجميع معلوماته ويصيغها بطريقة. أما الصحافة العربية كما نراها اليوم فهي ليست صحافة (جمع معلومات) وإنما هي (News Receiving) صحافة (استقبال معلومات)، البعض إما جالس في مكتبه في انتظار رجل قادم ليضع على حجره شريطا مسجلا لابن لادن، أو الظواهري أو الزرقاوي، أو أي من نجوم الشباك الجدد (كما سماهم عبد الرحمن الراشد) أو أن الصحفي «فاتح ماكينة الفاكس»... في انتظار بيان من جماعة التوحيد أو الجهاد أو.. أو.. إلخ. وفي كلتا الحالتين يأخذ صاحبنا الشريط ويبثه على الهواء، أو يأخذ الفاكس ويضعه على الشاشة، دونما تأكيد من المصدر أو تدقيق في اسم الجماعة، أو وضع أي سياق لها. إذن، نحن نتعامل مع عمال فاكسات، أو عمال فيديو، يستقبل أحدهم الفاكس ويضعه على الشاشة، ويستقبل الشريط ويضعه في ماكينة الفيديو ويبثه. وشتان بين الصحفي جامع المعلومات ومنسقاها، وبين عامل الفاكس وعامل الفيديو.

The Western press is known to be a “News Gathering” press. That is, the journalist would resort to different resources to gather information and then puts what he/she has collected in writing. As for the Arab press as we see it today, it is not a news gathering press but a “News Receiving” press. Some are either sitting in their offices waiting for someone to drop in their laps a tape of Bin Laden, or Al-Zhawahiri or Al-Zarqawi, or are “fax operators” waiting for a statement made by The Tawheed or Al-Jihad group, or, or, etc. In both cases, the tape will be aired without verifying its authenticity or source or putting it in context. Thus, we are dealing with fax or video operators, who receive the tape and air it. Well, there is a gulf of difference between the newsgathering and editing journalist and the fax or video operator.

This section of the article summarizes the problematic in regard to the newsgathering mechanism in the Jordanian press as well. There are not enough journalists who can be

called “news gathering journalists.” To be frank, many journalists are excellent reporters, who would go far to gather information and build a story. But this mostly applies to local events for which the Jordanian press relies mostly on local journalists and reporters. But when it comes to international events, news organizations do not possess the financial means to dispatch a battalion of journalists to gather their first-hand body of data. The Jordanian newspapers have permanent correspondents around the world, and from time to time a page or two in the dailies would be allotted to the reports provided by these reporters. Although during major events, such as in wars, reporters are dispatched to the scene of the event, journalists would not be backed by a large team of photographers, administrators and other co-workers who can make their missions more fruitful. As mentioned earlier, the Jordanian newspapers are not built on strong economic bases, and efforts like these may not always be affordable.

Unlike the situation in third-world countries such as Jordan, Western media, “are able to report on the most diverse issues and events in the farthest corners of the world. Rarely is an event of any interest in the West missed or ignored by the extensive media networks worldwide” (Wiegand 2000: 235). Although the professionalism of Western media, as a whole, may be exaggerated in this quote, Jordanian newspapers still rely on foreign news agencies for the acquisition of information. Since 1969, news stories about the major international events arrive through Petra (The Jordanian News Agency) from other global news agencies such as Reuters, the Associated Press (AP), Agence France Presse (AFP), etc. Several of these international news services maintain offices in Amman, including AFP, AP, Reuters, and TASS. Petra has its own correspondents who permanently work in Cairo, Kuwait, Abu-Dhabi, Doha, Ghaza, Ram Allah, San’a,

London, Paris, New York, Washington, Bucharest, Copenhagen, Beijing, Tokyo, Bonn, Moscow, and Kuala Lumpur (according to the agency's website). The agency relies on the stories that it receives from other news agencies as well as their correspondents. Receiving the news 'as handouts' from international news agencies always seemed to be more economical. One relevant issue here is the imperialism of some Western media giant institutions such as the Times Mirror Co., Warner and Time. For example, during the Gulf war and the American invasion of Iraq, the American Secretary of Defense gave coverage privileges to American media channels. During the Iraq war, in a dramatic change of policy, the Pentagon authorized U.S. and foreign journalists to be "embedded" with military units throughout the theater of war.

The most functional contribution that translation adds to the Jordanian media is the provision of news and more in-depth and exhaustive information about the multitude of events that occur around the world. Though it may not suit the methodological traits of my study (since they are not subjected to qualitative analysis), the news items that arrive through news agencies, in their own right, are translations into Arabic from various languages. Even if the incoming news items are not translated locally, they come to be regarded as the outcome of translation activity in their home agencies. Were Jordan not subscribed to such services, the newspapers would have been poor in their global content. At the same time, the local translation departments in newspapers not only provide raw data but also interpretations of these data. Especially at critical junctures, people need answers to arising questions that may not be answered through the superficial exposition of the event in its news item format.

The page “Palestine” stands as a perfect example for informativity. The page, which appears every day in the newspaper, is a translation of news items from Israeli Hebrew newspapers on daily goings-on in Israel/Palestine. The sort of news that is translated may not be accessible to the local readers through the normal channels. This news originally appears in Hebrew newspapers, which are not marketed in Jordan. A very small number of people in Jordan know Hebrew. So this page constitutes a very important source of news that is of direct concern to the public. Such enterprise is meant to break the public’s ‘language barrier’.

Readers look for information. For inquisitive readers, the superficial amount of news does not satisfy their thirst for the latest information. They always seek more in-depth accounts and multiple analyses of more “dark secret” news (as called by Louw, 2004: 157) such as those coming through translated articles. They also seek nuances in language and even omissions in reporting, which they may detect if they compare different sources that report or comment on the same event. Nuances of events or extra data do not arrive via these channels directly to the Jordanian newspapers. Therefore, newspapers depend on the studies and reports that are carried out by think-tanks and political pundits and experts being translated for any extra details. Translation, for that matter, compensates for the shortage in information, given that information has become a key strategic element in world communication and public discourse formation. Translations become a product of great journalistic, cultural and economic significance. The media find information within these texts. Translated, they help the press uncover further information for the Jordanian reader and add momentum to the official sources. Examples of translations that attempted to answer questions in the minds of readers are

endless. It would be impossible to outline even a fraction of them, or else the study will turn into another newspaper. A few of these examples that carry major concerns for the public will suffice for the sake of illustration. For instance, a feature story was published in the Israeli newspaper Haaretz on 9/9/2005 titled "Medical experts: Yasser Arafat died of AIDS or poisoning" written by Amos Harel and Yoav Stern. The story was translated and published in *Al-Rai* on 11.9.2005 under the title "ما الذي قتل ياسر عرفات؟" ("What killed Yasser Arafat?"). The article had attempted to answer questions that the public had asked since the death of Yasser Arafat on December 2004 in the many articles that were written at the time suspecting the cause of his death and went unanswered.

Another example is related to the Tsunami waves that caused the death of more than 160,000 people in South Asia in December 2004. Stories of that magnitude cannot be covered totally by sole efforts of individual correspondents. To obtain full coverage of the event, the newspapers depended on various resources, basically through news agencies and articles written in international newspapers. A full coverage requires high technology like satellites and advanced equipment to take satellite pictures of the afflicted areas and make accurate evaluations of the consequences of the Tsunami. Countries like Jordan, which do not possess that technology, rely on the more advanced countries to contribute their reportages on such events.

Translation has become a workshop for data processing in the steadily growing large and dynamic news industry. Whether through news obtained from news agencies, or through feature stories, news and articles selected and translated locally, the two sources are indispensable as major sources of information for the public. Newspapers without these contributions from foreign resources would result in having the public

isolated from the happenings of the world. When the editors fail to obtain all the facts, translators attempt to fill in the gaps.

Observers look at media content for indicators of political trends and probable future developments. Journalists, diplomats, and other professionals typically make quick analyses on a daily basis rather than long-term systematic studies, and their conclusions are usually not made public. Access to such information can be granted more frequently from Western writers and journalists. Such knowledge can be made known to the Jordanian public only through translation of what appears in foreign newspapers. For instance, a lengthy report was made by the Washington Institute for Near East Policies concerning the U.S. future plans for the Middle East in February 2005. The report, which was titled "Security Reform and Peace: The Three Pillars of U.S. Strategy in the Middle East", was of direct concern to the Arab world. This was not known to the Jordanian public until *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* had the report translated and published in five episodes from 6.3.2005 to 10.3.2005, each episode focusing on the plans of the United States for a certain part of the Arab world. Following the publication of the report, local commentary started raising questions in this regard. Amal Abdulla from *Addustour* confirms that many of the articles that she translates are used as reference for many of the local commentators, who would quote these articles as a way to seek testimony (interview, March 2005).

Not only does the translation section provide news, but it also comes to represent modes of creation, mechanisms for engendering new concepts and meanings into the local media. One example is the concept of "destructive construction," which the U.S. Secretary of State coined throughout the U.S. efforts to create a grand Middle East. It first

appeared in Jordan in *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* translated literally as “الفوضى البناءة”. It was used as such by the local press right afterwards. Because there was no agreement on a unified concept in the local discourse, it was translated later by *Al-Rai* as “اللاإستقرار البناء” (the constructive instability). The two Arabic translations are both accepted as translations of the concept, though not terminologically unified. Notwithstanding the variance, the concept and its implications became known through translation.

Two conspicuous events have led to the path for what the U.S. Department of Defence called “information dominance”; namely the Gulf War in 1991 and the US invasion of Iraq in 2003. These two events are particularly important not only because of their global repercussions but also because access to information was privileged to the American media channels. During the 1991 Gulf War, stories about the war were rare and mainly provided through CNN. Hafez (2001: 84) describes the situation at that time as the media being “completely dependent on information provided to them by one of the fighting parties, who handed out small but precious, pieces of ‘information’”. Confined to Dakhnan, Saudi Arabia, they were hundreds of kilometres away from the battlefield and their only sources of information were Pentagon propaganda video clips and military press briefings.” Media scholar William Briggs explains that during the Gulf war, the U.S. government made it increasingly difficult for the press to gain access to the war zones and otherwise placed obstacles in reporters’ way. During the Iraq war, with the “embedded” foreign journalists, viewers and readers got first-hand battlefield accounts, often in real-time, unparalleled in the history of reporting. Briggs adds that critics, however, pointed out that such coverage was often disjointed and lacked context and worried that the journalists traded objectivity for such unprecedented access (2004: 446).

The American techniques of news dissemination as well as its monopoly of the news made it a must for many media institutions to resort to the American media channels to have access to the goings on in the battlefield. Stories like these cannot be commented on in the public press, unless writers have enough information to build their case.

Columnist M. Fandi illustrates this dilemma as follows:

Original article by Mamoun Fandi

التعميم الرابع هو أن صحافة العرب هي صحافة رأي وليست صحافة معلومة ، وهذا ليس من عندي ولكنها عناوين لمجطات وبرامج ، فهناك قنوات شعارها "الرأي والرأي الآخر" وليس المعلومة المنافسة والخبر المنافس . وهناك برامج تعتمد الخطابة كاسلوب وتطلق على نفسها اسم "منبر من لا منبر له" . والمنبر يوحى بالخطابة وليس المعلومة .

Translation by author

The fourth generalization is that the Arab media is an opinion media rather than a fact media. I am not inventing this, but it comes from the titles of channels and shows. Some channels take for themselves the slogan "the opinion and the other opinion," and not 'the competitive information or news items'. There are shows that undertake rhetoric as a style, and call themselves "the forum for those without forums." The forums imply rhetoric rather than information. (my translation)

The media professionals in the Jordanian media institutions appear determined to remove impediments to free communication and use different techniques to achieve that purpose, one of which is applying the critical, investigative approach to journalism through translation. In this way, the Jordanian press paves the way for a politically-centered view of the issues of concern to Jordanian public opinion.

2.3. Diversity

As much as news constitutes the cornerstone for any news institutions, news items are not sufficient for meeting the information requirements of the public, as news items usually come in superficial unidimensional forms, ill-suited for the analytical dissection of complicated issues. They do not provide much depth of the issues underpinning the events being reported. Reporting is by and large reduced to the political surface of events

and developments. The hard news needs to be coupled with soft news, that is, interpretation of these events.

One characteristic of the print media system in Jordan is that it has been in a constant state of adjustment in recent years, especially in the new millennium. The development of newspapers at various periods of political conflict has led to a proliferation of dailies and weeklies. When the conditions giving rise to the birth of a given newspaper cease to exist, the newspaper folds up. This explains the high rate of birth and death of many publications during the last century. This has been a common feature in the Jordanian press. The newspapers that manage to survive are the ones that maintain an editorial policy that can fit into both the government and public loopholes. As a transitional system, there is some diversity among newspapers, reflecting their political orientations. Najjar (2001: 261) explains that today, Jordan has a variety of publications (dailies and weeklies) that range from leftist to Arab nationalist to Islamist. However, unlike some Western countries where a truly diverse system exists, the print media that are pro-government tend to have larger circulations and a greater ability to influence the overall tenor of public debate.

As Rugh briefs it, except for some of the new television channels, Arab media rarely meet the ideal for American journalism, of providing “a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism” (2004: 16). Specific opinions, attitudes, and articulation of goals, which are expressed in Arab media, are usually those of a small elite group, but there is two-way exchange only on some television and radio programs. Nongovernmental sentiment is sometimes expressed, but it is filtered through a few editors, so the flow of opinions is rather restricted.

One of the most important contributions of translations is providing the public with alternative outlets of expression. These make a contribution to critical debates on the issues facing Arab societies. The variable views presented in the translation section provide other sources for comparison. The reader can verify the accuracy of news coming through reinforcement or rejection of such news. By filling the gap, translation gives a reliable, comprehensive and meaningful account of the world's daily events. While commentaries are concerned with opinions, these are based on facts. The translated discourse thus performs the function of presenting facts that represent reality to a reasonable and convincing degree.

In Jordan, the newspaper provides an easy and handy access to a larger, more provocative set of voices through translation. Translations provide the readers with the widest variety of opinion and the most compact body of information on given topics of interest. The local content was and still is unable to capture and reflect the array of pluralistic views of the world. Translators allow globalized versions to weave with the local ones. They think about translation as a loophole, opening up new options of expression. Their ultimate goal is to connect with their audience in such a way as to get them to see the world in a new light, to get them to understand a complex and controversial problem and connect with their own lives.⁵¹ The diversity of opinions is intended to create the "public sphere," which the German communication theorist Habermas (1989) sees as a public space existing between the economy and the government, where public opinion develops. The debate that is built through local and foreign opinions in the papers helps develop a healthy civic culture in which people converse and debate with the political elite and help form *reason-based* public opinion.

⁵¹ Interviews with Aziziyya: 18.6.2004; Abdulla: 2.4.2005 and Al-Sharqi: 19.8.2005.

One important thing to remember here is that as much as translation helps towards this diversity, (the) translated discourse does not act as an agent of people empowerment, a factor that gives it legitimacy and power in function. People are given grounds to open up to variable perspectives, but at the same time, this translated discourse being originally written by a foreign writer loses its performative force, since it does not customarily appeal to emotions as will be later discussed. To insure diversity, the articles that are translated are taken from diverse sources, whether in terms of language, nationality or orientation of newspaper. For instance, some articles that are selected from Lebanese sources cover a wide array of orientations. Since 2004, upon the rise of the Lebanon-Syria relationship conflict, different relevant views carried by some Lebanese writers were introduced into the Jordanian press. *Al-Rai* borrowed articles from the independent moderate *Al-Nahar* (The Day), the Arab nationalist *Al-Safir* (The Messenger), and the pro-Syrian (and pro-Hariri) *Al-Mustaqbal* (The Future). It translated articles from the London-based centrist *Al-Hayat* (Life) and the pan-Arab *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (The Middle East). That has benefited the newspaper in rendering diverse views ranging, for instance, from the more critical views of Syria by *Al-Nahar* to the more pan-Arab-oriented views of *Al-Safir*. An example is the coverage of the assassination of the Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq El-Hariri on 14.2.2005, as perceived by various writers. On 19.2.2005 two *Al-Rai* articles looked at the issue from different angles. While a translated article by Abdul-Wahab Badr Khan from *Al-Hayat* (by the title “A pre-determined crime that will re-occur”) complained that the Lebanese government knew that the assassination was probable, and that the government was partly responsible for it, Saad Mhayou from *Al-Khaleej* pointed his accusations towards Hizbollah. On 22.2.2005, a translated article

titled “Who is behind the assassination of El-Hariri?” was written by Patrick Seale from *Al-Itihad* from the point of view of the consequences of the assassination on Syria as if it was proven that Syria was behind the assassination. On 26.2.2005, an article by Abdul-Mu’em Saeed from *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* titled ‘How can we get clues to Al-Hariri assassinator?’ proposed four hypotheses on probable parties that could be behind the assassination. These are a few examples on this subject, besides the analyses written by Western writers. This illustrates the type of coverage that *Al-Rai* adopts in its policy of multi-faceted coverage and interpretation of world events. Such coverage stems from what the Missouri (media scholars) group has considered to be the “fairness” professional ethic (*Brooks et al.* 2002:12), in reference to the “different viewpoints from which every event or issue can be observed” (*Ibid.*: 15). This professional ethic allows that “each viewpoint may yield a different interpretation of what is occurring and of what it means.”

Similar diversity can be seen in the Israeli newspapers. Uqaili, chief translator at Dar El-Jaleel explains that he does not exclude any Israeli newspaper when he looks for texts to be translated by reason of its orientation. He selects his texts based on the newsworthiness value of the item. However, he prefers the leftist *Ha’aretz* which he sees as the most balanced Israeli newspaper. He also selects articles and news items from the centrist *Maariv*, the popular *Yedioth Ahronoth*, and less from the rightist Mafdal-aligned *Hazofe*. Although some texts are translated from *The Jerusalem Post*, the selection is limited because the analyses are not very sophisticated in that newspaper, according to Oquali (Interview: 16.8.2005). The diverse political trends of newspapers provide for sufficient variety and balance within the commentary discourse. It follows that some degree of fairness can thus be achieved.

The “translation” page becomes particularly important when there is no unanimous public opinion around a specific subject-matter. One critical juncture for Jordanians was the period during and following the Peace treaty. People needed to evaluate the dimensions and consequences of the treaty. Therefore, they needed to know more about how the West perceived the situation. Reading what some pundits and political experts wrote about the treaty was one way of understanding and assessing this political development. The press was definitely aware of its role and did provide in-depth analysis of the situation by presenting to the public the gist of opinions of Western think-tanks through translating articles and books that dealt with the issue. Despite such analysis, some people remained skeptical about the treaty. Articles that attempted to bridge the gap towards peace were translated and presented to the audience such as Mary Curtis’s series of articles “Israel teaches its pupils peace” from *The Christian Science Monitor* (published in *Al-Rai* on 10.1.1995) and the Middle East Op-Ed titled “*Israel is no more secluded*” on 6.1.1995. The book “*The Oslo Syndrome: Delusions of a People Under Siege*” by Kenneth Levin was translated and published in twenty-four episodes.

Relying solely on the local framework would leave the audience with a limited scope of news. The expansion of the framework of thinking in the local sphere helps the media system to move from an authoritarian body, where a certain track of information is given to the audience, into playing the role of “the social responsibility” media (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, 1965), where the press fulfills an obligation to provide the public with a forum that voices a variety of competing ideas. In this model the audience is viewed as an active democratic body. Being a “transitional system”, according to Rugh’s classification of the Arab media systems (2004), means that the Kingdom has taken steps

towards a modernized form of journalism. Translation helps achieve just that. Miller (1994: 23) suggests that “[t]here is overwhelming evidence people value the watch-dog role of the media.”

As Habermas contends, media can significantly influence government policy by opening up an area for public debate and by encouraging rational and free discussion, thereby forming a true public sphere with the power of consolidated opinion (de Beer, 2004: 6). Habermas, like many scholars in critical theory and cultural studies, sees public conversation as essential to democracy. McNair (1998: 71-88) stresses the diversity of editorial stance that can be and is generated by a ‘free market’. This attitude is also shared by many Jordanian intellectuals and writers. The importance of debate for democracy has often been stressed in the daily writings of columnists. The call for rational debates is repeatedly echoed in the newspapers, requiring fewer restrictions, in which the people decide how they want to see society develop.

In this sense, translators, like the institution behind them, play the role of “opinion leaders”. While Hafez, Horner and Klemm (2001) assign this role to the journalist, the situation in the Jordanian media assigns a greater task to the translator for shaping public opinion in a broader and more influential manner.

The media market produces a myriad of significant currents of thought. Translators face dozens of Western – Anglo-American and European – newspapers and magazines owned by different groups with different political trends and stances. The titles reflect every conceivable point of view. For the translator, a careful balance is yielded in the selection of texts apt for translation and publication. Why certain

newspapers and texts are selected rather than others is a question that the following sections will attempt to answer.

2.4. Professionalism

Although there is no unanimous agreement on the roles of journalists around the world (Weaver 2004: 145-7), certain universal standards are aimed at by media personnel. Editors, journalists, columnists seek professionalism in their respective practices. The achievement of professionalism is the outcome of strict adherence to journalistic standards of news reporting and commentary. Parsons states that “the main shortcomings that newsrooms have are poorly trained reporters and editors, lack of objectivity, greed, loss of credibility, and self-censorship” (2004: 61). He specifies lack of journalistic training to be the most significant barrier to media development in many nations.

Political influences on the media, their relative economic weakness, and the absence of an independent “Fourth Estate” concept of the profession have made journalism a less attractive profession than many others in the Arab world (Rugh, 2004: 11). As a result of many of these factors, news journalism as a profession in Jordan has been slow to develop and has not achieved the high status that it has in, let us say, the West. Although there are many competent Arab professional journalists, the economic and sometimes political risk in entering the profession has, to some extent, kept talented people away from it. Only a handful of journalists have become famous and respected throughout the Arab world, such as the Egyptian writer Mohammad Hassanain Haykal, the most widely read journalist in the Arab world since the 1960s, or Jihad El-Khazen,

the Lebanese writer, who chief-edited many Arab newspapers. There are professional writers in Jordan, but their reputation is national rather than regional.⁵²

A shortage of trained personnel is a basic problem, and on-the-job training is the norm. Schools of journalism are few in the Arab world. There is only one School of Journalism in Jordan – at Yarmouk University, dating back to the 1970s. Thus, most media staff have learned their trade on the job, including translators. Most operative translators have a degree in English, but not in translation, except for Raheed Sabri from *Addustour*. The new generations of journalists have received academic training in journalism, but they still need years to reach the professional standards of the trade. Many of the more professional media staff have studied journalism in schools of journalism outside Jordan. *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* was established by a very elite group of journalists, most of whom returned from Kuwait after 1991. The media, which developed in the Arabian Gulf states, attracted many Lebanese, Palestinians, Egyptians, and others who, according to Rugh “have been trained as professional journalists in areas with long press traditions [including] some of the most qualified in the Arab world. They have in a very short time raised the standards of journalism, at least technically, to compete with the much older media in other parts of the Arab world” (2004: 12). These standards were imported to Jordan through the returning journalists. The professionalism of these journalists has enabled *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* to survive the hard pressures that it went through during one of Jordan’s most vulnerable periods of freedom of the press.

Rugh goes so far as to contend that talented and competent professional journalists try to keep away from the profession of journalism (Rugh, 2004: 11). In my opinion, it is not the lack of talent that prevents professionalism in the field, especially for

⁵² Arab writers who use Arabic in their writings do not enjoy international reputation.

columnists and writers. It has always been the economic, political and cultural pressures, which are exerted on these writers that do not allow them to express their opinions the way they would and should.

Realizing the influence of governmental restrictions on the journalistic product, writers warn against such interventions. One simple example is Fahad Fanek's introductory section of his article "Towards a larger government!" in the *Jordan Times* on 5.9.2005. He begins his article with "*If my editor does not change the title of this article, as happens sometimes, it should not be understood to mean a government with a higher number of ministers [...]*" (Italics mine). This is only one example within a sea of statements made by writers who openly complaining against the restrictions imposed on their writings, forcing them to write using a style and tradition as close as possible to what is considered to be acceptable to the "editor." As Rugh argues, many journalists are suspected of being merely spokesmen, mouthpieces, or "hired pens" of one political group or another (2004: 11).

On the domestic level, the quality of daily newspapers tends to be moderately rated. The quality of the weeklies is even less meagerly rated. By quality, I do not mean the quality of printing or layout design, as most dailies meet international standards of newspaper make-up. What I mean is the professional standards of news presentation, writing traditions and journalistic practices. The call that was made by the government, journalists and writers (of the dailies) in the 1990s to curb sensationalism aimed at improving the professional standards of journalism so as to make it worthy of its new role in a more open atmosphere. The restrictions imposed later were meant to prevent the newspapers from slipping down into irresponsible or scurrilous journalism. One of the

key standards called for and emphasized by the regime is objective factual presentation based on research and investigation. However, the controversy that journalists face with the limited access to information and the restrictions 'symbolically' imposed on them steer the dialectics of reporting into a staggering position on the professionalism scale.

One call was made by Fandi' in his previously mentioned article in favour of professionalism ("fundamentalism") of the press:

Fandi's original article

وأخيراً فأنا أنادي بأصولية الصحافة كبدائية للحل. وهنا لا أعني أن تمتلئ صحافتنا بالمستوطنات الأصولية الإسلامية الحديثة، ولكن باعتماد أصولية الصحافة من حيث المنهج الصارم في نقل الأخبار. فالصحافة ونقل الأخبار ليس بالأمر الجديد عند العرب. فلنأخذ من تراثنا أهم عملية نقل أخبار صارمة وهي عملية نقل الأحاديث النبوية الشريفة كمثال. فبينما تعتمد الصحف الكبرى مثل "نيويورك تايمز" على مصدرين علي الأقل لكي تنشر خبراً، نجد أن علماء الحديث عندنا يعتمدون على أربعة مصادر [...] هذا بالطبع إضافة إلى مصداقية المصدر وطرق تقييمه، وهي قواعد معروفة في علوم الشرع. هذه هي الطريقة الإسلامية لنقل الأخبار.

Translation by researcher

Finally, I call for the fundamentalism of journalism as a start. And by that I do not mean to have our media outlets filled with modern Islamic fundamentalist discourse. Rather, I mean to adopt the professionalism of journalism through the strict journalistic standards of news reporting. Journalism and news reporting are not new inventions for the Arabs. Let us take from our heritage the strictest act of reporting, and that is the reporting of the Prophet's Hadiths. While international newspapers, like the *New York Times* depend on at least two sources to verify the authenticity of the news, the Muslim philologists depend on four sources [...] in addition to the credibility of sources and news assessment methodologies. These are known rules in Islamic philology.

This is the Islamic method of news reporting.

Two elements are emphasized in the article. First, authentication in news reporting is given priority, which would contribute to the credibility of news. Take the example of texts that were not sourced in 2002 and 2003 (refer to Table 3.8 below).⁵³ In April 2002, around 22 articles were not sourced, violating one of the most sensitive ethics of

⁵³ In the years from 2002 -2004, many translated articles were published without providing the source of the original text.

journalism, which entails stating the source of any published text. This infraction has dropped to almost nil in 2005 because of the pressure imposed on the news media for accuracy and professionalism. Second, the self-criticizing article above pinpoints that professionalism in news reporting is not a Western invention. The writer manages to project this with the metaphor of “fundamentalism” which he presents in positive terms. According to this fundamentalism of Hadith sourcing, the philologist needs at least four sources confirming a Hadith for it to be considered accurate and truthful. Fandi reminds the journalistic community of the fundamental necessity of truthful news reporting, as a value, which they do not have to import. This call redirects our attention to a property in Media Studies, as well as cultural studies in general. The hierarchization of epistemology has always been studied and patronized from the Western vantage point of view. This is supported by the selection strategies adopted by translators, whether of publications or writers, as will be seen later.

2.5. Credibility and Objectivity

Credibility is one of the pillars of journalism. It is earned rather than imposed by a given publication, along with the history of the publication’s policies of news coverage and commentary. The audience is normally not tolerant of unreliable newspapers, which would eventually affect their circulation. Unfortunately, the Jordanian newspapers are not totally held to their credibility of local news coverage and commentary, for various reasons. Rugh summarizes the problematic of credibility in the Arab World in general, which is also true about Jordan:

Certainly the most sophisticated groups, and to a large extent other people as well, do not accept the news in the mass media entirely at face value, but assume that it may not be completely objective or reliable. They read between the lines, looking for significant omissions and implied meanings. The credibility for the news writers and political

columnists in the media tends to be lower than in the West. They are frequently suspected of being politically motivated rather than professionals dedicated solely to accurate, factual reporting and enlightenment of the public. Journalism ranks relatively low in prestige except for the handful of prominent columnists in each country, usually fewer than a half dozen, who write the signed political analyses that appear in the daily press. Most of them are chief editors as well, and their relationship to the regime in power is a very important political factor. (Rugh 2004: 11)

The Jordanian dailies have achieved a reputation for relative objectivity in news reporting moreso than weeklies, with *Al-Rai* on top of the hierarchy followed by *Addustour*. Still both have a rate of credibility that is lower than the newspapers of the West. One example is the reporting of events during the American invasion of Iraq. Towards the end of the war, the public heard and read stories about the victorious accomplishments of the Iraqi army reported from the Iraqi side, which were conveyed to the Jordanian public through the Jordanian newspapers, Radio or TV. Meanwhile, the Western media gave another version of the battlefield with the American troops being triumphant. Because of the disparities in the different versions of the development of the war, it was important for the newspapers to publish all different stories so that the Jordanian public would be in a better position to decide for itself. Because of the lack of credibility, people relied on other channels such as Al-Jazeera satellite channel for more reliable information. As Jordanian TV was more closely connected with the Iraqi version, it is no wonder that news about the fall of Baghdad was met with shock and frustration on the Jordanian street.

This lack of credibility was put to test by the CSS. The yearly public opinion surveys that are conducted by CSS included, for the years 1998 to 2003, a section on the public's assessment of the credibility of the written and visual information media and the extent to which Jordanians trust local, regional and international political news in these

media. Below is a summary of the results. The table shows the percentage of credibility of the Jordanian TV and Jordanian newspapers as seen by the sample.

Table 3.6 - The most trusted media sources in Jordan (1998-2003)

Year	Local %		Regional %		International %	
	TV.	Newspapers	TV.	Newspapers	TV.	Newspapers
2003	73.3	11.1	81.1	6.0	81.3	5.1
2002	73.5	9.7	77.0	6.7	78.0	5.7
2001	74.1	7.0	75.5	4.9	78.0	3.8
2000	65.4	10.8	65.4	8.5	65.4	6.2
1999	66.6	7.3	66.7	5.5	66.6	3.4
1998	63.2	10.0	61.9	7.7	61.3	5.9

The table shows that the respondents identified Jordanian TV to be the most trusted resource concerning local, regional and political news over the years. There is a large gap between the credibility rates of the visual sources and the newspapers. This hierarchy of credibility on the local level is further confirmed by the following survey. Within the same study, the CSS also polled people on their assessment of the most trusted regional and international sources in comparison to Jordanian outlets. The survey consisted of almost all international, regional and local media that are accessible from Jordan. The study specifically addressed the reliability of the media outlets in presenting political news items. For the sake of the current study I am presenting the media that has received the highest percentages along the years from 1998 to 2004 only. The results are presented in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7 - Most trusted sources of political news (%)

Year	Domain of news	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
2004	L.*	48	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
	R.	33	-	-	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	28
	In.	31	-	-	41	-	-	-	-	-	14	14
2003	L.	52.2	6.7	3.3	20.6	-	-	-	0.7	-	-	16.5
	R.	32.3	3.4	1.7	35.5	-	-	-	0.9	0.1	-	26.1
	In.	31.2	2.8	1.6	34.9	-	-	-	0.9	-	8.3	20.3
2002	L.	52.0	6.6	3.5	20.8	0.6	2.4	0.3	0.5	-	-	13.3
	R.	37.5	4.4	2.4	31.9	1.6	2.5	0.5	0.9	-	-	18.3
	In.	36.7	3.9	1.9	31.7	4.5	2.5	0.3	1.6	-	-	16.9
2001	L.	48.6	4.5	1.4	16.8	0.6	2.9	0.5	-	-	-	24.7
	R.	34.5	3.2	1.0	26.3	0.6	2.4	0.1	3.4	0.7	-	27.8
	In.	32.2	2.4	1.0	24.9	4.7	1.7	0.3	4.4	1.0	-	27.4
2000	L.	57.7	7.2	2.6	12.3	1.0	4.6	1.5	2.6	1.2	-	9.3
	R.	52.4	5.9	2.5	16.8	1.3	3.5	0.9	3.7	1.6	-	11.4
	In.	51.1	4.6	1.5	16.6	2.9	3.3	0.5	5.7	2.3	-	11.5
1999	L.	52.4	4.4	1.5	7.4	0.5	5.4	1.2	2.4	2.4	-	22.4
	R.	43.3	3.0	1.4	12.1	0.1	4.6	0.7	3.3	2.6	-	28.9
	In.	41.6	2.0	1.1	9.6	4.7	3.9	0.3	6.0	4.2	-	26.6
1998	L.	53.1	5.1	2.0	3.1	0.1	3.5	1.8	3.9	2.4	-	25
	R.	47.5	3.3	2.0	4.1	0.2	3.9	1.0	4.7	3.1	-	30.2
	In.	46.2	2.8	1.5	3.4	0.2	4.0	0.7	6.0	3.1	-	32.1

* The percentages for 2004 were not given for other media sources.

Key

L = local news; R = regional news; In. = international news

A: Jordanian TV.

B: *Al-Rai* newspaper

C: *Addustour* newspaper

D: Al-Jazeera satellite channel

E: CNN channel

F: Radio Amman

G: *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* newspaper

H: London radio station

I: Israeli TV. (Channel 1)

J: Al-Arabia satellite channel

K: Others (about 100 other media resources)

The table shows that over the years of the study the Jordanian TV has been the most trusted source for learning about local news. Observers attribute this to the tendency of the Jordanian TV, being a government-run and official institution, to feature only the news items that are verified for accuracy and attested by the concerned source parties. As for the regional and international news, the most trusted sources seem to vary from one year to another. While in 2003 and 2004, the most trusted source for regional and international news is *Al-Jazeera*, followed by the Jordanian TV then Al-Arabia, the years before 2003 limited the competition to the Jordanian TV and *Al-Jazeera* satellite TV, with the former ranking as the most trusted source. *Al-Jazeera* TV seems to reinforce its reputation along the years as a trustworthy TV regarding regional and international news with 4.1% and 3.4% respectively in 1998 up to 39% and 41% respectively in 2004. The huge leap demonstrates how *Al-Jazeera* has emerged as a competitive channel to the local media resources, especially that it also holds a reasonable rate of 25% of credibility for its coverage of local news. *Al-Arabia* satellite TV began to be known to the public by starring in the coverage of news related to the American invasion to Iraq in 2003.

The three visual sources, followed by Radio Amman, tend to surpass the Jordanian newspapers. One reason that I can suggest is the old-fashioned tradition of the visual verification that accord news, in the sense of people's trust in what they see and hear more than what they read. Images have always been a hard-to-knock-down testimony for any narrative. A second suggestion is the lack of access of many Jordanian families to media outlets, other than the local media channels. Radio Amman, which is also owned by the government, is governed by the same ethics that apply to the TV. The three newspapers, *Al-Rai*, *Addustour*, and *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* come at the fourth, fifth and

sixth ranks, respectively. Notice that the *CNN* has maintained a lower credibility rate along the years, despite its well-established international reputation as a major actor in covering the world's major events, perhaps due to competition from Al-Jazeera TV. It should be mentioned, nonetheless, that even with these low rates, the ten sources mentioned in the Table occupy the highest rates in comparison to other dozens of other local and international media resources included in the questionnaire, which make this low rate relatively high, or at least the highest of the low.

On 18.8.2005, King Abdullah, in a televised speech to the Cabinet expressed his dissatisfaction with some weeklies, for misreporting.⁵⁴ Following the speech, *Al-Rai* polled its electronic website readers on this issue. The question was: Do you trust the weeklies? 26.23% of the respondents answered in the negative, 73.77% answered in the affirmative⁵⁵. The electronic website readers were polled with another question: Do you read or follow the weeklies? Again, 41.34% responded in the affirmative while 58.66% responded in the negative⁵⁶, giving the weeklies a low ebb of credibility in both cases (*Al-Rai* 19.8.2005).

Where does this leave the press? Jordanian newspapers realized that Jordan's information services were losing their credibility in the face of regional and international competition. The low rate of credibility prompted the newspapers to import news from various international resources that would allow the newspapers to compete with hard-to-beat visual resources (Najjar 2001: 87).

⁵⁴ The full speech can be found in *Al-Rai*, 19.8. 2005.

⁵⁵ <http://www.Alrai.com/>

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Being aware of the competition from other regional media channels since the 1990s, Jawad Al-Anani, then Minister of Information warned in 1995 that: “Several countries have beat us by several laps in attracting audiences and in being perceived as credible. Radio news loses to Monte Carlo, London, and Israel⁵⁷, televised entertainment loses to Israel, Syria, and Egypt; and the local press does not provide the depth of coverage the Lebanese press or the Arab press in the Diaspora provides reference” (*Ibid.*).

The accuracy and credibility of the dailies – as it is for Jordanian TV – came at the expense of informativity. Attempting to be a newspaper of record, the policy of *Al-Rai*, for instance, requires that only what the editorial department believes to be accurate should be published, which means that any periphery information or unaccounted for comments might be eliminated. This could be seen, for instance, upon the death of Pope John Paul II in 2005. While different satellite channels had speculations and announcements about his dying days before he actually passed away, Jordanian TV and dailies announced the news of his death only when it was confirmed by the Vatican. While readers (or viewers for that matter) receive less information, they know that what they receive tends to be accurate and credible.

To create a balance between credibility and informativity, the imported discourse is seen as an optimal way-out. Now the readers can receive an adequate surge of information on current issues and rest assured that the information they receive is reliable and credible. In order to guarantee these qualities, the translation editorial has to be selective. Translators try to maintain a high standard of credibility by being careful in their selection of foreign source publications. But how do translators make their choices?

⁵⁷ The three stations broadcast in Arabic.

Western journalistic traditions assert the significance of 'objectivity' of news.

Hackett and Zhao describe objectivity in the following terms:

[...] the contours of journalistic practice have been shaped by what we call a *regime of objectivity* – an ensemble of ideals, assumptions, practices, and institutions – which has become a fixture of public philosophy and a supposed form of self-regulation. Interest groups and social movements as well as politicians use the criteria of objectivity to negotiate the terms of public discourse, journalists use it to enhance their claims to professional status, advertisers and media corporations find it a useful vehicle for maximizing market reach and credibility. It has become a cultural form with a life of its own. (1998:1)

De Beer states that Western journalistic tradition has prided itself, for the past century on objective news analysis and presentation. It is the journalistic claim that professionalism is seated within the ability to objectively judge and report on newsworthy events (2004: 168). De Beer further explains why journalists show very little awareness of what the concept truly entails. Objectivity in journalism has established itself as a professional journalistic standard and has developed as a kind of organizational imperative or belief by which journalists are required to perform their work.

The selection of a given set of news items to the exclusion of others is one reason why media researchers have concluded that objective journalism is not possible to the extent that it can be considered a myth (Sigelman 1973: 133). I share Sigelman's point of view of 'mythical' objectivity, as subjectivity interferes with all aspects of individual behaviour. However, I'd rather look at the journalistic performance in terms of 'integrity' or 'neutrality', though again the two standards can be placed at variable locations along a continuum. Fowler (1991: 15-19) points out that news values are not ideologically neutral but can lead to a divisive view of society based on a distinction between "us" and "them". This can be seen, for example, in the ways media institutions and individuals were divided in the way they viewed the U.S. War against Iraq in 2003.

Some Jordanian newspapers have earned their reputation for relative objectivity in news commenting, although their columnists are known for their various political biases. But typically the news treatment as well as the commentaries of a newspaper are regarded by the audience with a relative measure of defensive skepticism, as is felt from the responses that readers provide from time to time through the Letter-to-the-editor section. The standard of objectivity cannot be considered applicable to the meta-news genre, because commentary is by default a subjective interpretation, and if readers are looking for anything, it would be the individualistic interpretation by the writer of the facts of a given event.

3. Selecting Policies

3.1. Selection of Newspapers

Before listing the source publications, let us go back to the time when newspapers and magazines used to arrive at the translator's desk through the institution at which the translator works. At that time, translators could only choose from the range of publications made accessible to them through the institution. Although translators nowadays have a larger set of choices through the Internet, where they do not have to restrict themselves to a designated range of publications, they learn to adhere to certain newspaper options which happened to be made available to them in the first place by their institution (Interview with Barhoum: 18.6.2004). If this tells anything, it implies that translators' options of publications are not to a large extent the result of their own whims. The pattern they develop is also institutionally determined. Translators, just like readers, feel more comfortable and engaged with certain frames of thought adopted by certain news organizations.

Table 3.8 below gives a simple account of the nationality of newspapers most translated. The table considers only the translated articles and excludes news items. The table shows the development of translation whether in quantity or in respect to the country of origin of publications most translated from 1987 to 2005:

Table 3.8 - Average of translated articles per nationality of source publication/monthly average

Year	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Yearly average
1987	20	32	16	0	0	16	0	84
1988	25	35	20	0	0	18	0	98
1989	8	12	5	0	0	3	0	28
1990	15	2	2	0	0	0	0	19
1991	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	8
1992	21	8	3	0	0	1	0	33
1993	17	10	3	0	0	0	0	30
1994	9	13	2	0	0	6	0	30
1995	9	8	1	0	1	4	0	23
1996	9	13	1	0	0	5	0	28
1997	10	11	2	0	0	5	1	29
1998	15	9	1	0	0	5	1	31
1999	12	12	4	0	1	1	0	30
2000	6	8	1	0	2	0	0	17
2001	6	8	1	0	2	0	0	17
2002	24	2	7	60	35	3	9	11* 151
2003	50	21	8	15	8	0	6	10* 118
2004	40	8	7	6	6	0	3	9* 79
2005	34	0	6	3	19	0	1	63
Total	334	212	94	84	73	67	51	915
Av.	36.5	23.1	10.3	9.2	8.0	7.3	5.6	100

* Average of unidentified sources per month

Key

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| A. American publications | B. French publications |
| C. British publications | D. Israeli publications |
| E. Arabic publications | F. German publications |
| G. Others ⁵⁸ | |

⁵⁸ This includes Swiss, Italian, Spanish, Japanese, Cuban, or Argentinean publications.

As can be seen from Table 3.8, the largest proportion of translated articles over the years were taken from American publications, contributing to 36.5% of the total translation discourse. This was followed by French sources, which scored even higher in the 1980s, a period when the German and British publications were also highly translated. Since the 1990s, the European newspapers declined, allowing American newspapers to dominate the discourse. Starting in 2002, translators increasingly relied on translations taken from Israeli and off-shore Arab publications, contributing further to the decline in translations from European sources. Minor translation activity can be seen to rely on publications from other countries since 2002. These include publications from South American or other European publications, such as Swiss, Italian or Spanish publications. It can be said that 2002 is considered the boom year for translation activity in *Al-Rai*, whether in quantity or diversity.

Table 3.9 below outlines the main newspapers and magazines that are selected for translation in *Al-Rai*. These publications are categorized by country of origin and arranged into two categories, those which are most translated and less translated. Within the same national category, they are listed from the most translated downwards. For example, within the British category, the *Guardian* comes first, because it is the most translated newspaper while the *Sunday Telegraph* is the least translated. The publications are not arranged temporally, as I speculated that the historical development of each publication is not of paramount importance or relevance for the study. The temporal development of each national category has already been sketched in Table 3.8 above.

Table 3.9 - List of source publications for translation

Publications per nationality	Most frequently Translated newspapers	Less frequently Translated newspapers
American publications	<i>New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor, Counterpunch.com (since 2000), Washington Times, Boston Globe, Philadelphia Inquirer, Herald Tribune</i>	<i>Newsweek, Time, Financial Times, Economist, Chicago Tribune, Wall Street Journal, US News, US Today</i>
French publications	<i>Le Monde, Le Monde Diplomatique, Le Nouvel Observateur, L'Express</i>	<i>Jeune Afrique, Le Figaro, Le Point</i>
British publications	<i>Guardian, Independent</i>	<i>Daily Telegraph, Times, Observer, Sunday Telegraph</i>
German publications	<i>Der Spiegel, Frankfurter Allgemeine</i>	<i>Die Welt, Die Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
Israeli publications	<i>Ha'aretz, Yedioth Aharonoth, Maariv</i>	<i>Jerusalem Post, Jerusalem Report, Hazofe</i>
Offshore Arabic publications	<i>Al-Hayat, The Middle East</i>	

The sources of the original texts have been more diversified in the 1980s in terms of languages and newspapers within the same country. Among the mainstream translated publications (excluding minor publications) in the 1980s, translations in *Al-Rai* incorporated a larger array of languages, such as Hebrew, French, English, German,

Spanish and Italian (respectively in terms of volume). This order is reshuffled in the 1990s and 2000s to almost only English, French and Hebrew⁵⁹. Likewise, while the sources of translations from English were evenly distributed between British and Anglo-American newspapers in the 1980s, the tendency to translate from American newspapers has become more dominant since the 1990s.

Although each newspaper is marked with its distinct orientations, interests and editorial philosophy, from a translation point of view, all these publications share certain features. These newspapers and magazines are among the most respected publications in the world. Most of them have a global dimension and reputation. They have long enjoyed a strong reputation in journalistic integrity and excellence – albeit with some mistakes and/or scandals. They cover news and comment on events that occur worldwide. They exceed the local coverage to encompass international political events, and more specifically issues related to the Middle East. Most of these newspapers have correspondents or have the potential for investigative reporting on events around the world and are known for their high degree of credibility, according to the testimony of scholars and translators alike. Such qualities make the above newspapers optimal and reliable candidates for translators. For the sake of illustration, I will sketch some common features that characterize the bulk of these publications, starting with American publications.

There are many traits that characterize the American publications. The American ‘Media Empire’ as described by Briggs (2004: 441) offers the most far-reaching news available in the world. U.S. media are particularly global. Newspapers like *The New York*

⁵⁹ Some of the articles translated from Israeli newspapers come from the English versions of these newspapers. Whether the translations are contributed by the in-house translators or from Dar El-jaleel, the origin of these publications remains the same.

Times, *The Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *New York Post* are the leading daily circulation newspapers in the USA. They transmit daily for global distribution (Briggs, 2004: 449). The leading newspapers that are translated in *Al-Rai*, are presently *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Washington Times*. In the 1990s, weekly newsmagazines were apparently viewed by translators as a more fertile soil for articles. The three competitive newsmagazines *US News*, *Time* and *Newsweek* were leading in the translation enterprise in the Jordanian newspapers in the 1990s, but are rarely translated in the new millennium.

High rates of circulation do not seem to be the key for qualifying a publication as suitable target for translation, though it is one factor. Political trends of the editorial staff or columnists emerge as a very determinant factor. For instance, the *USA Today* daily, which has one of the highest circulation rates in the American media market, is rarely translated.⁶⁰ On the other hand, *The New York Times*, with less circulation but a winner of 90 Pulitzer prizes, has been – and still is – the most translated newspaper since the 1980s. It is probably the most prominent American daily newspaper, sometimes being referred to as America's “newspaper of record”. *The New York Times* earned its reputation of informing the people about the workings of their government, following the two court cases that it won against Sullivan and the U.S. government in 1964 and 1971 respectively (Briggs, 2004: 445).⁶¹ While Western observers have variable notions of the

⁶⁰ Since 1988, the number of translated articles from *U.S.A. Today* did not exceed thirty articles. *USA Today*, which is famous for its use of graphics, the carefully formulated editorial mix and positive stories, was criticized for lack of serious content (Briggs, 2004: 448).

⁶¹ The court decisions in the two court cases known as *New York Times v. Sullivan* in 1964 and *New York Times v. U.S.* in 1971 (known as the Pentagon Papers case) turned back the effort to bring a civil libel suit against the press. The court decisions reinforced the notion of press freedom in the United States (Briggs, 2004: 445).

political stand of its regular columnists⁶², the Jordanian translators who were interviewed identified it as being conservative (Interviews with Abbadi: 2.6.2003 and Al-Sharqi: 19.8.2005). Furthermore, some op-ed writers are identified as holding pro-Israeli stands. Nonetheless, the regular columnists who operate independently have a mixed range of political orientations. *The Los Angeles Times* – the second-largest metropolitan newspaper in the U.S., and the second most translated – is described by those translators as “centrist and balanced in its views.” *The Christian Science Monitor*, which is not one of the top newspapers, is widely translated because of its interests in Middle Eastern issues. It is particularly well known for its in-depth coverage of the Middle East. Further to its integrity and objectivity, it often publishes factual reports discussing topics under-represented or absent from the mainstream print media. Since the beginning of the century, articles from some Internet websites were commonly translated, especially from the *www.counterpunch.com* and *www.anti-war.com* websites (post-2003).

Many of the world’s most respected newspapers and magazines are published in Western Europe. While the British, French and German news media have long been global leaders in print news during the 1970s and 1980s, their scope of coverage, as general interest publications, has slipped down into more regional concerns since the 1990s. Their retreat coincided with the rise of American media through the Gulf War of 1990-91, especially the *CNN* which occupied a key role in giving live reporting on the war developments not only to citizens in North America, Europe or the Middle East but also to political decision-makers in their offices, who used the channel as a source of information. The retreat in European publications for translation purposes is reflected in

⁶² Some observers claim that the editorial stance at the newspaper is unbalanced, demonstrating a liberal bias while many liberals believed the newspaper’s hard reporting of foreign policy issues to be biased towards conservative trends.

the lapse in the number of articles translated from British, French and German newspapers. When asked to suggest the reason behind the falling number of translations taken from Western European newspapers, translators answered that these publications no more produce the same investigative studies on Middle Eastern issues as they did in the past. This explanation is confirmed by Poole, who believes that the British media, for instance are becoming “more commercial and populist” (in Hafez 2000: 160). He explains that “the tabloid papers in Britain have a different criterion for newsworthiness, focusing more on entertainment than on politics and foreign affairs.” While the United Kingdom is home to some of the most flamboyant and sensationalist tabloids (Fridriksson 2004: 207), it hosts some of the most reputed and respected print media in the world. *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and *The Independent* are among the world’s most respected newspapers. They are free to comment on matters of public interest and are subject to national laws, including libel. British newspapers are almost all financially independent of political parties, although most have political leanings (*Ibid.*).

In general terms, translations from British newspapers are meagre in comparison to translations from French, German or American counterparts. The scope of news coverage by the British newspapers is more limited and national than the American newspapers. As an example, one of the concerns that relates to the Middle East is the issue of Islam. Poole’s study showed that Islam “is more likely to be covered by *The Guardian/Observer*, with 504 articles compared to only 333 in *The Times/Sunday Times*. This, however, does not take into account the tone of the articles but does confirm the more traditional, establishment nature of *The Times*, which is less likely to take an interest in items with less cultural proximity unless they have extreme news value (*Ibid.*).

Poole's findings roughly correspond with the selections of British newspapers made by translators. While the *Guardian* has always had the highest rates of translations at *Al-Rai*, *The Times* is less frequently translated. The *Guardian* still maintains its position as the most-frequently translated British publication. Different translators described the liberal left-of-center newspaper as 'balanced' and holding less aggressive 'anti-Arab' orientations than the *Times*, whose owner, Rupert Murdoch, is known for his partisan media coverage and strong pro-Israeli views. His support of the American invasion in Iraq has made his British and American newspapers beneath consideration for translation, according to translators. This is contrary to *The Guardian* which attracted a significant proportion of anti-war readers during the American invasion on Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003 respectively.⁶³ Fewer translations are selected from the liberal *The Independent* and the weekly *The Economist*. Both qualify for their definitive and diverse presentation of contrasting political opinions on international issues. In general terms the preference of American newspapers over the British is attributed to the "openness of the US culture" in sharp contrast to "the British tendency to political secrecy" (McNair, 1998: 91) which has "an impact on the reporting practices of journalists in both countries. In the United States freedom of speech is guaranteed by the constitution; in Britain there is no 'bill of rights' which can function as a guarantor of journalistic freedom, rather an accumulation of legislative instruments which often lead journalists into difficulties with political elites" (*Ibid.*).

The French newspapers, once rivals of American newspapers in their appeal to the local readers, have recently started to suffer from a "low per-capita readership," according to Fridriksson (2004: 193). Although France hosts one of the world's elite

⁶³ R. Murdoch owns the American *New York Post* and British *Sun* and *Sunday Times*, amongst others.

newspapers, *Le Monde*, the country has one of Western Europe's weakest newspaper markets (*Ibid.*). Hunter (1995) explains how journalistic exposition of corruption in the French government during the 1990s shook the "political elite and the news industry to their roots" (Hunter 1995: 40), increasing difficulty in practicing investigative journalism in the country. Fridriksson explains that recession left most media outlets suffering setbacks in 2002, with national daily press profits falling twenty-one percent (Fridriksson 2004: 193).

On the other hand, France has one of the highest levels of *magazine* readership in the world. The largest volume of translations from French at *Al-Rai* come from the French magazines *L'Express* (right-of-center) and *Le Nouvel Observateur* (social-democratic), followed in sequence by articles from the daily *Le Monde* and the monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*, and less so *Le Figaro* and *Le Point*. While the country's second most popular national daily is *Le Parisien-Aujourd'hui*, the newspaper is almost never translated. The editorial line of *Le Monde*, which was described in the past as centrist-left, may be more appropriately described nowadays as being moderate.

Le Monde Diplomatique offers well-documented analysis and opinion on politics, culture, and current affairs. Its articles are long, well-researched, scholarly, and opinionated. Contrary to *Le Monde*, its editorial line is decidedly left-wing. Through its editorial history, it has often been critical of US foreign policy. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, the most prominent French general information weekly magazine, features extensive coverage of Middle Eastern political and cultural issues. It is noted for its in-depth treatment of the main issues of the day. It has been described as "the French intellectuals' parish magazine." *Le Nouvel Observateur's* Charter for 2004, for instance, affirms that

“the aim of every article is to present facts to the readers with the utmost rigour and honesty. Every piece of information must be double-sourced and checked.” The same principles, I am sure, apply to many other professional publications.

The interviewed translators seem to be cognizant of the investigative potentials of the newspapers they translate and become sensitive towards changes in editorial policies in these publications over their years of experience. *Al-Rai* translator Mahmoud Barhoum mentioned as an example the American violations of human rights at Abu-Ghraib prison in Iraq in 2004. He explained that while the French newspapers took the lead in exposing the American army’s mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners, it was the American newspapers that investigated the issue thoroughly and made it into front page news. Barhoum mentioned that the part-time French translator at *Al-Rai* attempted to find thorough investigations in the French print media on the subject only to find articles that didn’t meet expectations on the topic. Thus, most articles translated on this subject were taken from American newspapers. However, in spite of the decline in number of translations taken from French publications, the parallel growth and perpetuation of the French discourse in Jordan shows how the French cultural influence, dating back to the colonial era at the beginning of the twentieth century, has a deeper cultural impact than the British one.

The same rhythm of decline is taking place with the German publications. Germany’s newspapers have declined in number and circulation since the 1990s (Fridriksson, 2004: 195). While German newspapers had the highest rate of newspapers translated in the 1980s, German newspapers have rarely been referenced here, especially over the last few years. Hafez explains (2001: 188) that it was in 1967 that the German

public opinion started to change its perspective in the Middle East regarding it as a source of political “hard news” only, an area which had inspired romantic imagination now turned into a geopolitical “hot spot.” Because “conflict” is an important factor determining German attention, Israel- Palestine and Iraq were to the German media the homes of international conflicts. Such view attracted investigation into the Middle Eastern conflicts (*Ibid.*: 193). The majority of the German articles come from the left-wing liberal *Der Spiegel*, followed by the conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* then the liberal *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. These publications are the most influential ‘papers of record’ in Germany.

While *Die Stern* is widely regarded as a liberal and leading daily newspaper, it has rarely been translated. *Der Spiegel*, Germany’s biggest and most influential weekly magazine, accounts for almost 90% of translations from German. It is similar in style and presentation to American newsmagazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, but with long, in-depth articles. It is known in Germany for its distinctive, academic writing style and its incredible heft. The influence that the magazine enjoys is due to the moral authority that was established by notable pieces of investigative journalism during the early years and reinforced by a number of impressive scoops during the 1980s.

While Spanish newspapers are rarely translated, most of what is translated comes from the leader Spanish newspaper *El-Pais*. The translations from languages such as Spanish, Japanese or Russian are normally individual contributions by members of the public. As these languages are not commonly translated, they do not form the *norm* in translation activity in the Jordanian press. Translations from Italian are the norm in *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*, due to the initiative of translator Badi’ Abu-Eideh, who studied Political

Science in Italy and happened to be recruited by the newspaper because of his language skills. His translations are mostly taken from *Il Manifesto* and less from the elite *La Repubblica*, or the serious industry leader *Il Corriere della Sera* which both have the highest circulating rates in Italy. The choice of *Il Manifesto* corresponds with the creative tendency of the *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*, which incessantly tries to be different from the other dailies. *Il Manifesto* is famous for its bitter and sarcastic headlines. It is regarded almost unanimously as a notable example of creative and clever journalism, according to Abu-Eideh (Interview: 17.8.2005). Translations from South American, African or East Asian newspapers are close to nil. However, there have been signs during the last two years that attempts are being made to redress this in translation, probably as a part of *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*'s policy for expansion and diversity.

Another basic factor for the selections of articles from Western newspapers is the degree of freedom of the press that these societies enjoy. For instance, The American press is arguably the freest in the world. Abdul-Wahab Zgailat, chief editor of *Al-Rai* averred that there is no question that the American press exceeds its European counterpart in the practice of freedom of speech. The perception of the United States as a leading state for freedom of speech is also confirmed by the public, as Table 3.3 in section 3.1 above shows. Briggs attributes this freedom "to the watchdog function of the American press, warily guarding the democracy against abuse and corruption in government, business, and society, and protected by the guarantees of the First Amendment of the Constitution, ensuring freedom of speech and of the press" (2004: 442). But most of all, the media system thriving in a liberal capitalist society allows the media to articulate the widest and most diverse range of expression and intellectual

freedom, necessary for public debate and tolerance towards differences in opinions. Liberal pluralism, as judged by McNair “remains to this day the preferred model of how journalism works in advanced capitalist societies” (McNair 1998: 21). Fridriksson (2004: 181) states that European nations rank among those with the highest levels of press freedom. However, newspaper circulation is on the decline overall in Western Europe. This decline caused translation activity to be redirected from the diverse and free press of Western Europe to the Anglo-American liberal pluralistic press of the United States since the 1990s.

Starting in 2002, *Al-Rai* redirected part of its translation activity to the Israeli and off-shore newspapers, though not to the decline of translations from American newspapers. The American newspapers still rank on top of the most translated publications. However, the translation volume witnessed a boom, by attracting new sources of articles. This shift was prompted by three factors. The first is the rising Jordanian dissent vis-à-vis the American (government) interference in the Middle East, which is controversially a major reason why the American publications abound with stories relevant to the Middle East. Briggs states that American journalists feel that “in the current Bush administration [...] they seem more inclined to keep the press under control now during this new era of war against terrorism” (Briggs 2004: 443). So alternative ‘disinterested’ or less involved but more informed opinions were sought by the local press. Second, the boycott imposed by the Jordanian government on some off-shore newspapers, which intermittently started in the mid 1990s came to an end. Translators found these articles as new voices that can substitute for American voices, and at the same time reflect writers’ approaches that come from a similar mindset as the

Jordanian editors and public, particularly in respect to pan-Arab issues. These writers tend to approach political issues from a more analogous perspective, ideologically speaking. Furthermore, some writings came in Arabic, so no translation was needed. Third, the proliferation of writings from Israeli publications is the result of the escalating political events that took place in Israel/Palestine since the second Intifada in 2000. Even with the quantitative decline of articles from European publications, articles from European sources are still incorporated, though on a narrower scale, so as to create a more balanced and diversified approach to the interpretation of events on the pages of the Jordanian newspapers.

Within the context of Arab publications, translation activity is confined to the two Lebanese offshore publications *Al-Hayat* (Life) and *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (The Middle East), publishing in both Arabic and English. Articles are imported in both languages. When they come in English, they are translated especially if they are written by European writers such as Patrick Seale, a columnist at *Al-Hayat* who is widely translated. The two newspapers are located in London, benefiting from the freedom of the press which prevails in Europe. These newspapers have a pan-Arab readership.

Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, which started in 1977 under the editorial leadership of Jihad Al-Khazen, a prominent and experienced Lebanese journalist, has the widest circulation amongst off-shore publications. The daily carries a moderate conservative editorial line. *Al-Hayat*, which was established in 1988 claims to be more independent of local politics or restrictions placed on local papers. Rugh (2004: 171) states that the newspaper “has gained a special place in Arab media as a favorite of Arab intellectuals throughout the region for its thoughtful editorials, which present issues from a wide variety of

perspectives. Readers tend to seek it out for its views more than for its news, although *Al-Hayat* also does carry a full menu of news” Its editorial line often reflects Arab nationalist views. Many observers agree that both newspapers have good editorials, but that *Al-Hayat* is more liberal than *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*. Both newspapers are quite critical of the U.S. Middle East policy, albeit with different “style and tone”, as *Al-Hayat*’s criticisms are “quite strong, while those in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* are often tempered with reference to American rationales” (Rugh 2004: 176). The significance of these newspapers lies in their relative independence from Arab government influences and controls, and their status as alternative publications that provide in-depth reporting from a perspective different than the West’s.

The parameter of exclusion is important here. There are around eleven foreign Arab publications. But only the previous two are translated. Translators’ visions do not have to correspond to the government’s stand towards any given newspaper. For example, the following magazines and newspapers were not allowed into Jordan at different times during the last decade. Such newspapers are:

- *Al-Quds Al-Arabi* (The Arab Jerusalem)
- *Al-Hayat* (Life)
- *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (The Middle East)
- *Al-Mihwar Al-Arabi* (The Arab Axe)
- *Al-Arab Times* (as is)
- An Israeli magazine specialized in the 1948 region Arabs (name not specified) (*Al-Rai* 26.5.2005)

In the survey that was conducted by the Centre for the Protection of Journalists in May 2005, 19.8% of the journalists believed that some newspapers or magazines were not allowed into Jordan during 2004 in comparison to 28.1% who answered in the negative, while 52.1% answered “I don’t know”. These newspapers and magazines have

a strong critical attitude, varying to different degrees, towards many Arab leaderships and policies. *Al-Quds Al-Arabi*, for example, is very critical of the Arab leadership and is mainly concerned with issues related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Within the Israeli publications, *Haaretz* accounts for almost half the translations (46%), followed by *Yedioth Aharonoth* (33%) and *Maariv* (20%). *Hazofe* and *The Jerusalem Post* are rarely translated. *Haaretz* is an independent daily with a broadly liberal outlook both on domestic issues and on international affairs. According to its charter⁶⁴, it is perhaps best known for its op-ed page, where its senior columnists – among them some of Israel's leading commentators and analysts – reflect on current events. *Haaretz* plays an important role in the shaping of public opinion and is read with care in government and decision-making circles.⁶⁵ Translators view it as balanced and centrist. They also view *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Maariv* to be very commercial and bearing all types of political affiliations. *Hazofe* is rarely translated because of its extreme religious right-wing opinions, unless the newspaper bears articles that criticize Israeli internal policies. *The Jerusalem Post* is not widely translated because, according to translators, it does not carry in-depth reporting on current events.

One crucial element that enhances the favorable trend towards American and Israeli newspapers is the direct involvement of the two governments in the regional political conflicts and development of events in the Middle East. Being leading commentators on their states' policies, the American and Israeli publications provide translators with firsthand data and interpretations on policies involved. This is why many studies made by political pundits who once participated in the American policy-making

⁶⁴ As per its website: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/>

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

were translated. These include writings of Henry Kissinger, Donald Rumsfeld, Condoleezza Rice, in addition to the many reports issued by the Secretary of Defense or Foreign Affairs.

The main aforementioned source publications represent some of the most prominent authorities in the print media. The existence as well as the absence of other options is crucial. For instance, a few articles are taken from Palestinian newspapers, even though the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is at the top of the concerns addressed to by the Jordanian media. One reason is the newspapers' inadequacy to provide the type of data that the audience is looking for. The Palestinian newspapers resemble the Jordanian newspapers in their shortage of investigative techniques and bear similar attitudes and frames of thought as the Jordanian newspapers. They do not stand as optimal candidates for translation. This is significant as it confirms that translators are after what they regard to be *different* rather than what is similar.

As can be seen from the choices made by translators, some options are based on diversity, such as the oscillation between left-, right-wing or centre editorial line. Others are made on the basis of the depth of investigation into a given area, such as the *Der Spiegel* and *Le Nouvel Observateur*. Tabloid publications like the British *Sun* are excluded, as they use the technique of *infotainment* rather than rational information. In other instances, the interest in Middle Eastern issues is a differential factor as in the case of the <http://www.anti-war.com> website. While the majority of articles would normally hold a pro-Arab attitude or at least neutral attitudes regarding Middle Eastern issues, some articles are chosen for their anti-Arab stance. The diversity maintained by opting

for pro- and anti-Arab attitudes affect the translation strategies opted for by translators at the textual and discourse levels.

3.2. Opinion writers

Further to the newspapers, there seems to be a preference to translate articles written by a designated set of columnists, editorialists and writers. By asking translators at various press institutions about the criteria for selecting such writers, they agreed that they rely on two main characteristics; namely, professionalism and authority. Professionalism of the writer is related to the credibility of information included in the article. According to local translators, well-established Western writers safeguard against risking the loss of their credibility by commenting on events that they do not guarantee to be credible.

From an information point of view, there are two types of opinion: informed opinion and uninformed opinion. Most writers translated belong to the first category. In typical Western media, writers base their opinions on reliable information and extensive reporting. Because their institutions possess the capacities for newsgathering and because there is a wider access to information and a wider range of freedom of speech, writers tend to base their writings on accurate data. The situation is different in the Jordanian setting in the sense that the limited access to or use of information causes some articles that lack sufficient data to be to a certain extent superficial rather than sophisticated. Typically a considerable portion of the commentaries of a newspaper is regarded by the audience with some measure of skepticism, due to the lack of information (Rugh 2004: 21). Furthermore, some information is too sensitive to comment on by the local writers.

Commentary on such data is left to foreign writers and introduced to the public through translation.

From the point of view of media and communication studies, different types of “opinion leaders” can be systematized. The first type is the journalist as an opinion leader of society and public opinion (Hafez, Horner and Klemm⁵ 2000). The basic idea is that some journalists hold key positions in public communication. Thus these journalists have a large potential to influence and at times even determine the “agenda” of public debates (within the “agenda-setting” hypothesis) and the argumentative “frames” of every single theme. A second type of opinion leader shapes opinions *within* the profession of journalism. These inner-journalistic opinion leaders are individual journalists or media institutions who influence other journalists or the coverage of news in other media. Analysis of media output done by some scholars reveals that in many cases the media are part of a “media discourse” of themes and frames interacting with each other (Hafez, Horner and Klemm (2000: 282-3). The two types of opinion leaders are manifest in the translation discourse. As a matter of fact, it may not be an exaggeration to hypothesize that the ultimate goal behind the importation of discourse through translation is to introduce discourse that can steer the local discourse.

The genuine interest in information, combined with the ambition of elevating standards of local writing to their Western counterpart, has paved the way to importing well-written pieces of writing. Translators turn to what can be considered as products (or discourse) by ‘elite’ writers. Professionalism yields more accountability and veracity to the text. Under the communication development perspective, the purpose is to have Jordanian writers discern the differences between Western and local codes of writing, to

find out how a frame of discourse within the text typology of commentary obtains authority. There are clearly knowledgeable sources. But some are routinely assumed to be more reliable and authoritative sources than others. Typical options are made through the choice of foreign texts that have achieved canonical status in the source culture. The cultural authority of the writer allows the text to be considered as a value worthy candidate.

Let us have a look at the most-widely translated writers in Western publications. The list of about a thousand writers is based on the body of articles that I have gathered from 1989-2005. The number of writers exceeds a hundred. Given the large number of writers, I pinned the names down in terms of frequency of translation and came up with the following list, which represents a small fraction of the actual number of writers translated. The names below are the most-frequently translated authors, arranged according to nationality. They are also arranged within each category according to the frequency of translation in descending order. The results are presented in Table (3.10).

**Table 3.10 - Top writers whose articles are translated
in *Al-Rai* from 1989 – 2005**

Newspapers	Columnists/writers
American newspapers	Paul Krugman, Thomas Friedman, Bob Herbert, Alexander Cockburn, Patrick Cockburn, Robert Scheer, Maureen Dawd, Paul Kraig Roberts, Jim Hoagland, William Safire, William Bfaff, Charley Reese, Ben Lynfield, James Carol, Nicholas Kristof, Michael Jansen, David Hoffman, Serge Schmemann, Clyde Haberman, James Zogby, Carel Murphy, Itan Pruner

French newspapers	Vincent Hego, Bernard Guetta, Victor Sigleman, Mark Epstein, Henri Gershon, Jean Daniel, Sylvin Pasquier, K.S. Karol, Henri Karmel, Francoise Monier, Laurent Bigar, Michel four, Alan Lobeau, Françoise Schlosser, yves Caillou, Ignacio Ramonet, Bernard Locent, Jean Lessieur, Alain Loyo
British newspapers	Robert Fiske, Rory Carroll, Jonathan Steele, Sir Cyril Townsend, Ian Black, Sarah Helm, David Hirst
German newspapers	Articles do not carry a byline ⁶⁶
Hebrew newspapers	Aluf Benn, Ben Kaspit, Uri Avnery, Gidoun Levy, Ze'ev Schiff, Akiva Eldar, Yaron London, Guy Yakhor, Uzi Benziman, Shlomo Gazet
Offshore Arabic newspapers	Abdel Wahab Badrakhan, Patrick Seale, Abdullah Eskandar, Hazem Saghie, Jihad El Khazen, Abdul-Munem Saeed

What makes the above names the most widely-translated writers? First of all, these writers are professional writers, and are viewed as the “elite” in their home world of journalism, and by the Jordanian public. Paul Krugman, for instance, is rated by the *Washington Monthly* to be “the most important political columnist in America” rendering him as “almost alone in analyzing the most important story in politics in recent years.”⁶⁷ Many writers have long years of expertise in the field of journalism, and many of them are top-notch specialists in their areas of specialization, which would in many cases be related to Middle Eastern issues. For instance, the American journalist Clyde Haberman, who was widely translated in the mid-1990s, was the *New York Times*’ correspondent in Jerusalem from 1991 to 1995. Many other writers started their journalistic lives as

⁶⁶ a byline is the name of the writer of the article, sometimes accompanied by the position of the writer, mostly placed between the headline and the text.

⁶⁷ According to www.wikipedia.org

correspondents in the Middle East, such as Thomas Friedman, Peter Arnett, rendering them reliable eye-witnesses and references in Middle Eastern issues. The American veteran war correspondent Peter Arnett, for example, has gained popularity amongst the Jordanian public upon his coverage of the Gulf war in 1991 and the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. The sheer fact that he was dismissed from the NBC station for stating his personal views on the American invasion – saying that the war has failed – yielded him even more popularity. His book “Live from the Battlefield” was translated and published in 17 episodes in *Al-Rai* in 1994.

But it is still the case that many writers are appreciated, being positioned in certain value and ideological systems, for their interpretive frameworks. Translators tend to select writers whom they feel culturally or politically close to, or writers who confirm their world views. It is easier to associate with the writers who broadly mobilize similar discourses as oneself. The Code of Practice (2003) sketched by translators at *Addustour*, for instance, specifies that there is a tendency amongst translators to choose the writers whom translators feel sympathize with their viewpoints. One of the most translated and admired writers within the Jordanian public is British writer Robert Fiske, a well known *Independent* syndicated columnist and veteran war correspondent. He is widely cited on Middle Eastern issues, as he covered, as an eyewitness correspondent, the Iranian revolution, the Iran-Iraq war, the Gulf war, the conflict in Algeria, the Lebanese civil war, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Fiske was one of a few Western journalists to have interviewed Osama Bin Laden, the Al Qaida leader, three times. While Bin Laden praised Fisk's reporting as being “neutral”, he was widely criticized by many Americans as a result of his critical reporting of US and Israeli policy in the Middle-East (*Ibid.*).

Another example is Uri Avnery, the Israeli peace activist and journalist. As a founder of Gush Shalom (The Peace Bloc), a left-wing peace activist group, he objects to what the group perceives as the illegal Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This attitude led him to be one of the most respected writers.

However, many interviewed translators confirm that the political orientations of some writers do not appeal to translators or readers, or do not conform to the belief system of the Jordanian public. Nevertheless, on occasion the rhetoric and the variable perspective of the article being translated renders the article an “excellent discourse to read” (Barhoum; Interview: 18.6.2004). One case in point is *the New York Times* op-ed columnist Thomas Friedman, whom most translators have reservations against, for his forthright anti-Arab and pro-Israeli attitude. Yet, he is one of the most translated writers. Furthermore, one of his books *The Lexus and Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* was translated by in-house translators at *Al-Rai* and published in 2000 in episodes in the paper.

The translation policy is geared towards covering an array of viewpoints. Let us take the example of writers in *the New York Times*. The 2005 roster of regular columnists from the op-ed pages in terms of their political orientations range from left to right. Maureen Dowd, Paul Krugman, and Bob Herbert are categorized as being on the *left*, Nicholas Kristof in the *center-left*, Thomas Friedman in the *center*, David Brooks and John Tierney in the center-right (The New York Times Roster: 2005). This variety contributes to having eight out of the top most translated writers to be regular op-ed columnists at the *New York Times*.

3.3. Opinion Articles

The selection of the potential texts to be translated is more often than not journalistically-determined. The potential texts optimally fulfill certain features that are customarily known in media studies as *news values*. News values are the values or factors that determine the newsworthiness of news (deWerth-Pallmeyer 1997: 35). They constitute the professional codes used in the selection, construction, and presentation of news stories produced in the press. Although these values are set to describe the category of news items, they can also be applied to the translated commentary in the journalistic environment since they strongly determine selection parameters of the translated texts themselves, though in variable degrees. What are considered aesthetic values in literature roughly correspond to journalistic values in the press. But how does this happen?

The concept of news is seen to be elusive (de Beer 2004: 163). No consensus has been reached on a definition of the term. Many media scholars believe news is made or manufactured (Cohen and Young 1973; Tuchman 1978). Others describe how news is decided upon (Gans 1979) or selected (Epstein 1981). But some other scholars have searched for the fundamental principles underlying news, including issues such as *news value* and *news criteria* (Cohen and Young 1973). According to de Beer, most scholars see *news* as new information of topical interest (de Beer 2004: 164). Considering that translated texts form part and parcel of the newspaper contents, one point where the two text types of news items and commentary meet is the information load or “the idea” that is carried through the messages in each type of discourse. *The Washington Post Deskbook on Style* acknowledges that the line between fact and opinion is not easily drawn, stating that “editorial and opinion pages contain factual material and the news pages of any

newspaper contain statements that the law regards as opinion” (Lippman 1989: 15). Both genres are intended to influence the collective perceptions of readers. And the selection of articles belonging to both is made on behalf of the readers.

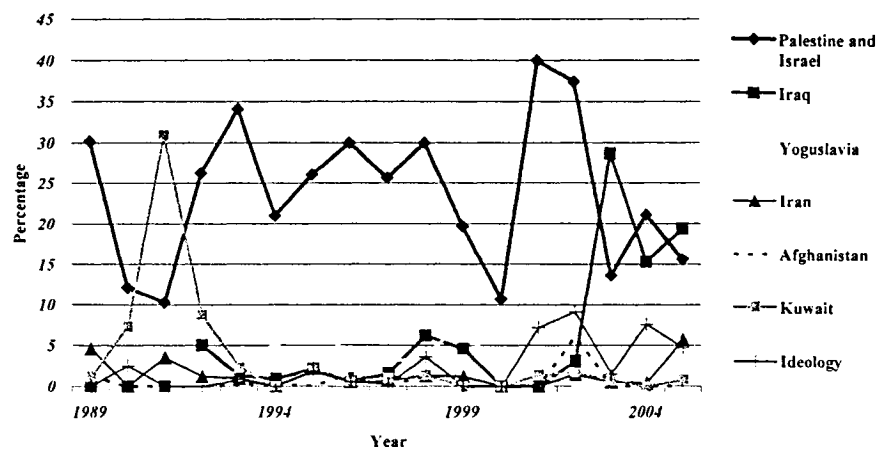
Journalism is by default an account, and a selective one. Therefore the ‘news items’ constitute the core of the profession. Of the endless events that occur around the world, only a very tiny portion becomes salient as “potential news stories” (Hall 1973: 181). Of this small portion, a smaller fraction is attended to in translation. News values define which events, of all those happening at any time in the world, will be selected for coverage. These news values were first introduced by Galtung and Ruge (1965), but were taken over later by many journalists and scholars such as Itule and Anderson (1987), Harriss, Leiter and Johnson (1992), and deWerth-Pallmeyer (1997), amongst others. They have identified several key criteria of news values which are still operative.

4. News values

Galtung and Ruge (1965) identified nine elements that make up news values. These are *time span*, *intensity*, *clarity*, *cultural proximity*, *consonance*, *unexpectedness*, *continuity*, *composition*, and *sociocultural* values. Galtung and Ruge explain that these values are culture-free “in the sense we do not expect them to vary significantly with variations in human culture” (1965: 68). This remark completely ignores the role of audience in the determination of these values, since news values are either market- or institution- or audience-determined. Harriss, Leiter and Johnson (1977: 27-33), on the other hand, identified the intrinsic characteristics of news values as *conflict*, *progress*, *disaster*, *consequence*, *prominence*, and *novelty*.

Itule and Anderson's *News Writing and Reporting for Today's Media* (1987) laid out six factors by which journalists are trained to identify news and distinguish news from all other happenings. These values are timeliness, proximity, conflict, eminence (prominence), consequence (or impact), and human interest. As variable as some of the scholars' approaches to news values are, some of them coincide, such as the values of prominence/eminence, unexpectedness/novelty, and time span/timeliness. However, since news values do not comprise a core issue in my study, I will sketch those values that are related to the selection strategies of texts for translation. Since there are varied approaches to news values, I will use de Werth-Pallmeyer's approach which roughly comprises the outcome of the earlier scholars' studies. These values are intended by scholars to describe 'news articles'. However, since I will be using the values for a different text type than the ones they are intended for, I will refer to these 'news values' as "journalistic values" whenever I relate them to commentary. In order to explain the relationship between translation and these journalistic values, I isolated major events that were covered through translation between 1989 and 2005 and presented them in Figure 3.1 (below).

Figure 3-1 Translations per major conflicts



1. *Timeliness* refers to whether the event is a recent development or old news (deWerth-Pallmeyer 1997: 37). *Timely* suggests that the news audience has a strong appetite for knowing the latest details in a breaking story and quickly tires of old news. News is by default timely. Concurrently, commentary on events is also timely, or else it will lose its function. Translated articles comment on day-to-day events and they customarily appear within a few days following the events. Translation concurs with breaking events. The figure 3.1 (above) shows that periods with the highest percentages of translations coincide with the times when major political events occur. For instance, in 1991 most commentaries were on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the Gulf war. In 2003, the highest percentage of translations was commentary on the American invasion of Iraq. Ideological issues have started to become a major subject since 2001, following the attacks on the World Trade Center in September 2001. Translations of articles discussing political developments in Iran started gaining more coverage in 2005, with the rising debates on Iran's nuclear capacity.

The difference between the translations of articles and translations of books that appear in the Jordanian press can be seen in terms of timeliness. Books lack this element, while articles must be timely. It is true that books are accounts of events that are not, perhaps out-of-date, but they are less up-to-date, and tend to be long-term studies. Books do not comment on single events, while the function of articles is to comment on single incidents or developments of incidents. The journalistic values that can give the translated books their significance are conflict and proximity.

2. *Conflict* refers to whether a given issue “is developing, or if it has been resolved” (deWerth-Pallmeyer 1997: 49). When news people talk about the news value of conflict, they typically are referring to a *tension* between two clear sides. The majority of texts translated in *Al-Rai* are based on conflicts that occur around the world. Studies made by communication scholars show that wars make big stories. Audiences are always captivated by war stories and they crave information on wars (deWerth-Pallmeyer 1997: 50). Figure 3-1 above shows that the events that took the lead in translation coincided with ‘conflicts’, like the conflict in Yugoslavia, or Afghanistan. ‘Ideology’, which refers to the articles that dealt with ideological issues, is represented in the above figure, just because it shows how ideological conflicts took more space in the commentary after 11.9.2001 attacks on the World Trade Centre. Ideology in this case represented a conflict. The issue of tension between two or more sides makes non-partisanship an important ethic to maintain. The interviewed translators believe they must be especially careful and clearly non-partisan so as not to alienate audience members and maintain the ethic of neutrality. However, there are many instances where translators exhibited some degree of partisanship. The two values of conflict and timeliness normally coincide when the

translator makes his/her decision on texts. When more conflicts and clashes occur around the world, the number of translations increased. At the same time, the source publications selected depended on which of these publications were most interested in the topic of conflict and the degree of in-depth analysis and investigation they expended on the topic. Because the conflicts in the Middle East are mostly related to the United States, it is mostly American newspapers that are selected as sources for translations.

3. *Proximity* is seen in terms of 'zoning.' It refers to whether the story is relevant to Jordanian readers or not. Modern journalists are faced with the perception that their audiences are ultimately "concerned with the ultraproximate (what happens in their own families and neighborhoods), rather than just the proximate (nearby)" (deWerth-Pallmeyer 1997: 43). While translation, being concerned with political conflicts, attempts to cover events on a global level, it manifests a tendency to focus on more regional conflicts. The ethnic clashes in Iraq, for instance, will outstrip the ethnic clashes in Uganda and Burundi. However, the new technologies enabled media institutions to share events occurring far away, and translators look for strategies to tie the outside world to the proximate world of their audience members. For instance, the focus on issues related to the United States is driven by its direct involvement in the Middle East. This explains why translations on topics related to the United States account for 25% of the total translation body, coming next to issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict which account for 30% of all translations that appeared in *Al-Rai*.

Thus, proximity implies that the audience will be more concerned with personally relevant news, rather than cosmopolitan news. Generally speaking, the quantitative portion of the study shows that since the onset, translation has always covered issues

related to the Arab World, most importantly the Arab-Israeli conflict. Badi' Abu-Eideh, an Italian-Arab translator from *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*, mentions that he has always set a number of priorities for his selection of topics for translation. He puts on top of the hierarchy the Palestinian and the Iraqi issues. Next in the chain come issues related to other regional conflicts in the Arab World, then Afghanistan and the Yugoslavian issues, and finally other cosmopolitan and global conflicts. He justifies his hierarchization on the grounds that this is how audience members prioritize their interests (Interview: May 2005). One interesting remark on the priorities made by Abu-Eideh is the associations established by classifying the Afghani and Yugoslavian issues within a separate category, isolated from – rather than included – within the global issues category. This can be interpreted, on behalf of the translator, in terms of religion and ideology. Yugoslavia was torn by religious and ethnic clashes in the 1990s. Afghanistan is an Islamic country which was invaded by the United States. The two conflicts relate to the ideological frames that construct the very concerns of the local readers, rendering the conflicts in the two countries as proximate, rather than geographically distant. Editors, de-Werth-Pallmeyer (1997: 49) asserts, believe that their audience is most attracted to news that happens nearby. Therefore, it is very likely for translators to rely on stories concerning Israel/Palestine, for instance, because Palestinians represent the largest single block of readers in Jordan, demographically speaking.

4. *Eminence* or *prominence* refers to whether noteworthy people are involved, as prominence adds significance to a story. Prominence is listed as a key news value. Strentz argues that “some sources can “make” news, even without real cause as well-established sources may be sought for comment on tangential issues” (1989:105). However,

prominence need not refer only to famous people, but also to those who represent large constituencies or organizations. In translation, this is evident in the selection strategies of authors who, as shown in section 3.2. above, are chosen according to their prominence and the authority they enjoy in virtue of their positions. For instance, articles written by politicians and pundits would make the texts more influential, since they represent informed judgments of people (who are or were once) in authority.

However, translations do not customarily focus on prominent people as an object of comment as much as they do on conflicts. But at times prominence plays a role in whetting the interest of readers by shifting focus from events to the characters involved in the events. This is most clearly done in headlines. A case in point is an article written by Alexander Cockburn and published on the *Counterpunch.com* website on 18.12.2004 under the title 'From Kobe Bryant to Uncle Sam: Why they hated Gary Webb.' The translation of the title came in *Al-Rai* on 27.12.2004 as 'سي.آي. ايه' والصحافة الأميركية (The CIA and the American media). The name of the American journalist Gary Webb (who committed suicide) is not known to the Jordanian public. However, since the article dealt with how harassment by the CIA led to Webb's suicide, the title redirected the focus to the CIA, a more prominent institution that Jordanians are familiar with.

5. *Impact (or consequence)* relates to the effect a story has on readers. It refers to events that are likely to affect many people (Mencher: 1981). Impact and interest are the two news values perhaps most closely linked to the audience. When translators think about tailoring their choices to their audience, they very often focus on these two news values. For instance, in 2005, the Jordanian readers were more interested in learning about the

developments in the investigation committee of the Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Al-Hariri who was assassinated in Lebanon in 14.2.2005 than to learn about the presidential elections in Egypt, which ran in July 2005. Although the two events were regional rather than local, the assassination of Al-Hariri formed a focal point for the readers because of its impact, while the results of elections in Egypt were almost anticipated by the public and were not seen to have grass-root impacts on the political situation in Egypt. While a few articles concerning the elections in Egypt were translated, for months in 2005 full pages were dedicated to the assassination of Al-Hariri, because of the colossal consequences of the event on the entire region, as it involved accusations of the involvement of Syria and a potential international intervention against Syria led by the United States, a development that could have had direct impact on Jordan. Furthermore, the American invasion of Iraq was equated to the colonial expansion schemes of Europe to the Mesopotamia in the beginning of the twentieth century and has been widely conflated with the American invasion of Vietnam in a wide array of translated texts.

6. *Human interest* is the news value most closely associated with the audience. It refers to whether the commentary contains unique, interesting elements to the readers. The audience has a natural curiosity about a range of topics. Therefore, at times, conflict is used, and the dramatic elements of a story are heightened to entice audience interest. Translators offer the stories that can keep the readers looking for more. Interest begins with the titling of the articles. A reader can decide whether s/he will read a given article by judging from the title whether the content will be of direct interest to him/her. Therefore, translators endeavour to shift the focus in the titles from what can be of concern to readers in their source environments to what is of interest to the local readers.

Take the example of Thomas Friedman's article "No Mullah Left Behind" which was published in *The New York Times* on 13.2.2005". The translation held the title "أولويات" (Bush's mad priorities). This title not only draws more attention to Bush, the American president (using sensational techniques), but it also drives attention from the core of the subject, which deals with Iran and the mullahs there. This shift has very strong implications in the sense that the translator recognizes that issues related to the United States might be more of 'interest' to the Jordanian reader than issues related to Iran, which in turn might be of more interest to the American reader. Again, as mentioned earlier, the involvement of the US in the Middle East makes it of importance and proximity, therefore of interest, to Jordanian readers.

7. DeWerth-Pallmeyer adds *importance* as a seventh value (1997: 70). Importance refers to the professional orientation of what is conceived to be important for readers. Many journalists and press organizations are motivated by the notion that what they are doing is generating important information for the audience. A broader goal for translators is to share with their audience what they deem to be important for them. Since different cultures understand and prioritize events differently, translators arrange events in importance hierarchically as much as they prioritize the news values, so that for instance proximity becomes more important than conflict. But the value of importance does not function in isolation from interest and impact. For instance, why would articles related to Afghanistan be important to the Jordanian public? This issue is not inherently of immediate *interest* for the Jordanian public, as it is not *proximate*. The article can be rendered important if it is combined with *impact* value. Therefore, translators look for articles that can make an important story equally *interesting*. The situation in Afghanistan

becomes proximate and of direct impact to the Jordanian public when the issue of American imperialism is highlighted, and when the conflict in Afghanistan starts to overshadow the situation in the Middle East. Anticipations about the American Administration's subsequent intervention in Iraq were made known to the Jordanian public through translations. In January 2002, while the war against Afghanistan was coming to an end, some articles anticipated the American intervention in Iraq as manifested in their titles 'The American strike against Iraq [...] is deferred' (from *The Sunday Telegraph*) on 3.1.2002, or "Afghanistan is only the beginning" (from *The Economist*) on 16.1.2002, or "focusing on Iraq is the goal of the next stage" which was written by "Henri Kissinger" and published in *Al-Rai* on 15.1.2002. In the latter example, even the value of prominence was crucial, since the anticipated policy was based on an assessment of the political situation made by a top-notch specialist in American foreign policy, who was once a Secretary of State in the American Administration. Thus, the selected articles were meant to draw the public's attention to the threats elicited by the war in Afghanistan. Due to their elevated rank in news organizations, these three news values (interest, impact and importance) function with a kind of "master value" status (deWerth-Pallmeyer 1997: 75).

De Werth-Pallmeyer argues that while interest is clearly tied to a marketing orientation, importance most clearly reflects journalists' professional values. Impact is used as a means for tying interest and importance together. That is, as a means for resolving the tension between professional values that prompt them to tell their audience what they ought to know and a marketing orientation that prompts them to tell their audience what they want to know, that is whether they ought to focus on entertaining

their audience or on what they deem to be important and necessary for their audience (Ibid.: 59-60). Translators seem to resolve this tension by siding with the value of importance rather than interest, being aware of their social responsibility towards the audience (Interview with Aziziyya: 18.6.2004). They aim at giving the audience what they feel is important to them. At the same time, the shifts made in headlines of articles are meant to redirect the readers' attention from what can be perceived as important to the source audience, to what they see as interesting to the local readers. Typically, translators offer a mix of what they see as important and what they think their audiences will find to be either interesting or of immediate relevance. When they focus on impact, they often provide information that is important and interesting at the same time. Translators often learn to couch their arguments in terms of the balance between interest and importance. The higher the event scores on all or a number of these values, the more likely it is to be translated. For instance, because it fulfills the values of conflict, timeliness, proximity, impact and importance, the Arab-Israeli conflict, a half-century old conflict, with daily breaking events, forms one of the top concerns that are treated in translation, especially for a Palestinian-majority population.

Translation in the press clearly manifests the deeper cultural dependency of local institutions on the Western world, especially with increasing American presence. Regardless of the changes in the technical elements of the journalistic processes, or news values, the translated commentary helps satiate people's informational hunger for getting more in-depth perceptions of world events. While Jordan is not a rich country, it shows a high interest in obtaining the latest technologies that are produced in international markets. It is modest in its media physical infrastructure. In this sense Jordan belongs to

the have-not countries. However, determined to be within the ranks of the countries delving into the globalized market, the diversity of its intellectual ambitions seek to make it an intellectually have-country.

Chapter four

Translation as discourse

1. Translation as an exchange of opinions

Having mapped the translation activity in the press, we can now move from the macro-level findings into the micro-level analysis of options translators are likely to have chosen. At this stage, we can explain the decisions that translators make, as the macro-level analysis is not sufficient to explain in detail all the social functions of translation. But before indulging in this type of analysis, a study of the journalistic writing system in the Jordanian press is necessary to assess the significance of translation. We need to ask ourselves whether there is some 'logic' in the way ideological evaluations inherent in soft-news tend to manifest themselves in the translation discourse in order to see if there are some general principles that may be derived from analyzing the translation discourse. These questions are part of a larger question: How are cultural practices and ideological paradigms transformed into and made manifest in discourses and how do they govern the translational practices? The answer to these questions will enable us to understand the role of translation as an intercultural mediation process within the globalization paradigm.

This chapter is predicated on two assumptions. First, the local commentary as text type has certain discursive features that allows it to stand as a distinct 'order of discourse' (Fairclough: 1995) in form and content from dominant Western discourses. Second, the value of and demand for translation in the press partially stems from the disparity in writing conventions used by indigenous writers and the Western ones. The question that

risers here is whether there is one consensual single pattern of writing that is shared by a given institution or culture. If so, can this macrostructure be attributed to any surrounding political, cultural and social directives? And what are the implications of such uniformity on translation? Each Jordanian newspaper is characterized by its own attitudes, editorial policies and agenda, as far as Jordan allows the press to be diverse. Writers, too, certainly express their opinions using various styles. This is true to a certain extent. But despite the personal idiosyncratic styles of individual writers and institutional variations, the Jordanian writers belong to the same thought-system, and, hence, their opinions about events may be expected to express underlying ideological frameworks that also monitor social practices in strategic ways. In this vein, it is crucial to recognize two levels of the discursive network, the framework of ideas involved in discursivity and the *way* this framework is realized via linguistic means. The first part of this chapter will deal with the way discourse is structured, before dealing with the ideological framework itself. A synchronous overview of the historical development of the ideological framework is necessary to illustrate the development of the journalistic writing system in the Jordanian press.

The diverse voices of the local writers are non-random and so syntagmatically ordered that despite their diversity they are cohesive in the discourse. Research on the textual structure of rhetoric points to a certain degree of regularity in the use of textual devices of *argumentation* shared by the local columnists. This is beyond register and jargon regularities which have been found to characterize certain genres (Haliday: 2004). Some scholars agree that there are conventional patterns of expression which characterize particular languages (Hatim and Mason 1991: 10). Johnstone (1987) asserts that there are

culturally determined patterns of reasoning. As van Dijk explains, “especially in institutional and public discourse, it will generally be in the interest of a group if information is selected from a model and emphasized in discourse” (1998b: 41). The regularities (or discursive norms) used by local and foreign writers develop into distinct discursive macrostructures. Fairclough argues that “the concepts of ‘macrostructure’ and ‘schematic structure’ are at the centre of the analysis of news production and comprehension” (1995: 30). Semiotics can also offer an account of how particular modes of arguing are culture-specific. The discursive models adopted by writers and translators form the link into studying translation as *system* (Hermans 1999). Such categorization of the model thus allows us to expand on Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory (1979).

The Polysystem theory was designed by Itamar Even-Zohar in the 1970s to account for literature. Its main goal was to deal with poetics, rather than with one national specific literature or with comparative literature. Even-Zohar perceived and studied literature in terms of a system; that is, a network of relations among phenomena, both concrete (texts, authors, publishers) and abstract (status within the system, methods of advertising and marketing, textual models). He assumed that the system was an open dynamic entity, into and out of which phenomena passed and flowed. The theory proved flexible enough to incorporate other systems in other frames of reference, distant from the literary traditions. In accordance with the theory as perceived by Even-Zohar, my study fits into the abstract part of the system. The writing system in the Jordanian press maintains certain features that allow it to stand as a system. Such features are not stable. They are dynamic by virtue of allowing other writing systems to intervene and add to the local writing system. This became possible through translation. The interaction between

the various writing systems in the western and local press systems helped a new form of writing to emerge locally.

To perceive the writings produced locally as a system, they have to be examined as a corpus. A corollary methodological question about large corpora concerns representativeness. How can a large corpus of articles (both local and imported) be represented and analyzed? Analysis of a stretch of texts will probably be a tedious enterprise. Selection of passages that the scholar believes to be representative emerges as a must. These selections should by necessity be representatively eclectic. This chapter begins by establishing as a postulate that the study does not investigate articles as individual isolated ad-hoc texts but rather regards them as forming moments of choice contributing to the formation of the discoursal system in the press. The selected texts in the current chapter are looked at synoptically as configurations, as patterns based on *instantiation* – a concept borrowed from Halliday – to refer to the relationship between an instance and a generalized instance type (Halliday 2004: 530). The patterning represents a move from the single instance to a pattern of instances, as in opinion articles where a certain mode of writing is adopted until it emerges as a favourable pattern, perpetuated through editorial routines. A text is no longer seen as a “static specimen of language” (Trosborg 2002: 41), definitely not within the dynamic rhythm of the press. The chain of interrelated texts forms what Fairclough (1995) has called an ‘order of discourse’. Thus the local commentary will form one order of discourse while the translated commentary forms another. The relationship between the two is not static. The two orders constantly interact with each other, as the section on globalization will show. Each of these orders is built intertextually and inter-discursively through the series of

articles or translations dealing with a given set of topics. These sequences of texts share features that convey intentional actions and have potentials as signs. Texts belonging to a given order of discourse that deal with a given subject are conspicuously related that isotopic markers can be detected intertextually, as well as intratextually. The discursive devices characterizing each order are not invented by the writers. As Fowler explains, “writers and readers are constituted by the discourses that are accessible to them. A writer can make texts only out of the available discourses, and so, qua writer, is socio-culturally constituted” (Fowler 1996: 7). In his use of intertextuality, Barthes (1970) confirms that texts are never totally original or particular to a given author. They are always dependent on the prior existence not only of clearly identifiable texts but also of general conditions of appropriateness that may, for example, govern entire genres. Intertextuality in this sense makes it possible for us to situate a text in a system of relevant codes and conventions. In other words, “the system of a language is ‘instantiated’ in the form of text (Halliday 2004: 26). Whatever the intrinsic value of a text, it is an instance of an underlying social system, and has no meaningful existence except within that system. Reciprocally, “the [social] system is the underlying potential of a language: its potential as a meaning-making resource” (Halliday 2004: 26).

The study will use opinion articles, extracts of articles or concepts as instances of the orders of discourse in the cultures under study. Since numerous articles in the Jordanian newspapers exhibit similar features, the articles selected are the ones that conspicuously bear such features. Analysis of these journalistic instances can tell us so much about how the writing system and ultimately the ideological system work. These practices can be made visible through studying modes of writings. I will be using the

word “mode” to refer to the ‘variable ways of opinion expression’ as linguistically manifest in the press, rather than to mean the medium of expression in the narrow sense (written vs. spoken). It has to be remarked that my study is confined to writers and columnists rather than reporters, and to opinion articles rather than other journalistic text types (news items, for example). Furthermore, the following analysis does not attempt to be judgmental or reductive, as much as describe the status quo of writing in the press. Whether in the foreign or domestic press, there can never be an absolute adherence to any of the writing paradigms or models by either local or foreign writers. Furthermore, the value of truth is admittedly a relative value envisaged according to the perceptions of people belonging to different cultures at different periods. The thesis does not attempt to deal with what is an absolute truth as much as show how truth is perceived and represented by cultures and mediated through translation. The following section will discuss the emerging patterns in the local writings. It will show that there is homology between the social structure and the discursive mode of language used in the local Jordanian press.

2. The way Jordanian columnists write

One way of studying translation is to link the translated discourse to the differences in writing traditions and textual styles between those of the domestic writers as opposed to the foreign writers (who are selected in translation). In journalism, translation acquires its role from the *dialectical* relations that diachronically link the original articles to their local counterparts. Within the same system, local texts form a syntagmatic chain while the paradigmatic substitute becomes strongly felt as each translated text compensates for an alternative absent one in the Jordanian media culture.

The dialectical relationship between the local and foreign orders of discourse is maintained through the careful choices that are appropriated by the translator(s) for the social constitutive value of signs inherent in the selected choices. Critical descriptive translation studies' function is to explore the tension between these two faces of language codes, the socially shaped and socially shaping to see how values of truth are relayed or transformed through translation. As will be shown below, the selections made by translators are conditioned by the conventions of argumentation that govern those selected texts in Western culture.

In its interpretive, or opinion function, the Jordanian press is very active. For the last decade, an average of fourteen local opinion articles has appeared daily in a two-page section at *Al-Rai* titled 'آراء و تعليقات' (Opinions & Commentary). However, it performs its interpretive function somewhat differently from Western press (Rugh 2004: 16). The rhetoric of the local commentary has developed certain expository norms. One of the crucial features to project is the relationship between informativity and modality. Another feature is the use of emotive language as a mode of expression. These features are exemplified on two levels, the ideational level and the psycholinguistic level. For the study of emotiveness the study will allude to psychological factors involved in this mode of expression.

Let us begin with the ideational level. I will use the term *modality* to describe this level. In the Hallidayan sense, modality refers to the degree of certainty that a certain statement bears (Halliday 2004: 147). Modality in this sense does not exceed the sentence level, with the use of modal verbs. Modality can be extended beyond the lexical and syntactic structures, into a discoursal level. The discoursal intratextual *modality* would

then refer to the degree of *probability* of a proposition of an *entire text*, though not extratextually in terms of evaluation of truth values. Using the term in a sense similar to the one used by media scholar Simpson, modality would refer to the *writer's attitude* or degree of *obligation* towards the truth of a proposition (Simpson 1993: 47). It would involve 'attitudinal' features of language that though can be achieved through lexical devices, such as evaluative adjectives and verbs of knowledge, is not exclusive to such grammatical means.⁶⁸

Fairclough affirms the importance of modality "and in particular the prevalence of various linguistic realizations of categorical modalities which make strong or weak claim" (Fairclough 1995: 94). The importance of modality in this study stems from its capacity to demonstrate how writers use certain techniques of modality to express the rigour of their arguments. For example, the use of affirmative structures such as "this is a fact" or "it is true" reflects what society, the press or polity regard as *true*, considering that a columnist bases his/her truth values on these constituencies. On the other hand, using less assertive structures mitigates the logic or the argument present in a proposition. The ideational structure is often governed by the parameter of informativity. In the Jordanian press, the lack of information in general for some Jordanian writers most probably leads an article to be very superficial, shallow, or abstract rather than substantial and assertive. Abstraction or ambiguity may be used by writers as techniques to avoid a risky situation. When writers do not have adequate material to predicate their arguments on, or when the data that they have at their disposal is not the sort of data that is allowed as public knowledge, writers tend to be abstract or general, rather than concrete and

⁶⁸ The expression of modality in the grammatical narrow sense makes use of modal verbs such as *can*, *shall*, *may*, etc. Those verbs express certainty, intention, etc. according to functional grammar (Halliday 2004).

outright. Given the penalties imposed on a journalist or a writer in case a story turns out to have false information, writers do not make use of any information they obtain unless they can authenticate the source of the data. They may not want to delve beyond a specific ceiling that is guaranteed by the editorial office. Therefore, many of their writings are *hedged*. Hedges are devices for toning down what is said to reduce its riskiness, i.e. to make it sound less assertive (Fairclough 1995: 61). One subsidiary hedging technique is the repetition of old information instead of using new raw information. There are many domains where journalists do not have direct access to information, especially when dealing with international events. Therefore, translations tend to provide one solution for giving a more *certain* version of a story. The certainty of factual information leads a writer to be more concrete in her/his writing. Translation as an on-going process does compensate for the lack of certainty that is found in many local articles. The imported articles tend to be more detailed and assertive because writers have better access to investigative methods and the freedom to express their opinions openly. Translation in this case provides a *safe* alternative for domestic news institutions.

On the psycholinguistic level, many articles in the Jordanian press are characterized by EMOTIVENESS. Emotiveness describes a highly emotion-charged mode of language. Emotiveness emerges as a very influential feature of opinionated writing. It is not only a paralinguistic feature of social discourse but it has become a salient characteristic of the writings of the local columnists, to the extent that it can verily be described as a diatype or register.⁶⁹ Other linguistic variations such as register have been studied thoroughly as sub-language (Halliday 2004; Ghadessy 1993; Beaugrande 1981,

⁶⁹ A diatype is a term first used by the linguist Michael Gregory (1967) to describe a type of language variation which is determined by its social purpose.

amongst others). Emotive language functions at a level of meaning variable from the referential one. It is not grounded on tenor (in the sense that it does not abide by the formal-informal polarity of register), but it stems from tenor in the sense that it is triggered by “the relationship between the addresser and the addressee” (Hatim and Mason 1991: 50).⁷⁰ I use emotiveness to expand on lingual variation of referential meaning by adding symbolic overtone as an additional semantic component to lexical items. This overtone may characterize longer stretches such as sentences or a group of sentences, which can be detected in speech by the rising pitch of an utterance.

To the best of my knowledge, emotiveness has not been studied in Translation Studies as a cultural phenomenon, i.e., as a macrostructure of culture that can stand as a distinct register of a sublanguage. Emotions have been studied either in terms of their pragmatic functions (e.g. the expressive function as studied by Traugott and Pratt (1980)⁷¹ or as fragmentary cases of emotion expression (as in literary texts). Dating back to the 1950s, translation scholar McFarlane (1953) distinguished emotive meaning from referential meaning (quoted in Hermans 1999: 18), explaining that languages are not exactly parallel in this respect, and the symbolic reference (from which referential meaning draws its meaning) is not very precise. In lyrical poems emotive meaning refers to the power of words to move”. McFarlane discusses emotiveness in light of the incompatibility of ‘referential symbolism’ within language systems for the purpose of achieving equivalence. Hatim and Mason (1991) also use isolated examples to study the impact of emotiveness on discoursal constraints on translation. The semiotic function and

⁷⁰ Emotiveness does not necessarily correspond to colloquialism. An emotive language can still be formal, as in the current case.

⁷¹ Traugott and Pratt classified the functions of speech acts as: representative, expressive, verdictive, directive, commissive, declarations (as quoted by Hatim and Mason (1991: 60). The expressive act is the one that gives expression to the speaker’s mental and emotional attitudes towards a state of affairs.

the sociolinguistic value of emotion have not been addressed attentively in semiotics, the science that is most capable of relating the lexical element to its coding system, let alone as espoused to Translation Studies. I will study the phenomenon (as indeed it is a phenomenon) of emotiveness from a critical discourse analysis point of view, in which the sociosemantic import of emotiveness is coded by public discourse. Emotiveness also has a pragmatic value, since it has the power to mobilize the public. Media scholar John Fiske (1996) argues that journalism can affect what he calls the 'structure of feeling' existing in a society. In order to understand its function, we need to treat this variation of the language as a semiotic code as it locates "a given message within an overall system of values appropriate to a given culture" (Hatim and Mason 1991: 59). Emotiveness will be seen not merely as an intratextual feature but as a macro- and extra-textual feature that characterizes a group of texts, reflecting the tripartite interactive relationship between the text, the writer and the reader. Emotiveness is an innate cognitive property of the social system. A large segment of the articles published in the Jordanian press tend to be emotive in various degrees, ranging in cline between two poles; some pieces are highly emotive, while others tend to be very rational. Although we can not generalize the situation, articles that appear in the Arabic Jordanian newspapers exhibit a tendency towards emotiveness, whose extreme cases correlate with sensationalism and tabloidism. Historically speaking the epistemology of emotiveness was more widely used half a century ago than it is nowadays.

The opinion article in the newspaper is a multifunctional construct that may appeal to one or more of the three rhetorical components suggested by Aristotle; ethos, logos or pathos. That is, when a writer sets in a task of writing an article, s/he might set

her/his attention on either the reader, or reason, or emotion. The difference between the mode of writing by local writers and the ones selected for translation is that while the informational structures of foreign writings are primarily text-oriented, the local writings are reader-oriented. Although no statistical data are provided, comparing these modes of communication to Halliday's language functions⁷² – the interpersonal, ideational and the textual – shows that the majority of texts chosen for translation are ideationally-grounded while communication through the local commentary tends to be interpersonal. The pattern of communication seems to be dialogic in the latter case so that the writer seems to be exchanging a dialogue with the readers. The impact that this has on the text is that the writer sets out in her/his writing task with an image of the audience in her/his mind, often leading the writer to use more hedging techniques. This interpersonal pattern of communication correlates with the interpersonal nature of the Jordanian society. The modes of writing of both local and foreign writings are textually variable and are linked to argumentation patterns used by the two. The aim of argumentation is typically to convince readers of a given proposition. Persuasion techniques are essentially discursual. Cultures allow different combinations of emotionalism. As Hatim and Mason argue, the interrelationship between genre and discourse is culturally determined (1991: 71). The appeal to emotions may be successful as a persuasion technique locally, but the expression of overt emotion may not be accepted by the 'dispassionate' American newspaper readers, for instance. Local writers seem to be appealing to the readers' pathos as a successful persuasive technique, as opposed to logos, which is the pattern used by

⁷² Halliday established three functions of language; the interpersonal, ideational and the textual. The interpersonal function defines the way in which the communication between the speaker and hearer is established. The ideational function refers to the information presented, while the textual function refers to the way in which the information is structured and organized in language (Halliday: 2004)

the foreign writers who are translated. To quote one example used by Hatim and Mason, when Senator Ed Muskie expressed overt emotion, breaking into tears during a televised US presidential campaign, it effectively ended his presidential hopes (*Ibid.*).

The relationship between language and emotiveness can be explained through what Bourdieu has called 'habitus.' According to Thompson, the editor of Bourdieu's *Language and Symbolic Power*, habitus refers to

a set of *dispositions* which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-coordinated or governed by any 'rule'... The dispositions produced thereby are also structured in the sense that they unavoidably reflect the social conditions within which they were acquired. (Thompson 1991: 12-13)

The paradigm of habitus generated by Bourdieu forms a link between practice and behaviour on the one hand and psychological and cognitive trends on the other. Taking into consideration that language is an expressive tool of experience, the emotive associations that accompany these dispositions are reflected in language, constituting 'linguistic behaviour.' These dispositions, when accommodated to historical settings, form the psychological disposition of an entire society. The dispositions of the people in the Middle East in general and in Jordan in particular are the outcome of colonial and imperial interventions that have created repulsive anti-imperialist attitudes. While Bourdieu mainly speaks about dispositions in terms of class, dispositions can also be explained in terms of ideological categories. These dispositions are motivated by political and historical factors. The motivation is reflected in the signs used for expression which allow us "to read back to the interest of the producer of the sign" (Kress 1996: 20). There is a close semantic relationship between the system of labeling (or coding) and the system of emotion. This is reflected in the way local writers express their ideas. Since language

construes human experience, it uses linguistic tools for the expression of that experience. Languages differ in the way they reflect how their users perceive reality, and any given language is bound to express it in its own way. Emotive lexical items function as operators of speech. Emotional associations form part of the semantic components of many political words associated with the Arab world, such as 'Jihad', 'martyr', 'allegiance,' 'nation', and many more. To approximate the issue, let us remember that metaphor, which has traditionally been studied as a literary aesthetic tool, has increasingly been recognized as a cognitive product.

Both ideational and interpersonal structures are objects of experience, which are not stripped of their emotive implications. For instance, when Jordanians (the public and the media alike) describe non-Muslims who are killed in war, they are called *victims*, whereas when they describe Palestinians killed by Israeli militaries, they are *martyrs*, because the semantic components of *martyr* includes the components of /person killed/ + /for a religious or national purpose/, while the term *victim* lacks the component of /religion/. Many religious concepts have emotiveness as part of their semantic components. But emotiveness exceeds the lexical level. It describes a system of expression, forming an emotive discourse. Within any given scenario, or set of contextual conditions, writers may exploit emotion as a discursive device to produce an astonishing variety of rhetorical effects.

Here we have to ask two questions; first, how do emotions influence the course of the discourse, and second, how do we express emotions? In order to see how emotiveness functions in the media, let us take the example of the three explosions that took place on 9.11. 2005 in Amman in which three hotels were targeted, resulting in the killing and

injury of tens of civilians. The terrorist attacks which were claimed by Al-Qaida, were condemned by all sectors of the Jordanian population. Feelings ran high as a result of the “heinous crime.”⁷³ Twenty five articles were written in *Al-Rai* on 11.11.2005 condemning the attacks. The language used is expectedly very highly emotional. None of the twenty five writers was willing to rationalize the event and question the down to earth consequences or causes of the attacks. Only one article by Fahad Fanek titled ‘البعد الإقتصادي للتفجيرات’ (The Economic Dimension of the Explosions) dealt with the economic consequences of the blasts. Because he is cognizant of the readers’ expectancy of strong feeling-laden language, he started his article explaining that he has to transcend the emotional aspect of the event and deal with more practical and mundane issues. His article begins as follows (with its translation):

- 4.1. The tripartite terrorist operation which shock three hotels in Amman has political, economic, security and psychological dimensions that my colleagues will deal with, and with a degree of emotionalism justified by the heinous crime. But I will deal calmly with one dimension, and that is the economic dimension.
- العملية الإرهابية المثلثة التي هزت ثلاثة فنادق في عمان مساء الأربعاء لها أبعاد وتداعيات سياسية واقتصادية وأمنية ونفسية سوف يتناولها الزملاء بالتفصيل ، وبقدر من الإنفعال الذي تبرره بشاعة الجريمة . ولكنني سأتناول بهدوء واحدا فقط من هذه الأبعاد وهو البعد الإقتصادي .

Fahed Fanek, being an economist, is known for his rational style. He is frequently criticized for being empirical and forthright. This explains why the lead paragraph had to be apologetic. The writer uses the adverb “بهوء” (calmly) to point out that he will transgress readers’ expectancy of emotiveness to rationality and calmness which is not assumed to be the norm in such circumstances. He acknowledges that his colleague writers will write with passion, and that he will treat the subject differently.

⁷³ The expression was used in the editorial titled ‘What we’re made of’ on 11.11. 2005 in *The Jordan Times*.

In his study of the relationship between Arabic language and culture, Rugh emphasizes that Arabic is an especially crucial element linking the Arabs with each other and with their culture. He states that

it [Arabic] is inseparable from Arab culture, history, tradition, and Islam, the religion of the vast majority of Arabs. Arabic is extremely important to Arabs; they pay considerable attention to the language, and it shapes their thinking in many ways. There is an “intimate interdependence” between Arabic and the Arab psychology and culture, and, thus, as carriers of the language, the mass media are very important in the communication of Arab cultural commonality. (2004: 19)

Half a century ago, the Lebanese historian Philip Hitti said, “[n]o people in the world has such enthusiastic admiration for literary expression and is so moved by the word, spoken or written, as the Arabs” (1943: 21). Hitti’s opinion was confirmed by Edward Atiyeh, an Arab scholar, who said, at the risk of oversimplifying, that “[i]t is a characteristic of the Arab mind to be swayed more by words than by ideas and more by ideas than by facts” (Atiyeh, 1955: 96). A tendency in that direction can be seen in the style of the mass media. What was true half a century ago is still true, but to a lesser degree. Writers tend to be emotive and this is explicit through the use of literary and rhetorical devices. At times of crises, the language used has to be emotionally charged, or else it will not be appealing, or so it seems.

While part of the aforementioned is true it does not tell the whole story. It only gives an a priori reductive explanation of the situation. The permeation of language with emotiveness is not exclusively language-oriented, though it is true that Arabic is suitable as a symbolic literary language. Languages are the outcome of how socio-political and scholarly endeavours turn them to be. They can be tailored in a way to suit the purposes and functions of their use. Arabic-speaking communities import many modern concepts into the language repertoire, in content and/or form (for example, democracy, transfer,

normalization). Language is used as its speakers and users deem it to be appropriate. Emotiveness is not created solely by language, though it has its roots in the literary traditions of writing. Halliday confirms that language is a resource for making meaning, and “meaning resides in a systemic pattern of choices” (2004: 23). In the same way, Jordanian newspapers (as instances of the third world discourse) borrow their discourse and concepts from the West. Arabic is dependent on other languages for the development of its language repertoires, especially in terms of modern terminology. Most traditional Arabic newspapers emerged within literary systems. The mastery and ability for creativity in Arabic is a must for any columnist. On the other hand, perceiving Arabic language as a vehicle that reflects rather than makes up the state of mind of its users will provide an explanation for the current situation. Some writers tend to be emotive because of the frustrations and dissatisfaction with their current political state of affairs. To be able to better understand why emotive language is widely used, let us have a look at a short extract of one of these writings.

In an article written by Dr. Ahmed Jameel Al-Zyoud (a contributor columnist) on 24.12.2004, he responds to an article by Jihad Al-Momani (head of the Jordanian Association of Journalists) explaining why Palestinians in refugee camps raise more than one flag (apparently in allusion to Palestinian and Jordanian flags) on certain occasions. In one section of the article he says (with its translation):

4.2. We are all Jordanians by loyalty, belonging, love for this land and dedication to the King. If some newspapers write about Palestine, it is because there is an Arab Jordanian cause that worries the nationalist, the free and

نحن جميعا أردنيون بالولاء والانتماء و حب الأرض والإخلاص للملك ، فإن كتبت بعض الصحف عن فلسطين فلأن هناك قضية عربية أردنية تؤرق الوطنيين والأحرار والشرفاء من

the honest within this nation's sons and in all parts of the world. If non-Jordanian flags are raised in occasions when the feelings are running high, this is not strange, because the same flags are being raised in Spain, France and South Africa during the same occasions and when feelings are running high.

أبناء هذا البلد ومن كل بقاع الدنيا وإن تم رفع أعلام غير أردنية في مناسبات تكون فيها النفوس متأججة فهذا ليس غريبا بأن نفس الرايات ترفع في أسبانيا وفرنسا و جنوب أفريقيا خلال نفس المناسبات وعند تأجج النفوس .

What the article designates is that Palestinians in Jordan (and particularly those in camps) have Palestine as a reality in their lives. Feelings are still agitated as a result of its loss. The same spirit that hovers over such occasions permeates the minds of many writers when they comment on events that elicit anger. The language tends to be subjectively coloured and emotionally charged rather than neutral and impassive. This mode of expression can be explained in historical terms, as will be seen below.

As part of the Arab and Islamic World, Jordan is subject to and influenced by many of the political events that occur in the contemporary history of the Arab world. Therefore, I will describe the ideologies in the Middle East (rather than being restricted to Jordan) because many of these ideologies are shared by the public in the Arab world. In the brief exposition which follows, I am only interested in stressing the ideologies that were the result of the political processes that took place in contemporary Jordan during the second half of the twentieth century, in particular, those that explain the role of the press in shaping the public discourse.

The colonial experience has been critically important in determining the contemporary political environment in many ways. Gerner describes domestic politics in the Middle East as being influenced by a paradox. This ancient region, with a history that dates back to the earliest years of human settlement, has been for most of its history “intertwined economically, culturally and religiously” (2004: 80-82). The region has been

divided politically into modern states in early twentieth century. These centralized political units that enjoy sovereignty over a fixed territory and population separated by boundaries were superimposed by *colonial* administrators (*Ibid.*: 80). Jordan, as one of these countries was created by the British mandate as an Arab monarchy in 1921. This colonial imposition of borders left differing political circumstances. One of the most significant impacts is the disparity in public recognition of their identity and the way their governments perceive this development. Although Arab people still crave unity, their governments have gone their separate ways (Arthur Goldschmidt Jr. 2004: 63). The trends and ideologies that steer the two may vary considerably. As John Esposito notes:

[D]espite a common “Islamic” orientation, the governments of the region reveal little unity of purpose in interstate or international relations because of conflicting national interests and priorities [...] National interest and regional politics rather than ideology or religion remain the major determinants in the formulation of foreign policy. (1995:22)

New identities emerged based on a sense of loyalty and attachment to country (Manners and Parmenter 2004: 14). This explains why some article writers in the Jordanian press confirm their allegiance to the King so as to be shielded against being accused of being loyal to other entities. Such references predicate the overall argument of the writer on allegiance to the state. Some other writers on the other hand, would explicitly express a desire for Arab unity. Therefore any attempt to understand the ideological systems in the Arab (and Islamic) world should take into account that the political life in the Middle East functions on two different levels; the level of governments and the level of the public.

Following European decolonization during the 1940s up to the 1960s, the foreign affairs of the Middle East have been dominated by three major conflicts: the Cold War, the Arab-Israeli dispute, and the long-term war against Iraq (Garner 2004: 82). The

influence of the Cold War can be seen through the adoption of socialism by some Arab countries and some sectors of the public. Some revolutionary Arab regimes, such as Egypt, Iraq and Syria espoused socialism, a policy viewed as neutral between the communism of the USSR and the capitalism of the West, and Arab unification (Arthur Goldschmidt Jr., 2004: 65). Although the United States tried in the 1980s to convince Arab states that their enemy was the Soviet Union rather than Israel, its efforts were a dismal failure (Gerner 2004: 82). The first of these conflicts has now disappeared, but the second and third continue to have implications for the region's domestic politics. With the virtual demise of communist governments around the world, the centre of power shifted after the Second World War from Europe to North America. States were immediately drawn into the global political economy of the West. Liberal democracy, characterized by the regular, open, honest electoral competition of political parties and protection of rights to organize politically, has become the dominant ideological basis for legitimizing political power (*Ibid.*). King-Irani summarizes the problematic of Arab societies as follows:

The problems of the contemporary Middle East are not cultural ones centered on the resilience of traditional practices and primary identity categories in a modern world. Rather, the region's political and economic problems stem primarily from the weaknesses and deficiencies of an imposed nation-state system that is not meeting people's basic needs, and from regional hostilities rooted in historical injustices and shortsighted policies initiated by Western powers during the colonial period and replicated in today's globalized, "neocolonial" era, characterized by a form of economic integration that is neither egalitarian nor sustainable. (2004: 329)

The most influential ideology since the second half of the twentieth century that appealed to the large Arab masses seemed to be toward pan-Arabism, which was rekindled rigorously by the Egyptian leader Jamal Abdul-Nasser. Calls for Arab unity were strong in the late 1950s, accompanied by rising popularity of the Egyptian leader

within the Arab masses. Despite Jordanian support for Abdul-Nasser and participation in the Arab-Israeli war in 1967, the government was not enthusiastic about the Egyptian-led ideologies, having its own pro-Western orientations. On the other hand, the Jordanian people were very supportive of Abdul-Nasser and the ideology of pan-Arabism which they saw as the realization of the lost Arab unity they were seeking.

Until this day, pan-Arabism is strong and visible within a broad sector of the Jordanian people. Rugh confirms this trend, stating that:

the peoples of the eighteen Arab states feel bound together by strong cultural and psychological ties. The vast majority of them regard Arabic as their mother tongue; most of them share a single culture, language, and religion, and their sense of a common destiny is very strong. Nationalism, both in the pan-Arab sense and as felt toward the newer individual nation-states, separate and distinct from Western or any other identity, is a powerful force. (2004: 1)

The tension between the public's political stands and the state's policies arises from the fact that many regimes were installed by Western powers (Salamé: 1990), creating "dependent regimes with a diminished capacity both to govern independently and to mobilize the support and loyalty of their citizens" (Téreau 2004: 134). Therefore, governments that are seen as too dependent on U.S. support may find that this policy generates significant domestic opposition (Gerner 2004: 83). Jordan, like many other Middle Eastern countries, is enmeshed in complex and long-standing political and economic relationships with the West. However, the Jordanian public does not exhibit serious (in terms of violent) opposition to Jordan's pro-American policies, though public opinion is transparently against the American expansive and imperialist agendas.

The phase of colonialism is gone, yet its effects not only linger but have substantial influence on both the public and polity levels. The Middle East is deeply influenced by legacies of imperialism. Although the modern Arab states are rooted in

colonialism, my investigation is not based on post-colonial theory, since imperialism appears as a stronger operative force in its macro-economic and global forms. Further, like post-colonial theories, the anti-imperialist discourse also involves the asymmetry of power relations and the western hegemony over the Arab world.

To sum up, with the growth of Arab nationalism in the twentieth century, Arab newspapers were attracted to this cause in opposition to colonial rule; they were thus drawn into political issues. The unification of existing Arab states into a single political entity as a replacement for patriotism centered on a specific state remains a major theme in the Jordanian media. Anti-imperialism and anti-Zionism are two ideological paradigms that are very dominant in the public sphere, and that stress the achievement of true Arab independence from all forms of colonialism. This is why the issue that seems to unite all Arabs nowadays is Palestine. Restoring Palestinian national territory is seen as a primary goal, at least for the public and the media.

But how does this history affect emotiveness?

For the last century, the Middle East has been subject to many political pressures which do not seem to abate. The contemporary roots of emotiveness date back to the 1950s particularly after the establishment of Israel in 1948. Pan-Arabism emerged as a potential move towards unifying Arabs in order to liberate Palestine. Propaganda for pan-Arabism customarily mobilized people's inner fire to stand as one nation, through Jamal Abdul-Nasser's provocative speeches which had a deep impact on the nations of the Arab world. *The Arab Voice*, the Egyptian radio station which propagated this ideology was intermittently banned in Jordan in the 1950s and 1960s. This ideology became very dominant during the 1960s and 1970s, when dramatic language was used to move the

emotions of the public. At the time, a highly partisan political press marked these years. Mohammad Hasaneen Haykal, the famous Egyptian writer gained his reputation in the Arab world because of his closeness to Abdul-Nasser. Haykal's studies are still published in Jordanian newspapers from time to time. The expression of opinion in the press took place in a strongly emotional climate, reflecting the upheavals of the people.

This emotion-invoking order of discourse is still in action nowadays, though not as influential or mobilizing as it was once. However, this trend towards emotionalism escalates during times of conflict. For example, the same emotional climate was at its apex during the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. The Arab media (Jordanian included) opted against the invasion out of a strong reflex expressing itself in the highly emotionalized coverage of the war. A more recent example can be given during the terrorist attacks that took place on three hotels in Amman in 9.11. 2005. On 14.11.2005 the editorial (Our opinion) at *Al-Rai* comments on the blasts. The editorial is titled 'سنسمي الأشياء بأسمائها' (We'll call things by their names):

4.3. The masks have fallen, and it's pay day. No one, and no party or group can play a double game any more. We will accept nothing but transparency, clarity and commitment to the upper goals of the state and the interests of the Jordanian people. We will not do with transient goals or temporary or personal or opportunistic interests. Terrorists and their discourse will no more find passage or a promoter or justifier or interpreter or sympathizer.

We at *Al-Rai* will call things by their real names and measure attitudes according to the nation's compass that is never mistaken. And we will not fear anyone any more. We only fear Allah to whom we kneel and bend and not to any one else.

سقطت الأقنعة ورحان وقت الحساب ولم يعد بمقدور أحد أو حزب أو جماعة أو مجموعة أن تلعب لعبة مزدوجة وليس سوى الوضوح والشفافية والالتزام بأهداف الوطن العليا و بمصالح الشعب الأردني لا بأهداف عابرة ولا بمصالح مؤقتة وشخصية وانتهازية ولن يكون للإرهابيين أو خطابهم بعد الآن ممر أو معبر أو منظر أو مروج أو محرض أو مبرر أو مفسر أو متعاطف ..

سنسمي نحن في الرأي الأشياء بأسمائها الحقيقية ونقيس المواقف وفق بوصلة الوطن التي لا تخطئ ولن نخشى أحدا بعد الآن والله وحده هو الذي نخشى

Under the leadership of the King and the flag of the Hashemites we will proceed and commit ourselves. For the interests of the Jordanian people, we work, uncover and follow up, and not to the interests of a minority that takes advantage of catastrophes or trades with the blood of the innocent or seeks destruction or subjects itself to the will of terrorists to serve their criminal and devilish goals and schemes.

[...]

We shall no more accept to have someone issue a fatwa that permits such criminal deeds and classify them as resistance to foreign occupation or to justify this criminal behavior and terrorism, which is not approved by any heavenly religion, let alone the great Islam which considers killing one soul is like killing all the people.

We shall not compromise whoever looks at the slaying of the innocents and the committing of massacres against civilians as “ghazwa” (foray) or “fath” (conquest) and triumph to Islam. Islam rids itself from them, those and anyone who schemes or finances or even looks towards them is doomed to Hell the worst of accommodation.

Long live Jordan and glory for the great people and to its brave leader.

و نسجد ونركع وليس لأحد سواه ..

وبقيادة جلاله الملك وتحت راية الهاشميين نسير ونلتزم ولصالح الشعب الأردني نعمل ونتابع ونؤشر وليس لمصلحة أقلية مستفيدة من النكبات أو متاجرة بدماء الأبرياء أو ساعية الى الخراب والإرتهان لإرادة الإرهابيين وخدمة لمخططاتهم واهدافهم الشيطانية والإجرامية .

[...]

لن نقبل بعد اليوم أن يظهر على الناس نفر يفتي بجواز مثل هذه الأعمال الإجرامية أو أن يصنفها على أنها نوع من المقاومة للإحتلال الأجنبي أو يبرر لهم هذا الإجرام والإرهاب الذي لا يقره أي دين سماوي ما بالك بالإسلام العظيم الذي اعتبر قتل نفس واحدة بغير حق بأنه قتل للناس جميعا..

لن نهادن من يرى في ذبح الأبرياء وارتكاب المجازر بحق المدنيين "غزوة" و "فتحا" ونصرا للإسلام فالإسلام منهم براء وهم ومن يخطط لهم أو يمولهم أو ينظر لهم الى جهنم وينس المصير. عاش الأردن والمجد لشعبه العظيم وقائده الشجاع .

This editorial is an example of modality and emotiveness. Each sentence in the text is an overstatement. The language is emotively turgid and literary-like. The degree of assertiveness is very high, since the arguments presented in the editorial conform to those of the government. The editorial uses authoritative language (through repetition, the use of modal verbs (e.g. shall) and shift of sentence structure (e.g. “Under the leadership ... we proceed and commit ourselves. For the interests of the Jordanian people, we work...”, instead of “we proceed ... under the leadership of the King). However, while the

instead of “we proceed ... under the leadership of the King). However, while the editorial claims to call things by their names, it does not do so. The text is very abstract and is not information-grounded. Truly, the attitude towards terrorism has been clearly stated, but the editorial does not indicate what exactly will be called a spade. The concepts of “غزوة” (foray) or “فتح” (conquest) which are controversial in contemporary political discourse have been rejected, but not redefined. Rather than rationalize the event, the editorial conjures up emotions. The pitch tends to rise as the text goes along. The use of epithets such as “brave” [leader] and “great” [people] may be more interpersonal than experiential. As Halliday explains, “epithets indicate some quality of the subset which may be an objective property of the thing itself, or may be an expression of the speaker’s subjective attitude towards it” (2004: 318). The above epithets are used subjectively rather than indicate a property of the object itself. As Fairclough (1995) explains we write in the press as ‘antagonists’ vis-à-vis a particular issue, reflecting our attitudinal meanings. This editorial instantiates one form of the compositional system of emotiveness as expressed in the Jordanian newspapers.

While the above editorial is conspicuously emotive, the following article stands more for abstraction. On 20.11.2005, another opinion article titled ‘من دون خجل’ (Without shame) by columnist Abdul-Hadi Al-Majali was published. The four-paragraph article allocates the first three paragraphs to describing how important it is to manufacture wine in certain conditions (of total darkness, without any beam of light lest it turns into vinegar). In the fourth paragraph it makes a sudden shift into the core subject as follows (with its translation):

4.4.

[...]

Let us call things by their names; this is what *Al-Rai* said in its editorial the day before yesterday.

So, I will call things by their names.

Is it necessary whenever *Al-Jazeera Channel* gives a beam of informative light to a spokesperson[...] Is it necessary for the Jordanian people to gulp down the poison-filled vinegar cup? Since when were facts fermented in *Al-Jazeera's* oil barrels?... And on what grounds are we obliged to accept the media "verboden"*... Isn't what is fermented at darkness a verboden, and this "channel" is fermented in the darkness. **

... Their equation in politics is the same as the vine equation in barrels... It's either vinegar or wine. ** missing question mark in the original article.

* Verboten: religiously prohibited

** Missing question mark in the original article

[...]

... لنسّم الأشياء بمسمياتها. هكذا قالت "الرأي" في افتتاحيتها أول أمس .

... سأسمي الأشياء بمسمياتها إذا .

... هل من الضروري وكلما أعطت الجزيرة شعاعاً من

الضوء الإعلامي لمتحدث .. هل من الضروري أن يكرع

الشعب الأردني كأس الخل المليئ بالسم .. منذ

متى كانت الحقائق تخمر في براميل الجزيرة النفطية

.. وعلى أي أساس نلزم بتقبل "الحرام" الإعلامي ..

أليس المخمر في الظلام حرام ، وتلك "القناة" خمرت

في الظلام .

.. معادلتهم في السياسة هي نفسها معادلة العنب

في البراميل .. أما خل أو خمر .

What enables us to recognize a particular discourse in these two texts and how is an argumentative structure developed? Most importantly, what are the intertextual relations that link the two articles? Article 4.4 relates intertextually to the editorial (4.3). It is built on it and draws its logic from it. Attempting to elicit the core argument will leave us in bewilderment. We may elicit the writer's attitude, which seems to be against *Al-Jazeera Channel* or its interviewees, but what the criticism is about is not clear. By checking the news items on *Al-Rai* in the same period, I found no indications whatsoever concerning *Al-Jazeera Channel*, making it hard to surmise what the criticism refers to. The writer did not clearly pronounce the core-subject of criticism. A reader is not expected to look through the entire newspaper to get a glimpse of the writer's intention. The writer needs to express her/his argument overtly rather than covertly. The article

makes use of the phrase “I’ll call things by their names”, but as in the previous editorial, it does not do so. The text seems to be addressed to a certain group of readers, such as those linked to *Al-Jazeera Channel* or those within the media personnel circle, who may happen to know what the writer is insinuating. We now know more about the writer and his attitudes than we know about the subject matter of his article. We may ask the same question as Hermans does: Where does that leave accuracy, though (Hermans 1999: 18)? The author seems not to be fully committed to the truth value of her/his statement. The use of modality functions as “shields” for the author to hide behind, and makes what would otherwise have been representative appear as tentative statements (Trosborg 2002: 36).

Any journalistic piece of writing is expected to optimize communication, not hinder it, unless for rhetorical reasons. Its practical demands need to correspond broadly to the four maxims of quantity, quality, manner and relevance underlying the pragmatics of all communication (Grice: 1989). To sum up, the article infringes these basic principles. This pattern is recognizable by virtue of being patterns of thinking characteristic of a given culture.

3. How different is the translated discourse?

The variance between the local and the imported discourse manifests itself in the contradiction between the dramatic and sensational representation of events locally, and the more cautious, explanatory and expository representation of events in the foreign commentary. Judging from the reading that I did in general terms to the articles translated and published in *Al-Rai* within my corpus, the language of most translated articles is characterized by being more concrete and tangible in meaning. A large portion of the

local articles has the capacity for vagueness, ambiguity and exaggeration. The local discourse is coloured with jingoistic expressions, heightening emotionalism rather than enhancing realism. As a result, it is especially difficult to pin down the precise meaning of a newspaper editorial dealing with abstract topics. Because there are many unanswered questions and uncertainties, there is a preference towards writing the title of an article in the form of a question. Many local editorials carry titles that end with a question or an exclamation mark. Some of them come with good reason, like the article 'من قتل الحريري؟' ('Who Killed Al-Hariri') by Sultan Hattab in *Al-Rai* on 16.2.2005. Questions have been normalized to the extent that in the above-mentioned article (4.4) the writer does not add question marks where he should, acknowledging that his questions were not aimed at conjuring answers. Translations are introduced to the audience as one way of providing answers to such questions. The question "Who killed Arafat?" posed in many local articles received an answer a year later with the translated article 'ما الذي قتل ياسر عرفات؟' (Who killed Yasser Arafat?) published in *Al-Rai* on 9.9.2005 from the article 'Medical experts: Yasser Arafat died of AIDS or poisoning' written by Amos Harel and Yoav Stern and published at *Haaretz* two days earlier. The mechanism of applying the interrogative form to titles is contagious to translated articles in a conspicuous manner. Here are some examples: Aluf Benn writes an article in *Haaretz* on 26.4.2005 under the title "Sharon's vision." The article appears translated in *Al-Rai* on 28.4.2005 under the title 'ما هي رؤيا شارون لمستقبل اسرائيل؟' (What is Sharon's vision for Israel's future?). Not only does the translator change the statement into a question but s/he also explicates the title, to specify what the Israeli Prime Minister's vision is concerned with. Another example is an article written by Kathleen Christison, on 21.12.2004 on

www.counterpunch.com website under the title “A Cri de Coeur: Imagining Palestine.’ The translation on *Al-Rai* came on the 25.12.2004 as هل يدرك الأميركيون مدى معاناة الفلسطينيين؟ (Do Americans Realise How Much Palestinians suffer?). Examples like these are numerous. The transference of the affirmative into the interrogative appears as a normative translation strategy. It serves two main purposes. First, it mobilizes an important journalistic and rhetorical technique by arousing readers’ curiosity by posing questions to which readers expect to find answers. Second, if questions indicate anything, it would be reflecting the atmosphere of restlessness, uncertainty and skepticism that clouds the Jordanian street and media alike.

In many instances the translators shift the focus in the headline from an aspect that can be eye-catching in its home readership to a different aspect more visible to the Jordanian readers. Though the technique of statement-question conversion is not used here, the shift is achieved by relocating the argument of the title. Gwenne Dyer’s ‘Election could be Sharon's last hurrah’ on 25.11.2005 in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* was changed into “عودة رابين من قبره” (Rabin’s Resurrection from his Tomb). The subject of the article is approximated to the feelings of the readers, as the Israeli ex-Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin was more popular than the present one, Ariel Sharon.

But we cannot look at readers reductively as falling within the same microscope of rhetoric. With the expansion in international discourses, readers are not unified any more. During the 1950s, communication theory was dominated by the ‘*hypodermic model*’ of media effects, which held that messages with fixed meanings are “unproblematically injected into the minds of the audience as if through an ideological hypodermic” (McNair 1998: 35). This model perceives the audience as recipients rather

than participants and perceives values as static. However, this model is becoming increasingly dysfunctional, with the emergence of semiotics as a more explanatory discipline which stresses the *polysemic* potential of all encoded media texts and the relative freedom of the audience in decoding those texts. The evolving communication theories (particularly reception-oriented theories) that developed in the 1980s and 1990s perceived the audience as contributing to the very making of the journalistic product, rather than perceiving media communicative events as monologues. Values and ideologies no longer inhabit the static positions suggested by traditional models. The media environment is now characterized by knowing, literate audiences familiar with, and resistant to, many of the codes of media production (McNair 1998: 32). While these models of the 'participating audience' proliferated and held sway in the 1980s, they have started to witness light in this area of the world just recently.

As Fowler (in Bell and Garrett: 1998) argues, "texts construct 'reading positions' for readers. That is, they suggest what ideological formations it is appropriate for readers to bring to texts. But the reader [...] is not the passive recipient of fixed meanings: "the reader [...] is discursively equipped prior to the encounter with the text, and reconstructs the text as a system of meanings which may be more or less congruent with the ideology which informs the text" (1998: 7). In this sense *what* is selected for translation is as important as *how* it is relayed. The process of selection seems to be regulated through the status of a text which may only be seen in terms of its contribution to a code which evolves as the translation unfolds, to its participation in the discursive space of a culture. Writers and translators wrestle with intertextual reference as an important aspect of discourse construction and deconstruction.

During the last few years, many readers, particularly among intellectuals, have started to feel that they need another order of discourse, one that fulfills their rational logic and satisfies their intellect rather and does not use provocative language as a mobilising force to address people's feelings. Many calls have been made to use Arabic in a more mundane and rational manner, that is to change the mode of discourse (not necessarily the order of discourse). Many intellectuals have called for rational analysis rather than for subjective impressions. They want mundane and practical techniques similar to the ones used by those who are in control of the destiny of this area of the world. It has become very important for the public to know how the political administrations, for instance in the United States or Israel or the United Kingdom function. Emotiveness, as a linguistic behaviour might be convincing to sectors of the public, but is not satisfactory for all, especially for some sectors of the intellectuals who will only be satisfied with what is factual. Emotiveness mitigates the validity of an argument. This is why most of the readers for translated articles fall within the category of the educated. Example 4.5 below is an example of such a call. The following is an article written by Jordanian Professor Tayseer Amari and published in *Al-Rai* on 29.12.2004. The article calls for changes in the current intellectual mode of thought, what Amari describes in terms of 'mentality' from that of the 1960s to the new mode of thought that is demanded by the requirements of the new millennium.

4-5

Culture is the Basis

الثقافة هي الأساس

We talk about every thing!! About freedom, democracy, political, economic, administrative, and social development, etc. but we do not talk about cultural development, maybe because we are ashamed to talk about it. Human beings are by

نتحدث في كل شيء!! في الحرية والديمقراطية والتنمية السياسية والإقتصادية والإدارية والإجتماعية وغيرها ولا نتحدث عن التنمية الثقافية ربما لأننا نخجل في الحديث عنها؟! فالإنسان بطبيعته يخجل من التحدث عن عيوبه ،

nature ashamed to talk about their defects, and try to evade the diagnosis of the inherited social disease, just as it is with the diagnosis of cancer in the body. Cultural development is the development of thought in all its forms, and the development of mentality. It constitutes one of the main pillars for progress and civilization!! It involves art, sociology, literature, poetry, economics, politics, freedom, dialogue, opinion giving and respect for the other opinion [...] so as to bring about a new generation that has the mentality and approach that respects and accepts others; a generation that respects dialogue and the other opinion; a generation that is open-minded for what is useful around the world; a generation that is socially and politically knowledgeable, one that possesses the culture of democracy. I, along with others, belong to the generation of the fifties and sixties. We used to be thrilled when we heard the revolutionary slogans, and enjoy political executions, and take joy in the exile of those who belong to the other opinion group!! We were prisoners of inherited social traditions!! We were deprived from expressing our opinions or choosing whether at home or school or in society. We were not experts in dialogue and were not tolerant towards the other opinion because we were deprived of expressing our opinions!! All the other societies have surpassed us!! Because they reached the stage in thought and mentality that qualifies them to be democratic societies and states that have the culture of democracy!!! [...]

ويحاول الهروب دائما عن تشخيص المرض الاجتماعي الموروث كالخوف من تشخيص مرض السرطان في الجسم . التنمية الثقافية هي تطور الفكر في كل أشكاله وهي تطور منهجية التفكير (MENTALITY) وهي إحدى الأعمدة الرئيسية من أجل التقدم والحضارة !! وهي معنية في الفن والإجتماع والأدب والشعر والإقتصاد والسليسة والحرية والحوار والرأي واحترام الرأي الآخر ... لإنشاء جيل جديد يتحلى بعقلية ونهج تفكير يحترم الآخرين و يتقبلهم جيل يحترم الحوار والرأي الآخر ، جيل منفتح على كل الأمور المفيدة في العالم ، جيل مثقف اجتماعيا وسياسيا !! جيل يمتلك ثقافة الديمقراطية !! ... أنا أنتمي وغيري إلى جيل الخمسينات والستينات !! كنا نطرب عند سماع الشعارات الثورية ، ونستمتع بالإعدامات السياسية !! ونتلذذ في اقضاء الآخرين أصحاب الرأي الآخر !! كنا أسرى للتقاليد الاجتماعية الموروثة !! كنا محرومين من إبداء الرأي والاختيار في البيت والمدرسة والمجتمع لا نجد الحوار ولا نقبل الرأي الآخر لأننا كنا محرومين من إبداء الرأي !! كل المجتمعات سبقتنا !! لأنها وصلت إلى درجة ومرحلة في الفكر ومنهجية التفكير أهلتها إلى أن تكون دول ومجتمعات ديمقراطية تملك ثقافة الديمقراطية!!

What the previous article shows is the move from the ideologies of the 1960s, seen now to be inappropriate, to a different mode of thought. What the article reveals is an awareness of the inadequacy of the current mode of discourse to satisfy the potentials for a “culture of democracy” to build a new generation “that has the mentality and approach that respects and accepts others; a generation that respects dialogue and the other opinion.” The call towards rationalism is required not only by the readers. The news institutions too seek an order of discourse that does not provoke action or reaction, but one that arouses interest and influences opinions. Under the young leadership of King Abdullah, this policy of openness was enhanced, and as mentioned in Chapter 2, leaders

of many civic institutions have worked on reinforcing openness and dialogue. This policy is promoted by the regime because it enhances stability in the community, instead of mobilizing the masses into demonstrations and unrest, which can cause dissidence within the public.

4. Building bridges: Hybrid texts

Conversely, *The Jordan Times* plays the role of mediating local views to the Western world. As previously mentioned, the editorial staff of *The Jordan Times* is different from *Al-Rai*. And while the *Al-Rai*'s target is to import external opinions to Jordan, *The Jordan Times* undertakes the task of rendering the Jordanian point of view to people who are not familiar with the regional or local settings. According to Samir Barhoum, responsible editor at *The Jordan Times*, the newspaper management is aware of the rhetorical differences required by different readerships (Interview: 2.4.2005). Therefore, the newspaper, according to Barhoum, recruits only editors and journalists who are proficient in both English and Arabic. The proficiency of English has been slanted in these newspapers because lack of fluency in English has always hampered the succinct expression and relaying of opinions of the people in that part of the world to the Western world. Remember that writers like Edward Said, Hisham Sharabi and Sa'd El-Din Ibrahim were influential, each in his own field, partly because of their mastery of English and the skill as writers in expressing views that rhyme – modally speaking – with the Western modes of expression.

This policy was also confirmed by Maha AL-Sharif, chief editor of the weekly *Star*. She confirmed that columnists adopt a mode of writing that attempts to be rational. She added that it is important to relay their messages in mild doses so as not to lose their

foreign audience (Interview: 3.4.2005). In other words, the discourse transmitted outward does not attempt to be propagandistic or very critical of the Western policies. It rather attempts to come half-way in terms of modality and rigour. Texts written in this way are referred to in post-colonial studies as 'hybrid texts' (Adejunmobi: 1998).

The following article is an excellent example of the dilemma of this rhetoric. The article was written by Rima Merriman and published by *The Jordan Times* on 21.4.2005. The article is titled 'Understanding Arab rhetoric'. This article which is viewed as one form of rewriting, is intended to explain to the West the reasons behind the modality and emotiveness of the Arab rhetoric in general, which also pertains to the Jordanian setting. Merriman says:

- 4-6 Well-meaning mediators trying to build bridges between East and West often argue that a more rational rhetoric in the Arab world media is necessary if Arabs are to influence US public opinion in their favour.

But Arab rhetoric, with its cultural tendency towards emotional and poetic expression, is very well suited to the tragic conditions to which it gives voice, as is a religion whose holy book is the wellspring of that rhetoric.

Arab intellectuals in the media often begin calmly enough, but soon the mere attempt to impose calmness on the discourse in the face of the outrageousness of the subject matter backfires. An example is an exchange some months ago between anti-Arab bigot Daniel Pipes and an Iraqi intellectual on Al Jazeera. Pipes droned on calmly and deliberately as the other interviewee's frustration rose. Pipes then made a point of drawing attention to her anger and his contrasting calm. She responded that her anger merely showed that she had integrity.

She meant that when one talks about an outrage without being outraged, that person loses his humanity and credibility.

The American abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison expressed this idea best: "I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hand of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; - but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present."

It is possible for Sharon to stand up and calmly address the American public about the strategic, geopolitical and security reasons for the occupation or for Jewish settlements,

now being shuttled from one occupied territory to the next, or for the land-grab wall or for the de facto annexation of East Jerusalem. Why not? Without even reaching final negotiations with the PA, he already knows that the US is on his side regarding two major issues: Borders (no complete return to the Green Line) and Palestinian refugees (to be sent to a new Palestinian state not back to their homes in Israel).

It is much harder, however, for Palestinians to articulate calmly the effects of Israel's existence and devastating power on their lives and on their humanity. Injustice and powerlessness is a condition of their existence.

Legal and logical rhetoric is very well suited to Israel's plans as it is suited to any criminal who gets off on a technicality in court. As far as Sharon is concerned, he is now on a "pre-roadmap" phase, it will find many "legitimate" ways to stall the process such as, to give one example, demanding proof of the PA's security obligation in the shape of a shoot-out with Palestinian "terrorists". Through decades of racist, brutal, expansionist settlement policies, Israel created terrible problems for the Palestinians, exacerbating the "original sin" of its creation, and now Sharon wants Abbas to contain these realities on the ground for him.

The alleged terrorists, meanwhile, are emotionally and fruitlessly demanding that Israel release all of its Palestinian prisoners.

On campuses across the United States, where the Israeli occupation is often discussed and debated as the Israeli-Palestinian "conflict", where "anti-Israel" means "anti-Semitic," Arab students have often stood up to articulate their position in hesitant and emotional English, if they could find the exact English equivalent of their Arabic words, their audience would lean towards justice. These days not many such Arab students can stand up and speak freely, for their emotional speech is highly likely to be accused of promoting terrorism.

But on the campus of Birzeit University on the West Bank, students were speaking freely last week as they campaigned for student council elections. The various student factions on campus reflected the politics in the wider society. With drums, waving flags, and charged emotions, they filed into the debate arena where spokespersons for each faction addressed the crowd of students and faculty. The speeches were full of emotion and Arab rhetoric keyed to a high pitch. Even the faction that focused on student affairs rather than politics had, for its motto, "with blood, with our souls, we sacrifice for you Palestine."

Slogans on posters were elemental: "The land is ours", "We are a people who know how to avenge the spilt blood of our leaders", "My Dream will not be complete without you, Jerusalem", "Free our Prisoners", "Mother, don't cry, I will come back from the grave and kindle a fire below the earth". Arafat's poster was everywhere as were posters of various Palestinians, students and public figures alike, who had lost their lives in "martyrdom" or who are imprisoned: "We will follow in your footsteps."

Palestinians have a rhetoric that expresses their reality.

This text is instrumental in many ways. First, the purpose of the text is to explain the sort of rhetoric that is regarded appropriate in the Arab world. The article begins by describing the situation in the Arab world in general narrowing it down at the end to the Palestinian situation. What this shift in emphasis indicates is the significance of the Palestinian cause in dictating and steering the rhetoric of the Arab people. It also explains how variable the rhetoric can be inside the Arab world for those who share the same social and ideological system as opposed to delivering the same message in a foreign (in this case American) surrounding. It draws attention to an important factor and that is the restrictions imposed on expressing one's opinion in the West lest one would be accused of 'terrorism.' The issue of terrorism is very fundamental in the contemporary discourse and it tends to pull the threads of the current global discourse. The article delivers the Palestinian version of the story to the Western reader, to project their perspective and to explain the logic behind their rhetoric and actions. Second, the article explains the mode of their expression. It shows that this mode of expression is the one that "expresses their reality." The rhetoric of feelings is the norm because of the people's exacerbation with Israeli occupation. However, although this mode of expression tends to be more rigorous in the occupied lands, it is used to a lesser degree in Jordan, where people live within more secure borders. Third, the text highlights many of the focal principles considered to be taken for granted as Palestinians' rights.

In general, the constraints of the various features of the social context such as institutional settings on the interpretation and thematic structure of a text have proven to be important. The mass media which use Arabic have a particular impact on their audience. The importance of the language itself helps shape the content of the media.

What makes translated texts of interest to the local media is their heterogeneous mode in terms of their meanings and interpretive scope. The local discourse is more or less stable and fixed in its thematic scope and linguistic techniques. Introducing other modes of discourse which could be fluid, unstable and shifting adds more dynamism to the local discourse. With the translated texts, new avenues of thought are emerging, while with local texts, we are left with more questions than answers due to lack of information. While the government traditionally forms the policing agent of discourse in Jordan, the Western writers base their policing agency on the grounds of “knowledge” and “truth”, and in part on the reader. Whereas the American writer seems to have a passion for factual details and statistics, the Arab writer by contrast seems to give more attention to the correct words, phrasing, and grammar s/he should use in describing an event. The Americans tend to be “pragmatic and down to earth” (Berger 1991: 5). On general terms, contrary to articles written by domestic writers, articles written by Westerners are governed by plain rhetoric and lack of adornment.

The emotiveness of the language helps create a sort of personal journalism. This type of journalism matches the close relations that tie the different segments of society. People tend to have personalized types of relations, and thus the type of relation between the press and the people follow suit. A relation of such sort entails the corollary that the language used is most often emotive. This is not to judge that this mode of functioning is not appropriate, as it reflects the psychological aspect of the writing process, and confirms the emphasis endowed by reception theorists to the audience who slant the role of readership on the style of presentation of the journalistic product (see Chapter 2). Various sectors of Jordanian readership need to sense variable degrees of emotiveness in

the articles they read. The use of emotive language produces a similar effect of the literary 'catharsis.' It allows the public emotion to find a way for open expression of feelings. For the sake of explaining, 'humanizing'⁷⁴ of news stories in news reporting is emphasized as a necessary editorial policy in the Western media (deWerth-Pallmeyer 1998) though it is feared to lead to sensationalism (Fairclough 1995: 93).

The relationship between emotiveness and clarity of vision is in many instances adversely reciprocal. The more emotional a writer is, the less subtle an argument could be and/or less informative it could be, and vice-versa. In virtue of emotiveness, the reader is assumed to be reluctant to accept the validity of the arguments presented at face value, at least at points where language turns to be emotive and evaluative. According to interviewed translators, they tend to choose articles that contribute to reasoning rather than to sentiment (with some exceptions), as a means of introducing different persuasion strategies, so as to provide the two faces of the coin.

4.1. The Coin Model

This tendency brings us to what I would call "**the coin model.**" Normally, any coin will have two faces; one face stating the amount it stands for and another face that has a picture or a slogan or a symbol that ties the coin to the culture or heritage of the country of origin. So, while one face provides the factual data (the exact amount), the other face conjures cultural connotations though not necessarily distributed proportionally into the two faces. The bottom line is that all coins will have these two strands. Similarly, newspapers feel the need to fulfill these two elements in their journalistic messages, at least in the Jordanian setting, though articles pertaining to

⁷⁴ Humanizing a story means adding a human element to it rather than reporting figures and facts only (deWerth-Pallmeyer 1998: 11).

sentiment and reasoning are not necessarily proportionate in quantity. As much as emotiveness is requested as a vehicle for relaying half-mediated stories, down to earth material needs to be furnished too. This is not to suggest that the journalistic component of Jordanian newspapers is always emotive or to suggest that the Western journalistic component is always factual. There are strong cases of emotiveness, represented in partisanship, in many Western newspapers. And although many Western newspapers are known for their objectivity, emotiveness can always be spotted when describing events that are of direct impact on writers. It is the element of 'distance' that makes Western writers comment on events that occur in the Middle East from a different angle. They are detached by reason of geographical distance, so they are not directly involved. This duality allows the newspaper to reach a more diverse range of readers, those who are interested in the local perspective and those who feel the need to expand their outlook.

What I suggest by the coin model is that when a certain event conjures emotions on the side of the local Jordanian writers, with little information to build their arguments on, the Western newspapers will supplement the other face of the coin – information. Their comments seem to *supplement* the vacuum that is not filled by the local writings. The disparate appeals to feelings and reason would compromise the overall effect. At the same time, the careful selection of articles springs as necessary because of the translators' awareness that some Western pieces *are* highly emotive or attitudinal. The selection of these articles depends on the perspective and the attitude of the Western writer. There seems to be a hierarchy in the features that qualify articles for translation ranging from texts that are highly informative with pro-Arab attitudes on top of the hierarchy, to those that are neutral, and ending with those that have extreme anti-Arab attitudes. Translators

see the ideal articles for translation to be those that are highly informative and minimally provocative. According to their criteria for selecting texts, informativity ranks as the number one criterion, followed by the attitude of the writer (Interviews with Barhoum 18.6.2004; Abu-Eideh 17.8.2005 and Sabri 2.4.2005). My contention is that objectivity is not what readers are after. Readers want to learn about a given issue of conflict from a certain point of view, definitely from a different one than the local, as confirmed by interviewed translators. That's why it is pursued in translation from the other's point of view. For example, using statements criticizing Israel or the United States, for instance, made by American or Israeli natives would even make them the more influential and interesting to read. In semiotic terms, the translator recognizes a certain source system which would fulfill the ideational demands of the target audience. Those that are rarely selected are the ones that violate the discursive or informational norms expected by the readers which would adversely affect the cohesive progression of the overall discourse. The uniqueness and beauty of the text 'A Cri de Coeur: Imagining Palestine', is that it is a passionate thought expressed by the *Other* using a language that resembles the local mode of writing and is factual at the same time. It identifies with the Palestinian issue and more importantly it comes from the *Other*. By identifying herself with the Palestinian issue, Kathleen Christison⁷⁵, a former CIA analyst, crossed the barrier between the *Other* and *Us* to being one of *Us*. It is an enactment of a foreign to the persona of a Palestinian. Translator Mahmoud Barhoum mentioned that he received a number of phone calls expressing their admiration for the article, reflecting the appeal that it received within the public. The article begins as follows:

⁷⁵ Kathleen Christison is a former CIA political analyst and has worked on Middle East issues for 30 years. She is the author of *Perceptions of Palestine* and *The Wound of Dispossession*.

4-7 A Palestinian child died in my arms today. It was a young boy; it was a girl. It was an infant; it was a 13-year-old. She had been shot 20 times by an Israeli soldier firing U.S.-made bullets; he had been dismembered by a missile fired from a U.S.-manufactured Israeli helicopter gunship. I am a Palestinian, and these were my children.

I am a Palestinian. *I say I am a Palestinian* to express my solidarity and that of many silent Americans with a suffering people under Israeli domination. John Kennedy could stand up with honor and make his statement. I must bow my head in shame, for it is my government that pays for Israel's oppression of the Palestinians, my government that is committing ethnocide against the Palestinians, my government that is killing Palestinian children. I am a Palestinian, and I reject my American government.

I comforted a woman today whose house was demolished by Israeli bulldozers, monsters of destruction made in America. I helped her pick through the rubble of her home to retrieve her children's clothing and toys. I comforted her children, who will have no toys and no place to sleep tonight. I listened, thunderstruck, as her husband wailed aloud, standing in front of the pile of broken concrete that was his home. I will not be able to persuade his children that he has not failed them, not failed to provide the protection that any father must give his children. I imagined my own home in ruins, my own children bereft, and I wept. I am a Palestinian, and this woman, this man, these children are my countrymen. [...]

I am a Palestinian. I live the daily lives of Palestinians. I cradled a dying Palestinian child in my arms today. [Emphasis in original article]

The identification made through the repetition of "I am Palestinian" is very focal.

The translator identifies this proposition to constitute the core argument, as it is repeated seven times throughout the article. The writer is (still) American in nationality, but she identifies herself emotionally with the Palestinians. The emphatic italicized use of "*I say I am Palestinian*" is maintained in translation by rendering it as "وأنا أقول أنني فلسطينية" (*And I say I am Palestinian*) whereby an unemphatic form would be "أقول أنني فلسطينية" (I say I am Palestinian), as the pronoun "أنا" (I) in Arabic is used for emphasis in verbal sentences.⁷⁶

The function of an article like this is two-fold. First, it provides testimony to the pan-national cause. Second, it helps the Jordanian people build bridges with the West by not being reductive in their judgments of the *Other*. It disrupts the '*Other* paradigm' by reinforcing the idea that not the entire American people are against the Palestinian issue, and to draw a distinction between the American administration and the American people.

⁷⁶Verbal sentences are those that begin with the verb. In verbal sentences, the pronoun I is embedded inflectionally with the verb, so that "أنا" (I) is not used. When "أنا" (I) is added, this is done for rhetorical purposes, one of which is emphasis.

The two functions will be discussed in more details in the following sections on testimony and glocalization.

Such article constitutes a sort of sub-system qualifying it as an order of discourse, due to the features that are common within this sub-system. At the same time, this order of discourse is dynamic. Remember that we are talking about a day-to-day interaction with the breaking events and the pieces of writings that comment on these events. There are short-term micro-level techniques that deal with individual cases as much as long term policies when dealing with these cases, through selectivity. This dynamism of interaction is the core of the task of the translator in the Jordanian press. The oscillation between factual writing and emotive writing is the ultimate goal of the coin mode. The same model applies to the English writings at *The Jordan Times*. The articles written by Jordanian writers (such as Fanek's article in Chapter 2) are aimed at introducing the Jordanian as opposed to the Western interpretations of events, as the examples above have shown.

Translation is used as a method of development. It has played and still plays an important role in shaping the editorial canons and stylistic conventions of the commentary. The disparity in orders of discourse creates a dialogue that may be internal for the reader or external, shared by society to learn more about itself and its values by becoming aware of alternative beliefs. Journalistic messages are ideologically coded, in the sense that they communicate values as well as facts, frameworks of interpretation as well as information. Their success is dependent on the intellectual trends of the institution and the readers. As Hermans stresses “the critical mass is important. It guarantees continuity over time as well as the influx of new faces and ideas to generate questioning,

dissent, debate, revision and innovation. The quantitative aspect thus has a qualitative impact” (1999: 15). The intellectual infrastructures within which new ideas are produced have better chances of germinating. For Adorno and Horkheimer (2002), the key issue for capitalist societies is the ‘commodification of culture’, that is, the penetration, into the sphere of culture, of the rationale and techniques of the capitalist mode of production. Societies change values and beliefs regarding identity, otherness and language. In the Jordanian society which is only partially capitalist, this paradigm is functional too, and perhaps needed. The influx of new blood into the local arena provokes self-reflexive appraisal of the society’s moral and ideational system. It raises questions about how society can cope with competing contemporary global discourses.

4.2. The Intertextual Chain

The examples above show how articles emerge as a chain, one episode following the other. As a complex set of discourse, the articles in Jordanian newspapers have become conventionalized, thematically and structurally speaking. Articles are homogeneous in form and content (meanings). This is translated as the intertextual relations that tie texts together. The intertextual relations can be seen as emerging between and within orders of discourse, so that local writings relate to one another and at the same time, they relate to the translated articles, explicitly or implicitly particularly in thematic terms. These several discursal strands are organized into a coherent whole by the body of texts, serving a rhetorical purpose. The discourse is coherent to the extent that certain contextual features as isotopic *classemes* can be discerned as in a literary text. For instance, in the articles that deal with the Palestinian issue, concepts related to force are discerned through the use of words such as ‘occupation’, domination’, seizure’,

'settlements', or paradigms of militancy such as 'attacks', 'raids,' 'blasts,' 'terrorism', 'violence,' 'suicide,' etc. in both the domestic and the translated texts. These lexical items and many other *classemes* are redundantly used, from an information theory point of view. This redundancy helps unify the discourse coherently within certain interpretive frameworks.

Translation plays a 'mediating' function, whereby 'mediation' as described by Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 182) means "the extent to which one feeds one's current beliefs and goals into the model of the communicative situation." Mediation occurs when using knowledge of other texts relevant to the processing of the text at hand. As Hatim and Mason emphasize, intertextuality is a force which extends the boundaries of textual meaning (1991: 127-129). In *S/Z* (1974), Barthes describes texts undergoing this force as displaying a limitless 'perspective of fragments, of voices from other texts, other codes.' Indeed, the whole process may be seen as a kind of *code-switching*. There is a shift from one sign system to another in response to a variety of socio-psychological circumstances dictated by particular communicative requirements (1974: 125). Such an approach to intertextuality would enable us to perceive relations between the functions of one order of discourse and those of other relevant discourses. To take one example, while articles by American writers criticizing American president George W. Bush's foreign policies are intended for internal political reform, they are incorporated as translated texts in the target culture to reinforce the anti-imperialism paradigm. Passing from one signifying system to another, the article *as sign* develops different functional and interpretative meanings. To be effective as a vehicle of signification, the article gains that force from its position in a series of relevant articles, meeting on certain nodes of references. These

nodes may be the isotopic classemes that bond the articles coherently. As Kristeva (1980: 146) states “every text is constructed as a mosaic of citations, every text is an absorption and transformation of other texts”. This last remark leads us to the testimonial role of translation, but how important is this role?

5. Translation as Testimony

Testimony emerges as one of the most functional roles of translation in directing the public sphere. This is often pursued through bringing testimonial material into the discourse. Testimony is one of the five general lines of argument in persuasive discourse as suggested by Corbett & Eberly (1990). It is a general term for various types of ‘evidence’, like informed opinion and authority, statistics, maxims or laws and examples, thus, functioning on two levels, on a micro level through citations, statistics, and examples and on a macro level by considering the entire body of translated articles as testimonial. The material brought into a discourse from external sources is meant to make an argument as convincing as possible by showing that the general opinion formulated in the text is based on facts and experience. These different discursive strategies have several functions, such as enhancing the vividness of descriptions or the credibility of accounts. As Hatim and Mason illustrate “each intrusion of a citation in the text is the culmination of a process in which a sign travels from one text to another” (1991: 129). Hatim and Mason call the area being traversed from one text to another as ‘intertextual space’ (*Ibid.*). This space is as geographically as ideologically great. Translation helps bridge the gap between both. The motivated nature of this intertextual relationship may be explained in terms of the function of the overall communicative purpose. Hatim and Mason suggest three types of ‘contextual effects.’ Testimonial material may strengthen

previously held assumptions (as when 'new information confirms 'old') or weaken/eliminate unconfirmed/false assumptions (when 'new' contradicts 'old') or the fusion of old and new may serve as premises from which other contextual implications are derived (1991: 95). The three effects are realized through translation in the Jordanian media.

News reports and articles are based on the meshing of 'new' and 'old' information. The interaction between the two types of information is necessary for the well-formedness of an argument. External sources are highly valued in the discursive structure of argumentative texts. The Jordanian press, due to lack of information, relies on its testimonial material for validating arguments on what it sees as informed sources on on-going events. It is important to mention that Jordanians in general rely on certain references for *value judgments*, such as the Qur'an, Hadiths (The prophet Mohammad's sayings), laws and to a lesser degree proverbs and famous sayings. These references are quoted whenever a judgment is sought. For the daily political events and policies behind these events, another form of testimony is needed for the up-to-date facts of political life. Since most of the issues commented on in the daily newspapers are related to American foreign policies, most of the testimonial matter is primarily taken from American newspapers. One example is an article written by the Jordanian columnist Tariq Masarweh from *Al-Rai* on 2.12.2005. The article is titled "عرض سخّي آخر للفلسطينيين ولكن من" (Another generous offer to the Palestinians but from Sharon this time). Masarweh states his argument at the beginning of the article, and then he adds : "كما يقول : "...As "جيف هالبر منسق اللجنة الإسرائيلية لمنع تدمير بيوت الفلسطينيين في مقالة له على موقع الكاونتر بنش ، ويضيف ...

Jiff Halper, the Coordinator of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions in an

article on the Counterpunch.com website. He (Halper) adds that ...”).⁷⁷ To reinforce his argument, Masarweh uses the statement made by what he considers to be a well-informed opinion. He structures his arguments on factual information. As the coordinator of ICAHD, Halper becomes a reliable ‘accredited witness’ (as in news reporting), an accessed pundit in that particular field. There are plenty of similar examples on citations that can be found within the local commentary on a daily basis.

Some western columnists and journalists are taken up by the local news organizations as opinion leaders on matters related to the Middle East; such as Robert Fiske, Thomas Friedman, Sir Townsend, to name only a few. The fact that they have been well-known personalities in the field of public opinion for many years lends them personal authority and an aura of long experience. The attribution of statements to authoritative opinion leaders is a key part of the rhetoric of factuality, which profoundly affects the credibility of arguments constructed and hence the credibility of the article and its writer. Because knowledge is so diversified and specialized in our age, people feel the need to take the ‘word’ of some experts about the facts transmitted through the media. Although informed opinion is not infallible, it seems to have a great persuasive force and is extensively used as a discursive argumentative device.

Another category of opinion leaders who are translated are extra-medial pundits, such as politicians who are or were in office in various Western governments. This category of writers are more politically involved in policy making, such as Henri Kissinger, Condoleezza Rice, Donald Rumsfeld, Ramsey Clark, and many more who are widely translated. The importance of their writings is that they directly inform the readers

⁷⁷ The article that Masarweh refers to is ‘Peretz or Bust?’ by Jiff Halper which appeared on the www.counterpunch.com website on 25.11.2005.

of the policies 'in action.' What they write represents a 'reality' more than just an 'opinion.' Some other scholars who are politically oriented have been widely translated such as Noam Chomsky and Edward Said. These articles represent the macro-level of testimony. The entire page of "Translations" plays that role. Since 2002, the testimony of Arab writers whose mode of writing resembles that of the Western writings has been widely imported. These writers are mainly those who write for the off-shore newspapers and magazines, lending them some kind of authority. A look at table 3-10 in Chapter 3 will help remind us of some of those names. To establish credibility of the translated texts, translators use the technique of footnoting, especially if the personality is not very well known, or not regularly translated. Translators acquaint the reader with the original text writer by adding a post-article note that describes the writers' authoritative position (as a politician, or scholar or book writer, and so forth) and the social or political role which lends him/her to be trusted for what he /she says. The reference here is intended to lend an element of authority to a committed piece of writing

In his investigations into what came to be known as '*second-order semiotic systems*,' Barthes, in his work on myth (1957) argues that there are systems which, in order to signify, build on other systems. He identifies literature as an ideal example of such systems in the sense that, primarily through the element of 'creativity', it provides an alternative version of the real world. To expand on his model, the news reports and the commentary in the press stand as lively discourses that constitute a second-order semiotic system. The body of journalistic products reflects reality in various ways. The journalistic product may establish a ground that relates Barthes's second-order semiotic system to Gramsci's notion of hegemony. The dominant ideology model states that those who

control the means of material production tend to control the means of mental production as well (Hall: 1977). As a powerful political and media empire, the American media corporations disseminate their version of *reality* on broader grounds into the world. Despite challenges to these realities by many entities and societies, the American version of events is still sought as enjoying some degree of factuality. The choices that translators make in terms of articles determine the degree of resistance to the codes of the imported system. By importing these articles, the positions and social roles of these articles in their home culture are also imported and given prominence. By giving them the status of authority, they *represent* the ideological paradigms of their home cultures, creating a second-order semiotic system that may conform in form but not necessarily in content, since reality means different things for different societies.

6. Foreign Models to Emulate

The importation of testimony from Western resources is indicative of the existence of a hierarchy in the way the Jordanian press in general and the translators in particular perceive the status and the credibility of foreign discourse. Ironically, it is the voice of the *Other* which is believed to lend credibility to the local voice. The sheer emergence of these articles as translations lends them credibility and inscribes a hierarchy and prestige to the external voice. Although some Anglo-American and European publications have quite often self-criticized some of their news presentation strategies and claims of greater credibility, adequacy and accuracy, their status is not critically undermined by the Jordanian translators.

Generally speaking, the publications that are selected as source testimonial references and the production models they adopt are perceived to be on top of the

journalistic scale. As van Dijk explains, “models, like most mental schemata, are hierarchically organized: they have overall propositions (macrostructures) at the top, and more specific propositions at the bottom [...] this may be at the overall level of the discourse, or at the level of words and sentences (1998b: 42). The hierarchy can be detected by perceptions of the local press that sees the Western press as super-ordinate to the local press in two fields, information and mode of writing (Interview with Barhoum: 28.5.2003). According to translators, the writers translated customarily enjoy a high reputation for factuality and credibility. Some journalists’ reputation for sensationalism renders them in a lower position, which signals the rejection of the emotive mode of writing.

It has to be mentioned though, that the neutrality of the foreign commentary and the writers’ detachment from the text seems to be overemphasized to the extent that it is almost perceived as truism. Subjectivity cannot be avoided due to the very fact that all linguistic utterances imply stance and perspective make it hard to reconcile ‘enunciations’ as neutral. Even for a famous writer as Thomas Friedman, the use, for example, of the concept “Islamofascists” to refer to the “Iraqi fighters” is way beyond neutrality. Nonetheless, such attitudes do not hinder the fact that he is translated because of his significant role in the establishment of political discourse on Middle Eastern conflicts. This is confirmed by the many articles that are contributed by local readers discussing his contribution to the political discourse. One such example is the article “توماس فريدمان .. اللاعب الجديد في الساحة” (Thomas Friedman, the new play in the political arena) by Mohammad Amayreh which appeared in *Al-Rai* on 5.11.2004. In this article the writer criticizes Friedman’s strong anti-Arab attitudes, yet he compliments his writing

skills and acknowledges that Jordanian newspaper readers have not forsaken reading his articles. Translators are aware of this ideological interference just in the same way they are subject themselves to these ideological trends. In the case that a text turns out not to be convincing to a translator, as many translators testified, such articles are ignored or translated using techniques that mitigate the attitudinal expressions as will be seen later. Such incidents, however, do not hamper the translation activity. The selectional judgments made by translators are some of the most critically informed decisions that translators make, based on their intuitions on what may be considered a convincingly reliable and credible piece of writing.

As the above example shows, the readers also share in the building of hierarchy. They do that by positioning the imported discourse on a higher position than the local one and by establishing that the importance and force of what is said partially arises in virtue of the fact that it is said by a certain person in a certain position from a certain perspective. The public knows the limitations of the Jordanian press and acknowledges the compensatory role of the Western importations into the press. Ironically, these perceptions on the part of the readers and the journalistic body alike stand behind the success of the enterprise of translation in the press. Translation would not have been successful had the audience not situated the translations in a prestigious position. Had the imported Western discourse not enjoyed that status, it would have lost its appeal – i.e. appellative function (Bühler: 1990) – and hence its readership. By losing readership, the news organization would have lost the impetus for translating.

While many Translation Studies scholars complain that translation as product has a derivative status as opposed to originals (e.g. Venuti: 1995) – and see it held in low

esteem for some individuals or publishers – translation seems controversially to be given more prestige and credibility than the comparable local commentaries in Jordan, partially because the readers know that the imported text has been written without compelling censorial forces. On the contrary, texts that are written by local writers using the Western writing techniques receive less prestige. This positioning tendency is linked to the hierarchy endowed to languages in general in the Jordanian society. Individuals who have language skills are better employed since they have better ‘communicative’ skills. Another reason for that prestigious position is the readers’ understanding about what guarantees a quality press; the commitment to the “objectivist” standards of news, reflecting a more independent, authoritative and detached stance of journalism (Cottle: 2003) which would result in representations that are more diverse and fairer than those in the sensational or tabloid press. In other words, this standard enhances the professionalism of journalists that has been encouraged and called for by the regime for over a decade now.

7. The Glocalizing role of translation

Of all the technological developments which have driven the evolution of journalism in recent years, the most important will surely turn out to be the satellite and the Internet. With the rapidly growing information technology, the twenty first century has witnessed widespread changes. Economic and political power is continuously being readjusted, as the global market economy permeates and is contaminated by its contact with local processes. The increasing need for instant information, presented in unlimited quantities through various channels and all at the same time has augmented the need for translation. The sheer amount of the material, the speed with which it must be processed

has changed the way we interact with and perceive the world around us (Schäffner 2000: 11). Journalism has thus become more global, not just in the sense of bringing events in the wider world 'home,' but also in making the audience itself more international and 'global in nature (McNair 1998: 131), bringing about the phenomenon of globalization, as will be seen shortly.

The paradigm of globalization has been widely discussed in translation studies, using various perspectives and approaches. The major concerns were on the impact of globalization processes on the need for translation, through generating translation technology to help with processes of cyber-localization (Bowker: 2002), or multimodality (O'Halloran: 2004), or the impact of using English as a lingua franca (Crystal: 1997; Snell-Hornby: 2000) or on its impact on translation politics (Cronin: 2004) and translator training programs (Schäffner: 2000). These studies have been very diversified and enlightening for translation studies. The current project, too, is primarily TS-grounded. It deals with the role of translation in creating a cultural space in the press along the line of what is known in political and media studies as the 'new Global-Local Nexus' (Hafez: 2000). As the title of Newmark's paper in Anderman and Rogers (2003) briefs, there is "[n]o Global Communication Without Translation" (*Ibid.*: 55). To understand any role of translation in issues related to globalization, the analysis of the issue of globalization must be considered a multidisciplinary project as Schäffner (2000) recommends. The present study uses different sciences like Media Studies, Political Studies, and in this case its sub-discipline Middle Eastern studies, in an attempt to locate the problems of translation within the much broader phenomenon of globalization. Mary Snell-Hornby (2000) illustrates how recent trends, notably globalization and advances in

technology, have influenced international communication and translation. While she discusses the consequences for the job profile of the translator, I will focus on its influence on cultural issues, such as cultural identity.

7.1. The Global-Local Nexus

This nexus is built on polarity between what is seen to be global and what is perceived to be local. While the first end (global) is terminologically standardized, the other end has been labeled using different terms. In TS, the term localization is primarily associated with translation technology. In the cultural branch of TS, Schäffner (2000), for example, calls it tribalization, which is a reductive name that reduces the entity at the other end of the pole to the tribe, which is inaccurate in many settings. In Political Studies the terms ‘particularization’ (in terms of frames of work) and national (in regional terms) have been used. The present chapter is based on the premise that translation in the press attempts to dismantle this dichotomy by claiming to create an in-between zone along the cline between what is local and what is global. I will be using the term ‘glocalization’ to refer to such a process. Before dealing with glocalization in detail, let us investigate the global-local nexus within the media. The ‘global-local nexus’ combination suits my framework as it does not enhance the dichotomy as well as it allows flexibility within the cline.

The mass media may be considered the primary agents of globalization. In respect to information theory, people around the world are informed about world affairs, in virtue of the satellite and Internet technology introduced to people’s homes, cutting across the time-space lag, through the (in many instances simultaneous and live) coverage of political highlights by most media systems throughout the world. The

coverage of the Gulf war in 1991 by the *CNN* from the battlefield announced the era of *transnational* programs sponsored by *multinational* institutions with a clearly defined Western home base (Hafez 2000: 8). As Anthony Giddens maintains, globalization is shaped by developments of the world capitalist economy, the nation-state system, the world military order and the global information system (Giddens: 1984). The phenomenon must be conceptualized on different levels of disciplinary investigation; politics, economics, as well as international communication and culture, though in the present study these disciplines will be used from a journalistic vantage point of view. The problematic of globalization in the press can be summarized as the *rupture* between global and national/local trends. The nexus is foreshadowed by the dialectic relationships between the processes of globalization and those pertaining to the construction of national identities.

According to Oliver Boyd-Barrett “globalisation is Westernization” (1997: 143), or is *CNNization* as named by Jordanian journalists (Al-Rawashdah: 1997). The westernization of the global media raises serious doubts as to whether the internationalization of media technology and networks generates structures of global meaning. Furthermore, these processes are seen to be Americanized, as the largest and most influential multinational media corporations are US-based. Some observers feared the monopoly of these corporations on the production of news for global audiences. The cultural implications of such expansion amounts to what many scholars called ‘cultural imperialism’ (McNair 1998: 133), in which local cultures, with their local news values and agendas, will be swamped by the largely US agendas of the emerging global broadcasters such as the *CNN*. A single global culture may venture to mean an

Americanized world culture. In the sphere of journalism, as well as in other fields of cultural production, few dispute that this would amount to a deterioration of the cultural environment (*Ibid.*).

Since the emergence of globalization studies, the issue of globalization has met with strong stances of approval and disapproval within a large spectrum of fields. Hafez (2000) argues that proponents and opponents of media globalization often share common ideologies. For instance, proponents of globalization either aim at spreading Western culture and lifestyle through the mass media or strive for a real global culture of democratically integrated markets, ideas and potentials. Opponents are either cultural traditionalists protecting what they consider “authentic” national or local cultures against the “invasion” of Western ideas through the media, or they are modernists willing to open up their cultures to the outside world and consider developments in other countries while they are against the Western domination of such a process (*Ibid.* 2000: 17-18). Hafez adds that advocates of Western-style globalization and Third World traditionalists are both basically cultural essentialists claiming that there is some authentic “essence” to their cultures (such as “Western rationality”, “Islamic justice,” “Asian spirituality,” etc.) (*Ibid.*: 18). Given the demographic and social diversity of the Jordanian society, it is apportioned along these categories. The society ranges from Islamist traditionalists to pro-westernizers. On the other hand, the press as an institution belongs to the class of modernists who are open to Western culture but oppose at the same time Western socio-political domination that imposes its frames of thought and the relinquishment of traditional modes of thought. But how can translation help in this area?

7.2. The Glocalization Paradigm

In *Translation in the Global Village*, Mary Snell-Hornby argues that

In our present technological revolution, literacy is taken for granted, and the flood of information is made available to anyone with the hardware, software or electronic gadgets to gain access to it [...] and communication in the global village is *de facto* the privilege of those with technological tools, marginalizing millions in lesser developed countries as well as the have-nots in the richer countries. These still communicate by simple word of mouth or – provided that they are able to read and write – through conventional written texts, and their view of the world tends to be local and regional rather than global”. (2000: 11-12).

The two premises of this proposition are directly linked to the Jordanian situation. First, audience access to the codes of the producers is of primary importance in determining the possible interpretations of a journalistic message. McNair (1998:40) classifies these codes as of “a linguistic and ideological character.” It is true that literacy is crucial for wide-range dissemination of information, but literacy is not taken for granted. The audience must understand the language in which a message is encoded. English is no doubt a *lingua franca*, but the Jordanian public is an Arabic linguistic community. Although the percentage of (Arabic) literacy is high in Jordan, literacy in terms of knowledge of other foreign languages besides Arabic is not high. English as a colonial language constitutes a foreign language taught at schools, but is not used as a spoken second language. The number of proficient English users is not very high. The impact that this bears on the media is that those who do not know English well enough will rely on Arabic-based media for obtaining information.

Second, the flood of information is dependent on having access to the electronic tools necessary for that end. In the Jordanian setting, the Internet is widely used in workplaces and cafes, but it is not prolific as a house luxury as, let’s say, in North America. In the survey carried out by Centre for Strategic Studies (CSS) in 2003 on the

purposes of using the Internet, only 1% of the Jordanian respondents indicated that they use the Internet to read the news. The use of the Internet is hampered as it relies on the written word and mostly requires knowledge of English. In the CSS surveys on the use of computers and the Internet, the results showed that less than one fifth of the respondents use the Internet, though the rate is slowly increasing. Here are the results of the surveys from 2000-2004.

Table 4-1 Percentages of Computer and Internet users in Jordan (2000-2004)

Year	Users of the computer (%)	Non-users of computer (%)	Users of the Internet (%)	Non-Users of the Internet (%)
2004	35	65	17.5	82.5
2003	29.5	70.1	17.4	82.6
2002	29.0	71.0	15.6	84.4
2001	24.7	75.3	11.3	88.7
2000	17.4	82.2	7.1	92.8

In 2004, the percentage of those who used computers increased along the years from 17.4% in 2000 up to its double (35%) in 2004. Again, a considerable increase occurred to the percentage of those who used the Internet (from 7.1% in 2000 to 17.5% in 2004). Despite the constant increase in Internet use, the overall percentage is very low, which gives way to the public's dependence on other media outlets for retrieving information, particularly in political journalism. As McNair (1998) argues, the impact of the Internet is greater for the practice of journalism, in 'networked' societies. The average Jordanian consumer does not resemble the North-American "technocrat",⁷⁸ who has technological means at his/her disposal. The Internet has had several effects on the Jordanian media, though. The Internet is revolutionary as an information-source for the

⁷⁸ The term 'technocrat' was introduced by McNair to refer to audiences equipped "with a host of technological tools at their disposal to help them design the news for themselves" (1998: 6).

media organizations themselves, and consequently to translators, as it has opened up to journalists new sources of information which are more readily and conveniently available. Besides, the impact of the domestic journalism on the regional and international level becomes more enhanced as some newspapers have made their copy available on the Internet.

On the other hand, the percentage of those who have satellites appears to be higher. The same surveys show that more than half the respondents have satellite workings systems at their homes. The following table shows the growth in the use of satellites in the Jordanian society from 1998-2003:

Table 4.2 - The use of satellites within the Jordanian society from 1998-2003

Year	2003	2002*	2000	1999	1998
Percentage %	52.4%	50.2%	26.1%	23.2%	12.2%

* The survey did not include this type of analysis for the year 2001.

The use of the satellite almost doubled in 2002, due in part to the break of many political events in the Middle East since 2002. The Jordanian public primarily relied on regional pan-Arab satellite channels such as *Al-Jazeera Channel* and *Al-Arabiyya Channel* as major sources of information on the ongoing events. The international *CNN Channel*, which can be accessed through the satellite system, was meagerly followed up for two reasons. First, due to the language barrier, only those who have sufficient knowledge of English could follow up its news reporting. Second, it enjoys a low rate of credibility in comparison to other media outlets (for example, it had a credibility rate of 2.9% in 2000 in comparison to *Al-Jazeera Channel* (36.2%) in the same year) according to the CSS surveys. So, where does this leave the press?

This situation leaves the press with more tasks to carry out to compensate for the shortage of information for considerable sectors of the public who do not have sufficient knowledge in foreign languages. It also means that electronic journalism is not yet a threat or a competitor to hard copy journalism as the Jordanian audience for Web sites remains very small. Furthermore, the press is still faced with competition from other media outlets, leaving it in a position to prove itself as a credible public opinion mobilizer. Different people use different technologies for the retrieval of information, and translation seems to be an ideal alternative especially for those who are deprived of the linguistic codes or technological tools. Finally, the privilege that the Jordanian press has over other international ones is that the Jordanian public is in need of media outlets with an ideological frame that can be trusted, one that is local but has the dynamism of the global.

7.3. Globalization in Crisis

As Kai Hafez (2000: xii) asserts, “the so-called “clash of civilisations” often results from a lack of communication rather than from contradicting interests and values.” The debate over globalization in the 1990s perceived the two notions of globalization and particularization (or tribalism) as two distant poles rather than stretching in relative positions over a continuum that allows a space in-between. This debate seems to be suppressing the emergence of *contingencies* along the cline between what is seen as global and as local. Trends advocating the unwillingness of societies to give up their cultural identities stem from the complexity of what constitutes a society. Attempts to push towards globalization have resulted in the minority groups to further maintain their identities whether cultural, lingual or religious. Palma Zlateva (in

Schäffner 2000: 66) confirms that there is an official or dominating trend which seeks to confirm a nation's identity. Of a more optimistic vision, Morley and Robins (1995) remark that global information flows have started to penetrate frontiers and boundaries without, however, destroying them immediately. Instead, shifts towards the establishment of a "new local-global nexus" have begun. Global, national and local space identities do not remain static but increasingly interact with each other. They add that

Global space is a space of flows, an electronic space, a decentred space, a space in which frontiers and boundaries have become permeable. Within this global arena, economies and cultures are thrown into intense and immediate contact with each 'Other' (an 'Other' that is no longer simply 'out there', but also within). (1995: 115)

This point of view is averred by McNair who describes the current era as characterized by 'the chaotic flow model,' in which

the content of media is now so diverse and multisourced that no ideology can be truly 'dominant' for any length of time if it does not correspond on some level to what ordinary people feel to be, and experience as, true. No account of events stands unchallenged any more. (1998: 32)

Joseph D. Straubhaar (2000), one of the most articulate critics of the globalization paradigm, maintains that the idea of media globalization diminishes the nationalist, culturalist, or other particularist mechanisms at work in the process of media consumption. Like Straubhaar, Morley and Robins have observed a worldwide resurgence of ethnic nationalism and the popularity of concepts of cultural identity in the 1990s. The authors maintain, for example, that European identity is increasingly constructed against the seemingly non-European backdrop of the "Orient," be it Japan or the Islamic world (Morley and Robins 1995: 21). These assumptions reveal that in the process of globalization, concepts such as "ideas" and "identity" are as important as factors like the economy and politics.

The mechanisms of information flow in Jordan resemble those of the Arab world. The flow of information between the United States and Europe on the one hand and the Arab world – Jordan included – on the other, is overwhelmingly one way; West to East. The Jordanian audience knows much more about America and Europe than Americans and Europeans know about Jordanians. The language barrier is crossed for news going West to East because information from and about the United States is carried almost every day on the front pages of local newspapers published in Arabic, and discussed in editorials, by virtue of translation. In sharp contrast with the Eastward flow of information, the Westward flow is meager. As Rugh (2004: IX) maintains, part of the reason is the language barrier, since most Arab media is published in Arabic and those in foreign languages, as in English and French, have low circulation rates. Most of these publications are intended for non-Arabs living in the Middle East so their news and editorial content are quite different from the media in Arabic which most Arabs see every day. Besides, probably very few people in the United States and Europe can read Arabic. As a result, Americans have little idea what is being said about the United States on a daily basis in the Arab mass media. Thus, they have no way of understanding the nature of Arab mass media. After the 11.9.2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, Americans have paid much more attention to the Arab world, trying to understand it better, and they have been puzzled by fragmentary reports of what has appeared in Arab media (*Ibid.*). Journalists, politicians, and others have talked much more about Arab society and its institutions, including Arab media, but most people have little solid information about the subject, and some of their observations have unfortunately been rather superficial.

In this setting, the Jordanian press, under the patronage of King Abdullah, decided to contribute to the reversal of the flow of information pattern through its English and French newspapers. Thus, translation in the Jordanian press is used as a means for destabilizing information flows. It attempts to break the 'spiral of silence' (Noelle-Neumann 1993)⁷⁹ as a counterforce, through reversing the discourse on the relevant Jordanian issues in the other direction. Instead of importing secularism, for example, as a *fait accompli* (Mowlana: 2000), the English and French Jordanian newspapers export their nationalist discourse, by defending local political policies, traditions and cultural values. This opposite discourse comes as a "forceful call for a new world order by the less fortunate, disparate nations who are too often taken for granted as the passive audience" (*Ibid.*: 111). Such basic reforms, Mowlana contends, "must begin at the national level with a comprehensive communication policy" (*Ibid.*: 112).

On the other hand, the importation of articles belonging to different backgrounds functions as a tool of ideological tolerance towards opposing points of view. The newspaper becomes an arena for a real competition of ideas and interpretations of events. The diversity in points of view, in source newspapers imported through translation is meant to open up the horizons of the public, so that the public would be less closed to views other than those which are dominant. The public would thus be more accessible to the pluralism of views, and the media personnel first-hand in touch with the modes of expression used in the Western press, which would eventually enhance the quality of the local journalism. This is where the core of glocalization lies: the merging of the local with the international.

⁷⁹ Spiral of silence is an innovative theory of public opinion, developed by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (1993). The phrase "spiral of silence" refers to how people tend to remain silent when they feel that their views are in the minority.

Glocalization can, thus, be defined as the normative reform efforts aiming at creating a mid-way between the local-global paradigms, through establishing two-way adversary communications. The two-way communication can be established by domesticating foreign paradigms and foreignizing local paradigms. The ideal medium to do so is through language via media outlets. Translation as product and process qualifies as playing the designated role of representing and defining cultures (Schäffner 2000: 5). It would not be an exaggeration to describe the translation industry in the press as a reform project. It reforms the editorial policies, the writing canons and the ideological frameworks in the local atmosphere. But, how does this take place in the Jordanian setting?

As Hafez (2000: 19) suggests, the first element of a reform should be “the creation of critical domestic media environments. [...] Within the domestic environments it seems most likely that it is not the general audiences but certain elites that could initiate changes.” In Jordan, such efforts are encouraged by the regime. The information policies promoted by the government support the introduction of international public opinion locally, as an instrument for promoting democratic reforms. In order that the local readership would not reject imposed and variable frames of thought that may be perceived as destabilizing the fundamental societal values of the Jordanian society, the material imported is carefully selected to transmit a pattern of thought in a mode that is acceptable to the readers. The gradual process of “domestication” of views through the systematic inclusion of non-domestic frames into the local discourse has to address reason, rather than emotion. In order for this project to attain its goal, it has to respect the ideological underpinnings of society. The enhancement of a rational discourse rather than

an emotional propagandistic one contributes to the stabilization of the state. This is realized by helping the public better understand the macro-economic and political forces that govern Jordan's pro-Western relations, which as I have mentioned earlier, were subject to criticism by sectors of the public.

7.4. The Effects of Glocalization on Jordan

In general terms, there are opposite trends to globalization within the Jordanian public. This attitude is predicated on anti-Americanism aggravated by American (military and political) interventions in the Middle East. The opinions expressed through the commentary in the local media reflect and reiterate criticism of American foreign policies in calling for democracy in the Middle East, while in reality enforcing a superficial image of it. The general public trends are predicated on the public perception of what they perceive as the *double standards* of the United States in dealing with regional issues, as the examples in the study show.

Controversially, there is a partial resistance to some Western political paradigms but a welcomed acceptance to the mode of the Western discourse as exemplified through translations. The local media perceives its editorial policies as a response to the negative stereotypes about some values pertinent to the Arab and Islamic worlds that are promoted heavily in some Western publications. As Palma Zlateva contends (in Schäffner 2000: 32) "in creating stereotypes, the media are dealing with half-truths." These stereotypes are reinforced as Gerner argues by the mental picture of the Middle East held by most North Americans. This picture delineates the region as "full of violent conflict, a region crawling with religious fanatics, where terrorism is endemic and women are little more than chattel" (2004: 1). The articles published at *The Jordan Times* challenge those

popular images and present a more nuanced portrayal of Arabs and Muslims, from what pundit and columnist Musa Keilani has called 'Jordanian Perspective', in the sub-heading of his article 'The world's role and responsibility in Palestine' in *The Jordan Times* on 9.1.2005. Counter-discourse in the English Jordanian newspapers aims at projecting more variable images than those promoted in the Western media so as to mitigate these stereotypes and to provide a less essential perspective to individual deeds that need not be overstated to the general. Fahed Fanek's article in *The Jordan Times* 'Foreign Journalists, Understand Us' (see Chapter 2) epitomizes the Jordanian media dilemma. Attempts at bridging the ideological gap between globalizers, traditionalists and modernizers are conceived as a primary goal steering the glocalizing process in the Jordanian news organizations for the interest of reinforcing intercultural and transcultural communication.

Hall maintains that the encoding and decoding of cultural symbols is an arbitrary process of interpreting cultural meaning and thereby accentuates features either of difference or commonality between cultures (Hall: 1981). Translators in the print media institutions are in an important key position because they are cultural mediators, interpreting what they perceive to be cultural motives in other countries and comparing them with their home cultures. The translator's task is delicate, as there is an inherent danger that translators promote a false understanding of cultural contexts and that the discourse they import may reinforce the perception of historically grown antagonisms, for example, instead of emphasizing the shared meaning that exists between symbols of different cultures. Such constructions of cultural conflicts could fuel ideological disputes in international relations. A transcultural search for meaning is necessary for

globalisation and for the standardization of values such as the concept “terrorism”. The meaning of “terrorism” has been interculturally negotiated. Given the asymmetrical military powers of the United States and Israel on the one hand and the Arabs on the other, the discourse in the Jordanian public developed an approving stance towards suicide operations carried out by Palestinian militancy. These were seen as defensive attacks against the Israeli attacks on the Palestinian civilians. Following the American invasion of Iraq, the concept retained its meaning since the operations carried out by Iraqis targeted American troops. The two contexts were seen as resisting occupation. Thus the operations were not outlawed. The concept has developed new meanings and nuances with the rising of operations targeting civilians around the world. Both the English and Arabic Jordanian newspapers imported and exported articles that discussed what the concept stands for. For example, in the editorial titled ‘Mission not Accomplished’ in *The Jordan Times* on 18.9.2005, the article comments on the inability of the UN to define ‘terrorism’. The article eventually provides clues for such a definition. In one section of the article, it states

- 4-9 Despite this apparent failure, there are already sufficient “legal hints” on what constitutes terrorism. The Geneva humanitarian law prohibits the killing of non-combatants or targeting civilians, especially children, women and the elderly. This alone should have been enough to provide a legal basis for a definition of terrorism. Yet the international community could not see the obvious!

With the volume of articles that deal with this issue, the number of people rejecting suicide attacks that address civilians is on its way up. The “terrorism” paradigm is starting to take a more global form, by attempting to bridge the varied ways the sign is attaining its meaning.

Media scholar W. Phillips Davison (1974) holds that the media can actually play a normative role by being mediators contributing to the resolution of international

conflicts. Davison argues that the media should enhance the quality and quantity of news by viewing conflicts from discursive sides, adding that the media should create a mood for peace rather than stirring public emotions through dramatizing language, emotional storytelling and sensationalist exaggeration of the Arab challenge to Western prosperity. For example, until 1994, the relation between the Arabs and Israelis was one of animosity. The anti-Zionist attitudes still prevail as an ideological paradigm and Israel is still perceived as an occupation force. However, following the peace treaty with Israel – which was met with rejection on the part of the public – the boundaries between Zionism and Judaism were introduced on more clear grounds. The period following 1993 saw translated articles at *Al-Rai* dealing with such issues. For example, a number of articles translated in the period between 1993 and 1995 dealt with the option of Peace with Israel as opposed to War with Israel. These articles accentuated a less gloomy picture of the *Other*, such as ‘The Old Enemies in Peace’ by Kim Murphy from the *Los Angeles Times* (22.12.1993), ‘Israel Teaches Peace to its Pupils’ by Mary Curtis from the *Los Angeles Times* (10.1.1995), ‘The Israeli-Palestinian Coexistence’ by Aluf Ben Maier from the *Christian Science Monitor* (12.7.1995). It is true that following Sharon-driven anti-Palestinian attacks by the Israelis topple such paradigms, but people have learnt to differentiate between the religious paradigm of Judaism and the ideological paradigm of Zionism. As Bernard C. Cohen has maintained: “[The press] may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think “*about*” (1963: 13).

9. The Visible Translator: When Punctuation Talks

In his book *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995), Lawrence Venuti raises the issue that in the book publishing industry, the translator's name, unlike the author's name is seldom acknowledged. The '(in)visibility of the translator as a creative producer of intellect has repeatedly been questioned by scholars and publishers alike. In my study, the translator plays the primary role of mediating the intercultural spaces, and the physical and metaphysical presence of the translator is strongly felt. The glocalizing task has been taken up by *THE* translator, who – in the press setting – happens to possess the competence and experience, and most of all decision-making potentials to make the legitimate choices whether in article selection or in textual renditions. As experienced translators, they have learnt the craft of making choices. In other words, they have learned and developed the translation norms that maintain the readership of the newspaper.

As a socially-conditioned practice, translation creates and maintains social and political values through the course of selections of texts made by translators and discursive strategies they develop in the translation act. The following section looks at these micro-level discursive strategies and shifts made with view to exploring how identities and values are maintained through translation, in order to realize the close relationships between the various principles, criteria and values that underlie decision-making process. The translator in this setting is an active decision-maker who takes his/herself as a prototypical representative of society. S/He is not a mere transcoder of a message. Language use cannot be rendered as neutral, value-free or exempt from at least

one 'angle of telling'. Translators' decisions are not random but rather conditioned according to the requirements of readership. As Venuti (1997: 26) explains,

a translation that circulates in such a setting contributes to the identity formation of the agents who function within it, to their acquisition of values that constitute qualifications, and so a translation can affect the operation of the institution. Translations are designed to form particular collective identities and particular institutional effects. If the translator makes the requisite choices, the translation will be deemed a 'legitimate' translation.

The translator can express his dissatisfaction with a certain point of view, and be visible, through two techniques; first, by selecting or excluding a given text for publication. In such case the reader is not aware of such decision; and second through using punctuation to indicate his/her disapproval of certain concepts used, in which case the reader is aware of such decisions. In the first case, it is the translator who decides what frames of experience need to be accessible to the readers, that is, what the readers *ought to* read. In this sense, the translator's visibility is felt meta-physically.

Translators show that they are aware of the capacity of language as a medium of representation and that the representations that they decide to project have ideological implications. For instance, in articles where the foreign writer uses the expression "fanatics" to describe Hamas, or 'terrorists' to describe 'suicide bombers' maintaining the expression as is will not be accepted in the Jordanian society. In this context, translation is being mobilized for the sake of the reaffirmation and re-appropriation of the national cultural identity, and as a means of differentiating one's self from the other. The translations are meant to provide readers with ideas that suit their national culture without questioning the validity of such a transposition of Western value system.

At the same time, the translator has a commitment towards the original text. Text typology is very crucial here. Being an argumentative text, any infraction of the chain of

thought will create disruption. Let us take this example. In an article written by Yossi Beilin, a former justice minister for Israel in *Haaretz* on 20.10.2005, he says: “Under the road map, Israel was supposed to freeze the building of settlements in the occupied territories by May 2003; the Palestinians were to undertake comprehensive political reform, shut down terrorist groups like Hamas, and collect all unauthorized weapons”. If the translator decides to replace ‘terrorist’ in such a context by ‘resistance groups’ for instance to describe Hamas, the sentence will not maintain the focalization necessary for the argument. This is a point of view presented by the Other. The expression ‘terrorist’ needs to be maintained to retain the proper flow of argumentation. Translators in the various Jordanian newspapers have confirmed their fidelity to the text that they translate. They averred that translation should be faithful to the ST and render exactly the ideas purported by the original. This fidelity constitutes both a moral and a legal obligation for the translator. *Addustour* newspaper translation department has devised its own rules of translation forming a sort of code of practice that translators abide by. In the section titled “Fidelity in Translating”, the code specifies that “translation should be accurate and faithful. But the translator can make stylistic changes though, in order to mediate the general ideas “without manipulating them”. The translator has the option of not abiding literally to the original text as doing so in certain cases may render a sentence to be ambiguous or unclear” (2003).⁸⁰ The same stand is taken by all the other translators in the translation sections of other newspapers. It becomes a general principle that in an argumentative text, the ‘undiluted’ rendition of meaning is necessary. What this shows is the translator's reverence of the Western product and of his/her profession, even if the translator does not agree with the content. But how can the translation come to terms with

⁸⁰ This is a translation given by the author of the statements that were stated in Arabic.

anomalous or disparate values or concepts? Such conflicts put the translator in a dilemma. While the translator needs to respect the authority of the source text, s/he needs to respect the ideational framework of society. The solution to this dilemma came in the use of punctuation.

One of the successful techniques used by Jordanian translators is the use of quotation marks or brackets (parenthesis). I say 'successful' because quotation marks provide a *compromise* between the demands of the source text and the demands of readership. It is a two-sided tool, and a satisfactory and definitive solution to the dilemma in which translators find themselves in, that is, whether to domesticate or foreignize the text. The use of quotation marks reflects deep commitment on the part of the translators to the maintenance of the frame of ideas of the original writer and translation policies aiming at appropriating discourse for a particular target readership. As Sidiripoulou, (2003: 33) explains, there are items in discourse which are particularly sensitive carriers of ideological meaning. As suggested in Halliday (1978/1990), Kress (1989) and Dendrinos (1992), textual devices are among the elements which are ideologically loaded and which can construct a very different reality, if used differently.

In the previous example, the translator rendered Beilin's statement as follows: أما بالنسبة للفلسطينيين فكان مطلوباً منهم إجراء إصلاحات سياسية شاملة، وأن يوقفوا نشاط المنظمات "الإرهابية" مثل منظمة حماس وأن يقوموا بجمع جميع الأسلحة غير المرخصة من المواطنين الفلسطينيين (Literal translation: As for Palestinians, they were requested to make comprehensive political reforms, and to stop the activity of "terrorist" groups such as Hamas and to collect all unauthorized weapons from the Palestinian citizens). The word 'terrorist' in this context is questioned by the translator, but the referential meaning intended by the

writer is respected. The previous article appeared on 21.10.2005 in *Al-Rai* under the title ‘
’من يطلق رصاصة الرحمة علي خارطة الطريق؟‘ (Who would aim the bullet of merciful killing on
the road map?). Notice again that the title has been changed into a question.

Let us take another example. The article ‘America's Democracy of Double
Standards won't Work’ written by David Hirst on 21.2.2005 at *The Daily Star*, was
translated and published at *Al-Rai* on the same day as “بوش لن يحقق الديمقراطية مع تجاهله”
”ممارسات اسرائيل” (Bush will not achieve democracy as he ignores the practices of Israel).
The writer says in one paragraph:

And, one might add, [utter disaster] for U.S.-led freedom and democracy in the rest of the
Middle East.

This statement was translated as

ويمكن للمرء ان يضيف بأنه سيكون كارثة رهيبة أيضاً للحملة الأمريكية الداعية «للحرية والديمقراطية» في
بقية انحاء الشرق الأوسط.

(And one may add that there will be utter disaster to the U.S.-led campaign calling for
“freedom and democracy” in the rest of the Middle East.

The concepts of ‘freedom’ and ‘democracy’ were put in quotation marks although there
are no semantic variations in the meanings of the words used in Arabic. However, in this
context, the Jordanian readers are highly skeptical of the imports of democracy and
freedom as brought about from the United States which is seen, even through the same
article, as bringing destruction rather than freedom and democracy. These two concepts
have been put in quotation marks in many other translated articles too. The same article
refers to Israel fifteen times, and in all these instances, the word “Israel” was rendered in
quotation marks. What this signifies is that while the word is used on the referential level
as such, the translator acknowledges that there is some skepticism as to the status of the
concept. For many Jordanians, Israel is still an illegitimate state. The quotation marks
tend to mirror that frame of meaning.

An investigation of the many similar instances manifest in the final products that appear on the pages of the newspaper shows that the translator manages to compromise the two senses (as used by the writer and as may be interpreted by the reader), to find a middle course of action in order to attain cultural legitimacy. On the one hand the concept used by the original writer is maintained, but at the same time, the concept is “shaken”. The reader can see that through the quotation marks. The translator maintains the referential level of a concept, so that the chain of argumentation pursued by the writer is not disentangled. The reader fits the various levels of meaning into his/her frame of thinking and realises that the technique of using quotation marks is intended for that purpose. The translator has to be flexible, by attuning the mental pictures of the world to the realities that they live by. The translator keeps the local world view intact by dismissing the anomaly and discounting the paradox created. The retention of the quotes is intended to maintain the text as ‘a unified whole.’ That is, to retain the property assigned to the text by the original writer. At the same time, the translator assigns to himself/herself an evaluative role by asserting that the sense of the sign is not appropriate to the social and ideological system of the target readers.

Similar to the glocalizing role of translation on a macro level, punctuation helps maintain a space between, but on a micro-level. The quoting technique is a representation of a conflictual situation. Chesterman (1997) argues that translators (should) maintain an *accountability norm* which is ethical in nature. It assumes that translators owe loyalty to the original writer, to the commissioner of the translation job, to themselves and to their clients and/or prospective readers. In the Jordanian setting, the translators manage in many instances to resolve this tension by adopting a source-oriented approach in the

sense that because they deal with argumentative texts, they try to be as faithful as can be to the source text. In this way they maintain the authority of the original text. At the same time, they adopt a target-oriented approach by respecting the ideological framework of the local readers. The significance of this technique is that it pinpoints the conceptual schemata that underlie the Jordanian social milieu. By pointing to these “under the quote” concepts, we know exactly what these rejected concepts are and hence, we would pinpoint how the local ideological framework is different from the Western’s. Such examples of translations, thus, help scholars answer the question of how texts come to represent the uncertain spaces of cultural difference.

Conclusion

The present study aimed at showing how translation in the press forms a rich ground for studying and examining many linguistic, textual, semiotic and ideological issues involved in translation. Many studies in Translation Studies have used material from the press as testing cases, using different approaches. Most of these studies, however, did not pursue a full-fledged investigation into the most influential media-related factors that shape translation in the press. There are many approaches to understanding the effects of journalism on society. This study on the print media and translation shows how important and powerful the cultural force of the press is. The study explored the potential of journalistic conventions in contributing to gaining insights on how translation functions within a specific journalistic environment.

This study will have achieved its aims if it can contribute to and support the establishment of a relationship between Media Studies and Translation Studies. Now that Translation Studies has become a discipline in its own right, the discipline needs a critical sub-discipline that relates the role of translation to its constructive role. It is easy to locate my study in Descriptive Translation Studies. However, to further suit the contours of my study, it needs to be located in what I would call 'Critical Descriptive Translation Studies.' A short form can be used here as 'Critical Translation Studies.' It has already been done in practice, in the sociocritiques of translation and its cultural role within a system such as Brisset (1990), Berman (1984) and many other studies. These studies focus on the critical role of translation. Such an approach to translation would shift the perspective from what translation is to what translation can do. The emphasis should be on the application of critical discourse theory to empirical case studies, rather than the

technical analysis of discourse viewed narrowly as text. Holmes (1975), a quarter of a century ago, has subdivided the descriptive branch of the discipline in terms of being product-, process- or function-oriented. This led to linguistic, behavioural and cognitive approaches to translation and the development of the skopos theory.

My study aims partially to reorient Translation Studies towards expanding the paradigm by ambivalating it in broader different sub-directions. Instead of describing this phase as the decline phase of the Descriptive Translation Studies, as anticipated by Hermans (1999: 15), it can be reoriented to account for other translational phenomenon, besides the ones studied so far, and in new light. They will still be contextualized (as force and an instrument in cultural history), but they may be done with the aim of finding an orientation to the study. A translation project can start by looking into the epistemology of the endeavour. Such epistemology would be the core of Critical Translation Studies. It would take into consideration why the translation activity is taking place, but at the same time, it questions the scholarly paradigms behind the study (*Ibid.*). In this respect the paradigm's systemic and sociological dimensions in particular leave plenty of scope for innovative thought. In such an approach, the study of translation is not linear but retroactive, in the sense that the scholar uses the data from a certain system, analyses it within the dialectics of the given disciplines involved and then uses the results for exploring the philology of translation itself and to the expansion of other disciplines. In other words, translation can be the discipline that exports its epistemology to other disciplines, rather than import approaches. As McFarlane (quoted in Hermans 1999:19) contends we need a theory that is "diagnostic" "rather than hortatory".

Instead of the traditional dichotomy of literary vs. non-literary translations, studies can be categorized according to the purpose behind the descriptive analysis of the study (not behind the translation itself in the sense taken by the skopos theory). It is in this way that we can usher other disciplines into Translation Studies. TS should be a discipline that explains and adds to other disciplines as much as other disciplines add to it. In my study, translation is doing a service to Media Studies, Sociology and Political Studies, as much as they do to TS.

Similar to CDA, the underlying assumptions of Critical Descriptive Translation Studies will assume that all objects translated are meaningful, and that their meaning is conferred by historically specific systems of rules. While many of the studies in CDA are aimed at investigating how discourse is manipulated for imposing a dominant discourse by the dominant group in society, my case study shows how translation is used to create a liaison between the dominant Western discourse (on an international level) and the dominant discourse in the Jordanian society (on the local level), allowing for the ‘glocalizing’ role of translation in the press. In this sense, dichotomies of world views are disrupted by third-world translators. Discourse as a political project will attempt to weave together different strands of discourse in an effort to dominate or organize a field of meaning so as to fix the identities of objects and practices in a particular way.

My aim is not towards prescribing laws of translation (as suggested by Toury), as they will not be applicable in this situation, but rather to explain why translation takes a certain course of action. As in Hermans (1999: 36), the aim remains that of gaining insight into the theoretical intricacies and the historical relevance and impact of translation.

The study of translation in a national context needs to become more aware of the multiplicity of demographic, social and economic dimensions on translation as an activity and as a product in a given social context. In this study readership was given prominence. However, two demographic elements relevant to demographical analysis were not addressed in the study, namely age and gender. Although preliminary research points in the direction of the relevance of age and gender to the type of material that is read in newspapers, no established studies are made to confirm the relevance of the two factors to translation in the context of the press. These elements may be relevant as the viability of newspapers depends to a certain extent on attracting various segments of the population. Such limitations indicate that there is yet more to explore concerning readership. The case studied is hoped to provide examples of tendencies in translator behaviour in discourse construction. The preferred patterns inscribed in discourses reveal preferred models of linguistic behaviour, bearing ideological consequences. For students of translation, I hope that it will give an insight into the roots of, and rationale behind many of the processes involved in translation involving modern journalism. Indeed, in many translation programmes at academic institutions, students are asked to consider the conditions for the existence of a given text: where it comes from, what it is for, and what are its functions. This study asks precisely these questions and hopefully has answered many of them.

Bibliography

1. Corpus

1.1. Local Jordanian newspapers

- **Jordanian Arabic daily newspapers**

Al-Rai: <http://www.alrai.com>

Addustour: <http://www.addustour.com>

Al-Arab Al-yawm: <http://www.alarab-alyawm.com.jo/>

- **Jordanian English/French newspapers**

The Jordan Times: <http://www.jordantimes.com/>

Star: <http://star.arabia.com/>

1.2. Western newspapers:

- **American newspapers**

The New York Times: <http://www.nytimes.com/>

The Los Angeles Times: <http://www.latimes.com/>

The Washington Post: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/>

The Washington Times: <http://www.wtimes.com/>

Christian Science Monitor: <http://www.csmonitor.com/>

The Boston Globe: <http://www.globe.com/>

The Philadelphia Inquirer: <http://www.philly.com/>

Herald Tribune: <http://www.ihl.com/>

Newsweek: <http://www.newsweek.com/>

Time: <http://www.time.com/>

Financial Times: <http://www.financialtimes.com/>

Wall Street Journal: <http://www.wsj.com/>

US Today: <http://www.usatoday.com/>

US News: <http://www.usnews.com/>

Chicago Tribune: <http://www.chicagotribune.com/>

- **British newspapers**

Daily Telegraph: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/>

Economist: <http://www.economist.com/>

Financial Times: <http://news.ft.com/>

Guardian: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/>

The Independent: <http://www.independent.co.uk>

International Herald Tribune: <http://www.ihl.com/>

The Observer: <http://www.observer.co.uk/>

Times: <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/>

- **French newspapers**

L'Express: <http://www.lexpress.fr/>

Le Figaro : <http://www.lefigaro.fr/>

Jeune Afrique: <http://www.jeuneafrique.com/>

Le Monde : <http://www.lemonde.fr/>

Le Monde Diplomatique : <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/>

Le Nouvel Observateur: <http://www.permanent.nouvelobs.com/>

Le Point: <http://www.lepoint.fr/>

- **German publications**

Die Allgemeine Zeitung: <http://www.allgemeine-zeitung.de/>

Frankfurter Allgemeine: <http://www.faz.net/>

Der Spiegel: <http://www.spiegel.de/>

Die Welt: <http://www.welt.de/>

- **Israeli newspapers**

Haaretz: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/>

Hazofe: <http://www.hazofe.co.il/>

Jerusalem Post: <http://www.jpost.com/>

Jerusalem Report: <http://www.jrep.com/>

Maariv: <http://www.maariv.co.il/>

Yedioth Aharonoth: <http://www.ynet.co.il/>

- **Lebanese newspapers**

Assafir: <http://www.assafir.com/>

Al-Anwar: <http://www.alanwar.com/>

- **Off-shore Arab newspapers**

Al-Hayat: <http://www.alhayat.htm/>

Al-Sharq Al-Awsat (The Middle East):

Websites:

<http://www.counterpunch.com/>

<http://www.antiwar.com/>

1.3. Interviews

Al-Rai:

Zghailat, Abdul-Wahab (Chief editor), 26.4.2005
Barhoum, Mahmoud (Chief translator) 2.4.2005; 18.6.2004; 28.5.2003.
Aziziyya, Raghda (translator), 18.6.2004.
Adayleh, Ghaith (senior editor), 18.6.2004.

Addustour:

Abbadi, Mohammad (translator), 2.6.2003.
Abdullah, Amal (translator), 2.4.2005.
Sabri, Raheed (translator), 2.4.2005; 15.6.2004.

Al-Arab al-Yawm:

Abu-Eideh, Badi' (translator), 17.8.2005.
Al-Sharqi, Amal (translator), 19.8.2005.

Shihan:

Fkhaida, Khalid (Chief editor), 3.4.2005

The Jordan Times:

Barhoum, Samir (Acting Editor), 2.4.2005.

The Star:

Al-Sharif, Maha (Responsible Chief Editor), 3.4.2005.
Al-Hourani, Nader (Assistant Chief Editor), 3.4.2005.

Union of Jordanian Publishers

Ma'areef, Ashraf (Administrative coordinator) 14.6.2004.

Arab Establishment for Studies and Publication

Al-Kayyali, Maher (Owner), 14.6.2005.

Dar Al-Jaleel for Palestinian Publications and Studies

Al-Sa'di, Ghazi (Owner), 14.6.2003.
Oqaili, Bader (Translator), 14.6.2003; 16.8.2005.

2. Translation Studies

Adejunmobi, Moradewun (1998). 'Translation and Postcolonial Identity. African Writing and European Languages', in *The Translator*, No. 4, pp. 163-181.

Bassnett, Susan and Lefevere, André (1998). *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*. Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

- Bowker, Lynne (2002). *Computer-aided Translation Technology: A Practical Introduction*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- Brisset, Annie (1990). *A Sociocritique of Translation: Theatre and Alterity in Quebec, 1968-1988*. Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press.
- Catford, John (1965). *A Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Essay in Applied Linguistics*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Cronin, Michael (2004). *Translation and Globalization*. London and New York: Routledge.
- (2000). *Across the Lines: Travel, Language, Translation*. Cork: Cork University Press.
- Delabastita, Dirk (1989). 'Translation and Mass Communication. Film and T.V. Translation as Evidence of Cultural Dynamics', in *Babel* 35 (4), pp. 193 – 218.
- Even-Zohar, Itamar (1979). 'Polysystem Theory', in *Poetics Today*, vol. 1, no. 1/2, p. 287-310.
- Faull, Katherine, M. (2004). *Translation and Culture*, Cranbury, NJ.: Bucknell University Press.
- Genzler, Edwin (2001). *Contemporary Translation Theories*. Clevedon, England; Buffalo, N.Y.: Multilingual Matters.
- Gregory, M.J. (1980). 'Perspectives on Translation from the Firthian Tradition', *Meta* 25 (4), pp. 455-66.
- Hatim, Basil and Ian Mason (1991). *Discourse and the Translator*. London; New York: Longman.
- Hermans, Theo (1999). *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- (1996). 'The Translator's voice in Translated Narrative', in *Target*, 8 (1), pp. 23-48.
- (1985). *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*. London: Croom Helm.
- Kussmaul, Paul (1995). *Training the translator*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Latour, Bruno (1987). *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

- Laviosa, Sara (2002). *Corpus-based Translation Studies: Theory, Findings, Applications*. Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi.
- Levý, Jiří (1967). 'Translation as a Decision Process', in *To honour Roman Jakobson*, vol. 2. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 1171-1182.
- McFarlane, John (1953). 'Modes of Translation', in *The Durham University Journal*. 45, No. 3, pp. 77-93.
- Newmark, Peter (2003). 'No Global Communication Without Translation' in *Translation Today: Trends and Perspectives*, edited by Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rogers. Clevedon; Buffalo, N.Y.: Multilingual Matters.
- Nida, Eugene A. and Taber, Charles R. (1969). *The Theory and Practice of Translation*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Nord, Christiane (1997a). *Translating as A Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- (1997b). *Text Analysis in Translation: Theory, Methodology, and Didactic Application of a Model for Translation-Oriented Text Analysis*. Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA : Rodopi.
- O'Halloran, Kay (2004). *Multimodal Discourse Analysis: Systemic Functional Perspectives*. London; New York: Continuum.
- Robinson, Douglas (2001) *Who Translates?: Translator Subjectivities Beyond Reason*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- (1999). *Translation and Norms*. Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.
- (1997). *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Schäffner, Christina (2000). *Translation in the Global Village*. Clevedon, UK; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.
- (1996). *Discourse and Ideologies*. Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.
- Schäffner, Christina & Kelly-Holmes, Helen (1995). *Cultural Functions of Translation*. Clevedon; Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.
- Sidiropoulou, Maria (2004). *Linguistic Identities through Translation*. Amsterdam/ New York: Editions Rodopi B.V.

- Simon, Sherry (1992). 'The Language of Cultural Difference: Figures of Alterity in Canadian Translation', in *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*. Edited by Lawrence Venuti, pp. 159-176. London: Routledge.
- Snell-Hornby, Mary (1988). *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Co.
- (2000). 'Communicating in the Global Village: On Language, Translation and Cultural Identity', in *Translation in the Global Village*, edited by Christina Schäffner. Clevedon, UK ; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.
- Toury, Gideon (1995). *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam ; Philadelphia : J. Benjamins Publishing Co.
- (1980). *In Search of a Theory of Translation*. Tel Aviv: Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, Tel Aviv University.
- Trosborg, Anna. (2002). 'Discourse Analysis as Part of Translator Training', in *The Role of Discourse Analysis for Translation and in Translator Training*, edited by Christina Schäffner. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- (1997). *Text Typology and Translation*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.
- Venuti, Lawrence (1995). *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London; New York: Routledge.
- (1992). *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Vermeer, Hans (1996). *A Skopos Theory of Translation: Some Arguments For and Against*. Heidelberg: TextconText Verlag.

3. Jordan & the Middle East

- Al-Moumani, Hassan, *The Sociological and Psychological Impacts on Translation in the Jordanian Press*, MA Thesis, Irbid: Yarmouk University.
- Al-Mousa, Issam (1998). *Development of Journalism in Jordan, 1920-1997*. Amman: Royal Scientific Society. (in Arabic)
- (1997). *Problems of the Jordanian Press during the Democratic Era (1989-1997)*. Paper Read at the Conference on "Communication and Diplomacy: New Horizons in the Information Age," September 6, Amman, Jordan. (in Arabic)
- Al-Mousa, Sulaiman (1986). *Notables from Jordan" Hazza al-Majali, Sulaiman Al-Nabulsi, Wasfi AL-Tal*. Amman: Dar Al-Sha'ab. (in Arabic)

- Al-Rawashdah, Hussein (1997). 'What Do We Do? What Do They Do?' in *Addustour*, 19 May.
- Anderson, Lisa (2000). 'Dynasts and Nationalists: Why Monarchies Survive,' in *Middle East Monarchies: The Challenge of Modernity*, edited by Joseph Kostiner, pp. 53-69. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.
- Asmar, Marwan (2000). 'Politics and Journalism: A Didactic Relationship', in *Al-Nadwah*. The World Affairs Council, Amman. Vol. XI, No. 1 pp. 14-34.
- Atiyeh, Edward (1955). *The Arabs*. Baltimore: Penguin.
- Brand, Laurie, A. (1991). 'Liberalization and Changing Political Coalitions: The Bases of Jordan's 1990-1991 Gulf Crises Policy' in *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*. Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 1-46.
- Brynen, Rex, Bahgat Korany & Paul Noble (1995). *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab world*. Volume:1. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Campagna, Joel (1998). 'Special Report: Press Freedom in Jordan' in *Middle East Report*. Spring issue, No. 206, Vol. 28: 1, pp. 44-48.
- Eickelman, Dale F. and Anderson, Jon W. (1999). *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Flapan, Simha (1987). *The Birth of Israel*. New York: Pantheon.
- Goldschmidt Jr., Arthur (2004). 'The Historical Context' in *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*, edited by Deborah Gerner J. & Jillian Schwedler, pp.33-78. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Gerner, Deborah J. (1994). *One Land, Two Peoples: The Conflict over Palestine*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Gerner, Deborah J. & Jillian Schwedler (2004). *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Hafez, Kai (2001). *Mass media, politics, and society in the Middle East*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, Inc.
- (2000). *Islam and the West in the Mass Media: Fragmented Images in a Globalizing World*, (editor). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Hawatmeh, George (1991). Masri's Dilemma. *Middle East International*, July 12.

- Haurani, Hani, and Salim Al-Tarawnah (1986). 'Here is How Baghdad Pact Fell'. *Al-Urdun Al-Jadid*. 3: pp. 113-160.
- Henderson, Amy (1997). 'Press and Publications Law Boasts Stiffer Penalties on Newspapers and Journalists,' in *Jordan Times*, 18 May.
- Hitti, Philip K. (1943). *The Arabs, a Short History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hudson, Michael C. (1977). *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kamalipour, Yahya R. & Mowlana, Hamid (1994). *Mass Media in the Middle East: A Comprehensive Handbook*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- King-Irani, Laurie (2004). 'Kinship, Class, and Ethnicity', in *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*, edited by Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler, pp. 299-334. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Khoury, Phillip and Joseph Kostiner (1990). *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Manners, Ian R. and Parmenter, Barbara McKean (2004). 'The Middle East: A Geographical Preface', in *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*, edited by Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler, pp. 299-334. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- McMurray, David (2002). *In and Out of Morocco*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mufti, Malik (1999). 'Elite Bargains and the Onset of Political Liberalization in Jordan', in *Comparative Political Studies*, Sage Publications, Inc. pp. 100-129.
- Najjar, Orayb Aref (2004). 'The Middle East and North Africa', in *Global journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems.*, edited by De Beer, Arnold S. & Merrill, John C, pp. 257-298. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- (2001). 'Freedom of the Press in Jordanian Press Laws 1927-1998', in *Mass media, politics, and society in the Middle East*, edited by Kai Hafez. Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc.
- (1998). 'The Ebb and Flow of the Liberalization of the Jordanian Press: 1985-1997' in *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*. Vol. 75, No.1, pp. 127 – 142.
- Pundik, Ron 1994. *The Struggle for Sovereignty: Relations Between Great Britain and Jordan, 1946-1952*. Oxford:Blackwell.

- Rothman, Jay (1992). *From Conflict to Cooperation: Resolving Ethnic Conflict and Regional Conflict*. Newbury park, California: Sage.
- Rugh, William, A (2004). *Arab Mass Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television in Arab Politics*, Westport, Connecticut, London: Praeger Publishers.
- Sakr, Naomi (2002). 'Media Reform in Jordan: The stop-go transition', in *Media Reform: Democratizing the Media, Democratizing the State*, edited by Monroe E. Price, *et al.*, pp. 107 – 132. London; New York: Routledge.
- Salamé, Ghassan (1990). '“Strong” and “Weak” States: A Qualified Return to the Muqaddimah,' in *The Arab State*, pp. 29-64. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Salibi, Kamal (1998). *The Modern History of Jordan*. London: Tauris.
- Sharabi, Hisham (1990). *Theory, Politics, And The Arab World: Critical Responses*. New York; London: Routledge.
- Sharoni, Simona & Abu-Nimer, Mohammed (2004) 'The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict', in *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*, edited by Deborah Gerner J. & Jillian Schwedler, pp.131-168. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Shreim, Omayma (1984). *The Jordanian Press and its Relation to the Press and Publications Laws, 1920-1983*. Amman: Workers Printing Society. (in Arabic).
- Tall, Tariq (2000). 'The Politics of Rural Policy in East Jordan, 1920-1989', in *The Transformation of Nomadic Society in the Arab East*, pp. 90-98, ed. Mundy, Martha & Musallam, Basim. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tétreault, Mary Ann (2004). 'International Relations' in *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*, edited by Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler, pp. 131-168. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Tuma, Elias (2004) 'The Economics of the Middle east', in *Understanding the Contemporary Middle East*. Edited by Deborah J. Gerner and Jillian Schwedler, pp. 211-248. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

4. Media Studies

- Adorno, Theodor and Horkheimer, Max (2002) *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press
- Ang, Ien (1991). *Desperately Seeking the Audience*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Boyd-Barrett, Oliver (1997). 'International Communication and Globalization: Contradictions and Directions,' in *Internatinal Communication and Globalization*, edited by Ali Mohammadi, pp. 11-26. London: Sage.

- Briggs, William (2004). 'North America,' in *Global Journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems*. Edited by Arnold S. de Beer and John C. Merrill, pp. 430-464. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Cohen, Bernard C. (1963). *The Press and Foreign Policy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Cottle, Simon (2003). *Media Organisation and Production*. London; Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Davison, W. Phillips (1974). *Mass Communication and Conflict Resolution: The Role of the Information Media in the Advancement of International Understanding*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- De Beer, Arnold S. & Merrill, John C. (2004). *Global journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems*. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Dewerth-Pallmeyer, Dwight (1997). *The Audience in the News*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Epstein, Edward, J. (1975). *Between Fact and Fiction: The Problem of Journalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Ettema, James S. & Whitney, D. Charles (1994). *Audiencemaking: How the Media Create the Audience*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Fiske, John (1996). *Media Matters: Race and Gender in U.S. Politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fridriksson, Lianne (2004). 'Western Europe', in *Global Journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems*. Edited by Arnold S. de Beer and John C. Merrill, pp. 181-211. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Galtung, Johan & Marie Holmboe Ruge. (1965). 'The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in Four Foreign Newspapers', in *Journal of International Peace Research*, No. 1, pp. 64-90.
- Gans, Herbert J. (1979). *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News – Newsweek, and Time*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Giddens, Anthony (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gunther, Richard and Anthony Mughan (2000). *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. New York ; Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

- Habermas, Jürgen (1989). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into A Category Of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Hackett, Robert and Yuezhi Zhao (1998). *Sustaining Democracy?: Journalism and the Politics of Objectivity*. Toronto: Garamond Press.
- Hall, Stuart (1977). 'Culture, the Media and the 'Ideological Effect'', in James Curran, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Woollacott (eds), *Mass Communication and society*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hamelink, Cees J. (1999). *Preserving Media Independence: Regulatory Frameworks*. Paris: Unesco Publishing.
- Harriss, Julian, Kelly Leiter and Stanley Johnson (2000). *The Complete Reporter: Fundamentals of News Gathering, Writing and Editing*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Haughland, Ann (1994). 'Books as Culture/ Books as Commerce', pp. 787 -- 799. In *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 71, No. 4.
- Itule, Bruce D. and Douglas A. Anderson (1987). *News Writing and Reporting for Today's Media*. New York: Random House.
- Lavine, John M. & Wackman, Daniel B. (1988). *Managing Media Organizations*. New York: Longman.
- Lippman, Thomas W. (1989). *The Washington Post Deskbook on Style*. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company.
- Louw, P. Eric (2004). 'Journalists Reporting from Foreign Places' in *Global Journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems*. Edited by Arnold S. de Beer and John C. Merrill, pp. 151-162. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- McNair, Brian (1998). *The Sociology of Journalism*. London; New York: Arnold.
- McQuail, Denis (1983). *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. London; Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- (1992). *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest*. London: Sage Publications.
- Miller, David (1994). *Don't Mention the War: Northern Ireland, propaganda and the media*. London: Pluto.
- Mohammadi, Ali (1997). *International Communication and Globalization: A Critical Introduction*. London: SAGE.

- Morley, David and Robins, Kevin (1995) *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes, and Cultural Boundaries*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Mowlana, Hamid (2001). 'The Renewal of the Global Media Debate: Implications for the Relationship between the West and the Islamic World', in *Islam and the West in the Mass media*, edited by Kai Hafez. Pp. 105-118. New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc.
- (1986). *Global Information and World Communication: New Frontiers in International Relations*. New York: Longman.
- Neuman, W. Russell (1991). *The Future of the Mass Audience*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth (1993). *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion, Our Social Skin*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Parsons, Paul (2004) 'Barriers to Media Development', in *Global journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems*, edited by De Beer, Arnold S. & Merrill, John C, pp. 50-65. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Siebert, Fred S., Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm (1963). *Four Theories Of The Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, And Soviet Communist Concepts Of What The Press Should Be And Do*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Smith, Anthony (1980). *The Geopolitics Of Information: How Western Culture Dominates The World*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle [et al.]. (1997). *Media In Global Context: A Reader*. New York: Arnold.
- Stevenson, Robert L. (1994). *Global Communication in the Twenty-First Century*. N.Y.: Longman.
- Straubhaar, Joseph D. (2000). *Media Now: Communications Media in the Information Age*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Strentz, Herbert (1978). *News Reporters and News Sources: What Happens before the Story is Written*. Ames: Iowa State University Press.
- Tuchman, Gaye (1978). *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: Free Press.

Weaver, David H. (2004). 'Journalists: International Profiles', in *Global journalism: Topical Issues and Media Systems.*, edited by De Beer, Arnold S. & Merrill, John C, pp. 142-150. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.

Whiteker, W. Richard, Janet E. Ramsey and Ronald D. Smith (2000). *MediaWriting: Print, Broadcast and Public Relations*. New MediaWriting: Print, Broadcast and Public Relations. New York: Addison Wesley Educational Publishers Inc.

5. Discourse and Language

Allan, Stuart (1999). *News Culture*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Barthes, Roland (1957). *Mythologies*. Paris. Editions du Seuil.

----- (1974). *S/Z*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Bell, Allan (1991). *The Language of News Media*. Oxford; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publisher Ltd.

Bell, Allan and Peter Garrett (1998). *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell Publisher Ltd.

Berger, Arthur Asa (1991) *Media analysis techniques*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications Inc.

Beaugrande, Robert-Alain de & Wolfgang Ulrich Dressler (1981). *Introduction to Text Linguistics*. London; New York: Longman.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Brooks, Brian S., *et al.* (1988). *News Reporting and Writing*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Bruhn-Jensen, Klaus (1986). *Making Sense of the News: Towards a Theory and an Empirical Model of Reception for the Study of Mass Communication*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Bühler, Karl (1990). *Theory of Language: The Representational Function of Language* Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins Publishing Co.

Corbett, Edward, P.J. and Eberly, Rosa A. (1990). *The Elements of Reasoning*. New York: Longman Publishing Group.

Crystal, David (1997). *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Fairclough, Norman. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London; New York: Routledge.
- (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: E. Arnold.
- (1989). *Language and Power*. London; New York: Longman.
- Foucault, Michel (1972). *The Archaeology of knowledge*. Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Harper & Row.
- Fowler, Roger (1991). *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Ghadessy, Mohsen (1993). *Register Analysis: Theory and Practice*. London: Pinter.
- Gregory, Michael (1967). *Aspects of Varieties Differentiation*, in: *Journal of Linguistics* 3, pp. 177-197.
- Greimas, Algirdas Julien (1984). *Structural Semantics: An Attempt at a Method*. Translated by Daniele McDowell, Ronald Schleifer, and Alan Velie. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Grice, Paul (1989). *Studies in the Way of Words*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Arnold.
- (1978). *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. Baltimore: University Park Press.
- Johnstone, Barbara (1987). 'Arguments with Konmeini: Rhetorical situation and Persuasive style in cross-cultural Perspective', in *Journal of Pragmatics*.
- Kress, Gunther (1989). *Linguistic Processes in Sociocultural Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989
- Kristeva, Julia (1980). *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. New York : Columbia University Press, 1980.
- Lull, James and Stephen Hinerman (1997). *Media Scandals: Morality and Desire in the Popular Culture Marketplace*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Polanyi, Michael (1966). *The Tacit Dimension*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
- Pool, I. & Shulman, I. (1959). 'Newsmen's Fantasies, Audiences, and Newswriting', in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 23, 145-158.

- Riggins, Stephen Harold (1997). *The Language and Politics of Exclusion: Others in Discourse*. Thousand Oaks; London: Sage Publications.
- Ryan, J., and Peterson, R.A. (1982). 'The Product Image: The Fate of Creativity in Country Music Songwriting,' in *Individuals in Mass Media Organizations: Creativity and Constraint*, edited by James S. Ettema and D. Charles Whitney. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Schlesinger, Philip (1978). *Putting "Reality" Together: BBC News*. London: Constable.
- Schön, Donald (1983). *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*. New York, Basic Books.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & PRATT, Mary Louise (1980). *Linguistics for Students of Literature*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1998a). *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London; Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1998.
- (1998b). 'Opinions and Ideologies in the Press' in *Approaches to Media Discourse*, edited by Allan Bell and Peter Garrett, pp. 21-63. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- (1988). *News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press*. Hillsdale, N.J.: L. Erlbaum, 1988.
- (1985). *Discourse and Communication: New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media Discourse and Communication*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- White, D. M. (1950). 'The "Gate Keeper": A Case Study in the Selection of News.' In *Journalism Quarterly*, 27, pp. 383-390.
- Yodelis, Mary Ann (1975). *Who Paid the Piper? Publishing Economics in Boston, 1763-1775*. Columbia: AEJMC.

6. Political and Cultural studies

- Berger, Peter, L & Thomas Luckmann (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City. Doubleday.
- Esposito, John L. (1995). *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Herbert Altschull (1995). *Agents of Power: The Media and Public Policy*. White Plains, New York: Longmans.

Kaplan, Robert (1997). 'Was Democracy Just a Moment?', in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 280, No. 6, Dec. 1997; pp. 55-80.

Miller, John D.B. (1969). *The Nature of Politics*. Pelican Books.

Morley, D. (1983). 'Cultural Transformations: The Politics of Resistance'. In *Language, Image, Media*. Edited by Howard Davis & Paul Walton. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Wheeler, Mark (1997). *Politics in Mass Media*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Wiegand, Krista, E. (2000). 'Islam as an Ethnicity? The Media's Impact on Misperceptions in the West', in *Islam and the West in the Mass media*, edited by Kai Hafez. Pp. 235-251. New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc.

Wolfsfeld, Gadi (1997). *Media and Political Conflict: News from the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

7. Other sources

Addustour Translation Code of Practice (2003). Amman: Addustour newspaper.

The Arabic Establishment for Studies and Publications (2004). *List of Publications*. Amman: The Arabic Establishment for Studies and Publications.

The Center for Middle Eastern Studies. (2005). *List of Publications*. Amman: The Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

Dar El-Jaleel (2005). *List of Publications*. Amman: Dar El-Jaleel for Publishing & Palestinian Research and Studies.

Dar El-Karmal (2004). *List of Publications*. Amman: Dar El-Karmal Publishing House.

Encarta Webster's Dictionary of English Language (2004). New York: Bloomsbury Publishing House.

The New York Times Newspaper (2005). *The New York Times Roster*. New York: The New York Times.