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Attitude towards an Advertisement Translated for the Lebanese Market: Between Adaptation and Censorship

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La réception d'une publicité traduite pour le Liban : entre adaptation et censure

Résumé : *Nous avons étudié ici la place de la censure dans la publicité libanaise et le rôle joué par le traducteur. Pour éviter les chocs de réception, l'adaptation prend souvent la forme d'autocensure chez le traducteur et celle de censure restrictive par les agents de la Sûreté nationale. En développant l'exemple d'une publicité à caractère sexuel implicite, notre analyse a tenté de montrer dans quelle mesure cette annonce pourrait choquer le public libanais et être ainsi censurée. Nous nous sommes fondés sur des entretiens réalisés auprès des professionnels de la publicité au Liban et sur un test de réception réalisé auprès de femmes libanaises. Nous leur avons demandé de porter un jugement esthétique et moral sur cette publicité et de se prononcer sur les modifications à apporter au niveau visuel et textuel. Les divers degrés d'acceptation de l'annonce nous ont permis de dresser une typologie des récepteurs à mettre en parallèle avec les choix du traducteur. Il en est notamment ressorti que la censure se traduisait plus en termes de jugement personnel que d'appartenance religieuse.*

Mots-clés : censure, publicité, traduction, Liban, test de réception.

Attitude toward an Advertisement Translated for the Lebanese Market: Between Adaptation and Censorship

Abstract: *We studied censorship in Lebanese advertising and the role played by translators. To avoid offending consumers, adapting a text often means prior censorship conducted by the translator before publication or post censorship imposed by the authorities after publication. By analyzing an advertisement having an implicitly sexual message, we tried to show the extent to which this advertisement could offend Lebanese people and would therefore need to be censored. We based our work on an attitude survey which was conducted among Lebanese women and also interviewed experts in advertising. The participants were asked to give an aesthetic and moral judgment on the advertisement and to suggest changes to the image and the message. The different levels of acceptance enabled us to draw a typology of consumers which was then linked to the choices made by the translators. Our study proved that censorship is more a question of personal judgment than religion.*

Keywords: Censorship, Advertising, Translation, Lebanon, Attitude Survey.

레바논에서 번역된 광고에 대한 수용 : 번안과 검열

핵심어 : 본고에서 우리는 레바논의 광고 속에서 검열과 번역가들의 역할을 분석하였다. 광고의 각색은, 소비자들에게 문제를 일으키지 않기 위해서, 주로 광고 전에 번역가에 의해 또는 광고 후에 관계당국에 의해 행해진다. 우리는 암시적으로 성적 메시지를 담고 있는

광고를 분석함으로써, 이 광고가 어느 정도로 레바논 사람들을 기분 나쁘게 하는지 그리고 어느 정도로 검열이 필요한지를 보이고자 하였다. 본 연구는 광고 전문가들과의 대담 그리고 레바논 여성들을 대상으로 행한 수용성 테스트를 기반으로 하고 있다. 우리는 참가자들에게 광고에 있어서 미적 그리고 도덕적 판단을 하도록 한 후, 시각자료와 본문내용을 변경하도록 하였다. 각색의 정도에 따라 번역가들이 선택한 사항과 동일한 생각을 하게 될 소비자들의 유형을 나눌 수 있었다. 본 연구는 검열의 문제가 종교적인 것이라기 보다는 개인적 판단에 관한 것이라는 것을 증명하고 있다.

핵심어 : 검열, 광고, 번역, 레바논, 수용성 테스트.

1. Introduction

Within the Arab world, Lebanon is culturally and religiously unique, thanks to its history and sectarian diversity. What is the status of advertising in a country with so many contradictions? Billboard advertising is adapted for the Muslim areas of Lebanon: Some parts of the body are clothed; the model's legs may be blackened; or stickers are often added to not offend anyone. Extreme cases also exist where censorship is used to such an extent that, in a commercial for a Palmolive shampoo, only the name of the product, the brand and the landscape appear (all the scenes where the woman appears are left out). However, in other parts of the city, provocative advertisements may run as originally created in the Western countries.

This article deals with the translation of advertisements in the Arab world where adaptation into the target culture sometimes falls under the purview of censorship. Many authors have tackled the issue. (e.g. Quillard 1998, 2000 & 2001; Guidère 2000, 2001 & 2002) This paper follows up and develops our own work in which we previously studied the extent to which censorship was at play in advertising, more especially in the advertisement for Givenchy's perfume *Organza*. (Barbin and Salloum, 2011)

We will also try to answer a question left aside by Mathieu Guidère: How is possible to evaluate the effectiveness of a translation? Our main concern will be the attitude toward translated advertisements by both advertising experts and end consumers. Since many have already considered the problems related to the translation process of advertisements, we will not pay much attention to general considerations on this topic. This empirical cross-cultural and inter-disciplinary research study aims to give a practical point of view on the subject and examine how the audience reacts to translated advertisements. From this perspective, we conducted a survey in Lebanon with the target audience and also interviewed people working in the advertising industry. Instead of listing and briefly examining many different advertisements, we decided to select only one advertisement and study it in detail. We chose a Bourjois advertisement having an implicitly sexual message to analyze the Lebanese attitude toward foreign advertisements and build a typology of consumers.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 Functional theory of translation

Approaches focusing exclusively on the linguistic aspect of translation seem to be irrelevant when translating advertisements. The translator is not a passive mediator but an active operator whose choices are mainly target- and market-oriented. When it comes to translating

advertisements, the functionalist theory of translation applies (Reiss and Vermeer, 1984). In this theory the translator's utmost loyalty goes to the function the translated text is to serve in the recipient culture.

Here the conditions governing the reception of a text are of overriding importance. The quality of a translation can be defined as follows:

The way target culture norms are heeded or flouted in the process of translation is thus regarded as the crucial yardstick in evaluating a translation. (House, 2001: 131)

The source text is no longer to be seen as the only standard to judge the adequacy of the translation. Other extra-linguistic, economic, and cultural aspects are to be taken into consideration, as clearly stated by Vermeer:

We can maintain, then, that every reception or production of a text can at least retrospectively be assigned a skopos, as can every translation, by an observer or literary scholar etc.; and also that every action is guided by a skopos. If we now turn this argument around we can postulate a priori that translation – because it is an action – always presupposes a skopos and is directed by a skopos. It follows that every translation commission should explicitly or implicitly contain a statement of skopos in order to be carried out at all. Every translation presupposes a commission, even though it may be set by the translator to himself (...). “A” statement of skopos implies that it is not necessarily identical with the skopos attributed to the source text: there are cases where such identity is not possible. (Vermeer quoted by Venuti, 2012: 198)

2.2 Translation – Adaptation – Censorship

For a very long time the dividing line between translation and adaptation has been difficult to draw. Translation as we understand it now is a communicative and intercultural action involving a constant adaptation to the target culture. Adapting to the conservative and sometimes restrictive Arab world often takes the shape of censorship:

Censorship refers broadly to the suppression of information in the form of self-censorship, boycotting or official state censorship before the utterance occurs (preventive or prior censorship) or to punishment for having disseminated a message to the public (post-censorship, negative or repressive censorship). (Merkle, 2002: 9)

The censorship conducted by advertisement translators is preventive in nature because foreign advertisements do not involve a complete ban. Translators pre-empt censorship to guarantee the acceptability of foreign advertisements:

Recent studies have demonstrated that preventive censorship allowed agents (publishers, translators, authors) a certain freedom of manoeuvre, so that they could occasionally succeed in having some potentially subversive texts published. (Baker and Saldanha, 2009: 30)

Their main objective is to transfer the sale argument with the least negative effects and the maximum number of appealing effects. Translators go beyond their role as a linguistic mediator to become a partner of the brand they try to promote:

Translators have to be fully aware of the reality they translate and the economic factors involved. Accordingly, they cannot be isolated; they have to see themselves as partners of the company for which or where they work.¹ (Durieux, 1991: 18) [Our translation]

2.3 Shockvertising

It has been proven (De Barnier et al., 2004) that shocking advertisements draw consumers' attention, but can have a negative impact on the brand's image. De Barnier et al. have also shown that implicit or explicit sexual advertisements are more efficient than frightening advertisements. Hence, we conducted an attitude survey among Lebanese women to see their reactions when looking at a more or less implicitly sexual advertisement. Ackroyd and Hughes (1992) have defined attitude surveys as opinion polls, i.e. as an attempt to collect and measure people's attitudes or opinions rather than gathering descriptive information. De Barnier et al. (2004) choose three criteria to analyze a sexual advertisement:

- The congruence between the product and the sexual dimension;
- The link between the model's and consumers' gender;
- The explicit nature of the sexual message.

Nudity is perceived differently according to the nature of the product. For instance, nudity is much better accepted to sell a sun spray than a car. Therefore, congruence is a key factor to justify nudity. Models can be just "decorative" or "functional". Decorative models mainly target opposite gender consumers. For example, male consumers are sexually aroused by female nudity but are usually indifferent to male nudity. Women prefer subtler, more humorous sexual references.

The attitude survey we conducted followed the model below, which is largely in accordance with De Barnier et al.'s model of attitude toward sexually implicit messages (De Barnier et al., 2005):

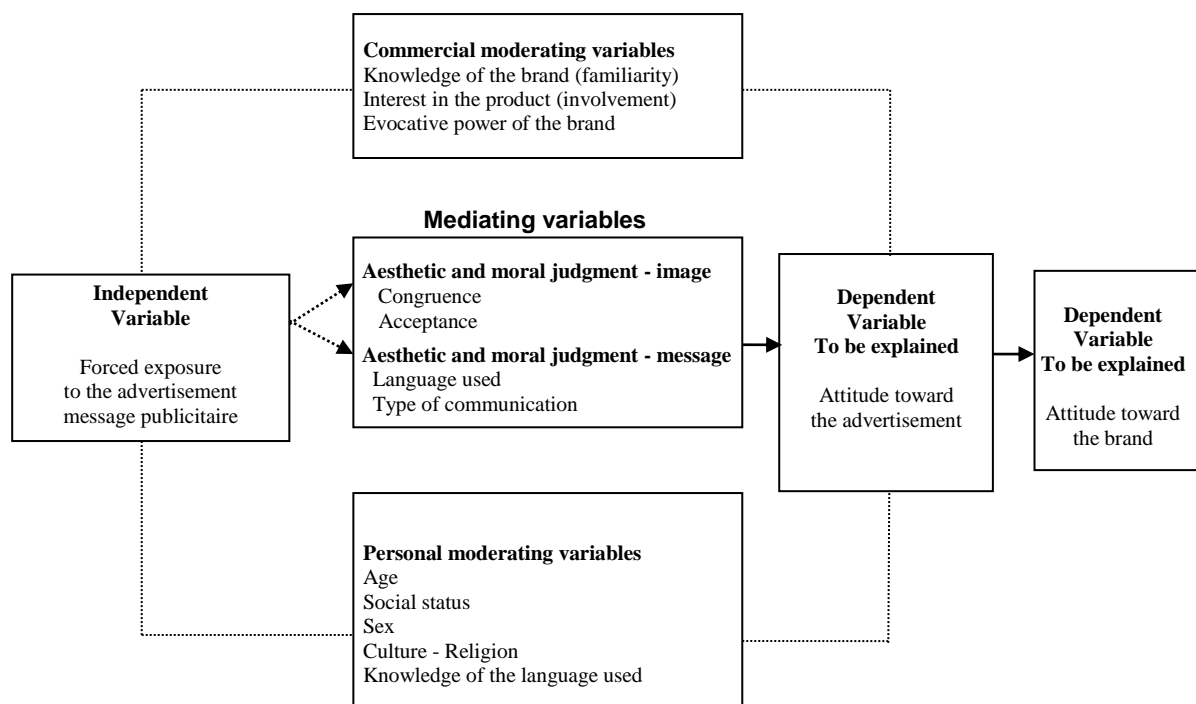


Chart 1: Model of attitude survey with commercial, cultural and linguistic variables.

Many brands use "shockvertising" or shocking advertisements to attract consumers' attention. In 1986 Soley and Kurzbard compared advertisements published in magazines in 1964 and 1984 and concluded that 40% of the advertisements in 1984 are more overtly sexual than in 1964. (Manceau and Tissier-Desbordes, 1999) It is well-known that sexually provocative messages have a huge positive impact on consumers' attention and the recall of the message, but a less positive impact on the name of and the attitude toward the brand. (Dahl et al., 2003)

2.4 Censorship in Advertising in the Arab world

The Arab world is far from being one homogenous entity even if Islam is its predominant religion. Three major blocs can be seen: The Near East, Northern Africa, and the Gulf countries. As to advertisements censorship, it differs between the least conservative cities and the most conservative ones. Restrictions apply to pictures and words and are of a political, religious, and social nature.

Designing for and marketing to different cultures are very interesting processes. In this era of globalization, companies are trying to appeal to the new generation of Arabs – a powerful market - translating original advertisements and coming up with original solutions.

At the same time cultural taboos are imposing strict rules on what can and cannot be shown in public. Magazines are edited by hand and alternative covers need to be developed for the more conservative audience.

For example, to avoid any cultural clash, references to pork, alcohol, drugs, homosexuality and unmarried mothers have to be carefully deleted from advertisements. Nudity is not allowed in any form. As for the use of some words, very common in the advertising industry, such as “enjoy” or “exciting”, they have to be avoided because they can be interpreted as sexual descriptors. Likewise, words such as “create” and “greatest” should be used with caution, since they are associated with God.

Islamic societies in general are conservative and showing any skin other than the face, hands or feet can be considered as offensive, since it is viewed as sexually arousing in the most conservative areas. While some beauty product advertisements are considered as inappropriate for public display in some cities, they run in their original format in other cities of the Arab world. It may seem that these rules limit creativity, but in reality they just push creativity to its limits.

3. Bourjois advertisement

In Lebanon, luxury companies mainly communicate in French or English and their advertisements are not translated into Arabic. That is why we chose a middle range make-up advertisement which alludes to a taboo subject in a humorous way to conduct our survey. We tried to determine how culture and religion impact an advertising campaign which spanned from 2004 and 2008. We imagined how this advertisement found in *Femme Actuelle* (issue 1042, 13 September 2004) and *Cosmopolitan* (volume 236, issue 6, July 2004)² would be translated in an Arabic magazine.

3.1 Description of the advertisement

Most Lebanese women wear eye-liner, and Bourjois products are well-known and not very expensive in Lebanon: The *Pump up the volume* mascara costs 16 000 LL (13 dollars). The advertisement does not display nudity, still problematic in the Arab world, but there are obvious sexual innuendoes: The model wears a bra perched under her eyes as if it were sunglasses because, when using this mascara, her eyelashes look thicker and bigger.

The advertisement shows the face of a woman with voluptuous lashes against a pink background (color of the Bourjois logo). Next to the product in the bottom right corner, several lines of different colors resembling a bar code can be seen. They are in fact the different hues of the mascara. The model has blue eyes to make the mascara more visible and a typical European haircut (short and unstructured). The glasses she wears, which are in fact a

bra, draw attention to the model's eyes and the effect of the mascara. They also play a metaphorical role and reinforce the sexual dimension of the advertisement.

The mascara *Pump up the volume* derives its name from a British hard rock song by MARRS in 1987. This is also the title of an American movie by Allan Moyle in 1990. The French slogan "Des cils bonnet D, forcément ça avantage" is translated in the English slogan by "D-cup lashes are definitely an asset". The two slogans compare the model's eyelashes to her breast. Long, curved lashes look like a voluptuous female breast. The body copy of the advertisement further explains the benefits and features of the mascara:

French body copy: « Une formule gonflée de silicone pour un volume pigeonnant immédiat. Une brosse en fibres de nylon pour étoffer jusqu'au bout des cils. Des atouts de taille ! »

English body copy: "With a silicone-enhanced formula and volumising brush to give you voluptuous lashes from root to tip. The results will be uplifting!"

We will not expound on the English translation of the advertisement which follows the French advertisement. The sexual metaphor of the bra is similarly extended in the text of both advertisements: "bonnet D" and "D-cup", "atout" and "asset", "gonflée de silicone" and "silicone-enhanced", "volume pigeonnant" and "volumising", "étoffer" and "voluptuous", "de taille" and "uplifting", and "pump up the volume".

We will focus particularly on the Arabic translation of the advertisement. In an adaptive and functional approach to translation, we created a translation of the Bourjois advertisement designed for Lebanese women. Translators play an important economic role and this is especially true in advertising. Their translation must sell products in the best possible way:

*Translators have to identify and take into account the final mission of the text. They must find the mission(s) of the text to be translated before translating it. Translators have to take up exactly the core mission of the text and throw themselves heart and soul into it.*³ (Durieux, 1991: 12) [Our translation]

After scanning the English version of the advertisement, we decided to change the order of the image and follow the Arabic code of reading (from right to left). We removed all the text and then added our own translation. We kept the name of the product in English and the name of the brand in French, as is usually done in Lebanon. The advertisement was presented to the interviewees as an original advertisement.

3.2 Arabic translations of the slogan

Unlike French or British people, Arab people do not measure the depth of the cup in bras with a letter; they only take the size of the bra into account. Therefore, the image of the D-cup could not be directly transposed to the Arab world and had to be adapted. A new image had to be created which conveyed the same message: When using Bourjois mascara, you become more desirable or sexier. Moreover, the message had to allude to the female breast (the model wears a black bra as if it were sunglasses) and reinforce the metaphorical image of the bra. We offered six different versions of the Arabic slogan, each highlighting a specific side of the advertisement and expected to have a different impact on the audience.

The first version we offered was رموش كثيفة وساحرة للجاذبية سرها، which literally means "The secret of seduction: thick and voluptuous lashes". It sounds like the advertisements we hear and read in Lebanon and consists of common words often used in Lebanese advertisement.

The second version وجدنا لها ماسكارا بورجوا عيون المهى means "Bourjois has created a new mascara for doe-eyes". It alludes to Arabic literature and poetry and this type of advertisement is often welcomed in Lebanon.

The third version *هذا موطن سحري انظر اليّ في عينيّ*, means “Look into in my eyes; they’re my main asset.” It also has literary tones and is inspired from the following Wonderbra advertisement: “Look into my eyes, I said my eyes”

The fourth version *لرموش ساحرة وجذابة، ماسكارا التكبير بالسيليكون* means “To have voluptuous and appealing lashes, use silicone-enhanced mascara”. The silicone element reinforces the idea of breast.

The fifth version *أنا استعمل السيليكون لرموشي فقط* means “I use silicone only for my eyelashes”. It alludes to breast surgery and reinforces the image of the bra the model wears under her eyes. This ethically committed advertisement urges women to avoid cosmetic surgery. This type of surgery is becoming more and more popular in Lebanon and is quite affordable.

The sixth version *الاثارة تبدأ من هن ماسكارا التكبير بالسيليكون*, means “Seduction starts with silicone volumising mascara”. We chose this slogan in the mock advertisement we presented in our survey. We kept the fashionable idea of silicone and cosmetic surgery and the extended metaphor of the bra. Furthermore, the Arab word *اثارة* refers to seduction in a sexual way.

The rest of the message aims to give further information on the product. It has a referential function and is used to extend the metaphor. Here is the translation we proposed: *بتركيبة مدعمة بالسيليكون وريشة مخصصة للتكبير ماسكارا بورجوا الجديدة تضي على رموشك سحرا مضاعفا لنتيجة حقا ملفتة*. Literally, it means: “With a silicone-enhanced formula and a volumising brush, the new Mascara by Bourjois gives your lashes a double amount of charm for a really astonishing result.”

4. Attitude toward the advertisement

4.1 Building the questionnaire

We cannot explain in detail the building of the questionnaire in this paper for reasons of space; we are just giving its outline here. The questionnaire was built in three steps. We conducted exploratory interviews among 14 Lebanese people of different religions. The respondents were shown the modified advertisement in Arabic and asked to give their opinions about it following an interview guideline. These interviews helped us to build an alpha version of the questionnaire that was first tested among 150 Lebanese students in 3 Lebanese universities. The students were asked 21 questions and could justify their answers in Arabic, English or French. The results enabled us to further refine the questionnaire and better address the questions we had in mind by reducing the number of questions to 13.

4.2 Experts’ attitudes

Five interviews were conducted among experts in advertising in April and May 2006. We cannot examine all the data we collected here. We will focus on their appreciation of the translated advertisement: Moral and aesthetic judgment of the advertisement and its acceptance by Lebanese women according to the experts.

All the experts agreed that this advertisement could be published in Lebanese women’s magazines, i.e. *Al hasna’*, *Femme magazine*, *Al chabaka*, *Prestige*, *Mondanité*, *Noun*. (Rizkalla, 2006) They found it neither shocking nor offensive. For instance, Bernard Abou Jaoudé, marketing consultant and professor in the Holy Spirit University of Kaslik, said that the Lebanese wanted this type of advertisement:

I believe it is acceptable by the Lebanese market and by the Lebanese community. [...] we can’t say that this ad is shocking. (Jaoudé, 2006)

However, the shocking side of the advertisement appeared when we talked about its diffusion. Problems of censorship will arise if the advertisement is designed for billboard advertising or other Arab countries. They did not put forward religious or political reasons, but geographical factors:

For the Arab world, for example for Saudi Arabia, I would not use any model. I would insist on the efficiency of the product using the eyes: The before and after classical type of ads. (Jaoudé, 2006)

If this ad is used in a poster campaign, I'm convinced that, in some Lebanese areas, for example Western Beyrouth, the South of the country or even Saïda, some extra fabric will be added under her neck. I had a similar experience with a Palmolive ad. The model was dressed in a very decent way, but one sleeve of her T-shirt was a bit too short and slightly discovered her shoulder. The Sûreté Générale asked to add a longer sleeve. (Najjar, 2006)

The problem of censorship was directly tackled by Jeannette Najjar, brand manager for Colgate Palmolive in Lebanon:

There is no written law about censorship. It depends on the mood of the Sûreté Générale officer. For instance, we know that models' legs and breasts must be covered. Sometimes, in Palmolive ads, the breast is displayed, and daisies are drawn on the model's breast to be published. (Najjar, 2006)

The translation of the message was more or less well received by the experts. Some liked it, even if some words were not neutral:

The base line is very good. I think اثاره [sexual seduction] is a strong word but I like it. I am completely with you. The best part of it is اثاره تبدأ من هنا [Here starts the seduction] because I believe in this. [...] I don't suggest any change or maybe instead of ماسكارا بالتكبير بالسيليكون [volumising silicone mascara], you can use ماسكارا جديد بالسيليكون [new silicone mascara] and maintain the other part. (Jaoudé, 2006)

Very sensual and provocative. The focus is on the erotic dimension not the function of the mascara. The translation is good. [...] It's a good way to convey the idea of D-cup. I wouldn't have found a better idea. Among all your options, I'd choose the message السيليكون لرموشي فقط [Silicone? For my lashes only!]. (Rizkalla, 2006)

However, other experts criticized the choice of the message. Jeannette Najjar considered it somewhat offensive:

I find the slogan may offend some people, especially the word اثاره [sexual seduction]. I agree that words such as جذابة (attractive) and ساحرة (charming) have lost their strength, but I prefer using a common word than a shocking one. [...] I have a problem with the word اثاره [sexual seduction], which is kind of borderline. (Najjar, 2006)

Generally speaking, she thought that translators have to choose a safe, neutral message instead:

I work a lot with the translators of the advertising agency and all the slogans are neutral and informative. [...] For me, Arabic is not a good language for advertising and we have to neutralize some effects not to offend some people. (Najjar, 2006)

Souheila Rizk had concerns with the word silicone:

Speaking of silicone can be derogatory. When you see a beautiful woman and you are told she is siliconed, it's pejorative. So, I don't think it's a good idea to use silicone in the slogan. (Rizk, 2006)

We finally asked the experts what they would change in the advertisement. They all agreed on the choices made, and they especially thought it was a good thing to keep a European model:

No black eyes, no dark hair, no dark skin. Arab women like to copy European women, so European models are often kept in cosmetic adverts, it's an advantage. (Najjar, 2006)

Bernard Abou Jaoudé reminded us of the importance of attitude surveys:

I won't change anything in this ad. But, as a marketing researcher, I always look into the community with whom I am working to know them better, especially concerning their likes and dislikes. If in your results more than 50% of your targets say that they don't like the bras, I say we may take it off, but the whole idea and the whole creativity will be lost. (Jaoudé, 2006)

Our interviews with experts in advertising helped us understand to what extent the adaptation of advertisements for a large Lebanese audience often leads to censorship - especially in billboard advertising - so as to avoid offending consumers. Censorship takes two forms: It is performed either by Sûreté Générale officers and/or, when no such office checks advertisements, by translators themselves through self-censorship.

4.3 Lebanese women's attitude

“Folder tests” are marketing tools often used to measure advertising effectiveness among the target audience. We assessed the participants' responses to the print Bourjois advertisement through a questionnaire. We tried to determine the extent to which the Bourjois advertisement is culturally shocking for Lebanese people and analyzed the respondents' attitude toward it: Are they rather conservative or open-minded to this kind of advertisement? The advertisement we translated into Arabic was presented as a “marketing test”, i.e. a method of testing an advertisement in a representative market before the national launch. But the respondents did not know it was a mock, unofficial translation of it.

The survey was conducted among 152 Lebanese women from different age groups, religions and social classes (random sample). We chose an exclusively female sample because they were the targets of the product and we did not want to put together female and male attitudes toward an explicitly sexual advertisement. We wanted to create a typology that would offer insights into female attitudes toward shocking advertisements. The survey took place in schools, libraries and companies between April and May 2006.

The survey confirmed that Lebanese women use a lot of make-up. Only 14% of the respondents never or rarely put on make-up and only 17% of them found eye make-up unimportant. Seventy-five percent of the respondents knew the brand Bourjois and 62% had already used one of their products. But only 12% of them had heard of the *Pump up the volume* mascara.

The respondents had a rather positive image of the advertisement: Only 28% of them found that it presented a degrading image of women and 30% of them found it offensive, while 60% did not find it offensive. Eighty percent of the respondents said that they were accustomed to seeing this type of advertisement in Lebanon while 9% were not accustomed to. Forty-five percent of them stated that it could be offensive for puritan women while 35% considered it would not offend them. Fifty-five percent of them liked the advertisement and found the sexual metaphor successful, while 25% found it unsuccessful.

The respondents were asked what they would change about the image of the advertisement (this could be interpreted as a form of censorship). Thirty-six percent of them wanted to remove the bra under the model's eyes while 54% wanted to keep it. Seventeen percent of them desired to clothe the model more; 8% to dress her up to the neck, and 2% wanted her to wear the veil. Even if an increase in shops designed for women wearing the veil can be noted, such models never appear in Lebanese advertising and women want things to stay this way.

Only 33% of the respondents found the sexual metaphor too explicit whereas 45% liked the idea of silicone, which is fashionable in Lebanon, and 34% found the advertisement creative.

The respondents were asked to assess the different versions of the slogan we suggested earlier:

	Very bad	Bad	Neither good nor bad	Good	Very good
Version 1	7%	7%	34%	28%	24%
Version 2	28%	22%	25%	16%	9%
Version 3	12%	11%	35%	22%	20%
Version 4	16%	13%	35%	26%	10%
Version 5	32%	15%	24%	13%	16%
Version 6	14%	11%	27%	30%	18%

Table 1: Assessment of the 6 slogans by Lebanese women.

Among these alternative slogans, the respondents preferred the 1st and 6th ones, considering that the first version was the most descriptive, purely informative slogan, the sixth version being the slogan we used in our mock advertisement.

Through an analysis of the main components, we selected the 19 variables which were the most relevant for the attitude toward the advertisement:

Item	Encoding
1- This advert gives a degrading image of women	Degradan
2- This advert is very creative	Ideeorig
3- This advert is shocking for Lebanese people	Milieuos
4- Such adverts are common nowadays in Lebanon; they are no longer offensive	Nechocpl
5- The slogan is strong; I like it	Slogfort
6- The image is original, but can offend puritan people	Persopud
7- The image is vulgar; I don't like it at all	Imagvulg
8- The slogan is unsubtle, a better one can be found	Sloglour
9- The slogan is humoristic; silicone is fashionable nowadays	Silicmod
10- I believe everyone will enjoy this advert	Ttaimera
11- I like this advert; I find it rather good	Attposit
12- The sexual metaphor is successful	Metaphor
13- I don't like the idea of the bra; I find it offensive	Chocsout
14- I don't think this advert is a success	Pareussi
15- I find the slogan creative	slocreat
16- The slogan is funny	slogamus
17- The slogan is daring, shocking	slogose
18- I find the slogan is a total failure	slograte
19- I find the slogan vulgar	slogvulg

Table 2: Active variables and their encoding.

The following graph gathers the different active variables following two axes (factor 1 = 37.36% and factor 2 = 10.89%):

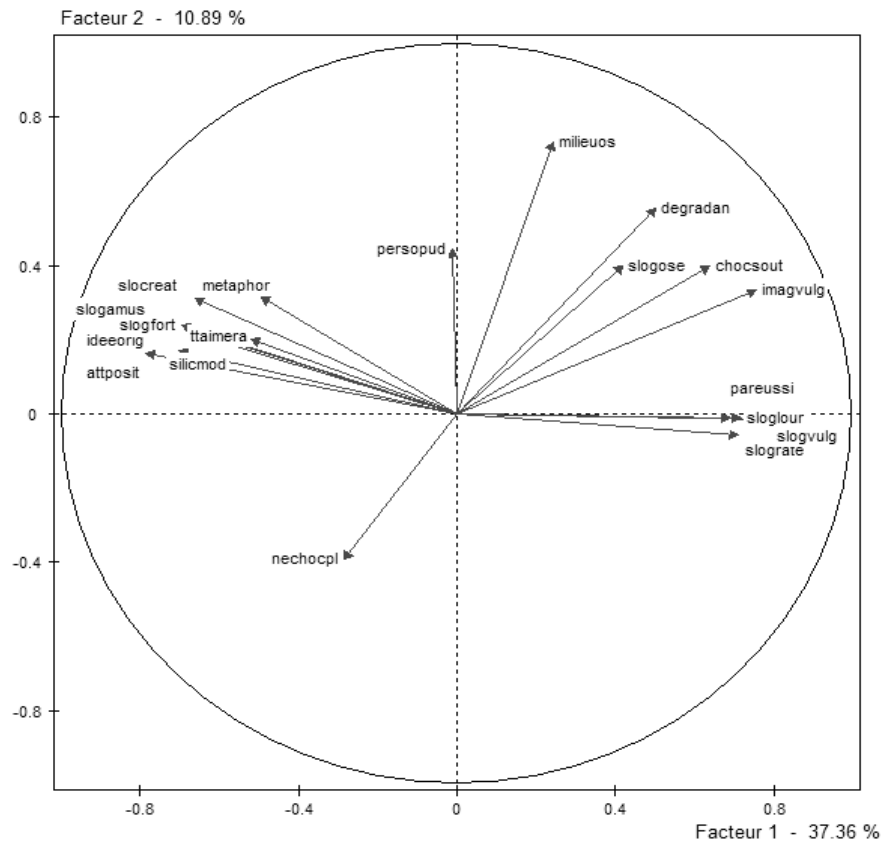


Chart 2: Analysis of the main components.

The first axis corresponds to the attitude axis. On the left side, all the positive variables of the advertisement are gathered: The slogan is creative, funny, and strong; the idea is creative; the sexual metaphor is successful. On the right side, all the variables regarding moral judgment, rejection are gathered: The slogan is vulgar, unsubtle and a total failure; the image is vulgar; the bra is offensive; the advertisement is shocking; it gives a degrading image of women. The second axis corresponds to the shock axis.

We also analyzed all the variables related to the modifications the respondents suggested. Most of them were directly linked to the notion of censorship:

Item	Encoding
1- The bra-shaped glasses should be removed	soutien
2- The model should be dressed up to her neck	habilcou
3- Another model with black eyes should be chosen	yeux
4- Another model with long hair should be chosen	cheveux
5- The model should wear more make-up	maquilla
6- The model should wear the veil	voile
7- The model should wear jewelry around her neck	accessoir
8- The model should be dressed	decollet
9- I like the image the way it is; I don't want any changes	aucumod

Table 3: Visual modifications and their encoding.

Version 1	The secret of seduction: thick and voluptuous lashes	<i>Le secret de la séduction : des cils épais et envoûtants</i>	للجاذبية سرها، رموش كثيفة وساحرة
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Version 2	Bourjois has created a new mascara for doe-eyes	<i>Aux yeux de Gazelle, Bourjois a créé un nouveau mascara</i>	عيون المهى، وجدنا لها ماسكارا بورجوا
Version 3	Look into in my eyes; they're my main asset	<i>Regarde- moi dans les yeux, ici se trouve mon charme</i>	انظر اليّ في عينيّ، هذا موطن سحري
Version 4	To have voluptuous and appealing lashes, use a silicone-enhanced mascara	<i>Pour des cils envoûtants et attirants, un mascara gonflé de silicone</i>	لرموش ساحرة وجذابة، ماسكارا التكبير بالسيليكون
Version 5	I use silicone only for my eyelashes	<i>Moi j'utilise uniquement le silicone pour mes cils</i>	أنا استعمل السيليكون لرموشي فقط
Version 6	Seduction starts with a silicone volumising mascara	<i>Un mascara au silicone à effet pigeonnant, la séduction commence ici</i>	ماسكارا التكبير بالسيليكون، الاثارة تبدأ من هنا

Table 4: Alternative slogans and their translations.

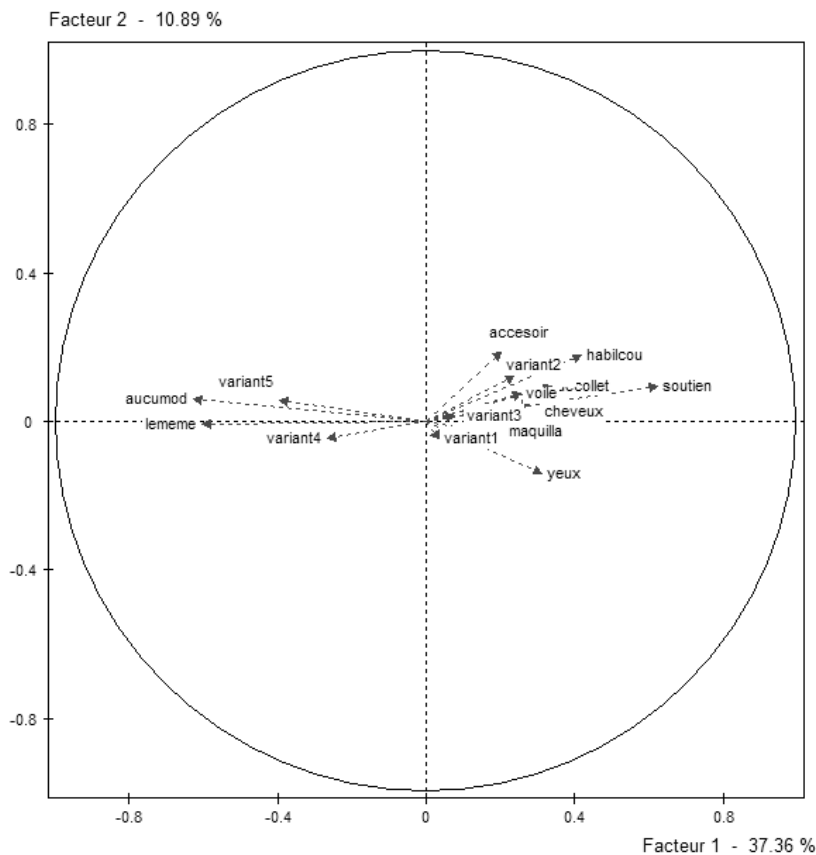


Chart 3: Projection of the visual variables.

It can be noted that versions 4, 5 and 6 are situated on the axis of positive attitude whereas versions 1, 2 and 3 are on the axis of moral judgment along with all the modifications involving a form of censorship. On the one hand, we have all the variables implying an acceptance of the advertisement by Lebanese women (version 4 is the closest to version 6 we chose and version 5 is the most explicit and daring one). On the other hand, the visual changes and the first three versions of the slogan indicate the reluctance to accept the advertisement we showed them.

5. Typology

The classification of consumers into categories, reflecting the different “mentalities” or “patterns”, is a key operation for advertisement and marketing gurus. The psycho-sociologist and prominent researcher in the market segmentation, Bernard Cathelat, inventor in the 70’s of the socio-styles system, which aims at identifying, classifying and targeting consumers, believes that:

*The socio-styles system provides decision-makers with a dashboard that helps them pilot their strategies throughout the variety of audiences in the light of changing social trends.*⁴ (Cathelat, 1990: 537) [Our translation]

Since the society is in constant change, these categories of social lifestyles are to be updated on a regular base. Our typology falls under this theoretical framework:

*The typology of socio-styles allow any social decision-maker to apprehend the variety of audiences, identify populations, rich or poor, young or aging, and measure those important in volume, in power or influence, in wealth, in dynamism, and in curiosity or sense of innovation...*⁵ (Cathelat, 1990: 43) [Our translation]

As the size of our sample was relatively high (more than 150 respondents), we chose a nodal, non-hierarchical typology based on the method of K-means. We used SPAD software (enabling data mining and analysis) to draw our typology which consisted of 4 categories or profiles.

5.1 Profiles

Profile 1: The realistic

This category encompassed 41% of the respondents (62 women). It was characterized by the fact that such advertisements were no longer considered as offensive in Lebanon because they are more and more common. However, this group felt rather reluctant to accept the Bourjois advertisement and wanted to change the image (especially the model’s eyes). It did not find the slogan shocking or offensive for Lebanese people, even the puritan ones. Yet, this profile did not like either the advertisement (neither creative nor funny) or the sexual metaphor (silicone). It preferred the first version of the slogan (للجاذبية سرها، رموش كثيفة وساحرة), the most familiar and common one, the slogan which was closer to their daily experience. All religions and age groups were represented in this profile, but many worked in the health sector. Their reluctance did not come from moral scruples. They tended to reject the advertisement because they no longer believed in advertising promises: They are realistic, informed consumers.

Profile 2: The liberal

This category encompassed 25% of the respondents (38 women). It was characterized by their positive attitude toward the advertisement. They found the idea creative, the sexual metaphor successful, and the slogan strong and creative. They preferred the sixth slogan (ماسكارا التكبير) (بالسيليكون، الاثارة تبدأ من هن) and the fifth slogan (أنا استعمل السيليكون لرموشي فقط), which is daring and unexpected. Like the first profile, they did not find the advertisement offensive. They were convinced that everybody would like the advertisement because plastic surgery is fashionable. This group was very reluctant to change anything in the image (against censorship); it identified itself with the model the way she was depicted. This group was very heterogeneous (all religions, age groups and professional backgrounds) and consisted of women who are captivated by Western advertisements (mischievous and sexy).

Profile 3: The moderate

This category encompassed 15% of the respondents (23 women). It was characterized by their acceptance of the slogan (creative, strong, and funny), all the more as silicone is fashionable, and by their positive attitude toward the advertisement (creative idea and sexual metaphor

successful). However, they were also fully aware of the fact that the slogan could be seen as daring and the bra shocking. Even though this kind of advertisement is common in Lebanon nowadays, it may be considered as offensive by some Lebanese women, since it shows a degrading image of women.

Despite these reservations, this profile did not want any changes and particularly liked the fourth version of the slogan (لرموش ساحرة وجذابة، ماسكارا التكبير بالسيليكون). It was also characterized by a moderate attitude: It was close to the variables of positive assimilation. The women belonging to this group liked the advertisement, but thought about its general acceptance in Lebanon. They took into account the fact that modest women could have problems with such advertisements. They were mainly teachers between 36 and 50.

Profile 4: The puritan

This category encompassed 19% of the respondents (29 women). It was characterized by their rejection of the advertisement: Both the image and the slogan are vulgar. The advertisement is shocking, especially the bra, and it gives a degrading image of women. This group wanted to remove the bra, which was seen as offensive, and would have preferred a model with long hair and black eyes. It also wanted to clothe the model more, preferably up to her neck, or at least put jewelry around her neck.

The women of this category had a clear preference for the second literary version of the slogan (عيون المهى، وجدنا لها ماسكارا بوجوا). They came from all religions, age groups and professional backgrounds. These traditionalist, moralistic, and puritan women formed a group apart from the other three profiles as can be seen in the visualisation of the typology.

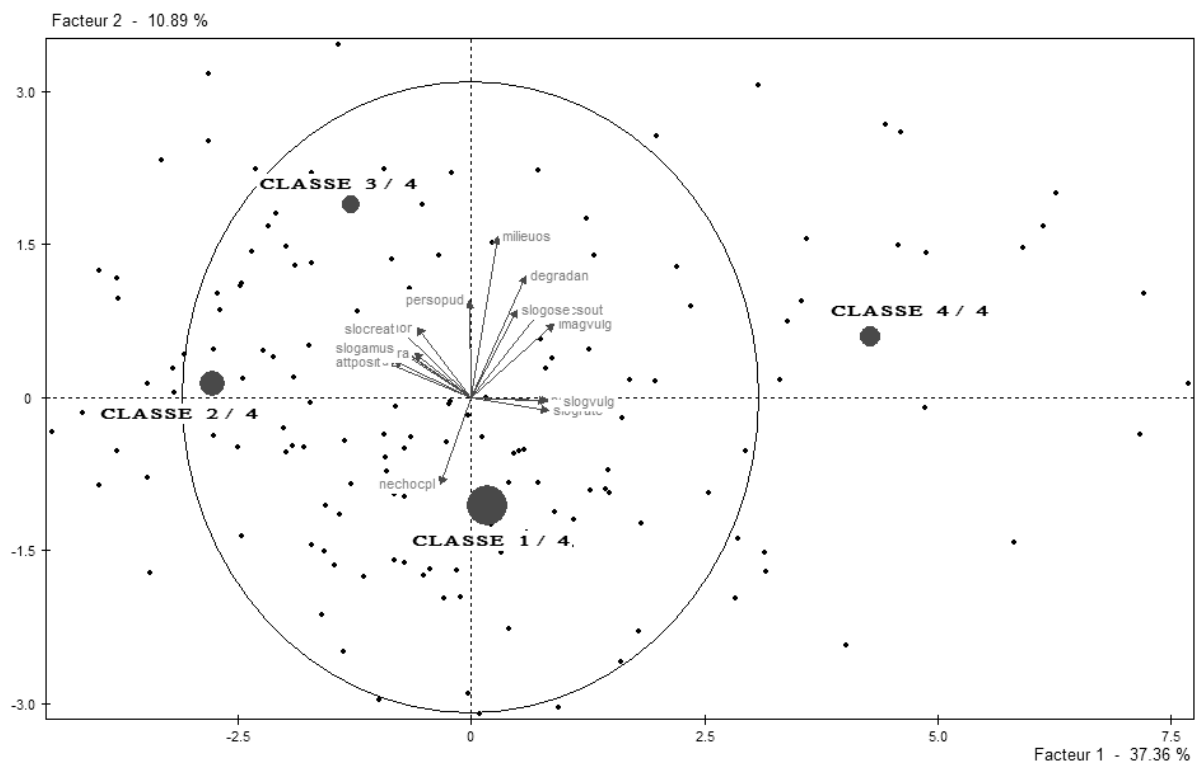


Chart 4: Visualisation of the typology.

5.2 Discussion of the typology

The four profiles we identified in our survey (the realistic, the liberal, the moderate, and the puritan) expressed their personal opinions and sensitivities about the advertisement. Their reactions were not dictated by religion: No group corresponded to a specific religious

background. All religions were represented in each profile. So, religion did not seem to be a determining factor for censorship in advertising.

Attitude surveys are very common in advertising; they are used to target consumers and select what they want to hear. In other words, we attempted to draw a parallel between the typology of consumers and the typology of translations, i.e. how the type of discourse (and translation) is linked to the kind of target. Translators must take this variable into account when they translate advertisements.

The attitude survey gave us information about Lebanese women. They were not afraid to talk about their own religion: Only two women refused to answer the question and less than 2% of our sample were atheists. We noted how the same advertisement could bring different reactions from the audience, which confirmed the fact that attitude toward an advertisement is a subjective process where consumers incorporate their own life, vision of the world, habits, and moral values.

Our study had its own limitations. We only conducted an attitude survey in Lebanon. It would have been interesting to conduct attitude surveys in other Arab countries to compare our results and find other determining factors concerning censorship. Likewise, even if they were the targets of the advertisement, our sample mainly consisted of educated women who were able to understand French. A larger sample could have pinpointed other variables. A month before we conducted the survey, some Beirut areas went through violent reactions following Mahomet's caricatures. This may have had a history bias on our survey. Finally, the exploratory interviews were conducted in France among 14 Lebanese students at the University of Caen. It would have been better to build the questionnaire from the input of women actually living in Lebanon, even if this factor was adjusted in steps 2 and 3 of our survey.

6. Conclusion

Advertising translators are not just here to convey the same meaning; their role is to become advertising people who sell a product to new consumers. They have rules to abide by (e.g. the positioning of the brand in the country) and censorship is one of them. Advertising rules are particularly strict in Saudi Arabia (you cannot see any part of female bodies in advertising, except for the face) and those who work in advertising often feel compelled to apply these rules to any Arab country. That is why self-censorship is so common in the Arab world, because it comes from a totally different cultural background and what is acceptable in Western countries can be seen as offensive in Arab countries. Adaptation and toning down are therefore the safest way to avoid censorship and pass through Sûreté Générale officers. Only 19% of the respondents see implicitly sexual advertisements as offensive and shocking.

However, our interviews with experts in advertising showed that adapting the advertisements for a large Lebanese audience often leads to censorship - especially in billboard advertising – to avoid offending consumers. Lebanon is a country full of contradictions. Lebanon's uniqueness lies in the diversity of its cultures and religions. Translators are by definition cultural mediators and their priority lies precisely in adapting the source text to its destination. In the case of advertising material, translators should also respect the brand's priorities in order to become an active player in the persuasion process.

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Notes

¹ Original: « Le traducteur doit être en permanence en prise avec la réalité, conscient des enjeux économiques en cause. Cette attitude implique qu'il sorte de son isolement, qu'il se considère comme un partenaire de l'entreprise pour laquelle ou dans laquelle il travaille. » (Durieux, 1991: 18)

² We are not able to enclose the adverts of the Bourjois mascara in French and English in the present article because the company refused to grant us the right to reproduce them. The French advertisement can be found online at <<http://beta.lebook.com/lacreative/creative/bourjois-pump-volume-advertising-2004>>.

³ Original: « Or la mission finale d'un texte est un paramètre que le traducteur doit identifier et dont il doit tenir compte. Il lui faut impérativement déterminer la ou les missions du texte à traduire avant d'effectuer la traduction. En effet, le traducteur doit épouser la mission fondamentale du texte et s'investir dans l'exécution de cette mission. » (Durieux, 1991: 12)

⁴ Original: « Le Socio-Style-Système offre aux décideurs sociaux et commerciaux un Tableau de Bord pour piloter leur stratégies dans l'archipel de la diversité des publics et dans la météorologie sociale des tendances. » (Cathelat, 1990: 537)

⁵ Original: « La typologie des Socio-Styles permet à tout décideur social de saisir la variété des publics et d'identifier les populations riches ou pauvres, jeunes ou vieillissantes, de mesurer celles qui sont importantes par leur volume, ou par leur pouvoir et leur influence, celles qui le sont par leur richesse, et celles qui le sont par leur dynamisme, leur curiosité et leur sens de l'innovation... » (Cathelat, 1990: 43)