Socio-cultural Perspectives on Translation

Activities in Saudi Arabia:

A Bourdieusean Account

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

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Abstract

The main aim of this thesis is to examine translation practices in Saudi Arabia as “socially situated” activities in the second half of the 20th century. Drawing on Bourdieu’s sociological model, the study situates the translation activities of academic, private, and literary institutions in their socio-political context of cultural production. Conceptual tools of analysis derived from Bourdieu, such as field, habitus, capital, doxa, and homology, are used to analyse book translation as a set of emerging sub-fields in Saudi Arabia.

The study identifies academic institutions and private publishers as the principal agents contributing to the definition of the field of translation. It analyses the positions they occupy in the field(s) of cultural production and types of capital that have value in the context of their struggles. An expanding range of translation practices by faculty members in academic institutions, especially those undertaken in King Saud University, points to an emerging network of translation-specific positions, which can be referred to as the sub-field of academic translation. The dictates of this sub-field are influenced by strong homologous relations with the encompassing academic field. The capital sought by agents is primarily cultural and symbolic, and is readily convertible to economic capital.

The thesis also identifies three private publishers who occupy positions in the second emerging sub-field of translation within the publishing field. These agents display different interests in a variety of stakes and types of capital. Jarir’s focus on translating self-help books demonstrates a heavy influence of the heteronomous dictates of the local and global markets, i.e. the economic field, situating it within the heteronomous pole of large scale circulation. Translation practices undertaken by Dar al-Mareekh and Obeikan position them nearer to the autonomous pole of small-scale circulation, where agents target smaller groups of readership and prioritise cultural and symbolic forms of capital. A heteronomous influence exercised by the political field is also detected in Obeikan’s focus on political works critical of US foreign policy, which situates these products within the heteronomous pole of politics.

A translation by Obeikan of Niall Ferguson’s 2004 Colossus is examined in detail as a case study to further illuminate translation strategies as sociological phenomena situated within the field of power. Paratextual engagements reflect discourses of anti-Americanism that have circulated in the Saudi social space since US presence in the Kingdom intensified in 1990. The concepts of orthodoxy and heterodoxy are used to analyse a series of textual interventions at the micro level. Typographic signalling of censored sections that undermine the political authorities is found to reflect the agent’s positioning in relation to the heterodoxic, pro-American stance in the political field. The publisher’s position in this respect aligns with and reflects the orthodoxic stance of the pan-Islamist, religious-cum-nationalist field, whose agents have protested the continued military cooperation between the Kingdom and the US.
DECLARATION

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Note on Transcription of Arabic

This thesis adopts the style used by *The International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* for Arabic Transcriptions. The symbols used are as follows:

**Consonants**

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</tbody>
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**Vowels**

- Short vowels: a, i, u
- Double vowels: iyy (in final position)
- Long vowels: ā, ī, ū
- Diphthongs: aw, ay
To Joudi
Chapter 1

Introduction

The larger sections of the current social space in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, especially those social groups and social-political structures based in northern and central regions of the Arabian Peninsula, have gone through critical and drastic phases of social and political transition and reconstruction during the second half of the twentieth century. The economic boom in 1960-70 influenced the social and political structures and institutions at their core; it accelerated an unprecedented process of urbanisation that transformed the lives of various groups, from Bedouins and rural villagers to urban, city dwellers; the process occurred almost overnight.

These transformations gave rise to a long series of clashes between the older, traditional social structures of the desert and the newly founded social structures of the city. The clashes took the form of an emerging, religiously-sanctioned resistance against unfamiliar social and cultural elements deemed alien or even shocking in the social arena. When loudspeakers were first installed in the holy mosque of Mekka, they were forbidden by a number of respected religious scholars, who considered such technological gadgets the work of the devil. The devil, they believed, uses demons to amplify sounds, and so they tried to destroy loudspeakers (al-Ghathami 2011:13). Riding bicycles was frowned upon during those years; bicycles were seen as a strange product of the “infidels”, and often called حصان أبليس (the devil’s horse) in certain regions. Similar social and cultural clashes surfaced relatively recently (in the past 20 years); satellite dishes in the early 1990s were met with furious opposition by religious scholars and members of the public when first introduced to the Saudi market (ibid.: 15). Leaflets warning against the evils of satellite dishes, that were thought to threaten to destroy the fabric of Islamic society, were distributed to people’s homes1 (ibid.:15-6).

Some tensions continue to this day. Highly controversial issues in society include women: their mobility, veiling, etc. The education of women was a particularly hot

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1 These religious views did not last long and are now completely forgotten. People now often joke about the absurdity of these particular fatwas.
subject and demonstrates the complexity and dynamics of the social shake-up that took place in the Saudi social space in recent years. Apart from very few private schools, public institutions offering formal education for women in Saudi Arabia were non-existent before 1960 (al-Rawaf & Simmons 1991: 287-88). Daughters of wealthy families sometimes used private tutoring for their daughters at home, and some families with modest means sent theirs to *Kutab*, (an informal and religious form of education), where they were only taught how to read by reciting the Quran\(^2\) (ibid.: 288). The issue of formal education for women was strictly taboo and rarely featured in public debates. When Abdulkareem al-Juhaiman, the late Saudi author and journalist, published an article in 1955 in *Akhbar al-Dhahran* (The News of al-Dahran) which publically called, for the first time in contemporary Saudi history, for the provision of education for women, he was immediately questioned by the authorities, and attacked by some religious figures. Al-Juhaiman was jailed for three weeks and his newspaper was shut down\(^3\). When the government later reconsidered the establishment of formal education facilities for women in the early 1960s, this was fiercely contested, mainly on religious grounds. Some argued that education for women was unnecessary and would uproot them from their natural place (the home), thus undermining their God-given role as housewives and eventually exposing them to “degrading western values” that encourage mixing and equality between the genders, as evidenced in the following quote from Bin Homaid: \(^4\)

"... We often heard rumours about educating girls and plans to open schools for them. We could not believe them until the schools were officially established. We found this strange and deeply regret this decision [...] I would advise every Muslim not to enrol his daughter or sister in these schools, which display kindness/mercy on the outside and hide disaster and temptation on the inside."

\(^2\) During this period, families raised their female offspring primarily to become housewives. It was commonly believed that women only needed religious education to become good housewives.


\(^4\) Abdullah Bin Homaid was a renowned scholar who was later appointed President of the Supreme Judicial Council in the Kingdom in 1975.
They will eventually lead to the unveiling of women, debauchery, and collapse of morality. (Bin Homaid 1959; quoted in Bin Qasim 1999: 71-4).

Following the establishment of public schools for girls, education for women gradually became less of an issue in public debates. Defensive and skeptic conservative social groups diminished in size and importance as people became accustomed to the idea over time. Similar fatwas continue to surface on other issues relating to women in Saudi society, however: whether women’s engagement in certain social practices might lead to moral crises; whether they should be allowed to wear trousers, drive, participate in political life, etc. These and other, often religiously-sanctioned, forms of resistance to new modes of social practice in the city reflect the abruptness of social transitions that occurred in the highly religious and conservative social space of Saudi Arabia since the 1940s and are part of the social landscape within which translation activities take place. One of the ways in which they exercise influence on translation today, for example, concerns the selection and framing of source texts that reinforce the idea of the separation of genders, as discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.1.

1. Research Context

Against this background, the main aim of the current study is to examine translations and translators as ‘socially situated’ activities and actors in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the second half of the 20th century. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological model (1977, 1984a, 1993, Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), the thesis attempts to locate the translation activities of academic, governmental and private institutions in their socio-political context of cultural production. The conceptual tools of Bourdieu’s model are used to identify and investigate different types of positions and stakes in what may be described, in Bourdieusean terms, as an emerging field of translation, the logic of which is highly interrelated or homologous with the academic and publishing fields, as will be argued and demonstrated in the chapters that follow.

Socio-political and strategic studies on Saudi Arabia have proliferated in the past decade. The trend came as a response to growing interest in the region as the country has increasingly featured within the discourse of global, political conflicts following the
9/11 attacks. Some works are provocatively one-dimensional examinations of the Kingdom’s relationship with terrorism (e.g. Schwartz 2002, Gold 2003), while others seek to present a broader picture of the political and social structures of the Kingdom (e.g. al-Rasheed 2002; Cordesman 2003a, 2003b; Champion 2003; Aarts and Nonneman 2005; Niblock 2006, Lacey 2009). In terms of its history, the position of Saudi Arabia derives its geopolitical significance, both regionally and globally, from geographically and historically determined religious and economic assets. The Islamic faith originates from the cities of Mekka and Madina, which host the holiest places of worship for over a billion Muslims. This has given the Saudi state a strategic position in the Islamic world and has strengthened its participation in international Islamic institutions5 (McLachlan 1986: 92). Recognising its wealth of religious symbolism, the political authorities in Saudi Arabia have invested in Islamic prestige, demonstrated most clearly by the fact that the official title of the King of Saudi Arabia was changed in 1986 from “His Majesty” to “the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques”. The green Saudi flag itself features the phrase “There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God”, this being the key declaration of the Muslim faith. The political authority’s continued assertion that the official constitution of the country is none other than the Holy Book of Quran and the sayings of the messenger of Islam (known as the Hadith) reflects the internal dynamics in the field of power, which is divided between politics and religion, and projects the Kingdom as a major participant in negotiating the politics of the Islamic world. In addition, the sacred religious sites on Saudi territory provide a steady financial income for the country; the annual pilgrimage, or Hajj, attracts millions of Muslims every year. In 2011 alone, it contributed 2.66 billion US dollars to the economy6. Religious assets have thus endowed the country with a key position within the Islamic world, both symbolically and in terms of concrete economic capital.

With the discovery of oil in the newly established contemporary Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the 1930s, the geopolitical and economic position of the country became more complex, starting from the 1950s and continuing to this day. Its political and economic relationships with the US allowed the country to assume an influential

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5 The country has also been able to further strengthen this position by providing major funding to Islamic institutions around the world (ibid.)
position in the global arena in general and the Middle East in particular (Niblock 2006: 143-70). This influence continued into the 21st century, with the Kingdom sitting atop one of the largest oil reserves in the world. Oil has thus become a strong political tool in negotiating both domestic and international relations. Saudi threats to impose an oil embargo on the US in the 1970s marked the beginning of the legitimisation of the country as a key player in the global game, a role it has played ever since. The country thus has “played the game”, using Bourdieu’s terms, economically and politically.

Most socio-political literature on Saudi Arabia, including the studies mentioned above, examines the factors that shape the political and social structures in the country as a whole. There is, however, a serious shortage of sociological studies that investigate various forms of cultural production in the country, and especially the various ways in which cultural products are structured and in turn contribute to structuring the Saudi socio-political space. The current study attempts to fill this gap, at least in part, by investigating aspects of the translation practices in the Kingdom. The growing volume of translations in the Kingdom in recent years reflects a social and intellectual interest in these practices as an important form of cultural production. Many universities now house or are affiliated with translation centres and institutions. Bilingual faculty members are strongly encouraged to produce translations and are offered intellectual and economic rewards for such output. The country has set up an annual international award for translation (Abdullah Bin Abdul-Aziz International Award for Translation), the ceremonies of which are held each year in a different, major city around the world. Such intellectual investment highlights the importance laid upon translation as a site for struggle to gain status and recognition in both the domestic and global intellectual and political fields. These state-supported projects could also be read within the ideological context of what Jacquemond terms “the crisis discourse” (2009: 16). The 2003 Arab Human Development Report, which strongly criticises the shortage of translations in the Arab World, helped popularise the idea that “the Arabic translation movement is strikingly weak, a blatant illustration of the cultural lag of Arab societies and their faulty insertion in the international economy of knowledge” (ibid.). The first decade of the 21st century saw numerous translation projects set up.

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around the region, including Saudi Arabia, as a response to this crisis discourse, reflecting the Arab World’s belief in the “social power” of the book (ibid.: 32).

Major private publishers in the Kingdom, although few in number, are today more active in translating and importing hundreds of foreign books on diverse subjects every year. Jarir, for instance, has released around 1600 translations in the relatively short period of 15 years and advertises its translated products by periodically releasing a separate publication catalogue of the latest translations, a practice which recognises translation as a separate activity and acknowledges its unique status. Dar al-Mmareekh actively cooperates with university professors on translation projects that mainly target students and academics. These and other practices, which this thesis attempts to analyse, all point to a growing recognition of translation, a rapid growth in the number of translations and translating agents, and hence to an evolving structure of positions which could be referred to, in Bourdieusean terms, as a field of translation.

Very little research has so far investigated translations and translating agents in the Kingdom in general. One of the few academic studies which has directly but superficially addressed this issue is al-Nasser’s 1994 MA thesis Translation of Books into Arabic in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia – a Bibliometric Study, conducted at Imam Mohammed Bin Saud University, Saud Arabia, and later published in book form in 1998. Al-Nasser investigates a total of 502 books translated into Arabic during the period 1930-1992 and highlights the grave imbalance between translated intellectual production and the demands of scientific research in the Kingdom. A similar but smaller study was undertaken in 2005 by al-Khatib, a professor of economics at King Saud University in Saudi Arabia, entitled ‘Economic Performance of the Arabic Translation Industry in Saudi Arabia’. Covering the period 1930-2005, al-Khatib combines the findings of al-Nasser’s study with his own investigation of translated books in Saudi Arabia during the period 1991-2005. It was not until the mid 1970s, al-Khatib explains, that the Kingdom witnessed the beginning of what may be termed the Saudi translation movement, a development that he attributes to the country’s economic boom, associated with high petroleum income (2005:12). He notes that translation activities began to accelerate noticeably in the 1990s; 805 books were translated in the period 1990-2004, representing 64% of the total translation output in the Kingdom by that stage (ibid.).
The two studies share some similarities in terms of their limited scope and the underlying motivations for undertaking them. First, the larger part of the data analysed in these studies and from which conclusions are drawn consists of mere statistics of book translations. Correlations between these statistics and the social realities of Saudi Arabia are based on the temporal dimension of the translations. In other words, the date the translations were released seems to be the only element considered by al-Nasser and al-Khatib as an indicator of the relationship between sociological developments and translational production. No investigations are undertaken of actual socio-political situations that may have prompted various agents to produce specific translations at specific times. Second, the conclusions drawn are presented as “recommendations” and couched within a nationalist discourse. Frequent use of terms such as ‘should’ and ‘must’ with regard to the current status of translational activities and the role of political institutions in the country suggests that the studies in question are seriously compromised by pre-determined deductions and pre-conceived popular opinions about translation and the ideology of translation.

In addition to these two studies by al-Nasser and al-Khatib, a couple of reports have directly addressed translation activities in the Kingdom, either in passing (Next Page Foundation 2004) or by providing short - now outdated - lists of translations and translating agents in the Kingdom (Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization report 1987).

The lack of studies that focus on book and/or translation production in the Kingdom as an activity that can reflect social and political developments highlights the need to shed some light upon this field of cultural production, and especially on the various ways in which it influences and is influenced by political, cultural, and economic factors. This study is the first systematic, full-length account of the socio-political underpinnings of translation practice in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It sets out to offer a more nuanced, theoretically informed account of some aspects of the emerging field of translation in Saudi Arabia than has hitherto been available. In particular, it draws on Bourdieu’s influential theory to locate translational practices in Saudi Arabia within a variety of other practices, including practices in the academic and the publishing fields, as well as various political and social discourses circulating in the social space. Bourdieu’s theoretical model has featured increasingly in sociological
studies of translation and interpreting since the mid-1990s. Translation and Interpreting Studies as a discipline no longer reduces its primary object of study to textual material but has sought to incorporate within its remit the different agents who produce texts and the cultural, historical, and social environments or circumstances that influence and are influenced by cultural agents and their production. The interest in Bourdieu’s model reflects a growing appreciation of translations and translators as ‘socially situated’ activities and actors. The selection of texts and the translation strategies used by different social agents, including translators, editors, and publishers, are necessarily embedded in the socio-cultural space (Hanna 2006; Wolf and Fukari 2007). A sociological approach to translation regards agents, whether individual or institutional, and their cultural production as part of the social space and analyses them from a relational perspective; the interactions between agents, their production, and the structure of the social field(s) to which they belong are deemed fundamental in the analysis of the social component of translational activities.

This emergent sociological trend in Translation Studies came as a response to growing criticism levelled at polysystems theory (Even-Zohar 1990) and norms theory (Toury 1995), often grouped together under the heading Descriptive Translation Studies. The limitations of these system theories are reflected in the primary source of data for theoretical investigation. Translation scholars have stressed that norm theory and polysystem theory primarily focus on ‘textual material’ as opposed to individual and institutional agency and its historical trajectory, hence overlooking the social component of social practices (Gouanvic 1997: 126; Hanna 2006: 15-6). A sociological model such as that elaborated by Bourdieu, in contrast, provides the researcher with conceptual tools that allow him or her to investigate cultural products as part of a network of relations shaped by the agency of social actors and the structure of the field(s) in which they operate within the wider social space. This allows for deeper socio-cultural understanding of the dynamics of cultural production, and in this case of translation as a socially situated activity or product.

So far, scholarly work which draws on Bourdieusean sociology has been successful in the analysis of data from interpreting (Inghilleri 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2008; Thoutenhoofd 2005; Garcés and Blasi 2010), translation (Gouanvic 1997, 1999, 2002a,
2002b, 2005; 2010; Hanna 2005, 2006, 2009; Sela-shefty 2005, Wen-Chun 2010), and data related to transnational and global relationships between languages and language groups (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007; Sapiro 2008). The work of Gouanvic and Hanna in particular demonstrates the fruitfulness of the application of Bourdieu’s model to translation as a sociological phenomenon. While Gouanvic focuses on the notions of habitus and field as starting points to investigate the dispositions of translating agents who contributed to the formation of the field of science fiction in 1950s France, Hanna’s work provides an insightful Bourdieuian account of the field of drama translation in Egypt, with special emphasis on the dynamics of doxa, orthodoxy and heterodoxy in shaping translation practices, specifically translations of Shakespeare at the turn of the 20th century in Egypt. This thesis aspires to continue and contribute to this trend, by using Bourdieu to analyse the wider socio-political dynamics in which translation practices are situated in Saudi Arabia, the relationships of these practices to the publishing and academic fields, and how they are situated in the encompassing field of power. Bourdieuian notions are deployed to explore the mode of importing and consuming translations in the Kingdom, the socio-political factors that inform the choices made by the translating agents on both the macro and micro levels, and how the translation practices of certain agents reflect their positioning in relation to socio-political structures and discourses.

2. Research Questions

The main question that motivates this thesis is:

*How can Bourdieu’s model help in examining translation practice in Saudi Arabia as an emerging field of cultural production in its own right, and in exposing translation actors and actions as sociological phenomena situated within the field of power?*

This question can be elaborated in more detail as follows:

1. *How can Bourdieu’s core concepts be used to describe and explain the practice of both academic and private publishers as the principal producers of translations in Saudi Arabia and as players in the emerging field of translation?*
2. Using Bourdieu, how can the structure of the sub-fields of translation in contemporary Saudi Arabia be described?

3. How might the principal agents contributing to the definition of the translation field(s) and their products be described in terms of the capital prioritised, and how do their practices reflect the autonomy or heteronomy of the field(s)?

4. How can we describe the homologies between the translation field(s) and other overlapping fields in the social space, as well as the global book market?

5. To what extent do macro and micro translation practices reflect the struggle between political and religious orthodoxy and heterodoxy in contemporary Saudi Arabia since the 1991 war on Iraq?

6. To what extent does translation practice reflect the translating agents’ positions in relation to the political and religious doxa and their relationships with the field of power, especially in the context of the international geopolitical aftermath of the 1991 war on Iraq?

These questions are addressed by examining a set of data from both public and commercial domains and through a case study involving close textual analysis.

3. Data

The main source of data for this study is a bibliography published in 2008 by King Fahad National Library in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia and entitled *Translated Books in Arabic in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*. It covers 2218 books translated into Arabic during the period 1966–2007, and provides details of authors, publishers, and academic and governmental institutions. The main section lists serially numbered entries, one per book, most of which provide detailed information that includes the following: the original and the translated title; the name of the original author, translator, and publisher of the translation; the date and place of publication; and keywords indicating the main subject of the work. Since King Fahad National library is the only authority eligible to issue ISBNs for books published in the country, KFNL’s bibliography may be assumed to be exhaustive, featuring all or the vast majority of translations published during that period. Nevertheless, there are numerous cases where translations
produced by governmental bodies are not listed, and other sources have therefore been consulted.

Another source of data is a bibliography attached to al-Nasser’s abovementioned study (al-Nasser 1998). This consists of 502 books, covering the period 1932-1992, and lists only those translated and published within the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The titles are categorised under different subjects. Each entry lists the translated title; the name of the original author; translator(s); publisher; date and place of publication; and number of pages. No details are given of the original title. Al-Nasser’s book also includes lists of academic, governmental and private publishers, the number and subjects of translations published by each, and information about the publishers in terms of when and where they were established.

The study also draws on updated lists of published books posted online by a number of academic and governmental institutions. In addition, three main private publishers in the Kingdom have provided the author with updated lists of their translations: Jarir, Obeikan, and Dar al-Mareekh. These lists generally provide basic information: the title of the translation, name of the translator, date of publication, etc.

Finally, the case study presented in chapter 5 uses as a source of data Niall Ferguson’s book Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire. Both the original’s hardback and paperback UK editions are used in the analysis, as well as Obeikan’s Arabic translation of the volume.

4. Organisation of the Thesis

Chapter 2 offers a critical elaboration of Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, and explores the key notions of field, habitus, doxa, and capital. Special emphasis is placed on the way these notions have been developed and elaborated within Translation Studies since the mid 1990s. I argue that the dynamic nature of these interdependent key notions renders them particularly useful for the examination of the socio-cultural underpinnings of translational activities, through identifying the positions available in

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8 Al-Khatib’s study could not be used as a source of data because it features only statistical details, with no information on actual titles, translators, etc.
the field(s), the relationships between them, and the types of struggle between agents occupying these positions for different forms of capital.

Chapter 3 focuses on academic and governmental agents who have engaged in translation activities in the Kingdom. It offers an analysis of their translation production by investigating the active agents involved in the process, how they operate in the field, and how the translations are grouped under subject headings. I conclude that while governmental institutions, which are characterised by a lack of feel for the game and low output, should not be considered translation agents as such, academic institutions occupy a unique space for translation practice, in which well-defined forms of capital are circulated and are fought over by agents who, nonetheless, respond almost exclusively to the logic of the academic field.

Chapter 4 shifts the focus to another set of positions, occupied mainly by three prominent translating agents in the private publishing field. Adopting a similar methodology as in chapter 3, the translation production of Jarir, Obeikan, and Dar al-Mareekh is analysed and the available forms of capital highlighted using Bourdieu’s model. I conclude that Jarir is situated around the pole of ‘large-scale circulation’, i.e. its translation activities are largely commercially oriented and heavily influenced by the global market. Obeikan, on the other hand, is less commercially oriented, and is situated nearer to the pole of ‘small-scale production’. As in Jarir’s case, the influence of the field of power is clear, but Obeikan orients its activities more towards the political rather than the purely economic aspect of the field of power, as evident in numerous translations of political books. Dar al-Mareekh’s activities and output are closer to those of the academic institutions examined in chapter 3, as it heavily engages in publishing translations produced by university faculty, which reflects a homologous relationship between the publishing and the academic fields.

Chapter 5 narrows the focus to an in-depth investigation of Obeikan’s translation of Niall Ferguson’s 2004 political narrative *Colossus*. This case study examines textual and para-textual features and offers insights into the positioning of Obeikan within the field of power, especially the way it is situated in relation to the nationalist and religious doxa within the Saudi social space.
Finally, Chapter 6 offers a synthesis of the findings and proposes a number of avenues for further research in relation to the application of Bourdieu’s model and the investigation of different facets of translation in the Kingdom.
Chapter 2
The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu

This chapter will examine Bourdieu’s sociology and conceptual tools offered by his model which can be helpful in investigating and delineating the field of translation in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The focus of the chapter will primarily be on the examination of five major Bourdieusean notions: field (section 2), habitus (section 3), capital (section 5), homology (section 6), and doxa (section 7). These notions will be critically explored, with special emphasis on how they have been developed and elaborated within Translation Studies since the mid 1990s. Examples and illustrations will be drawn from studies of translation and interpreting which have applied Bourdieusean sociology. Other examples drawn from the Saudi sociological and translational contexts will also be used to illuminate the theoretical framework.

1. The Roots of Bourdieu’s Theory

It is helpful to begin by tracing the socio-political forces that shaped the roots of Bourdieu’s sociological theory and thinking, in an attempt to provide a glimpse into his early personal and professional trajectories. Bourdieu was born into a poor family in 1930 in Denguin, a small rural town in south-west France, where he completed his primary schooling. Between the ages of 11 and 16, he moved to Pau to complete his secondary education, “lycée”, as a school boarder⁹ (Grenfell 2004: 9). Referring to his boarding school experience, Bourdieu describes the relationships between teachers and boarders, and the relationships between boarders themselves, as “‘terrible’ ... ‘violent’ ... ‘where everything was already present, through the necessity of life’s struggles, opportunism, servility, informing, [and] betrayal” (ibid.: 10). On the other hand, the classroom “intellectual” atmosphere, Bourdieu explains, was more of an enchanting experience, where pupils engage in daily intellectual struggles to “keep one’s place, defends one’s lot ... arrive on time, gain respect and survive” (ibid.).

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⁹ Boarders are students who come from outside town to live in dormitories within the school, as opposed to day students from town.
addition, the relationships between boarders and local day pupils were influenced by differences in aspects of individual personality, such as attitude, accent, clothes, etc. (ibid.). While boarders were usually from rural villages and small towns, day pupils were refined middle-class locals and therefore more urban.

In remembering this period of his life, Bourdieu highlights “class racism”, in which physical appearance rather than intellectual competence determined the relationship between students and teachers. Local students were treated better by the teachers and favoured over boarding students (ibid.: 11). Grenfell argues that this lived experience “seems to have marked Bourdieu at an early age” (ibid.; my emphasis). Taking Bourdieu’s account at face value, his early life and education experience, and his intellectual reaction to it, must have exercised a degree of influence on his later professional trajectory; Bourdieu’s sociological model places much emphasis on the dynamic of practices in the shape of struggles between agents as optimal means to gain and maintain positions in the social world. It is as if he was relating the model to his school experience and observations as a child. The struggles that Bourdieu went through as a rural child aspiring to achieve success as early as during his secondary education could be said to have developed a habitus that later influenced his professional analytical dispositions as a sociologist. His formulation of the notions of cultural and social capital also echoes his early experiences with and observations of the privileges urban students enjoyed in the educational field by virtue of belonging to a middle-class family background and relations.

Bourdieu obtained a degree in philosophy in 1955. He began undertaking extensive ethnographic fieldwork in Algeria during his two-year military service with the French army in 1956. He stayed there a further two years, teaching at the University of Algiers and conducting further field research; these four years marked his shift from philosophy to anthropology and social science (Jenkins 2002: 14). His fieldwork included taking hundreds of photos and conducting numerous interviews with Algerians living in urban and rural areas, culminating in his book Sociologie de L’Algérie, published in 1958, in which he lays out the basic, yet to be refined, ideas and concepts of his model. The anthropological experience in Algeria formed the basis for developing and expanding his sociological theory of practice (Genfell 2004: 55), which he later adopted in conducting seminal sociological examinations of French art and
culture (La Distinction 1979) and education (Homo Academicus 1984 et al.) throughout his professional career.

2. Bourdieu’s Central Concepts: The Notion of Field

In this section, the Bourdieusean notion of field will be defined and critically examined in order to explore the extent to which it can be used to analyse translation in Saudi Arabia as an emerging field in its own right. In addition, the notion of field will be conceptualised in the context of other Bourdieusean notions such as capital, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, in order to explain its usefulness in forming a broad picture of the way in which the field of translation in Saudi Arabia operates and interrelates or, using Bourdieu’s term, is homologous with the field of power – economic, political and religious – and with other fields in the Saudi social space.

Bourdieu defines field as:

a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present or potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 97).

Thus a field consists of a hierarchically structured set of interrelated positions to be occupied by social agents or institutions. Fields are located in the social space, or “social cosmos”, a notion which can be equated with what we commonly refer to as society; this space encompasses various relatively autonomous fields operating independently from and/or, to some extent, interdependently with one another (ibid.: 97). The availability of a series of positions in a field gives rise to a constant struggle between agents to gain stakes and resources, or what Bourdieu terms capital, in the field. Capital (see section 5 below) enables agents, including newcomers, to enter the field as legitimate members or to climb the ladder to more dominant and recognised
positions. In other words, “the network of objective relations between positions subtends and orients the strategies which the occupants of the different positions implement in their struggles to defend or improve their positions” (Bourdieu 1993: 30). An agent’s actions, or strategies, and the decisions he or she makes will thus partly depend on the amount and type of capital he or she possesses within a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 97).

In a given field of translation, an agent/actor, whether an individual translator or a publisher, may decide to translate or refrain from translating certain foreign books, depending on the anticipated economic, cultural, or symbolic profit to be gained from the translation. For example, given a particular set of political or social scenarios, an agent such as the Saudi publisher Obeikan may regularly choose to translate English political books that align with and reinforce mainstream social, political, and religious doxic beliefs in the Kingdom (chapter 5 offers a detailed analysis of this case). Most political translations published by Obeikan are of books that are critical of American ambitions in the Arab and Islamic world. On the other hand, a translator who strives for recognition by his/her peers may base his/her decisions on the cultural and symbolic value which may be acquired by introducing a given product into the field. This scenario is especially common within universities in the Kingdom, where many faculty members translate mainly to secure symbolic and cultural capital, as will be demonstrated in chapter 3.

Constant competition between agents for different types of capital and therefore power delineates the boundaries of the field, demonstrating the highly interdependent relationship between the structure of the field and the agents’ struggle over capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 98-9); the distribution of capital in the field and the agents’ dispositions and tactics for the acquisition of capital shape and are shaped by the objective structure of the field and the relations of power between available positions.

The boundaries of any field are not fixed, but permeable. They are dynamic, in a constant state of flux, due to the continuing and different types of struggle between agents. The structure of the field is “dynamic” in the sense that “a change in agents’ positions necessarily entails a change in the field’s structure” (Johnson 1993: 6).
Bourdieu maintains that in all fields of cultural production, two opposing forces that are in continuous conflict with each other influence the borderlines of the field: agents whose cultural production conforms with the laws and principles emanating from the structure of the field itself, with little influence from other fields of power (including the economic field), constitute one of these forces. The second force consists of agents who adjust their products to cater to the laws of a different field, other than the one they belong to. The former are considered to be supportive of the autonomy of the field, while the latter contribute to its heteronomy (Bourdieu 1993: 38-9).

In the literary field, for example, the boundaries of the field can be examined through an empirical study of the struggle between two poles or forces. On the one hand, some agents seek economic profit from their production, e.g. a novel that becomes a bestseller or a theatrical performance that proves a box office hit. These agents apply the principles derived from the economic field and thus constitute the heteronomous trend in the literary field. Agents aspiring for recognition or legitimisation by other agents in the literary field and aiming to further enhance their membership of and competence in that field, on the other hand, represent the autonomous pole (ibid.: 37-9). Bourdieu stresses, however, that the field of cultural production is situated within the field of power, and that any field, “whatever its degree of independence, [...] continues to be affected by the laws of the field which encompasses it, those of economic and political profit” (ibid.: 39).

Hanna (2006) provides an example of this struggle between autonomy and heteronomy in the translation field. He explores the changes that took place in the field of drama translation in Egypt at the turn of the 19th/20th century, when the field shifted from a heteronomous mode of production, i.e. where it catered to the mass-market, to an autonomous mode which is less subservient to the dictates of commercial theatre. Between the late 1860s and early 1910s, Hanna argues, drama translators for the stage mainly produced translations whose styles and aesthetic forms of expression sought to appeal to a mass audience, a strategy that secured economic profit. Thus, for example, translations were produced “to be performed by singers-cum-actors for an audience for whom singing made good theatre” (ibid.: 147). In seeking the approval of a mass audience, translators went as far as altering the plot of the original plays and novels. The drastic change of Hamlet’s ending by Tanyus
Abdu, who allows Hamlet to stay alive in the translation, demonstrates how a translation could be adapted to suit “the social reality of [the] audience and the range of familiar folk narratives which formed their world view and conditioned their appreciation of all other forms of popular entertainment” (ibid.: 150). However, this form of drama translation began to be severely criticised and undermined from the late 1900s onward. New heterodoxic voices started to surface, calling for the autonomy of the field and the need to distance it from the dictates of commercial theatre. Thus new autonomous and semi-autonomous positions emerged in the field as the struggle began between existing agents who represented the heteronomous trend and newcomers who strove for the autonomy of the field (ibid.: 169-75). Agents such as the prominent translator Khalil Mutran, who occupied these new positions, started to produce translations, whether to be published or for the stage, which adhere to the plot and wording of the original texts rather than attempting to appeal to the tastes of the mass audience.

A further example can also be drawn from the Israeli context to underline yet another form of struggle between the autonomy and heteronomy of the field. In her examination of the field of literary translation in Israel, Sela-Sheffy’s description of one form of struggle between agents (2005: 7-9) suggests that not all struggles within a field necessarily relate to economic considerations directly. Her study shows that “veteran” literary translators who are well educated in prestigious normative Hebrew invest in this capital by choice to protect domestic canonised styles in their translational production, thus acting as “gate-keepers” for the canon (ibid.: 7). These translators draw heavily on ancient Hebrew forms of expression in their cultural production, thus preserving the autonomy of the field by not prioritising market forces. However, this is not always the norm. Other agents, usually of younger generations, draw on their expertise in foreign languages as a form of capital. Representing the heterodoxic trend in the field, these agents aspire through their translations to enrich Hebrew by introducing new modes and styles of expression and marginalising old and canonised ones. Sela-Sheffy describes these agents as “ambassadors of world cultures” (ibid.: 8).

This example shows that the autonomy and heteronomy of a field are not necessarily associated with the struggle between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The literary
translators who belong to younger generations – ambassadors of world cultures, as Sela-Sheffy describes them – are not seeking economic privileges but rather symbolic and cultural capital. However, if we agree, using Bourdieu’s term, that this trend among agents in the literary translation field is purely heterodoxic, how do we account for the fact that it is also autonomous, given Bourdieu’s definition of autonomy? According to Bourdieu, autonomy denotes lack of economic aspiration and a prioritisation of approval from fellow peers in the field, while heteronomy leads to the field coming under the influence of economic and political powers that lie outside it. The Israeli agents in question are seeking neither recognition from veteran translators who occupy higher positions nor economic capital. But does adopting translation strategies prevalent in other cultures, i.e. being influenced by literary fields which operate within foreign social spaces, qualify as a heteronomous trend? If not, how should these heterodoxic activities be categorised in terms of Bourdieu’s sociological model?

Based on Bourdieu’s model, the actions of these younger Israeli translators can be treated as representing part of the autonomous trend of the field given that they are not motivated by economic interests, i.e. they are relatively uninfluenced by the field of power. On the other hand, this example suggests that groups of agents striving for the autonomy of the field can adopt totally different, and even opposing, sets of practices and goals. Each group of agents investing in the autonomous trend seeks to define the Israeli literary field’s autonomous rules and regulations, which might exclude the other group or groups from the field. It follows from the above that the major struggle to define the boundaries of the field occurs not only between autonomous and heteronomous trends but also between groups of agents within autonomous or heteronomous trends.

Based on Bourdieu’s sociological model, the field of translation in Saudi Arabia can be said to comprise a wide range of positions that are occupied in large part by institutions, as opposed to individual agents. These institutions include publishers and universities. Some governmental bodies, such as ministries, do engage in translation, but are not considered part of the field because of the lack of struggle between translators (see chapter 3 section 2.4). Given the type of institutional agents involved, the field of translation is inevitably interrelated heavily with other fields, specifically
the fields of publishing and the academy. A number of positions can be identified: literary translation vs. scientific translation, translation for the masses vs. translation for students or academics, translation oriented towards gaining economic capital vs. translation oriented towards gaining cultural or social capital.

Focusing on the last pair of opposing positions, a publisher may agree to translate and publish a book *only if* economic profit is guaranteed to a certain extent. On the other hand, an academic may translate a book in his/her discipline in order to gain cultural capital in the form of a promotion from, say, an assistant professor to an associate professor. This promotion constitutes a form of symbolic capital in terms of higher recognition and status in society. However, it may also improve the economic status of the agent in terms of a higher salary and bonuses, thus converting symbolic and cultural capital into economic capital. As explained above, the field of power, in this case the economic field, cannot but exert at least a minimum degree of influence on other fields of cultural production. As a concrete example of the latter position (translation undertaken to gain cultural or social capital), the King Saud University Translation Centre encourages faculty across the university to produce translations to be published by the Centre. A member of staff is awarded one point for each translation, and a certain number of points can be used to support an application for promotion to a higher position, say, from associate professor to professor (al-Khatib 2005: 21). For academic staff, these translations are thus as profitable in terms of “institutionalised cultural capital” (Hanna 2006: 59) as publishing a paper in a refereed journal. However, the translator also gains economic capital. The cash reward for each translation is estimated to range between S.R16,000 and 50,000 ($4,250-13,300), depending on the size and value of the project.

A position can be objectively defined only in relation to other positions in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 97). Thus, the structure of the field may be delineated by relating positions to each other, i.e. by constructing the relationships (homologies) of domination or subordination between positions (Jenkins 2002: 85). In the case of the field of translation in Saudi Arabia, a number of observations can be made. First, there are positions occupied by the private publishing industry, which produces the largest

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10 More on conversions between different types of capital under Capital: Determining Agents’ Positions (see section 2.4 below).
number of translations compared to other agents, and struggles to gain economic capital by producing translations for the general public. The main occupants of these positions are Obeikan Publishers and Booksellers, Jarir Bookshop, and Dar al-Mareekh Publishing House. Second, there are positions occupied by the academies or universities, including King Saud University Translation Centre and the Institute of Public Administration. The occupants are non-profit organisations; their products are sold at cost price, which means that they are very cheap compared to books distributed by private publishers (al-Khatib 2005: 21). Their production is usually targeted at students and academics, and the struggle is for cultural rather than economic capital. Finally, there is a position occupied by a literary agent, namely Jeddah Literary and Cultural Club. This is also a non-profit institution which, in recent years, formed a thriving space for literary translational practices.

There are translations produced by ministries and governmental departments. The production of these agents is usually intended to provide appropriate curricula for training their staff. There is however no feel for the game among occupants of the latter position (i.e. ministries and governmental departments), no clear shared dispositions that can be attributed to the agents and their struggle for any capital in producing translations. This particular group will therefore be excluded from the field of translation.

The field of cultural production, Bourdieu argues, is the site of another form of struggle between agents over the authority to decide who is accepted as legitimate writers and to exclude others from the field. In this struggle,

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\text{what is at stake is the power to impose the dominant definition of the writer and therefore to delimit the population of those entitled to take part in the struggle to define the writer ... the fundamental stake in literary struggles is the monopoly of literary legitimacy ... the monopoly of the power to say with authority who are authorized to call themselves writers (1993: 42).}
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An agent (whether an individual or a group) who occupies a prominent position in the literary field and is rich in symbolic capital could therefore play a pivotal role in consecrating newcomers to the field as well as their products. For instance, Casanova argues that Paris, being rich in cultural and symbolic capital in the literary world, has
become “the chief place of consecration in the world of literature” (1999/2004: 127, 2002/2010, 2005). The recognition of any literary work by prestigious literary authorities and critics in Paris (or indeed London, or New York), she argues, practically guarantees universal recognition and respect. In addition, an agent, whether an individual or an institution, may have accumulated different types of capital through membership of various fields, which would enhance their ability to confer legitimacy on newcomers to the field. For example, Rajaa al-Sanea, a new Saudi novelist and dentist, produced her debut novel in 2005, entitled *Banat Alriyadh*, “The Girls of Riyadh”\(^{11}\), while studying in Chicago, USA. In it she recounts the love affairs of four Saudi women in the highly conservative society of Saudi Arabia. The novel reflects on many controversial issues related to the relationship between men and women in the Saudi Islamic society as well as the sensitive issue of the relationship between the two prominent Islamic divisions in the country: the dominant *Sunnah* and the dominated *Shi’a*. *Banat Alriyadh* was released by a Lebanese publishing house, Dar Alsaqi, and was immediately banned in Saudi Arabia for the controversial issues it touches upon – which is why the author resorted to a Lebanese rather than Saudi publisher in the first place. However, black-market copies circulated in Saudi Arabia and many journalists, intellectuals, and novelists offered different analyses of the novel’s narrative structure. Al-Sanea was also interviewed by different media, including newspapers and TV in Saudi Arabia and other countries. Her novel has since been translated into more than 26 languages, and the Arabic version was reprinted 7 times between 2005 and 2007.

The novel did not receive such attention, especially in the Kingdom, solely due to its violations of taboos in Saudi society or for its original format, i.e. the fact that it is written in the form of emails. It became a success partly because the back cover blurb featured the following endorsement by the late Dr. Ghazi AbdulRahman Algosaihi, one of the most prominent figures in Saudi society:

في عملها الروائي الأول، تقدم رجاء الصانع على هامامة كبيرة: تزريح السير التعقيد الذي يختفي خلفه عالم القضايا المثير في الرياض. وعندما يزاح السئار يظهر أمامنا المشهد بكل ما فيه من أشياء كثيرة، مضحكية ومبكركة، بكل التفاصيل التي لا يعرفها مخلوق خارج هذا العالم الساحر المحتال.

هذا عمل يستحق أن يقرأ .. و هذه رواية أنتظر منها الكثير.

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\(^{11}\) English translation by Marilyn Booth, 2007. For a discussion of the tensions surrounding the translation process, see Booth (2008, 2010).
In her first novel, Rajaa al-Sanea sets off on a big adventure: she raises the thick curtain behind which hides the exciting world of girls in Riyadh. And when the curtain is raised, the scene unfolds before us, with all the comic and tragic things it withholds, and with all the details that are unknown to anyone outside this enchanting and enchanted world.

This is a work that deserves to be read ... and this is a novelist I expect much from. (my translation)

Algosaibi was a prolific technocrat, poet and novelist. Like al-Sanea, he was also known for his controversial works, including his 1999 novel Shaqat Alhoria, “The Flat of Freedom”. He worked as ambassador to the United Kingdom and Ireland from 1992 to 2002, and held many different positions in governmental bodies, such as Minister of Water, Minister of Health and Minister of Labour, to name but a few. He also enjoyed strong ties with the Saudi royal family. His trajectory, the huge symbolic, cultural and social capital he commanded, and the dominant positions he occupied in different fields, including the literary field and the field of power, lent him the authority to consecrate or legitimise al-Sanea and her novel, thus allowing her to become a legitimate member of the literary field. This legitimisation of a newcomer to the field, I believe, mitigated the controversies surrounding her work in the Kingdom, eventually leading to a lifting of the ban on her novel.

3. Bourdieu’s Notion of Habitus

In the last section, the notion of field as well as its dynamics, as defined by Bourdieu, were discussed and exemplified. We now turn to the other equally important and highly interdependent notion of habitus. It is indeed difficult to discuss the notion of habitus without referring to field in one way or another, and vice versa. For, as Bourdieu asserts, the habitus, the dispositions and strategies of agents, is conditioned by the structure of the field, and the field in turn is conditioned by these dispositions as it is constructed and reconstructed through history.
Bourdieu first introduced the notion of habitus in part\textsuperscript{12} to overcome the epistemological defects of and to conjoin two main paradigms of social analysis: structural objectivism and phenomenological subjectivism. The epistemological flaws of these social paradigms concern the way they construct their relationships to the object of analysis. The structuralist or objectivist view places at the centre of its object of analysis the external, objective social structures. It posits that society and social practice can be “grasped from the outside, [its articulations] can be materially observed, measured, and mapped out \textit{independently} of the representations of those who live in [the society]” (Wacquant 1992: 7-8; emphasis added). It thus ignores subjective practices of agents and sees them as “passive supports of forces that \textit{mechanically} work out their independent logic” (ibid.: 8; emphasis added). The main flaw in this view is that it is characterised by what Bourdieu terms ‘scholastic fallacy’, which means that the social researcher risks imposing his/her own tools of analysis onto the subjects or agents he or she investigates, thus producing a \textit{model} of analysis that falsely replaces the \textit{reality} of the social (ibid.). On the other hand, the subjectivist view takes practices of agents in society as the sole elements that construct social structures. This “social phenomenology” considers social structures as the immediate “product of the decisions, actions and cognition of conscious, alert individuals to whom the world is given as immediately familiar and meaningful” (ibid.: 9). The overwhelming prioritisation of agency over structure within this phenomenological view is flawed in that it does not provide a vantage point from which to observe how and why agents’ practices are constructed, nor does it account for social structures as they are challenged by these practices (ibid.: 9-10).

Therefore, and setting aside the epistemological problems of these theoretical paradigms for the moment, Bourdieu sees the relevant pairs of opposites, objectivism vs. subjectivism, unconsciousness vs. consciousness, or structure vs. agency, as “false antinomies” (ibid.: 10). He argues that they complete and reinforce one another in the construction of the social. Here, the notion of habitus, together with the notion of

\textsuperscript{12} By ‘in part’ here I mean that the reflexive sociology Bourdieu calls for is the primary (but not only) solution he proposes for these epistemological problematic. Bourdieu’s sociological reflexivity can be briefly defined as turning the tool of analysis onto the social researcher by reflecting on his/her own tools and the position he or she occupies in the sociological academic field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 69).
field, come into play in Bourdieu’s attempt to bridge the gap between the two paradigms.

Bourdieu defines habitus as “systems of durable, transposable dispositions” (Bourdieu 1990: 53) that are “objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which [the habitus] is conditioned” (Bourdieu 1977: 95). By conditions here, Bourdieu means the objective structures of the field(s) in which agents operate. The habitus then results from the inculcation of social structures “inside the head” and body of the agent, i.e. it is “embodied in real human beings” (Jenkins 2002: 74-5). The notion of habitus is particularly important in this respect in that it functions as a bridge between the objective social structures (fields or social spaces) and the individuals and agents who occupy positions within them, and their practices. The habitus is conditioned in the minds of agents by these structures through “lived experiences”; the agents develop dispositions through socialisation and education from early childhood through living within the “structure” of the family. Thus the habitus is necessarily the product of the field. Bourdieu elsewhere calls the social field and habitus “objectivity of first order” and “objectivity of second order”, respectively (Wacquant 1992: 7).

However, Bourdieu stresses that the habitus and the field, the mental dispositions and the objective structures, are in a two-way relationship; each conditions and is conditioned by the other. Thus the habitus is produced through the instillation of the external structures into the mind of the agents; it also engages, through agents’ practices, in the reproduction and transformation of the social structures through time. The agent’s habitus “contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and value, in which it is worth investing one’s energy” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 127). Thus the habitus, as a system that produces strategies and dispositions,

is what makes it possible to inhabit institutions [fields] to appropriate them practically, and so to keep them in activity, continuously pulling them from the state of dead letters, reviving the sense deposited in them, but at the same time imposing the revisions and transformations that reactivation entails (Bourdieu 1990: 57).
Bourdieu maintains that the relationship between the field and the habitus is not one of conflict but rather of harmony or homology. The habitus, being the product of the field, is to a certain degree constrained by the logics of the structure of the field(s). In other words, the agent, consciously or unconsciously, is unable to conceive the world in which he or she lives and the possibilities it offers to him or her without resorting to the habitus that is already inculcated through social conditioning. An example of this can be drawn from practices of self-censorship. The individual or institutional agent’s decision to refrain or to call on others to refrain from translating certain foreign books could be attributed to his/her habitus and its history of inculcated religious and social structures that form the basis of his/her past and current system of dispositions. Self-censorship, it could be argued, may be seen as evidence that social structures do not necessarily impose themselves as rules and regulations that agents must abide by, for example in the form of censorship laws in a certain field or fields like the press and publishing sectors. Rather, an agent might engage in these practices of censorship primarily because his/her trajectory is such that s/he has developed systems of dispositions as a result of being socialised into rigid religious and social structures that unconsciously control their behaviour when they encounter ‘inappropriate’ material. Practices engendered by the system of dispositions of an agent thus usually operate in conformity with the social structure(s) in which he or she developed experience throughout his/her trajectory.\footnote{Self-censorship can also be consciously practised by agents as a result of fear. Studies of translation practices in fascist Italy show that although no explicit pre-publication censorship policies were imposed on publishers, they removed any potentially “dangerous” material themselves, especially during the few years before the Second World War, for fear of financial loss, given the risk of having their books confiscated, without compensation, by the fascist government once they appeared in print (Rundle 2000: 82).}

Turning once again to Ghazi Algosaibi, it might be possible to find a link between his consecration of the new controversial novelist al-Sanea and his educational as well as literary trajectory. Algosaibi was born in 1940 in the eastern region of Saudi Arabia. However, after spending his early childhood there, he moved to Bahrain, where he resumed his primary through secondary school education. He then travelled to Cairo, Egypt, and acquired his Bachelor degree in law at the age of 21. In 1962 he travelled to the United States to pursue his postgraduate education, returning with a Masters degree in international relations. He returned to the Kingdom in 1964 and, after
holding an academic position at King Saud University, travelled again to London in 1967 to pursue his doctoral studies; he returned to the Kingdom in 1971. This diverse educational trajectory and his experience of studying in five different environments mean that he was exposed to diverse “lived experiences” that shaped his intellectual, literary, and personal habitus. The five settings of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Bahrain, the US, and the UK constructed and reconstructed Algosaibi’s habitus over time and might explain his own controversial literary production. Indeed, some of his poetry and most of his novels have been banned in Saudi Arabia, at least when they were first published. Some of his literary works, the most famous of which are the novels *Shaqat Alhoria*, “The Flat of Freedom”, and *Alosforia*, a slang term for a psychiatric hospital, are critical of social and political life in Arab countries. In *Shaqat Alhoria*, he also explicitly explores the relationships and encounters between the sexes, thus violating a taboo subject in the Kingdom. Al-Sanea’s novel, *Girls of Riyadh*, triggered a similar controversy when it was first published, and its endorsement by Algosaibi was bound to foreground its controversial character.

This example demonstrates another feature of the habitus, namely its historicity. The historicity of the habitus means that we need to examine the trajectory of agents over time in order to understand their specific practices and dispositions:

Social agents are the *product of history*, of the history of the whole social field and of the accumulated experience of a path within the specific subfield (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 136; emphasis in original).

In order to understand the action of a certain agent at a given moment in time, argues Bourdieu, one must not only investigate one’s position in the social field synchronically, but also examine it *diachronically*. In other words, the researcher should look into the history or trajectory of the agent and how he or she came to occupy a given position from a primary point in the social space, “for the way in which one accedes to a position is inscribed in habitus” (ibid.). The historicity of the habitus implies, as in the above example, that the habitus is not characterised by discontinuity; it is rather a set of continuously accumulating experiences inscribed in the agent throughout his/her life. Thus the habitus inscribed through the family constructs and is constructed by the habitus inscribed at school at a later stage, and so on (Bourdieu
In addition, Brubaker speaks of a “stratified habitus” in which “the sociological habitus [...] is a tertiary or higher-order habitus, overlaid on, transforming without superseding, a primary familial and a secondary scholastic habitus” (1993: 226). This means that the professional habitus is essentially dominated and informed by the primary and secondary habituses, and is thus a core element in any analysis of habitus. However, there is a grave risk of falling into deterministic assumptions while investigating the habitus. Foregrounding dispositions through the examination of a certain agent’s habitus runs the risk of implying that other agents who have gone through similar early lived experiences (siblings living together; individuals studying at the same school) are bound to or more likely to share similar dispositions, and to acquire similar habituses producing such dispositions.

The action an agent takes does not always conform to the habitus inscribed in him or her. There are countless instances of agents experiencing ruptures from major past lived experiences and adopting beliefs and practices that are new and even contradictory to those inculcated in them over many years. A familiar example here is the act of converting from one religion to another. In some instances, these drastic religious changes can occur overnight, and in others they can occur at later stages of the agent’s life, when the habitus has already gone through numerous processes of construction and reconstruction. Therefore, it is not always possible to understand certain actions by the investigation of the habitus historically. In investigating such cases, we may refer to Lahire’s concept of the plurality and heterogeneous nature of the system of dispositions, the facets of which come into play in different contexts (2003; 2008). As Lahire argues:

[S]ocialization undergone in the past is more or less heterogeneous in nature and produces heterogeneous, sometimes even contradictory, dispositions to act and to believe. This dispositional plurality is also context-bound; the contexts in which dispositions are actualized show a substantial amount of variation (2003: 351).

The system of dispositions is thus not homogenous, nor does it produce and reproduce actions and beliefs in a mechanistic manner. Rather, it is composed of a complex and dynamic structure of internalised sets of dispositions that can be very different from
each other. The social and political contexts to which the social agent is exposed activate and/or deactivate certain sets of dispositions, which then produce different actions and beliefs.

4. Interdependence of Field and Habitus

So far this chapter has explored the dynamics and logic of the field and habitus as they are defined by Bourdieu. It has been argued that the field is a space of positions that are necessarily occupied by agents; the boundaries of the field are delimited through the continuous struggle between agents to gain stakes or capital and ascend to higher positions available in the field. In order for agents to function in the field, they must understand the value of capital at stake. This entails developing “an interest” in the stakes, or what Bourdieu terms illusio (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 116-7). Bourdieu defines illusio as “tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game and [...] practical mastery of its rules” (ibid.: 117). Every field has its own form of illusio that agents acquire through the inculcation of the structures of the field(s) in which they play a part.

From the above it is clear that Bourdieu’s central notions, especially the notions of field and habitus, which form the basic tenets of his sociological theory, are highly interrelated. Each depends on the other for its own logic to function in the social space. On the one hand, for the field to function, agents must develop a habitus which guides their dispositions and makes playing a part in the field meaningful and profitable for them. On the other hand, the habitus does not develop in a vacuum but results from a continuous process of lived experience within the structure of the field(s) inhabited by the agents. This stresses the importance of investigating all these and other Bourdieusean notions, such as capital, doxa and homology, relationally when examining a given field of cultural production.

Field and habitus are characterised by a special kind of interdependence in Bourdieu’s sociological model because together they are the ultimate power engine that drives the struggle of agents to acquire stakes and legitimacy in society. Social structures are internalised in agents, producing the habitus which, as mentioned before, produces
dispositions that restructure and transform social structures over time. The degree of conformity between the structure of the field and the inscribed habitus helps to define the ongoing struggle in the field, which in turn defines the boundaries of the field. The more the habitus conforms to the field’s structure, the more orthodoxic the agents’ practices and the more they fall in line with the logic and function of the structures. In contrast, the wider the gap between the habitus and the structure of the field, the more heterodoxic the agents’ practices, and the more they question existing dominant dictates. These types of struggle might result in the construction of new fields or subfields.

The field of finance or business may be used as an example, in this case the field of modern banking in the Arab or Islamic world specifically. Here, it may be possible to explain how the religious habitus of some bankers, as agents in the field of banking, and bank customers, as forming social structures and sources of capital, might redefine the boundaries of the field of banking and even produce new subfields over time. Islamic Sharia (or law) prohibits *riba* (usury), meaning the payment or acceptance of interest for lending money, in addition to other forms of business and service that conflict with Islamic principles. Thus the need arose for an alternative banking practice that conforms to Islamic law and is substantially different from conventional banking principles; this need has been addressed by the establishment of Islamic financial institutions. The fact that an Islamic bank is regulated by religion sets it apart from conventional banking which is not subjected to any religious restrictions.

The first modern Islamic bank was established in Egypt in 1963. The first Islamic bank to be set up in Saudi Arabia is AlRajhi Bank, established in 1978 by the long-bearded religious brothers Saleh and Sulaiman AlRajhi. This may be considered as a heterodoxic and heteronomous move that challenged the existing prevalent logic of the banking field at the time, i.e. doxic and autonomous practices of conventional banking. AlRajhi remained the only bank in the country to fully conform to Islamic Sharia until the establishment of Albilad Bank as the second fully Islamic bank in the country in 2004. Soon after AlRajhi set up its bank, other non-Islamic and part-Islamic banks started to advertise new services that conform to Islamic law. Their advertisements are usually

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14 “Islamic financial institutions are those that are based, in their objectives and operation, on Qur’anic principles” (Kettell 2008: 39; emphasis in original).
accompanied by the signature of a famous religious figure who confirms that their products are Sharia-compliant. These banks established Shariah supervisory boards within their institutions to provide advice on the Islamic products they offer. Today Islamic banking has become a field in its own right; there exist more than 300 institutions in 51 countries. Since 2007, the Saudi AlRajhi Bank has been the second largest Islamic bank in the world (Kettell 2008: 194).

Islamic social structures feed into a habitus, inculcated from an early age, that directs the choices and actions of agents who later became active members in the banking field, including the founders of AlRajhi Bank and the individuals to whom the banking agents offer their services. The influence of the Islamic doxa led them to rule out any non-Islamic products. “Worldly”, unlawful economic profits that could be gained though conventional banking are thus rejected; instead, economic alternatives attached to religious and “after-life” rewards and the promise of escaping the wrath of God are favoured. The Islamic doctrine (which is informed by both the Qur’an and the Prophet’s sayings and practice) stresses in many places that usury is strictly prohibited and that it is one of the Seven Heinous Sins (السبع العواقبات). The Prophet Mohammed condemned Riba repeatedly; in one Saying of the Prophet, usury is equated with committing adultery with one’s mother. Such horrifically depicted consequences of an action, uttered by someone whom Muslims hold in the highest esteem, and taught at an early age through schooling in the Kingdom, would clearly shape the range of choices an average Muslim considers in making his daily life decisions, including those related to economic issues. A gradual realignment of the structure of modern worldwide banking to accommodate this doxa-laden habitus was thus set in motion and could be observed in the radical transformation of the structure of the field. In this example, the primary habitus, structured by religious doxa, dominates and continues to regulate professional habituses developed through the years. The discord between the structure of the field of conventional banking and the habitus of the agents was sufficiently significant to result in the establishment of a new set of positions in which agents engage in the heteronomous trend of Islamic banking, guided by the heteronomous influence of the Islamic structures in the Kingdom. This example can

also be examined from other angles, such as homologies between fields, doxa and heterodoxa, as defined later in this chapter (see sections 6 and 7).

5. Capital: Determining Agents’ Positions

Capital, in Bourdieu’s sociology, refers to the various stakes and benefits that agents seek to accumulate by participating as legitimate members of a given field of cultural production. Bourdieu distinguishes the sociological underpinnings of the term from the strictly economic, material, and monetary meaning (1986: 242-3). For him, capital includes all types of profit available in the field, whether or not they are directly convertible into monetary form. Capital is “accumulated labor” that determines which choices and actions agents have and take at a certain time and space as well as their positions in the field (ibid.: 241). It thus plays a pivotal role in shaping and reshaping the structure of the field and the habitus of the agents. Bourdieu’s use of the word “accumulated” underlines the historicity of capital; capital is not necessarily gained at once; it normally takes continuous labour and struggle on the part of the agents to amass capital in order to function and be recognised as “rightful” occupiers of the available positions in the field.

According to Bourdieu, there are three types of capital: economic, cultural and social (ibid.: 243). The first type is self-explanatory. It includes the profits and stakes the agents seek strictly for their economic or monetary value. An example may be drawn from private publishing companies which base their decision to publish books on their anticipated economic value, convertible from the cultural and symbolic capital attached to them. Some Saudi private publishers select books for translation because the titles topped or appeared on foreign best sellers’ lists, especially The New York Times Best Seller list, and flag this information on the covers of their translations. In some cases, a deliberate or non-deliberate mistranslation is used in order to attract more consumers and gain more profits. 3rd Serving of Chicken Soup for the Soul topped both The New York Times and USA Today best selling author’s lists, as stated on the front cover of the original. In the Saudi publisher Jarir’s translated version, the front cover describes it as “one of the bestselling books in the world”.

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Cultural capital comes in more subtle forms than economic capital and “is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital” (Bourdieu 1986: 243). Johnson defines it as “a form of knowledge, an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artefacts” (1993: 7). In this sense, in its “embodied state” (Bourdieu 1986: 243), capital is the dispositions that an agent acquires in his/her mind and body through various forms of socialisation which develop in him or her a cultural appreciation for the value of, say, artistic paintings of Picasso where others might consider such paintings to be simply odd drawings. Cultural capital in its embodied state, Bourdieu maintains, cannot then be accrued instantaneously but requires time and effort to be inculcated into the social agents, feeding into their habitus (ibid.: 244-5).

In addition to the embodied state, Bourdieu defines two other forms of cultural capital: objectified and institutionalised. The objectified form takes the shape of “cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc” (ibid.: 243). Owning objectified cultural capital, such as paintings or sculptures, does not necessarily entail enjoying the embodied cultural capital attached to it; the embodied value is only “transmissible in its materiality” (ibid.: 246; emphasis added), i.e. when the embodied cultural capital yields symbolic and economic capital for the agent who owns the objectified cultural capital. Thus the owner of this objectified cultural capital can only possess the economic and symbolic value attached to it unless he or she is equipped with the embodied capital to appreciate its embodied cultural value. Institutionalised cultural capital takes the form of academic degrees and qualifications awarded by universities and educational institutions. Like the objectified form, the institutionalised form can easily be converted into social and economic capital; the acquisition of academic degrees, depending on their cultural value, guarantees better and recognised social status and provides options for better careers and salaries. Bourdieu attributes this to “the performative magic of the power of instituting, the power to show forth and secure belief or, in a word, to impose recognition” (ibid.: 248). Institutionalised cultural capital can also guarantee extra cultural and economic value and appreciation for the agents’ cultural production. It is
not surprising that all the translators who won Abdullah Bin Abdul-Aziz International Award for Translation since its inception in King Abdulaziz Public Library in Saudi Arabia hold a PhD degree or higher qualification.\(^{16}\)

Bourdieu defines social capital, the third type of capital, as:

> the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group - which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu 1986: 248-9).

Social capital can thus be acquired through membership of various types of social networks, which include “a family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party, etc” (ibid.: 249). This type of capital depends primarily on the exchange between members of the network. The volume of social capital an agent possesses depends on the number of networks he or she connects with, the degree of prestige and recognition they enjoy in the field or fields the agent operates in, and the amount of cultural, economic or symbolic capital he or she mobilises through these networks (ibid.:249). This could be exemplified by the tribal structure of the Saudi social space. *Nasab*, “family linage”, is one of the most significant determinants of social capital in the Kingdom. The structure of this social capital is reflected in the division of Saudi society into two distinct social classes. First, there are those who are members of tribes, the prestige of which depends on the rank of their tribal ancestry in the social space (Lacroix 2011: 21). Second, at the bottom of this structure of social capital are “khadiris”, or those who cannot prove their membership to any tribal linage. This type of social capital is so significant that people with tribal ancestries rarely intermarry with khadiris (ibid.:22).

\(^{16}\) [http://www.translationaward.org/EN/winners.aspx](http://www.translationaward.org/EN/winners.aspx) [last accessed 27 May 2012].
6. Homology

The notion of homology is defined by Bourdieu as the relationships that are shared by different fields in the social space and that mediate practices undertaken in these fields (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 105). These homologies exist between fields of cultural production, however autonomous, and the fields of power (the economic and the political fields). Homologies also mediate practices between fields and the social space (the class structure or the general public that consume the products of the fields) (ibid.: 105-6). However, Bourdieu maintains that external (political and economic) forces do not directly dictate the practices of agents in a certain field of cultural production, but that practices undertaken in a field mediate these forces through homologous relations (ibid.: 105).

In other words, the positions occupied by agents of cultural production, such as artists or intellectuals, and their practices in a given field may reflect and respond to certain political events and narratives circulating in the political field or the social space. As explained in detail in chapters four and five of this thesis, macro and micro translation practices of Obeikan reveal strong homologous relationships with the political and religious fields in the social space. The choice to translate a political book on US imperial ambitions and to adopt translation strategies that express the position of the agent towards the political and religious dogma in the country was not imposed by homologous relations with the field of power. Rather, the agent’s practices and the dispositions that produced them mediate power relationships. Other types of homologies will be explored in the analytical chapters that follow.

7. Doxa, Orthodoxy, and Heterodoxy

Doxa, orthodoxy and heterodoxy in Bourdieu’s sociological model are central conceptual tools designed to explain the logics and functioning of a given field. This section attempts to explore these notions as defined in the work of Bourdieu.
Doxa refers to the prevalent, fundamental beliefs that circulate widely and the practices social agents often engage in within a certain field of cultural production; these beliefs and practices conform to the structure of the field. Doxic beliefs and practices are generally unquestioned, taken for granted and rooted in the unconscious mind of social agents (Bourdieu 1990: 68). Thus it could be said that doxa is realised in the harmonious correlation between the subjective disposition of the agents (habitus) and the objective structure of the field. It is when the doxa is questioned, i.e. discussed consciously, that we become aware of its relative strength and place along a continuum of the two opposing extremes: orthodoxy and heterodoxy. It follows that doxa is not a fixed set of beliefs and practices; it is subject to change all the time with new experiences the agents go through in their daily lives.

An example of a change in doxic beliefs can be drawn from the Saudi society with respect to women’s rights. Males in Saudi Arabia generally enjoy a dominant role within the family and have considerable control over their wives, daughters and other female family members. This is enforced by the tribal origin of Saudi society; tribal lineage and relations still constitute a powerful influence on social and political dynamics. One of the main beliefs that are instilled in the minds of most social agents is that protecting the family’s sharaf, “honour”, is the responsibility of the male members of society; sharaf usually revolves around women and requires reducing their freedom to “protect” them from engaging in “immoral conduct”. Immoral conduct for women, according to prevalent social and Islamic religious beliefs, includes verbal or physical contact with other “non-mahram” males, i.e. males who are not part of their immediate family. Thus, for a long time, the idea of women driving cars on their own was strictly taboo for almost all members of the Saudi society. Religious fatwas issued by most, if not all, religious figures in the country stated that driving cars is forbidden to women. The reasons include the following, as stated in fatwas released in early 1990s by the former Kingdom’s Grand Mufti Abdulaziz Ibn Baz and

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17 Strictly speaking, a mahram is any male who is in principle ineligible to marry a given female at any time in her life: a father, brother, son.
18 The reasons may strike a foreign reader as strange and irrational. This is due to these reasons being evaluated out of their context; outside the structure of the field that produced them.
Shaykh Mohammed Ibn Uthaymeen, who were among the most respected Islamic scholars in Saudi Arabia:

- It is well known that it leads to evil consequences [....] such as being alone with a non-mahram man, unveiling, reckless mixing with men [....] Islam forbids the things that lead to haraam (forbidden) and regards them as being haraam too.

- It is a cause of fitnah [temptation] in many places: when stopping at the traffic lights, or at gas stations, or at inspection points, or when stopped by policemen at the scenes of traffic infractions or accidents, or if the car stalls and the woman needs help. What will her situation be in this case? Perhaps she may come across an immoral man who takes advantage of her in return for helping her, especially if her need is great to the point of urgency.

- When women drive it leads to overcrowding in the streets, or it deprives some young men of the opportunity to drive cars when they are more deserving of that. (quoted verbatim from Islam: Questions and Answers website)

It is in fact illegal for women to drive in Saudi Arabia. Any woman driving a car on public roads, which is rare, is stopped by the police. However, it could be said that the ban does not exist only in religious fatwas or legal documents, but is inculcated in the minds of social agents as part of family upbringing and other forms of social lived experiences. It was not until relatively recently that people from different social classes began to actively question this religious and legal ban on women’s driving and the social reasons and factors that have resulted in creating this situation for women. The doxa has thus come under discussion, directly and indirectly, in various outlets, including TV and the press.

These and other heterodox trends which question dominant doxic beliefs are precisely what Abdullah Bin Abdulaziz, the King of Saudi Arabia, was referring to when he mentioned in his 2005 interview with American journalist and TV host Barbara Walters that people need time to accept change.

WALTERS: A flash point for Westerners is that Saudi Arabia is the only country in the world in which women are not allowed to drive. It seems to be symbolic of a women's [sic] lack of independence. Would you support allowing a woman to drive?

ABDULLAH: I believe strongly in the rights of women ... my mother is a woman, my sister is a woman, my daughter is a woman, my wife is a woman. I believe the day will come when women drive [sic]. In fact, if you look at the areas in Saudi Arabia, the deserts and in the rural areas, you will find that women do drive. The issue will require patience. In time, I believe it will be possible.

WALTERS: But there are so many restrictions against women. Do you see this changing?

ABDULLAH: Yes, I believe we can. But it will require a little bit of time ... Our people are just now beginning to open up to the world, and I believe that with the passing of days in the future everything is possible. (ABC website: 2005; emphasis added)

As far as the current study is concerned, the investigation of doxic beliefs could explain certain macro and micro translation practices and techniques adopted by social agents, including translators, publishers, etc, working in the field of translation in Saudi Arabia, as well as censorial practices. Some censorial practices originally stem from religious and political dictates which constitute part of the dominant doxa in the country.

7.2 Orthodoxy vs. Heterodoxy

As stated above, when taken-for-granted beliefs and practices are questioned by social agents, two trends begin to take shape in the social space or field. The orthodoxic trend in the field seeks to reinforce existing dominant structures, positions, and practices. The social agents who engage in this trend usually occupy dominant positions and enjoy prestigious status in the field. Thus they aim to maintain and enhance their roles as legitimately dominant figures as well as the value of their possessions and interests. Heterodoxic trends on the other hand seek to redefine the limits of the field, creating new positions or improving dominated positions and stakes in the field. Newcomers and social agents occupying dominated positions usually represent this trend.

The religious field in the Kingdom can be taken as an example here. The struggle began to surface between orthodoxic positions in this field (occupied by conservatives and old religious scholars) and heterodoxic positions (occupied by groups of young scholars, joined by old scholars who began to express moderate religious stances). The
latter group usually refers to itself as Tanwir “Enlightenment”, and engages in discussing controversial religious issues that have come under the spotlight in the social space since the events of 9/11, when religious ideologies were exposed to close scrutiny. Many of the issues that are heavily debated centre primarily on women’s rights; their restricted working environments, banning them from driving, the veil, mixing with males, etc. One interesting heterodoxic voice in this regard is a statement made by the son of the abovementioned former Mufti Abdulaziz Ibn Baz, cleric Ahmed Ibn Baz. In a 2010 TV appearance, he tried to question his father’s fatwa, arguing that forbidding women to drive to avoid them being sexually harassed indicates that “we do not trust our education system…[and]… If we are in doubt about it, then we should re-evaluate it”\(^{20}\). The issue of women driving, he went on to argue, does not require a fatwa and should rather be thought of as a “right”. Of interest here is the fact that the channels for debate differ between heterodoxic and orthodoxic trends; while the young scholars voice their opinions primarily through books and magazine articles, the conservatives, in addition to using journal and newspaper articles, primarily use Juma’a (Friday) speeches and their own Islamic TV shows. The heterodoxic trend uses the discourse of “reform” to call for effective changes in key and dominant understandings of Islam, which many blame for promoting the seclusion and oppression of women in the Kingdom. On the other hand, the conservatives use a discourse that foregrounds threats of “Westernisation” and usually dismiss their rivals as advocates of the Americanisation of Muslim women. However, the appointment of the first female minister in 2009\(^{21}\), and the establishment of the first mixed-sex academic institution in the same year (King Abdullah University of Science and Technology) are indications of the strength of emerging heterodoxic positions and their influence on the political and religious fields.

New social media, such as blogs, Facebook, and particularly Twitter, have provided active venues in recent years for both intellectuals (Islamic and non-Islamic) and younger generations to discuss current issues more freely and away from censorship. These young heterodoxic Islamists and liberals began to encourage the importation of books that discuss taboo subjects, stirring enough controversy to anger dominant

\(^{20}\) [http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2010/05/25/109562.html](http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2010/05/25/109562.html) [last accessed 29 April 2012]

religious and conservative figures who ban and publicly denounce these books in response. Although it is very rare that a translation agent in Saudi Arabia chooses to translate a controversial book, annual book fairs held in the capital, especially in recent years, have attracted many Arab publishing houses that take the risk of offering translations of “infamous”, “atheist” philosophers like Nietzsche and Kant, or books by Arab thinkers who criticise extremist religious practices. Such publications are publicised by these heterodoxic figures on social media.

A related and hotly discussed topic is setting the conditions that qualify an individual to debate religious issues. While religious conservatives stress that discussing fatwas and Islamic doctrine must be restricted to Islamic scholars, liberals insist on challenging them, repeatedly discussing the Qur’an and the Prophet’s sayings from new, liberal perspectives. These and the above described struggles can be understood in Bourdieusean terms as struggles to redefine the boundaries of the religious field by challenging the very structure of positions and rules of the game.

The ongoing struggle between orthodoxy and heterodoxy is what delimits the boundaries of the field and its hierarchal make-up. However, as demonstrated earlier in Sela-Sheffy’s study of the Israeli literary field (see section 2), the struggle for the authority to lay down the laws of the field occurs not only between orthodoxic and heterodoxic orientations but also between competing forces within autonomous or heteronomous trends.

From the above, it is clear that the notion of doxa and the related notions of orthodoxy and heterodoxy overlap considerably with other Bourdieusean concepts such as field, habitus and capital. Habitus becomes doxa when it collectively becomes unquestioned beliefs and dispositions that reinforce the existing structure of the positions in the field. The boundaries of the field and the types and value of stakes or capital available to agents are dependent on the current situation of the field and existing struggle between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. This interdependence between Bourdieu’s key notions emphasises the importance of drawing on his sociological model as a whole, and exploring the concepts relationally rather than in isolation from one another.
8. Conclusions

This chapter attempted to investigate Bourdieusean sociological notions and explore their usefulness for the study of translation activities in Saudi Arabia as a field of cultural production in its own right. I have argued, and attempted to demonstrate, that the interdependent key notions of field, habitus, doxa, homology, and capital can indeed be used for the examination of the socio-cultural underpinnings of translational activities. The construction of a sociological representation of the field can be achieved by identifying the positions available in the field, the relationships between them, and the agents occupying these positions. The structure and logics of functioning that characterise the field can be examined by determining the type of capital and stakes available in the field, which in turn highlights forms of struggle between agents for differing stakes. The habitus of the agents can be examined through the investigation of their positions in the field, the types of capital they enjoy or strive for, and their positioning in relation to the dominant doxa(s). The investigation of doxa can help in accounting for censorial practices as instances of realisations of dispositions or habituses of translators, and as manifestations of the harmony between the habitus and the doxa.

In the following chapters, these notions will be put into use in the analysis of a range of issues related to the structure and functioning of the field of translation in Saudi Arabia.
Chapter 3

Analysing the Field of Translation in Saudi Arabia: Academic and Literary Institutions

This chapter attempts to identify two specific types of position in what may be considered a field of translation, in the Bourdieu-sean sense, in Saudi Arabia. The first position is occupied by academic institutions, and the second is occupied by literary clubs. These two spaces of translation activities share certain similarities and operate according to a unique logic of practice that differs from and can be compared to that governing a third set of positions in the emerging sub-field of translation within the publishing field, occupied primarily by private commercial institutions (discussed in detail in chapter 4).

First, unlike private publishing houses, academic institutions and literary clubs, as demonstrated in section 3 below, were set up and are regulated and financed by agents and institutions operating within the political field. While the universities are managed by the Ministry of Higher Education, the literary clubs were supervised first by the General Presidency of Youth Welfare (1975-2006), and later by the Ministry of Culture and Information (2006-). Second, academic institutions, on the whole, initiate translations mostly to meet the intellectual or academic training needs and requirements of those who belong, work, or study within the academic field, i.e. students and faculty members. Their translation production is thus marked by an abundance of scientific material. In a similar fashion, literary clubs are closed spaces that cater to the needs of audiences interested in intellectual and literary production. Their translation production is thus limited to literary and intellectual writings. The cultural production of these literary agents can only be acquired by contacting or visiting the relevant literary club; apart from occasional newspaper articles, the marketing media used to promote these literary products usually function within the boundaries of the literary field. In contrast, private publishers in Saudi Arabia cater for larger and more diverse audiences in the social space, and their translation production is thus more diverse than that of academic and literary institutions. They market their products by means of various media, and more often than not aim to acquire direct
economic revenue as their main raison d’être (chapter 4 discusses these aspects in detail). Their logics are thus on the whole shaped by the rules of the marketplace.

There is however one instance of a certain form of overlap between academic institutions and private publishers, namely, the privately owned Dar al-Mareekh Publishing House. This publisher cooperates with some Saudi and Arab universities, where faculty are assigned the task of choosing and translating foreign books that are then published by Dar al-Mareekh. Students are thus targeted in the commercial publisher’s marketing of its translational production. Nevertheless, Dar al-Mareekh is still a commercial publisher driven by the logic of economic gain and will therefore be discussed with other commercial publishers in chapter 4.

Thirdly, translating agents in academic and literary institutions generally seem to initiate translation work within autonomous environments, that is, in accordance with certain non-profit agendas that are disinterested in direct economic gains and focused more on other types of capital. On the individual level, translating academic agents compete mainly to gain cultural and symbolic capital (which is easily convertible to economic capital); translation production provides them with more opportunities for academic consecration and allows them to assume higher positions in the academic field, as well as the sub-field of academic translation. Moreover, translation takes place within the context of academic competition between universities and academic institutions to achieve higher positions in international rankings. Universities and academies recognise that scientific research output is key in accumulating cultural and symbolic capital to secure better positions and recognition in both the national and international academic fields, and that translation is part of this struggle, as discussed in more detail in section 5.1.1. Translation also takes place in an autonomous space of competition in the literary clubs under discussion in this chapter, where translation agents compete to produce translations that are worthy of publication by a magazine specialised in literary translation. This autonomous space provides them with a level of recognition among their translation as well as literary peers. When a translation is approved for publication, the translation magazine offers no monetary rewards to the translating agents, and thus the translators can be said to have little or no interest in direct economic gains.
Within the private publishing industry, on the other hand, the struggle is clearly focused on the core objective of achieving higher incomes and sales figures on both inter-individual and inter-institutional levels; publishers compete with each other for copyrights of successful foreign books, and translators, whether freelance or working exclusively for specific publishers, compete for the commission to produce translations. Due to the very different logics of practice, it is therefore useful to examine the activities of these agents, academic and literary on the one hand and private publishers on the other, separately in the first instance and then look into points of overlap in terms of the structure of positions in the field, the agents, whether individual or institutional, and their practices at a later stage.

Finally, some translation projects are also carried out in governmental institutions, including ministries and governmental departments that do not directly or openly compete with each other for prominence in the political field. For example, a governmental body usually translates as part of pre-planned projects that are generally uninfluenced by other institutions’ translational agendas. The process of book selection and translation serve *internally* specified objectives. Each institution’s objectives are usually distinct from those of other institutions: for example, the Ministry of Transport translated numerous books on road construction, a decision entirely unrelated to, say, the Ministry of Finance translating reports on economic issues. This space is therefore characterised by an *unarticulated*, but nevertheless present, *inter-institutional* competition in terms of translational activities at the macro level. The struggle – which Bourdieu has always stressed as the logic of practice in fields of cultural production – can be said to be more visible in each institution in a degree of isolation; each institution has its own logic for initiating translation activity, e.g. enhancing its own operations, training personnel, fulfilling government edicts, etc, which in turn feeds eventually into the logic of practice and struggle in the overall relationships among these institutions. In other words, the struggle can operate on an *inter-individual* level, i.e. it can take the form of a struggle between translators within or outside these governmental bodies to carry out translations for these institutions, and thus to gain cultural, social, and/or economic capital. Translation activities within governmental bodies will be analysed briefly in section 2, with the sole purpose of

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22 One outcome of this struggle is that major private publishers have been very reluctant to provide sales statistics to the author for fear that I might be working for their rivals.
demonstrating why this translational practice should be excluded from this study, and to argue that it does not belong to the field of translation as such.

This chapter will mainly concentrate on investigating academic and literary translational activities in terms of the following: institutional and individual agents involved in the process; how they operate and how visible the different agents are; their translation production and the subject headings under which these translations fall. It will then attempt to analyse the way the field operates – “the logic of struggle” and “forms of capital” – using the Bourdieusean conceptual apparatus.

1. The Trajectory of Academic and Literary Institutions in Saudi Arabia; a Socio-Political Account

This section attempts to demonstrate the political and social factors that conditioned the establishment of academic and literary institutions in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Since these institutions are structurally associated with the government, it is useful to historically trace the way in which the field of power, by establishing these institutions, attempted to enforce a social and political shake-up of the Saudi social space during the 1940s-1970s.

The founding moment of the Saudi field of power dates back to 1744, when a pact was made between two figures: the political leader and father of the first Saudi state, Muhammad bin Saud, and the founder of the Islamic sect of Wahhabism, preacher Mohammad bin Abd al-Wahhab (Lacroix 2011: 8). In exchange for religious legitimacy provided by the latter, Mohammad bin Saud promised to rule the soon-to-be-established state in accordance with the Islamic teachings held by bin Abd al-Wahhab. Thus, the field of power came into existence and was shared by two elites, the political elite, which comprised the descendants of bin Saud, and the religious elite, made up at first of bin Abd al-Wahhab and his offspring. The year 1819 saw the destruction of the first Saudi state by the Ottoman Empire (Lacey 1981:60-2). A second, yet much smaller, Saudi state was founded in 1824, in which the alliance of the two family elites regained power over central and eastern regions of the Arabian Peninsula. The state came to an end in 1891 when the royal family was forced into exile by their rival
dynasty of al-Rashid. In 1902, Abdulaziz bin Saud set off in a conquest to restore the land of his ancestors. By 1932, the contemporary Saudi state was formally declared the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, when the main provinces of the Arabian Peninsula came under his control.

The social structure of the newly founded country did not undergo any significant changes in the first half of the 20th century. The majority of the population of the country, especially in the central province of Najd, where the field of power is rooted, consisted of nomadic (Bedouin) tribes as well as agriculturally dependent villagers (Kostiner 1990: 226). On the other hand, a smaller section of the population, which was incorporated into the new state, was living in the more urban and culturally rich eastern province of Hijaz (Sluglett & Farouk-Sluglett 1982: 38), in which the holy cities of Mecca and Madina are located. The tribes were organised under chieftaincy, which was the common political system at the time, and acted as a significant source of military power for the ruling family (ibid.). Numerous nomadic tribes were encouraged by Bin Saud to reside in settlements during the 1920s-40s, where they were provided with preachers of Wahhabist Islam and became more organised as a standing army23 (Cole 1973: 117). The common system of education consisted primarily of traditional schools, in which a religious scholar teaches children how to read and write and recite verses of the holy book of Quran. It was common, however, for wealthy families in urban areas to send their children abroad to receive their school education (Kay 1982: 176).

The need for a modern governmental system can be said to have coincided with the diplomatic recognition given by the US in 1931 (Niblock 2006: xi). Rapid transformations began to affect different social and political groups in the society with the initiation of substantial oil exports in 1948, the new and powerful source of income at the ruling family’s disposal (ibid.: 21). Sponsored by the newly oil-rich government, thousands of Saudi students were sent in the 1940s to foreign universities in Egypt, Lebanon, and Iraq. In the 1950s, the flow of students was redirected to western universities because the dynasty felt threatened by the prevailing atmosphere of antimonarchist Arab nationalism and leftism, which would, the regime believed, exert a

23 These recruitments yielded a separate section of the military force called The National Guard, the duties of which now include protecting the state from internal threats.
negative influence on Saudi students (Lacroix 2011: 15). The primary goal of these
despatches was to prepare future bureaucrats for administrative positions at the
rapidly expanding structure of governmental institutions, as most governmental
ministries, such as the ministries of Commerce, Communication, Defence, Education,
etc., were all established during the period 1953-75 (Niblock 1982: 16-7). Indeed, many
of the officials who held high public office well into the 1990s belong to that
generation of students (Lacroix 2011: 16).

In addition, many students returned from abroad to assume teaching positions in the
universities set up by the government. During the period 1957-1981, seven state
universities were set up in different provinces. Between 1998 and 2012, an additional
26 universities were established. Figure 1 shows the history of the establishment of
these universities (see also appendix 1 for a chronologically ordered list of these
institutions). It is worth noting the 18-year gap between 1981-1999, during which
period branch colleges of the original 7 universities were set up in many small cities; in
the first decade of the 21st century, many of these became independent from their
parent universities. Like the original 7 state universities, 18 of the 26 new universities
are fully sponsored by the Ministry of Higher Education. Students enrolled in state
universities are not required to pay tuition fees and, in fact, receive monthly stipends.
Since their establishment, all costs incurred by these universities, including faculty and
personnel salaries and funding for research projects, are fully covered by the
government (Saleh 1986: 22-3). The funding for both general and higher education for
the year 2010 amounted to more than 130 billion Saudi Riyals (US 34.6 billion), more
than a quarter of the state budget allocated for that year (al-Riyadh Newspaper 2009).
The remaining 8 recently established universities are privately owned, and students
have to pay fees to enrol in them. The owners of these universities must first acquire
permission from the Ministry to establish them, and the Ministry also supervises their
activities in terms of setting the standards of approved educational and curricular
structures. In addition, these universities receive a level of sponsorship from the
Ministry in the form of cheap loans and discounted lease on state-owned land.
In addition to these universities, there are numerous state and private colleges and institutes that are established and operate under similar conditions. While colleges offer undergraduate and, in many cases, diploma and various Master’s courses, academic institutes only offer diploma or higher diploma courses in differing specialisations, in addition to shorter training programmes. State institutes, such as the Institute of Public Administration, usually aim, in large part, to train the staff of governmental ministries, while private institutes offer their services to a larger range of prospective students, irrespective of whether or not they work for the government. Some governmental schools that offer programmes of general education are misleadingly called “scientific institutes”, although they only offer primary, intermediate and high school education. These never engage in translation and are not covered in this study.

As an indirect result of the early modernisation efforts, Saudi intellectuals emerged in the 1960-70s as a new social group in the social space (Lacroix 2011: 15). The dispatch of Saudi students to foreign institutions created a group which included “nationalists, leftist, socialists, communists, and advocates of Western-style modernisation” (ibid.:17). After returning home, as stated above, many of these modernist intellectuals took teaching positions at the newly established universities in the country (al-Ghathami 2005: 19), which restricted their intellectual activities to teaching in the academy. During the same period, a further group of well-educated Saudis
began to emerge in the Saudi social space. These are the people who moved from the
desert and the countryside to the capital and other growing cities to pursue university
education and look for better career opportunities during the oil-driven economic
boom in the country. These local university students and governmental employees
became conversant with cultural and political developments in the country and the
Arab world through easy access to literary and intellectual books and magazines
available in the city (which featured material mostly written by Egyptian and Lebanese
authors) (ibid.: 121-5). These groups of intellectuals were ill-defined because between
the mid-1960s and mid-1970s there was a lack of “spaces needed for appearance and
recognition, that is, a relatively autonomous field in which to operate” (Lacroix 2011:
17). In other words, the absence of social spaces for the agents to practice their craft
rendered the capital (cultural, symbolic, and social) that they recently acquired almost
useless in establishing their positions as intellectuals in their own right in the social
space.

Since the early 1970s, further intellectual and literary spaces in Saudi Arabia began to
materialise in the shape of newspaper “cultural supplements”, which provided a
window for intellectual debates (ibid.: 18). Newspapers located in different regions in
the country began to publish their own cultural supplements, which were primarily
dedicated to the discussion of literary issues. King Faisal, who had ignored the
intellectuals and instead fostered close ties with religious figures, died in 1973, and
was replaced by the then young Crown Prince Fahad bin Abdulaziz, who proved more
supportive of the intelligentsia (ibid.: 18). During his period of reign, Fahad bin
Abdulaziz supported the establishment of literary clubs in different regions in the
country, to be fully funded by the government (ibid.: 19). The literary space in the
Kingdom is structured primarily around these literary clubs, which are scattered in
different areas. The idea of cultural or literary clubs was put forward during a formal
meeting in 1975 between a group of Saudi intellectuals and Prince Faisal bin Fahad,
the son of Fahad bin Abdulaziz (Sa’ati 2000: 107). A royal decree was issued shortly
after that meeting, establishing six government sponsored literary clubs in major cities
in the Kingdom. Additional clubs have since been established, and the total number is
now 16 literary clubs. These institutions engage in various forms of literary and cultural
activity, which include, but are not limited to, organizing intellectual and literary
conferences, printing and publishing literary work (in book and magazine forms), and holding annual literary contests (for best short story, poetic piece, etc.) that are open to all literary agents in the country (ibid.: 114-8). Full membership to these clubs can be obtained by Saudis over the age of 18; non-Saudis may also join but under a limited category (ibid.: 113). Some of the services the clubs offer for their members include the opportunity to publish their literary work, free copies of all the books and magazines published by the club, and access to the club’s local library (ibid.: 114). Since these clubs are non-profit and fully sponsored, their literary publications can be attained by non-members at cost price (ibid.: 120).

It could be said that the field of power sought to attract and invest in the new intellectual and literary milieu by funding, and at the same time supervising, the construction of a structure of positions that the literary agents needed to establish spaces for literary practice. Despite the political field’s involvement in shaping and legitimising these literary positions, they nevertheless enjoy a level of autonomy; the political field has rarely exerted any influence on the practices of the agents (ibid.: 19). Members of the board of directors of cultural clubs used to be (until relatively recently\(^24\) elected by club members, independently of any official authority (ibid.). The academic field has also enjoyed a similar autonomous environment as the state refrains from directly intervening in academic and training activities in the field. Throughout the period of 1960s-80s, the newly established educational facilities helped create new and cosmopolitan social groups, as opposed to the predominantly nomadic and rural social classes that characterised the social field until then.

\(^{24}\) The Ministry of Culture and Information began appointing members of the board of directors in 2006 due to purely internal electoral disputes.
2. Translations by Governmental Institutions: Part of the Field of Translation?

This section will present an overview of the translation activities in which Saudi governmental ministries and departments engage. As has already been argued and will be further argued later, due to a lack of an overt sense of competition in their translational practice, these governmental bodies should not be considered as legitimate agents within the emerging field of translation in the Kingdom.

As of 2011, the total number of book translations undertaken in governmental institutions in the Kingdom amounted to 196. The most active agents are King Abdulaziz Foundation for Research and Archives and The Arab Bureau of Education for the Gulf States, producing 67 and 47 translations respectively. Table 1 lists the remaining governmental institutions, together with the number of translations published by each:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Institution</th>
<th>Date of Est.</th>
<th>Translations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Transport</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>King Fahad National Library</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Ministry of Finance</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ministry of Health and Medical Rehabilitation Directorate</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Technical and Vocational Training Corporation</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>King Abdulaziz City for Science and Technology</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ministry of Defence and the Presidency of Meteorology and Environment</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabian Society For Culture and Arts</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The National Guard</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Interior</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Airlines</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saline Water Conversion Corporation</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total number of translations</td>
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<td>82</td>
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Table 1: Remaining governmental institutions and the number of translations published by each
2.1 King Abdulaziz Foundation for Research and Archives

The Foundation is a governmental, non-academic institution, established in 1972. Its main declared objectives are to conduct research on King Abdulaziz bin Saud, the first monarch and founder of modern Saudi Arabia, the geographical and construction history of the country, as well as its traditional, literary and intellectual heritage. The research is then published in the Foundation’s magazine and/or in book form. Many of the studies undertaken by the Foundation are also available on its website\(^\text{25}\).

According to Alsammary\(^\text{26}\) (2009), the Foundation established the Unit for Translation and Historical Studies in 2002. The Unit specialises in the Arabic translation of what the Foundation considers important books and articles by foreign authors in different languages, specifically works which deal with the history of Saudi Arabia. The Unit also undertakes translations from Arabic into other languages. In total, 67 books have been translated so far: 59 into Arabic, from English (37), French (6), German (4), Russian (3), Japanese, Spanish, Italian (2 each), Urdu, Ottoman Turkish, and Dutch (1 each); 8 translations have been undertaken from Arabic into English. Alsammary also provides a list of 29 articles translated into Arabic (and published in the Foundation’s magazine); details of the original language for these articles are not available but it is most likely to be English. No information about the translators is available. However, KFNL’s bibliography lists 18 books out of the 67 translations mentioned by Alsammary, accompanied by the translators’ names.

Most of the books and articles deal with Saudi Arabian history as narrated by foreign authors, some of whom lived in the region. These choices are in line with the declared policy of the Unit and Foundation (set out in Alsammary’s paper): to examine the way other people perceive the Kingdom by translating foreign literature on the history of Saudi Arabia and the Arabian Peninsula.

The primary role and function of the Foundation differs substantially from other governmental institutions. Examination of its translational production reveals that capital is not reduced to the research value of the translation but also to its submission

\(^{25}\) [http://www.darah.org.sa](http://www.darah.org.sa) [last accessed 29 April 2012]

\(^{26}\) Fahad Alsammary has been the secretary-general of the Foundation since 2007.
to the official narratives circulating in the Kingdom about the history of the Kingdom and Saudi Monarchy. The fact that the Foundation is a governmental body suggests that, to put it simply, the country is translating an image of itself that is constructed overseas, provided that the foreign version corresponds to approved historical narratives. For example, 7 books have been translated into Arabic about Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab, the founder of religious sect of Wahhabism and an important figure in the establishment of the Kingdom, and about the history of this controversial Islamic movement. These books, needless to say, have been selected because they project a positive image of bin Abd al-Wahhab, or at least are uncritical of the history of the country. On the other hand, books translated from Arabic into other languages mostly deal with King Abdulaziz’s important role in shaping the history of the Kingdom, human rights in the Saudi Judicial system, prominent women in Central Arabia, and the country’s contribution to attempts to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Given their treatment of these topics, the selection of these books for translation into other languages suggests an attempt to accumulate a nationalist capital for the country and the monarchy. The political field is thus recruiting translators as political agents in an attempt to polish its image in both the social space in Saudi Arabia and the international, intellectual and political fields. The homology of the field of power and the field of governmental publishing is most apparent in this case.

2.2 The Arab Bureau of Education for the Gulf States

The ABEGS is an intergovernmental organisation, founded in 1975 by the ministries of education of the seven member states (Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Yemen, Kuwait, Sultanate of Oman and Qatar); it is based in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. ABEGS’s declared aim is to foster cooperation in the fields of culture, education, science, information and documentation. As part of this initiative, the Arabian Centre for Educational Research conducts studies and publishes books and reports to enhance the educational system in the countries involved. The Bureau also issues a quarterly magazine which publishes studies on education carried out by academic institutions in the Gulf States.
The Bureau is active in translating into Arabic books that deal with education, with the objective of introducing and reflecting on general foreign theories and ideas in the field of education as well as learning from educational experiences of other countries, especially the US, Germany, Japan, and China. The list of book publications (translated and non-translated) is posted on the ABEGS website and comprises some 510 books and reports published in the period 1980 – 2009. Of these, only 47 books are translations (about 9% of the total); all are translations from English, with the exception of one book translated from German. The King Fahad National Library’s bibliography only lists 33 of these books; of the missing 14 books, 5 are outside the period covered by the KFNL bibliography, i.e. they were published after 2007. It is not clear why the remaining 7 books were not listed in the bibliography. The names of the translators are all provided in the entries listed in the KFNL bibliography. On the other hand, the ABEGS website lists the title of the translation, the author, number of pages, and sometimes the translator and the date of publication. The main merit of the ABEGS list is that it provides a short summary of the book, the reason why it was chosen for translation, and a photo, though very small, of the front cover (see figure 2).

Most of these books fall under the main subject of education, with the exception of 2 books; one is on a religious subject (Maurice Bucaille’s *What is the Origin of Man?: Answers of Science and the Holy Scriptures*; this was translated from English rather than the original French), and the other, although it can be said to belong broadly under the subject of education, is a self-help book on how to improve one’s life (the Arabic title literally translates as “A Journey through the 21st Century: a Book for the Youths”). It is not possible to establish whether this second book was translated directly from the original language, Japanese, or indirectly from English.

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27 [http://www.abegs.org/Aportal/Print](http://www.abegs.org/Aportal/Print) [last accessed 29 April 2012].
The translation activities of ABEGS are in line with its aims of importing references for teachers and researchers working on programmes to improve curricula in the education systems of the Gulf States, thus allowing them to gain cultural and economic capital in the long run. The Bureau does not, however, separate translations from other book production in the list provided online, which indicates a lack of distinction between translation and other research-related activities and a concomitant blurring of the boundaries between translation activities and other activities within the educational field.
2.3 Other Governmental Institutions

The Ministry of Transport comes third as the most active translating governmental institution, with 17 works produced since 1977 (al-Nasser 1998: 213). The KFNЛ bibliography, issued in 2008, does not list any translations by the ministry, which may indicate that these books are readily available only to members of staff28. Further examination of the Ministry’s list of translations, using al-Nasser’s bibliography, unsurprisingly shows that half of the works translated are used as instruction manuals for road construction, maintenance, etc.; the other half consists of translations of treaties of United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, and one book on human resources development. The source language in all cases is most likely English. The ministry departments that initiated the translations are The General Department for Maritime Transport (translations of the treaties), the Department of Public Relations (books on road construction), and the Ministry’s Department for Transport affairs (for the book on human resources development). In terms of translators, the Ministry entrusted the London-based International Maritime Organization with the translation of the treaties, whereas books on road construction were handled by an internal translator at the ministry.

Overall, the general subject area of the translations can be easily predicted by the system and function of the governmental body. The same can be said of other ministries, irrespective of the size of their translation production: the Ministries of Finance (books on finance), Agriculture (books on agriculture), King Fahad National Library (books on subject categorisation, search engines), etc. I would argue that these institutions cannot be considered agents in a translation field given their restricted activities and lack of feel for the game.

The Ministry of Education is an exception here in terms of the diverse subjects covered by the 15 books it selected for translation. Six of the translations are on mechanical engineering; 2 on education; 2 on data storage and analysis; 2 on Saudi Arabian history; 1 on health at schools; 1 on pathology (Polio); 1 is a guide for Saudis who want to study in the US. These details are all available in the KFNЛ bibliography, together

28 Note that the Ministry also has its own library, accessible to all staff members in addition to students and faculty of all universities and academic institutions.
with names of the translators. The 6 books on mechanical engineering, assigned to a private translation company, were intended to assist in developing the curricula of vocational high schools; the two on Saudi history were initiated by the Department for Antiquities and Museums (although the translator’s name is available, it is not clear whether he is a freelance or works for the Ministry). The other initiating departments are the Central Library, Unit for Educational Statistics, Research and Documentation, and General Department for School Health, each selecting books that meet their own needs. Their translation practice is comparable to that of ABEGS.

*King Abdulaziz City for Science and Technology* has a low translational production, but has embarked on a different yet relevant direction to translation. Established in 1977 as a governmental department, the City aims at conducting and funding research on science and technology, and coordinating activities with other scientific institutions and research centres in the Kingdom to exchange information and expertise in this field. The translational achievement worthy of mention here is a project entitled BASM (a transliteration of the word باسم). Also called the Saudi Terminology Data Bank, the city commenced work on this database in 1983, in cooperation with the International Information Centre for Terminology, terminology institutions in Europe, as well as the various Arabic Language Academies in the Arab world. BASM specialises in scientific and technological terminology and currently caters for Arabic, English, French, and German. It is intended primarily to assist translators of scientific works, in addition to scholars and students who read works in foreign languages. It currently lists more than 450,000 entries in more than 250 minor scientific fields. Although the City did not engage in the traditional translation activity of books, this project could allow it to secure a position, by accumulating cultural as well as economic capital through offering assistance to wider groups of translators in and outside the Kingdom.

### 2.4 Governmental Translation Practice and the Concept of Illusio

An essential question arises here: do translation positions such as those seemingly assumed by governmental institutions hypothetically exist to be occupied by these agents in the first place? In other words, does the mere initiation of one or two
translations entail entering the field, as it is perceived and analysed by the researcher, however limited the translational production of these agents?

The answer to this question can be sought in Bourdieu’s concept of *illusio*. The concept concerns developing “an interest” in the stakes in the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 116-7). Bourdieu defines *illusio* as “tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game and … practical mastery of its rules” (ibid.: 117). On the one hand, those agents who are very active in the field of translation usually have declared plans for translation activities, and some have set up centres and departments to promote their goals in this area. They issue lists of their published books, translations, and translators, thus promoting their own positions and status as agents in the field. On the other hand, there is a lack of declared translation agenda by most, but not all, of the agents in table 1 above, as well as a notable absence of departments or sections for translation. The production of these agents is not promoted or declared in terms of designated lists and bibliographies, nor are the translators visible in any way, beyond being named on the covers of the translations. These institutions seem not to set their translational activities, however minor, apart from other projects and activities. This may be interpreted as a lack of “feel for the game”, which might justify excluding these institutional agents from the field.

The logic of practice of translation activities in governmental departments and ministries is thus very different. The translations carried out by these bodies are usually only consumed by their staff and not normally circulated beyond the relevant department or ministry. Their production is mostly aimed at enhancing the ministries’ and departments’ inner operations and projects and is a limited though inextricable part of the governmental bodies’ own function. The books in most cases are also limited both in quantity and subject matter.

Translation activities carried out within the governmental institutions, as explained, mostly lack key features that Bourdieu asserts as fundamental logics of practice in any field of cultural production. There are no clear shared dispositions that can be attributed to the agents and their struggle for any capital in producing these translations. This could be the result of the close connections between these activities/bodies and the field of power, and the significant influence that the latter
exercises in dictating the activities of governmental bodies in order to achieve overall national goals. These homologies are so strong that they completely mute any form of struggle between institutions in this area. The number and subjects of translations are motivated by internal concerns and needs within the institution, making their production highly disconnected from that of other institutions. Inter-institutional struggle is completely absent in most cases examined. The products in question, i.e. translated works, therefore cannot be considered an outcome of the logics of “a field of translation”.

There are translational activities that target a wider range of readers, namely the production of King Abdulaziz Foundation, the most active institution in the industry. From a translational point of view, books are selected from a variety of subjects and languages and are all concerned in one way or another with the history and traditions of the Kingdom. On the one hand, the aim of the Foundation, as announced in its launch declaration, is to provide general readers and researchers with insight into the way the Kingdom is perceived by foreigners and other nations. On the other hand, from a nationalist point of view, the unwritten rule seems to be that the books in question must not feature any criticism of the Kingdom or the history and present image of the monarchy, and the views they express should be broadly in line with current doxic beliefs in the country. The Foundation and its production therefore have a specific ideological and political goal: to strengthen and consolidate the dynasty and enhance its image globally and among the people of the country. Another institution worthy of mentioning in this respect is King Fahad Complex for the Printing of the Holy Qur’an, established in 1982. The primary reasons behind the establishment of this governmental institution (as they appear in English on their official web page) are as follows:

- The increasing need of the Muslim world for the Glorious Qur’an; the need for its translation into the world’s different languages; and interest in its different fields of study [sic].
- The importance of providing the best services for the Sunnah of the Prophet.

29 [http://www.qurancomplex.org/Display.asp?section=7&l=eng&f=nobza01&trans=] [last accessed 29 April 2012]
30 Sunnah denotes the practices of the prophet of Islam.
- Realizing the important role which the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia plays in the service of Islam and Muslims [...]..

In addition to conducting Islamic studies, publishing Islamic literature, and printing millions of copies of the Qur’an in Arabic, which are distributed in the country and around the world for free, the complex also includes a centre for translation which has so far produced translations of the meanings of the Qur’an in more than 50 languages: 24 Asian languages, 12 European languages, and 14 African languages. These practices arguably aim to strengthen the strategic position of the Saudi state in the Islamic world by investing in religious symbolism and prestige.

3. Structure of the Sub-Field of Translation and Available Positions: Academic and Literary Institutions

Having offered an overview of the translation work undertaken within governmental institutions, and argued that their apparent lack of a feel for the game excludes them from the field of translation in the Kingdom, this section will move on to discuss the translation activities undertaken in academic institutions which do operate as agents in the sub-field of translation. It will also discuss the translation practice undertaken within the Jeddah Literary and Cultural Club, which could be considered a member of the field of translation in Saudi Arabia.

501 translations were produced by academic institutions in the Kingdom during the period under consideration. This large number compared to the number of translations produced by governmental institutions could be attributed to the fact that key academic institutions, unlike most governmental ministries and departments, incorporate translation and research centres that are dedicated to producing a range of publications, translated or otherwise. The most active agent in this field is King Saud University’s Translation Centre (KSUTC). The Centre accounts for a total of 351 translations (70 % of total production of academic institutions). Figure 3 shows the 3 most active agents across the sub-field:
2 universities (King Saud and King Abdulaziz Universities) and 1 academic institute (The Institute of Public Administration) account for 461 translations (92% of the total production of the field). This is a very large stake in the field given that the study has surveyed 10 academic institutions that have engaged in translational production in the Kingdom. Apart from the top 3 agents, 7 institutions account for the remaining 8% of translations produced during the period under study. We can therefore conclude at this stage that King Saud University occupies a central position in the hierarchical structure of the field of academic translation.

Individual agents involved in producing translations for academic institutions enjoy a high level of visibility. The names of translators can generally be obtained from the bibliographies of King Fahad National library and that of al-Nasser’s thesis for almost all published translations, but King Saud University Translation Centre also provides a list of translators on their website, who are all faculty members, with their full names and positions in the academy specified. This level of visibility enables easy access to the translators but also suggests that they constitute a form of capital (prestige) for the institute and in turn derive prestige from their association with it.

Table 2 lists the remaining academic institutions, together with the number of translations published by each:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Institution</th>
<th>Date of Est.</th>
<th>Translations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud Islamic University</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Naif Arab University for Security Sciences(^{31})</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 King Fahd University of Petroleum &amp; Minerals</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 King Abdulaziz City for Science and Technology</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 King Faisal University’s Translation, Authorship and Publication Centre</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Um Alqora University In Makkah</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Islamic University In Madinah</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of translations</strong></td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>--------------</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>----------</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Remaining academic institutions and the number of translations published by each

The relatively scarce production of the academic agents in Table 2 places them, when analysed in terms of their positions in the field of academic translation, within the peripheral or marginal sphere.

In addition to these academic institutions, there is one further institution, the Jeddah Literary and Cultural Club, which occupies a specific position in the field. The Club releases a literary magazine entitled *Nawafidh*, which specialises in the publication of translated literature from around the world. The source of these translated writings ranges from the prestigious Anglo-American and French, to the more peripheral African literature such as Senegalese. A unique space of struggle for cultural capital is detected between young intellectuals and literary translators, who aspire for recognition by competing to have their work published in the magazine. The logic of practice of these agents and the overwhelming literary field in which the space is located will be analysed in detail in section 4.5.

In conclusion, in order to determine whether an institution or individual is involved in translational activities that position them within the structure of the field, one might examine their activities from two perspectives: the extent and visibility of their translational production and that of the individual agents involved, and whether these activities are organised within a certain set of declared schemes. Examining translational activities from these two perspectives could broadly define the position of the institution and its production within the network of the field. The next section

\(^{31}\) Established in 1978 as The Arabian Centre for Security studies and Training before changing its name in 1997 to Naif Arab Academy for Security Sciences, and then to Naif Arab University for Security Sciences in 2004.
will elaborate on the different agents and their published translations in order to take a closer look at how they operate in the field and what this reveals about their respective positions.

4. The Agents and their Production

This section will examine the most active agents, as identified above, and explore how they produce and present their translations.

4.1 King Saud University Translation Centre

King Saud was the first university to be established in the history of Saudi Arabia, in 1957. It is based in Riyadh, the capital, but branch colleges have since been set up in different regions around the country. The Translation Centre was established as the Centre for Translation, Authorship and Publication in 1978-9, and its name was later changed to the Translation Centre in 1988. However, it did not publish any translations until 1992. It reports directly to the Academic Council and the University Vice President for Graduate Studies and Research. This indicates that the Centre’s translational output is expected to cater to the needs of students and researchers across the university.

The Centre has its own dedicated page on the university website, providing information about its activities in both Arabic and English. However, some lists have not been translated or transliterated into English. It is worth noting that the Centre won the Abdullah bin Abdul-Aziz International Award for Translation in the second year of the award history, in 2008, for the category of institutions.

The Centre’s declared agenda is outlined on the University’s website under “Goals and Tasks”:

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32 [http://tc.ksu.edu.sa/index_en.php](http://tc.ksu.edu.sa/index_en.php) and [http://ksu.edu.sa/AboutKSU/UniversityCenters/TranslationCenter/Pages/default.aspx](http://ksu.edu.sa/AboutKSU/UniversityCenters/TranslationCenter/Pages/default.aspx) [last accessed 29 April 2012]

33 The award will be discussed later in this chapter.
The Translation Center, an independent body, shall meet the needs for textbooks, references, periodicals, research papers, and materials of official nature, as well as books of intellectual nature for Saudi society. (KSU website; English original)

Among the listed duties of the Centre are the following (the full list can be viewed on the website):

1- Encourage faculty and staff to translate books, reference materials and research literature.

2- Promote and support the Arabization of academic materials, by standardizing, unifying, and disseminating academic terminologies.

3- Establish a schedule for the translation and/or Arabization of textbooks and reference materials needed at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. (ibid.)

All the translators listed on the Centre’s website are faculty members at the university. The Centre’s website, as mentioned earlier, features updated lists of the translators; the colleges they work at; the title, author, publisher, edition, and year of publication of each original book translated by the Centre; and the same information for each translation, including the number of pages (see figure 4). Faculty members are encouraged by new forms of cultural and economic capital to produce translations to be published by the Centre. A member of staff is awarded one point for each translation, and a certain number of points can be used to support an application for promotion to a higher position (al-Khatib 2005: 21). For academic staff, these translations are thus as profitable, in terms of career progression, as publishing a paper in a refereed journal. The translator also gains economic capital. The cash award for each translation is estimated to range between S.R16,000 and 50,000 ($4,250 - 13,300), depending on the size and value of the project (ibid.). A new space of struggle in the university has thus arguably begun to emerge. In order to participate in this form of translational practice, the academic agents must possess certain skills (or cultural capital), such as mastering two languages, in order to become legitimate members and undertake translational activities. New positions are thus set up, which

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34 Material published in English on the website is quoted verbatim, without any corrections.
can be referred to as “academic translation positions”; those agents who possess the appropriate type of capital can move easily from one position to another.

The following information was acquired during a telephone conversation on 3rd September 2010 with Saleh A. Alabdulkareem, an assistant professor in the College of Education who had just finished translating a book for the Centre. According to Professor Alabdulkareem, the translation projects carried out at the Centre are initiated in two distinct ways. The more frequent scenario is that a faculty member decides that a foreign book is worthy of translation and proposes it to the Centre, stating the reasons for his/her decision (e.g. using it as a textbook for students, enriching the curriculum or the Arabic library in general, etc.). His/her reasons might also be based on covert objectives such as gaining financial rewards and academic promotions. The Centre then examines the intellectual value of the book and determines whether to proceed with the project. If the project is approved, the Centre negotiates with the original publisher about acquiring copyright and sets the deadline for completing the translation. The less common scenario is that other publishers or institutions propose books to the Centre. These institutions might include foreign publishers located outside the Kingdom who suggest some of their titles to the Centre. If the Centre approves a title, it then seeks an expert faculty member, deemed to be intellectually qualified and knowledgeable about the subject of the book, to work on the translation.

According to the Centre website, a total of 351 translations has been produced during the period 1992-2010. They were undertaken from a variety of languages, including English (95%), German (2%), French, Italian, Spanish, and Russian (3%). There are 2 instances where translations have been undertaken from Arabic into other languages, namely Russian and English (1 each). The site features a sample of publications consisting of the covers of about 220 translations together with information about the original books (see figures 5 and 6). Double-clicking on any of the covers shown in figure 5 opens either a JPG photo or a pdf file with more information about the title, as in figure 6.

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35 They are the English translation of Waliallah Aldahwali’s 1986 *Towards an Objective Explanation of the Causes of Justice Divergence in Islam* and the Russian translation of 2002’s book *The Rights of Non-Muslims in Islamic Countries*; information about the original author is not available.

36 This page disappeared recently as the website is being revised.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of the Book</th>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Name of the Book</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Name of the Author</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Sociologists of Society</td>
<td>Language and Literature部</td>
<td>001</td>
<td>The Sociologists of Society</td>
<td>R. F. Bauman</td>
<td>001</td>
<td>Bob Bauman</td>
<td>001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History</td>
<td>Language and Literature部</td>
<td>004</td>
<td>The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History</td>
<td>M. A. A. Asfahani</td>
<td>004</td>
<td>M. A. A. Asfahani</td>
<td>004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Techniques and Principles in Language Teaching</td>
<td>Language and Information Technology部</td>
<td>005</td>
<td>Techniques and Principles in Language Teaching</td>
<td>S. A. Bashir</td>
<td>005</td>
<td>S. A. Bashir</td>
<td>005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing Concepts for Libraries and Information Services</td>
<td>Language and Information Technology部</td>
<td>007</td>
<td>Marketing Concepts for Libraries and Information Services</td>
<td>S. A. Bashir</td>
<td>007</td>
<td>S. A. Bashir</td>
<td>007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature and Exploration</td>
<td>Language and Information Technology部</td>
<td>008</td>
<td>Literature and Exploration</td>
<td>M. A. A. Asfahani</td>
<td>008</td>
<td>M. A. A. Asfahani</td>
<td>008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4: Screenshot of the list of translators and their production on KSUTC website.
Figure 5: Screenshot of the sample of publications available on KSUTC website
The sample of 220 translations showcased on the site may be grouped under the following subject headings (Table 3 and Figure 7):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary biology</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural engineering</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary biology</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food science</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistics</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geology</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer &amp; information tech</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation studies</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrology</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petrol engineering</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Sample of 220 translations showcased on the KSUTC site grouped under subject headings
The chart shows that applied sciences occupy prominent positions in the field, with medical sciences appearing at the top as the most favoured subject for translation, followed by agricultural engineering and mathematics. This could be due to the very low number of books and references written in Arabic on these subjects, and the consequent need for up-to-date references for KSU’s students in the medical and other applied sciences fields. The emphasis on specialised areas of knowledge may also be interpreted as part of an *Arabisation* movement within the university, a movement designed to enrich the Arabic library, as evident in the declared aims of the Centre cited above. The effort to enhance the visibility of the translators is also evident, suggesting that they constitute a form of capital for the Centre. In addition to their names being printed on the book covers, the list of translators and the information about their positions posted on the Centre’s website distinguish them from other faculty members of the university, which strengthens their academic positions as well as their new positions as academic translators, whether within the university as a whole or their respective specialisation. It thus attaches prestige to the translator, his/her work, and the college at which he/she teaches.
Based in Riyadh, the Institute was established in 1961 and is fully supervised and sponsored by the government. Its initial main objectives were to offer training courses in administration for the staff of governmental ministries and departments, conducting administration-related research, and providing consultancy services for governmental bodies on administration issues. But today the institute accepts a wider range of students, not necessarily working for the government, and offers scholarships to staff working in civil services departments in other Gulf countries. It awards diploma and higher diploma degrees in administration-related subjects such as office management, human resources, accounting, etc.

The Institute began publishing translations in 1980. Translations are initiated by the Research Centre, where faculty and staff members carry out the translation. In addition, the Centre receives applications from translators outside the Institute for translating foreign books into Arabic, to be approved and then published by the Centre. The Institute states on its website\(^{37}\) that one main prerequisite for approval is that the proposed book should deal with issues of administration. All translations published by the Centre so far adhere to this criterion.

The Institute’s official website provided\(^{38}\) a list of all 83 translations published so far. The list features the title of the translation, names of translators, and year of publication. It is only available in Arabic. However, the KFNL’s bibliography provides extra information about these translations, such as the name of the original authors and, sometimes, the original titles in the original languages.

The Institute’s translation trajectory reveals its dedication to the field of administration through (1) the fact that it restricts the topic of books to be translated to this field and (2) the relatively high number of translations it produces compared to other academic institutions. This could be interpreted as one form of struggle to enhance the Institute’s reputation in the academic field as well as within the administrative field by


\(^{38}\) [http://www.ipa.edu.sa/research/translation/translations.asp](http://www.ipa.edu.sa/research/translation/translations.asp) is currently down and is replaced with another page featuring a small portion of their translated books: [http://www.ipa.edu.sa/AR/Research/Translations/Pages/Translations2.aspx](http://www.ipa.edu.sa/AR/Research/Translations/Pages/Translations2.aspx) [last accessed 29 April 2012]
gaining capital in the form of translations. The list of translations provided on the website usually includes the name of the translator. Information about whether he/she works at the Institute is never revealed, but translators’ academic positions are stated (Dr., Prof., etc.); these, as mentioned earlier, constitute a source of prestige for the translation itself and the Institute in general.

Figure 8: Screenshot of the IPA’s website list
4.3 *King Abdulaziz University*

KAU was established as an independent university in 1967, before being converted into a governmental/state university four years later (al-Ghamidi & Abduljawad 2005: 234). It is based in Jeddah, the second largest city in Saudi Arabia, and aims to cater for students living in western regions of the country. Unlike King Saud University, KAU does not incorporate a separate division for translation, which perhaps explains its low production of translation compared to KSU. Instead, the universities’ colleges and departments initiate translations based on their needs, and these translations are later published by the Centre for Scientific Publication. Initiating departments include, for example, the International Centre for Islamic Economy Research, Deanship of Library Affairs, and College of Economics and Administration.

Unfortunately, the Centre’s website does not include a separate list of translations nor a full list of all publications. In addition, the university has not published a bibliography of its own book production. The KFNL bibliography therefore provides the only source for information on the Centre’s publication activities at the moment. It lists 27 translations, all of which are into Arabic. The source language is English (as indicated by the English titles of the originals in the entries) in all cases except one, where the translation seems to have been undertaken from French (the source text is on the fall of Constantinople). However, translators’ names are available in all entries, as is other information such as date of publication, subject headings, etc. Like KSUTC, KAU’s translation production is more diverse than that of specialised academic institutes. Figure 9 shows the number of books and subject headings of the translations undertaken by KAU and listed in the KFNL bibliography.
The University is far less active in translation compared to other academic institutions; there is no separate unit for translation nor a list of translations published so far. There is no available information about the translators involved. Thus its position as agent in the field of academic translation is precarious and it is unlikely to have a feel for the game. The prevalence of Islam-related subjects is also worth noting. The fact that the University is located near the holy cities of Mecca and Almadinah (which host branch colleges) might explain the prominence of these subjects.

We will now turn to institutions with more limited translation activities.

4.4 Other Universities

This section will elaborate on the remaining institutions listed earlier in table 2 and how translations and other publications are initiated by them. The number of translations produced by each ranges between 24 and only 1 or 2.

*Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud Islamic University*, established in 1974, has so far produced 11 translations into Arabic. Subjects include Arab and Islamic traditions (5 books), using the library (2), orientalism, communication technology, Saudi Arabia, and Africa–history (1 each). It should be noted here that the book on African history has been
translated from a French version, although the original is in Italian. The University has also produced 13 other translations from Arabic into other languages including Urdu (3), French (2), Bangla (2), Turkish, English, Indonesian, Uzbek, Russian, and Persian (1 each). Most of these books are meant to function as guides for newly converted Muslims to familiarise them with some Islamic practices and preaching (10 books) as well as the history of Saudi Arabia (2 books) and Islam (1). The translations produced by the University total 24 works. The translators’ names are all available. This information is detailed in the KFNL bibliography and a list posted on the Deanship of Scientific Research webpage.³⁹

No independent unit for translation has been established at Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud Islamic University. The university’s colleges and departments initiated their own translations to respond to their needs, and these translations are then published by the Deanship of Scientific Research. However, The University incorporates the Institute for Research and Consulting Services, founded in 2000 and renamed Prince Naif Institute for Research and Consulting Services in 2009. It claims to engage in establishing common ground for research between the University and other academic and governmental institutions, whether within or outside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Institute also offers its services to clients and partners in both the public and private sectors. Some of these services are provided by a Translation Unit which caters for the university’s departments as well as governmental institutions and ministries in the Kingdom.

The larger part of the university’s production is non-academic and is targeted towards spreading Islamic teaching among Non-Muslims as well as new converts to Islam. Thus the capital acquired through translation activities here is totally different from that sought or acquired by other academic institutions engaging in translation. Translation in this case is highly influenced by the homology between the academic field and the religious field (see below for further discussion).

According to available statistics, the translation production of the remaining 4 universities in table 1 (King Faisal University, Um Alqora University, Naif Arab University for Security Sciences, and the Islamic University) is very limited compared to

³⁹ http://www.imamu.edu.sa/support_deanery/dsa/Pages/dsa_4.aspx [last accessed 29 April 2012].
other academic institutions and they are therefore marginal from the point of view of the current study.

4.5 Jeddah Literary and Cultural Club

Of the 16 literary clubs established in the Kingdom, the only one that displays genuine interest in translational practice is Jeddah Literary and Cultural Club\textsuperscript{40} (referred to as JLCC hereinafter). JLCC was established in 1975 in Jeddah, the second largest city in the Kingdom. In addition to releasing literary and intellectual books, JLCC publishes 5 literary magazines on various literary and cultural issues. An interesting space for translational practice in the Kingdom is constructed by JLCC’s \textit{Nawafidh} (Windows), a quarterly magazine specialised in the publication of translated global literature. Since its first release in September 1997, the magazine has published a large number of translations from different genres of foreign literary writings (poetry, short-stories, plays, etc.) as well as critical literary and translation studies and articles. In addition to Anglo-American, European, Latin-American, and Asian writings, \textit{Nawafidh} also publishes translations of various “third world” literatures, such as Afghani and Senegalese literary works. On occasion, special issues are dedicated to the translation of the literary tradition of a single country; the July 2004 edition, for example, was a special issue on Uzbek literature. Figure 10 shows the cover of this issue.

The magazine does not restrict its output to purely literary writings; it periodically publishes translated philosophical, intellectual, and cultural articles on varied themes such as feminism, modernism, linguistics, etc. The editorial team does not recruit translators but instead invites any Saudi as well as Arab translators to submit their works to the magazine, and stresses that writings which have not been translated into Arabic are prioritised and thus are more likely to be approved for publication. Among the requirements is that translations must be undertaken directly from the original language. The translational production of JLCC indicates a highly autonomous environment. The autonomy of the literary field in Saudi Arabia, as indicated by Lacroix (2011: 19), can be said to affect and is clearly evident in the translational practices in

\textsuperscript{40} \url{http://www.adabijeddah.com/} [last accessed 28 May 2012].
*Nawafidh*. The highly sophisticated translated literary and intellectual works published in this venue highlight the minimal influence of external forces from both the economic and political fields. Just as the “cultural supplements” in the 1970s provided spaces for struggle between agents in the Saudi literary field in the early days of its establishment, *Nawafidh* created a space for literary translators (both Saudis and Arabs) to struggle for capital and to strengthen their social group and position as literary translators. Further analysis will be offered in the next section on capital.

![Figure 10: Front cover of the July 2004 issue of Nawafidh](image)
5. Capital: Logics of Struggle

The previous section sought to introduce the academic and literary institutions that engaged in translational practice and their production in terms of quantity and subject matter. This section will attempt to elaborate on the logic of their production, what motivates such engagements, and whether these agents can be described as members of a field of translation in Bourdieusean terms. Due to the wide discrepancy between the academic institutions and the literary club in terms of the nature of their translation activities, each will be dealt with separately.

5.1 The Academy

The logics of struggle in the field of translation within academic institutions can be approached from (1) a macro/institutional and (2) a micro/individual perspective. The institutional level may be examined on the basis of the overall process and aims of the production of translations, whereas the individual level may be examined on the basis of the process and aims of the translators themselves. Although institutional and individual levels operate along parallel lines, it is useful to distinguish between the two since institutions and individuals engaging in translation may have very different aims.

5.1.1 The Macro Level

Plans for translation activities are not always transparent or systematic, especially in larger universities, as opposed to smaller academic institutes. Subjects covered are highly diverse due to the many departments and colleges that initiate the translations within universities. In addition, there is no clear overall pattern of practice for translation; some universities such as King Saud University have independent departments for translations, while others categorise translation activities the same way as other academic research carried out by faculty members.
As implied at the beginning of this chapter, the kind of struggle that characterises any field of cultural production in Bourdieu’s terms seems relatively complex in the case of Saudi academic institutions engaging in translation, in terms of its dynamics both at institutional (rather than individual) and inter-institutional levels. The data discussed above in relation to how universities initiate and produce translations may not offer clear indications as to whether there is a clear line of communication between different institutions engaging in translation nor shed sufficient light on the nature of relationships between them in terms of selection and processes of translation. This is further obscured by an apparent disinterestedness in direct economic capital at the institutional and inter-institutional levels. This may be explained by the fact that these institutions are fully funded by the government. Their annual budgets are pre-planned by the state, thus potentially undermining the importance of one type of Bourdieusean capital that instigates struggle, namely economic capital. The relative lack of an overt economic driving force in these institutions in turn creates an illusion of homogeneity between institutes and universities in terms of translation production.

This does not of course mean that the institutions in question are not influenced by the economic or power fields. In fact, the relative lack of economic struggle may be a direct result of the extensive homology between the academic field in the Kingdom and the field of power (both economic and political). The overwhelming, pervasive economic influence that the state exercises over academic institutions (which are established, funded, and controlled by the state, and which offer education for free, thus attracting no separate income of their own) is particularly evident in the case of the oldest institutions, which are owned by the government. The relationship between the government and the academic institutions here is rather like that between a company and its (numerous) subsidiaries. The lack of inter-institutional economic struggle in translational activities may be partly explained by the hierarchical nature of the top-down, vertical relations between the field of power and the academic institutions.

Given institutional agents’ lack of interest in direct economic capital earned through translation activities in academic institutions, it might be possible to argue that we cannot speak of translation as a field in its own right in the “institutional” context, with expert agents in the profession of translation occupying varied positions based on their
transformation of expertise. Instead, it might be the case that translation functions as a form of capital that agents in the academic field strive for. Translation acts as a key form of cultural capital and a source of institutional power, both in the local and international academic field. Annual lists of top Universities released by official world university ranking systems, such as Times Higher Education World University Rankings and Academic Ranking of World Universities\textsuperscript{41}, which are highly valued by Saudi universities, intellectuals, and some sections of the general public, offer an overall glimpse of the world hierarchy of positions in the global academic field. Among the factors that ranking systems take into account are the quality and quantity of scientific research produced by each university every year. Performing badly in these ranking exercises can generate public controversy and is usually discussed by the Cabinet, especially in recent years. This happened, for example, in 2006, when King Saud University was ranked in 2998\textsuperscript{th} place in the 3000 top universities list (Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper 2006).

In this context, we may speak of three identifiable (but not exclusive) interrelated levels of competition within the academic field: individual, local and international. The individual level manifests itself in the struggle between academic staff, within and between universities, to establish themselves in the field and/or climb to higher positions. The local level is attached to and heavily dependent on the individual level, and is concerned with the race between universities in the Kingdom to secure higher positions in the ranking lists. The international level is where the individual and local struggles between universities can be viewed collectively as a national struggle for the prominence of Saudi academia in the international field. The relationship between the three levels is reciprocal. The academic field in the Kingdom, in Bourdieu’s terms, and the major logics of struggle thus heavily overlap and are part and parcel of the ongoing struggle within the global network of academic fields. As stated earlier, for academic staff, translations produced and published within Saudi universities are as profitable as publishing a paper in a refereed journal and are thus considered by the university as an important means for enhancing their own scientific research output. Translation thus functions as a form of cultural capital that can be profitable at all three levels of these struggles.

\textsuperscript{41} www.timeshighereducation.co.uk and www.arwu.org/.
Understanding the positions occupied by academic bodies is essential to understanding the function of translations carried out by them. The capital sought by these institutions is largely, and in a broad sense, cultural; the institutional agents are mostly non-profit organisations, funded by the state; their products are sold at cost price, which means that they are very cheap compared to books distributed by private universities and publishers (al-Khatib 2005: 21). Their production is usually targeted at students and academics, and the struggle within and between them is thus for cultural rather than economic capital.

The rules of the game and struggle for capital in the academic field seem to overlap heavily with translational activities, to the extent that it is difficult to speak of a fully fledged field of translation. Although some universities incorporate departments of translation, highlighting the significance of translations as a separate field of expertise, translation remains highly interconnected with the logics of the academic field, in the sense that the individual agents who engage in it and the goals set for their engagement are encompassed by the academic field. This recalls the late Simeoni’s (1998) assertion that translation is so interrelated with other fields that it results in the dissolution of its own boundaries as a field.

However, the idea of translation activities being a form of capital that has value mostly within the academic field may be challenged in the coming years, as a new source of capital was introduced in 2007: an award entitled *Abdullah Bin Abdul-Aziz International Award for Translation*. This is an annual award for distinguished works of translation and prominent institutions which contributed significantly to raising the profile of the field of translation from and into Arabic within a given year. The award, which is issued by King Abdulaziz Public Library in Riyadh, was established on 31 October 2006 with the approval of the King Abdulaziz Public Library Council. Many of the translators who won the award since its inception are Saudi university academics whose translations are published by universities. The award could thus trigger a new form of struggle between agents, whether academic, governmental or otherwise, to gain the symbolic and economic capital it offers and points to an emerging field of academic translation which is a sub-field of the academic field.
The award could also be seen as an attempt to establish the position of Saudi Arabia as a cultural centre within the Arab and international field. The award’s annual ceremonies are held each year in a different major capital city around the world; Riyadh in 2008, Casablanca in 2009, Paris (at the UNESCO headquarters) in 2010, Beijing in 2011, and Berlin in 2012. Representatives of various intellectual institutions and political authorities from different countries are invited to attend these annual ceremonies. These efforts are exerted to emphasise the international nature and the supposed cultural influence of the award, and highlight the Kingdom’s struggle to occupy a legitimate position as a key player in the global cultural space.

Finally, it is worth noting that Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud Islamic University, as an academic agent, is the most prominent, if not the only, active agent in translating from Arabic into other languages, with the translations mostly intended to provide support for preaching Islam. Indeed, this is the only academic institution where translations into other languages exceed those into Arabic. This is in line with the Islamic character of the University and its dedication to advocating and promoting Islam. The institution seeks to acquire religious capital in the sense of “spreading the word of God” through the dissemination of Islamic teachings.

5.1.2 The Micro Level

At the micro individual level, translation in the academic field in the Kingdom is a site of struggle for a more diverse range of capital. Translation has become a site for traditional academic struggle (the individual level of competition) that is typical of any academic field in the world. As stated earlier, translating is encouraged in some institutions as a form of scientific research, as in the case of KSU. The struggle is thus primarily for institutionalised cultural capital. It is also a struggle for economic capital, whether in the short (monetary awards for each translation) or the long run (higher salaries accompanying promotion). Cultural capital in this case is readily convertible to economic capital. Moreover, promotion to higher academic positions opens the door to a larger network of social connections in the academy and access to upper classes in society. Attaching the highly symbolically rich “Dr.” or “Prof.” to a person’s name (which is common in Saudi society) accrues recognition for the holder of the title, who
is likely to be treated with more respect as a result of using this designation. In other words, social capital accruing from cultural capital is also an indirect site for struggle among translating faculty members of these universities. These struggles assume greater significance when we consider that the larger portion of translations in Saudi state institutions is produced by KSU’s faculty alone.

Finally, not all translators in universities are faculty members, and sometimes translators from outside the university, whether freelance translators or those working through a translation company, are assigned the task of translating selected works. This is true of several translations published by Imam Mohammed Ibn Saud Islamic University. These agents generally struggle for cultural capital that is easily convertible to economic capital.

5.2 JLCC

The quarterly *Nawafidh*, situated in the Saudi literary field, provides a unique space for competition between translation agents interested in the translation of intellectual and literary works. This space enjoys a great deal of autonomy; the agents’ activities are subjected to minimal exposure to political and economic influence. The translational space derives its autonomy from the fact that it is located within the literary field, the practices of which, as argued above, have enjoyed a great deal of autonomy since its inception. Although the political authority contributes economically in the construction and funding of an important part of the concrete structures of the literary field (literary clubs), it rarely interferes with the actual practices of intellectual and literary agents. Translation practice in these institutions directly feeds into the literary field, as translations provide other literary agents with access to literary production written in a variety of world languages.

In addition, the translation agents who struggle to publish their work in the magazine seem to have minimal interest in direct economic capital. These translational agents enjoy an autonomous space in terms of the weak homologous relationship with the economic field in two respects:
• The magazine offers no monetary rewards to the agents who submit their work when this work is approved for publication.

• The translated work targets rather small groups of audience. It is thus not influenced by the rules of the market, which usually focus on works that appeal to larger audiences and readerships.

It thus seems reasonable to suggest that the translational agents operating in this arena engage in cultural practices solely for the sake of acquiring the cultural and symbolic value attached to them. These translation agents derive cultural and symbolic capital from the often symbolically valuable foreign works they translate; they have so far translated numerous world-recognized philosophical pieces by the likes of Derrida, Jakobson, and Barthes. Other forms of capital include an opportunity for recognition and consecration in literary circles. The publication of translated works by the magazine offers exposure to established intellectuals as well as translation peers.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to argue that these translation agents and the position they have come to occupy constitute a field on its own because of the small and relatively new space for their struggle. As far as Saudi Arabia is concerned, this is the only available magazine dedicated exclusively to the publication of translated works. Nevertheless, this is a unique and thriving space for translation-specific literary activities.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate that academic and literary institutions constitute a site of growing translational activities. Some of these institutions have built-in departments dedicated solely to producing translations, which further establishes these activities as a distinct form of practice that can be distinguished from other operations in these institutions. Stakes and forms of capital connected with these activities have evolved in the past few decades, and an ongoing struggle to acquire them has emerged as a result.

I have argued that governmental institutions cannot generally be considered translation agents as such, given their lack of feel for the game and the low frequency
of translations they produce. Academies, on the other hand, constitute an interesting setting for translations, with identifiable stakes and engaged institutional as well as individual agents. Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine whether it is appropriate to speak of a fully structured field of translation, in Bourdieu’s terms, encompassing academic institutions in Saudi Arabia. While a number of Bourdieusean notions relating to the logic of practice, such as capital and homology, can be used productively to describe translational activities, the history or trajectory of relevant activities and the agents involved in them seems to be somewhat too short to have generated a translational habitus instilled in these agents. Translation activities appear too entangled with the more structured academic field. Dispositions of the translation agents respond almost exclusively to the logics of the academy; books are chosen and translations carried out based on the needs of the educational system, whether those needs pertain to the personal ambitions of the faculty member or translator him/herself, the students, the general public, or the institution as a whole. The practice of the translators for Nawafidh displays a more independent position from other literary practices in the literary field, into which their products feed. The nature of their translation practices and the position occupied by the translating agents are more visible in the sense that they are referred to in the magazine only as “translators”, ignoring any positions that they may be occupying in other fields (in contrast, for example, to KSUTC publications which indicate the position of the translator in the academic field). The capital the translators seek is focused on cultural and symbolic values, which are derived from both the value of the foreign works they translate and subsequent recognition by other literary and translation agents in the literary field.

It is possible that we are now witnessing a translational field in the making, given increased activities and greater engagement of agents in more recent years. In addition, new stakes, such as the King Abdullah translation award, are likely to give a clearer shape and coherence to translation activities and enhance the emergence of a more structured field. The academic field may become less involved in the logic of struggle and all forms of the ensuing capital may be labelled as translational in essence. In other words, new varieties of legitimate stakes may emerge which might create new structured spaces for positions and struggles in the field.
Investigation of the private publishing industry, which will be the focus of the next chapter, should shed further light on the nature of translation activities in the Kingdom and the absence or presence of a translation field in Bourdieu’s terms.
Chapter 4

Analysing the Field of Translation in Saudi Arabia: The Publishing Industry: Private Sector

This chapter attempts to explore a further type of position, or set of positions, available within what may be referred to, using Bourdieu, as the translation field in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Applying a Bourdieusean analysis similar in style and organisation to the one used in the previous chapter, private publishers engaging in translation activities will be examined in terms of the active agents in the field, the volume and characteristics of their translation production, and how these may be analysed in Bourdieusean terms against the backdrop of socio-cultural and political conditions. In addition to those outlined at the beginning of the previous chapter, further differences between private publishers and academic and literary institutions may be drawn.

Statistics of book production indicate that private publishers are much more active in translation than academic and literary institutions; Jarir Bookstore alone, for example, has produced, according to a printout of the full list of translations obtained directly from the publisher on 10 January 2010, around 1600 translations. This could be explained in terms of the prevailing struggle for economic capital that reinforces the logic of practice in the field. Private publishers have well established superstores and branches, often placed in prime city locations, and market their books among much wider circles, thus enhancing the visibility of their products among the general public and the authenticity of these agents as book producers. In contrast, academic institutions operate within a much more limited market and are viewed primarily as education providers. Literary clubs are limited in number compared to private publishers and do not provide easy access to their literary production. In addition, targeting the general public, as opposed to catering for student needs or the interests of a small group of intelligentsia, can be much more revealing in terms of the underlying sociological and cultural underpinnings of book choices within society; private publishers typically translate what sells, what appeals to potential customers,
and thus a certain range of choices could be linked, where appropriate, to certain sociological and political narratives circulating in a given society.

Therefore, while the previous chapter mostly discussed translation activities of academic institutions by examining how translation is positioned within the wider network of struggles for legitimacy and consecration in the international academic and political fields, this chapter will attempt to provide some sociological insight into the people, the consumers of translations, in addition to the publishers themselves.

Before elaborating on the key publishers of translations in the Kingdom, it is helpful to take a brief look at the history of publishing in the country.

1. The History of Publishing and Printing in Saudi Arabia

Before World War 1, a large section of what is now known as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. The first printing press, Wilayat al-Hijaz al-ḥukumiah (Wilayah in short), was a state-controlled facility which was installed in 1882 in Hejaz – the western region where the holy cities of Mecca and Madinah are located. Prior to the introduction of the printing press, religious scholars in central and western regions of the Arabian Peninsula had to travel to Egypt and India to have their works printed (Tashkandi 1999: 19). During the period 1882-5, two new printing presses were added to the Wilayah facility, and it was renamed the Ameriah Printing Press. Amiriah published al-Hijaz and Shams al-ḥaqiqah newspapers, in addition to printing books by religious scholars in the region (al-Shamik 1981: 15-7). Amiriah printed books produced in the Arabian Peninsula in general and the western region in particular, covering subjects that ranged from religion to literature and general knowledge. In terms of the languages it covered, books were printed in Arabic, Turkish, Javanese, Malay, and Urdu (Tashkandi 1999: 42, 68). In addition to the state-controlled Amiriah, five private printing presses – Majidiah (1909), al-Islah (1909), Shams al-ḥaqiqah42 (1909), al-Iʿämiah (1911), and al-Sharqiyah (1923) – were established in the western region during the period 1909-23, in the cities of Makkah,

42 Shams Alhaqiqah only published one newspaper for a short period of time before it closed down in the same year, 1909
Madinah, and Jeddah. The majority of books printed by these private printing presses were also religious books written by Muslim scholars in the region. The old state-controlled Amiriah and the new private Majidiah were the most prominent producers of books at the time; Amiriah produced 247 books in the period 1882-1920 while Majidiah printed 137 books in the period 1909-19. Al-Islah, al-Sharqiyah, and al-I’lamiah had smaller book production, with 12, 10, and 14 books respectively during the period they were in operation. However, under the Hashemite rule of the western region of contemporary Saudi Arabia (1916-1925), the state-owned Amiriah as well as private printing presses suffered their worst conditions; they received little support and were marginalised by the Hashemite state, rendering them less productive.

The Kingdom of Hejaz was conquered by King Abdulaziz, the first Saudi monarch, in 1925. Amiriah was restructured and renamed Um Alqora; from thereon it began to publish the nation’s official newspaper, Um Alqora, in addition to printing all official government documents (ibid.: 80). Several men were sent to Egypt to learn the relevant craftsmanship. Um Alqora also remained active as a book publisher. At the beginning of his reign, King Abdulaziz allocated funds for printing scholarly books at printing establishments outside the Kingdom, particularly India, Egypt, and Syria, which he then distributed free of charge in the Kingdom. Most of these books promoted the Salafi and Wahabbi Islamic sects; some focused on Islamic history, geography, and the Arabic language (ibid.: 159). This printing and publishing activity was accompanied by the establishment of schools and educational facilities to eradicate illiteracy. King Abdulaziz also offered incentives for local private publishers to increase their production by exempting them from customs fees on printing equipment as well as buying large quantities of their books to be distributed to the public, especially scholars and students, for free. Numerous private publishers were established during King Abdulaziz’s rule (1925-53). In later years, literary titles printed by these publishers began to outnumber religious books (ibid.: 243-5).

The establishment of the privately-owned, Jeddah-based Printing, Press, and Publishing Foundation (1952) and al-Asfahani House (1954) marked the beginning of the modern era of publishing in the Kingdom (Ṣabat 1966: 333; Tashkandi 1999: 251). These publishing institutions introduced more sophisticated printing equipment and were considered the largest printing establishments in the country. For many years,
their printed works included numerous Saudi newspapers and magazines, curricula for
the Ministry of Education, books by independent authors, and material that catered
for the needs of banks, state and private institutions, among other groups. With the
growing need for printed material over the years, more private printing and publishing
houses began to emerge across all regions in the Kingdom, particularly in Riyadh, the
capital, which witnessed a significant expansion in the publishing industry in the period
1975-84 (Tashkandi 1999: 277). Today, this central region houses the largest section of
the publishing industry in the Kingdom. Publishing houses in Riyadh have the largest
stake in the translation industry in the Kingdom, accounting for 86% of the total
translation production in the country, according to figures released in 2005 (al-Khatib
2005: 23).

All in all, although printing in the Kingdom began with a state-owned institution, the
driving force behind the publishing industry has mainly been the private publishing
houses, established and owned by intellectuals, especially in the early years of the
industry’s formation. In addition, the centre of the publishing industry shifted from
region to region across the years, reflecting political and power shifts; Makkah was the
first centre for printing but it later gave way to the neighbouring city of Jeddah, and
eventually to the current capital city of Riyadh.

Against this background, section 2 below will attempt to outline the hierarchal
structure of available positions in the field today, and to dissect the field in terms of
which agents enjoy more power, produce the most translations, accumulate more
capital, and are more visible in the market.

2. Structure of the Field and Available Positions

According to the latest issue of Directory of Saudi Publishers (2009), there are 385
private publishers in the Kingdom. They range from full-fledged mainstream
publishers, with an established reputation in the market and outlets in major cities (in
Saudi Arabia as well as other Arab countries), to smaller publishers with lesser visibility
and fewer outlets. A large number of the 385 private publishers have not engaged in
regular translation activity to date. Nevertheless, whether or not translation is carried

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out domestically does not determine the presence or absence of foreign literature on display at local shops, many of which are owned and stocked by these private publishers. This is due to the fact that most private publishers in Saudi Arabia engage heavily in importing translations, in addition to other Arabic books, from publishing houses in Arab countries, particularly Egypt and Lebanon.

The two most prominent private publishers in terms of translation production in the Kingdom are Jarir Bookstores and Obeikan Bookshop. Both enjoy strong positions in the publishing industry as book publishers in general; they also specialise in the sales of PC and office equipment, a pattern which is not typical of the publishing industry in other countries. Jarir and Obeikan are the only commercial publishers based in Saudi Arabia to be covered by Next Page Foundation’s 2004 study of translation and publishing policy in the Arab world. The dramatic escalation of translation production that has taken place during the past few years in the Kingdom could be attributed to the activities of these two publishers. According to al-Khatib’s study of translation activities between 1930 and 2005 in the Kingdom (2005), Obeikan and Jarir published 275 and 99 translations respectively. The KFNL bibliography (2008) lists around 500 translations by Obeikan and 410 by Jarir. This indicates that Obeikan almost doubled its translation production during the period 2005-2008, while Jarir produced triple the number of translations it issued since its inception. These figures continued to grow in the period 2008-10. For example, a total of 1600 translated titles have been produced so far by Jarir, according to the latest figures obtained directly from the publisher in early 2010. The growing production of translations by Jarir and Obeikan in the past decade pushed Dar al-Mareekh Publishing House, previously the most active private publisher of translations, into the margins.

Dar al-Mareekh is a smaller publisher established in 1977, but it has a relatively long history in translation production. While al-Nasser does not cover the relatively new Jarir and Obeikan, she hails Dar al-Mareekh as the most active producer of translations, with a share of 25.5% (128 titles) of all translations produced in the Kingdom in the period 1932-1992 (1998: 147). al-Khatib ranks it as the second most active publisher of translations in the Kingdom in the period 1930-2005, behind

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44 The history of Dar al-Mareekh will be elaborated on in a separate section devoted to the publisher.
Obeikan, with 194 translations (2005: 20). In the official issue of Dar al-Mareekh publication list, released in 2009, I could only identify 181 translations published in the period 1977-2009, which seems to contradict al-Khatib’s findings. Nevertheless, Dar al-Mareekh remains one of the oldest and most active private publishers in the Kingdom as far as translation activity is concerned.

Jarir, Obeikan, and Dar al-Mareekh are the only private publishers in the Kingdom to have published more than 50 translations each; and only Jarir and Obeikan seem to have remained active in the past few years. However, numerous other private publishers have engaged in translation on a smaller scale. Between 1930-2005, al-Ma’rifah House for Educational Consulting, al-Afrād Publishers, Tihāmah Publishing & Bookstore, Saudi House for Publishing & Distribution, Okaz for Press & Publishing, Dar Khalid Bashamag, and Dar al-Ulūm have each translated 39, 34, 25, 17, 16, 12, and 10 books respectively (al-Khatib 2005). I have compared al-Khatib’s figures with the results of my own analysis of the list of publishers and translations featured in the more recent KFNL bibliography, which covers the period 1966-2008; there are no major differences in the number of translations, nor have these smaller publishers produced a noteworthy number of translations in the period 2005-2008.

The structure of available positions in the field of translation (and book) industry in the Kingdom seems to have been reconfigured with the establishment of the two leading publishers, Jarir and Obeikan. Before the early- to mid-1990s, the key positions in the field, those associated with higher stakes, were occupied by small publishing houses that only had a branch or two in major cities. These publishers specialised in books, to the exclusion of other products, and thus prospective customers consisted of readers who only came to the stores to purchase books. The appearance of Jarir and Obeikan on the scene, it could be said, redefined the boundaries of book publishing in the Kingdom in three ways. First, it initiated a shift in the field from small bookshops to major super-stores, from one or two branches in major cities to multiple branches in numerous cities. Second, bookshops no longer restricted their business to books. PC and technology related business in particular featured prominently in outlets run by these two publishers. Third, and as a consequence of this expansion of activities and products, customers frequenting bookstores were no longer exclusively book oriented. They became exposed to other commodities, and, equally importantly, those who visit
the stores of publishers such as Obeikan and Jarir because they are interested in purchasing PC or office supplies, for instance, are now exposed to books, and may be tempted to buy them. This may explain why, as I demonstrate later in this chapter, the majority of Jarir’s translations consist of reader-friendly self improvement books. It could be argued then that there has been a capitalist shift from a culture of small business to one of large corporate structures in the book industry, thus strengthening the influence of economic capital, raising the financial stakes in the field, and limiting key positions to diversified corporations rather than specialist book publishers.

3. The Agents and their Production

3.1 Jarir

Beginning as a modest shop on a small street in Riyadh in 1979, Jarir Bookstore was initially involved exclusively in the sale of office and school supplies, including stationery (Jarir 2012). As the business grew, Jarir expanded its retail and wholesale ventures to include PC supplies and the sale of Arabic and English books. Today it is considered one of the largest office and PC supplies retailers as well as a commercial publisher, with super-store chains on the main streets in the Kingdom. It also has offices and branches in several Arab countries. While it is difficult to determine the exact point at which the first Jarir publications appeared, there are indicators that suggest that Jarir began publishing in the early or mid 1990s. For example, a study entitled Commercial Publishing Trends in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (2002), which covered the period 1989-1993, makes no mention of Jarir, which suggests that their book publishing activities did not start before the early 1990s. The first book to be translated and published by Jarir, according to the KFNL bibliography, appeared in 1996; this was a self-help book entitled Stress for Success, by the American author Peter Hanson. As of Jan 2010, their total translation production has reached around 1600 titles.

The latest figures relating to Jarir’s translation production were obtained directly from the publisher in early 2010; the source is a 35-page long list of all translations produced by the press since it was set up and until 10 January 2010. Each page lists a
number of details relating to approximately 50 books; these include the title of the book in the original language (which is almost always English), the title of the Arabic translation, the subject the titles fall under, and the name of the original author in both English and Arabic transliteration. The list offers no information about the translator or date of publication.

The books are listed according to subject categories. However, there are a number of flaws in the subject categorisation established by the publisher and the way the information is presented. First, each page is marked with one subject heading at the top, based on the subject category under which the first book on that page falls. This is not problematic if the next page continues the same subject category, in which case all the books listed on the previous page can be assumed to belong to the same category. The problem arises in some (though not many) parts of the list where the following page has a different subject category appearing at the top from that which appears on the one before it\textsuperscript{45} (as can be seen in Figures 11 and 12 below).

\textsuperscript{45} In this case, it is not obvious at what point the new subject heading applies on the earlier page. The only solution is to attempt to identify the first title on the previous page that falls under the new subject, on the assumption that the new subject would then start from that entry and be continued on the next page. Google search was used to ascertain details about the subject of some books in order to resolve this issue. In some cases, however, two very similar subject categories, such as Children-PreSchool and Children-Younger, had to be combined because the entry where the new subject starts could not be identified.
The subject heading of page 9 is: brain and memory improvement, and of page 10 is: parenting and child care; the arrow indicates the title where the subject changes.
Second, there are several instances where Jarir’s own categorisation of a group of entries is difficult to make sense of on the basis of the information provided in the list. This is especially problematic when the categorisation on two consecutive pages is different but the titles on the earlier page seem to fall under several different subjects; in other words, where there is likely to be several intervening categories between the first and second page, and because each page declares only one category at the top, these potential intervening categories cannot be recovered\(^46\) (see figure 13).

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46 In such cases, the relevant titles were assigned to subject categories that I devised myself, as explained later in this chapter. This clearly required revisiting the figures associated with individual categories.
Third, there are a number of entries where only an English description is provided, suggesting that the titles in question are unlikely to be translations and more likely to have been added to the list by mistake (see Figure 14 below). Those are excluded from the analysis.

Figure 14: Titles Missing Arabic Descriptions on Jarir's list.
The final point to be addressed concerns the unreliability of Jarir’s system for categorising titles, which makes it difficult at times to relate a group of titles to the subject heading assigned by the publisher. Among other shortcomings, different genres are often grouped under a vague general heading, possibly because of amateur categorising by inexperienced staff at Jarir. For example, under the specific subject of Self Improvement on page 2 we find titles such as Hanna’s The *Money Motivator: Quick Tips For Success With Your Personal Finances* and Niven’s *100 Simple Secrets of Great Relationships*; this is despite the fact that the list includes other specific subject headings more suitable for these titles to be grouped under, namely Small Business Management and Inter Personal Relationships, respectively.

Another example of problematic categorisation of titles concerns the lack of consistency between the names of categories in English and Arabic under “health”. The English subject heading “Medical Books” may encompass a variety of books on medicine depending, for example, on the prospective readership (specialised – non-specialised). The Arabic equivalent on the list is الطب البديل, which translates as *Complementary or Alternative Medicine* (see figure 15 below). Numerous titles falling under this heading do seem to be on alternative medicine, some dealing with healing the body using specific food, herbs, and better lifestyles. However, some titles that come under the same heading, such as Kamem’s *New Facts About Fibre* and Gittleman’s *The Fat Flush Plan*, should arguably have been grouped under more suitable subject headings on Jarir’s list, such as “Diet and Nutrition”. Moreover, the subject heading that follows “Medical Books’ is “General Health”, making it very difficult to identify the point on the list where Jarir assumes a shift from one subject heading to another.

![Figure 15: Lack of Consistency between English and Arabic subject headings in Jarir’s list](image)
Another example of questionable categorisation concerns the grouping of children’s titles belonging to different genres under a single, very general subject heading. Under “Children – PreSchool (1-5)” on page 27, we find listed fairy tales such as Pinocchio, Cinderella, and Bambi as well as a variety of activity books such as Silberg’s 300 Minute Games and a series titled 500 Activities. Under “Children – Activity and Coloring” on page 32, we find the Spanish title 1000 Palabras En Ingles (1000 Words in English). These examples reflect a certain degree of unreliability in terms of subject categorisation as devised by Jarir, both in terms of the physical display of titles and subject headings on the printout and the very system of categorisation applied.

Table 4 and Figure 16 summarise Jarir’s translational production according to their own subject categorisation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Category</th>
<th>No. of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Self Improvement</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Children – PreSchool (1-5)</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children – younger (6-9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Medical Books</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Health</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Management</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Man-Woman Relationships</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Fiction</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Inter Personal Relationship</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Parenting &amp; Child Care</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Brain &amp; Memory Improvement</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Self Improvement at Work</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Business Management</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Office/Suites</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Cookery</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Internet</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Children – Activity &amp; Coloring</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Diet &amp; Nutrition</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Time Management</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Computer</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Small Business Management</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Jarir’s translation output based on their subject categorisation
Jarir’s subject categorisation of their translation production serves to enhance the visibility of their products for prospective consumers and, together with information on the total number of translations under each subject, may reveal how certain subjects are prioritised as most suitable to invest in via translation. For example, the sub-categories of “office”, “internet”, and “computer” could have all been subsumed under a general heading such as “computer hard/software”; the finer divisions increase the visibility of these subjects. The same can be said about, for example, dividing children’s books into the sub-categories of “children – preschool (1-5)”, “children – younger (6-9)”, and “children – activity & coloring”. By contrast, the generally popular and commercially important subject category of “fiction” is not divided into any sub-genres, such as horror, mystery, or romance, nor even into sub-headings based on format, such as “novel”, “short story”, etc. Despite being a commercial publisher, Jarir does not seem to treat translated fiction as a primary source of income, and instead prioritises translations of self-help and computer-related books.

Table 4 and Figure 16 above do not include information on 10 groups of entries on Jarir’s list where the subject could not be identified because the titles fall between two subject categories on consecutive pages and do not appear to belong to either category (see Figure 13 above). Subject classifications for these titles were devised by
The number of books falling under each category is shown in Table 5 and figure 17 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Category</th>
<th>No. of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sales &amp; Marketing</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Children – other</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Fitness &amp; Life Style</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Business &amp; Investing</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Windows OS</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Digital Photography</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Study Skills</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Language Programming</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Parenting Teens</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Unsorted</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>217</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Subject classifications drawn from Amazon and total Jarir titles falling under each subject

Based on the titles of originals under the “description in English” column, it appears that all titles have been translated from English, except for 17 children’s short stories, which were translated from Spanish. It is also worth remembering that a total of 119 entries have been excluded from the analysis because only the English title featured in

47 In these cases, Google search engine is used to locate some representative English titles listed on Amazon. I then used the Amazon subject classification for the relevant titles and similar ones that appear to cover the same or very closely linked topic. For example, a search for the title Secrets of Closing Sales established that the Amazon classification for it is Sales & Marketing. Similar titles then grouped under the same subject include Kotler on Marketing and Selling the Invisible.
the list, which suggests that they are not translations (as explained above). Since Jarir also sells English books, the titles could have easily been added to the list by mistake.

If we combine Jarir’s sub-categories into broader subject categories, it becomes clear that self-help books are by far the most important translated genre, with 1090 out of a total of 1589 titles (see figure 18). These are reader-friendly titles that deal with how to improve one’s life emotionally, physically, and financially, as well as issues of parenting and interacting with teenagers.

![Figure 18: Number of translations published by Jarir grouped under broad subject headings](image)

In addition to the raw figures of translations grouped under subject headings, it is also helpful to examine how the publisher promotes these self-help books on the market. Jarir often include images of the front cover of their titles in their online catalogues. Browsing through many of these images reveals that the front cover often emphasises that a title has been a bestseller in the US, and sometimes cites the number of copies sold of the original book. In other cases, the front cover features earlier titles by the author that achieved commercial success.
Figure 19: Two examples in which previous successful titles by the same author mentioned on the front cover: The cover on the left is of the Arabic translation of Robin Sharma’s *The Greatness Guide*; it features a box at the top with a statement that reads: “By the author of the bestselling book in the world, *The Monk Who Sold His Ferrari*”. The cover on the right is of the Arabic translation of Philip McGraw’s *Real Life*; the statement at the bottom, under the author’s name, reads: “Author of *Life Strategies* and *Self Matters*, which topped the *New York Times* bestsellers’ list”.

Children’s books are the second most translated genre, with 225 titles. They range from classics such as *Pinocchio* and *Peter Pan* to shorter stories aimed at teaching children how to read, paint, etc. Books on how to use various PC software and operating systems constitute the third most favoured subject for translation, with 149 titles. The largest numbers of titles in this category are guidebooks on how to use various Microsoft products such as Windows OS and Office Suite. This category complements Jarir’s involvement in the sale of PC hardware and software; the translation of titles in this category has been a significant part of Jarir’s activities since the beginning of their translation and publishing venture; with every introduction of a new PC product or an upgrade for a piece of software on the market, a book on how to operate it is translated to boost sales of both PC products and books.

Fiction comes in fourth place, with 81 titles. Translations in this category are predominantly crime-mystery novels; 40 titles are translations of Agatha Christie
alone. Other genres include thrillers and romance. Cookery books come last on the list, with 44 titles.

Based on the above information, Jarir seems to be an exclusively commercially-oriented translation publisher, motivated by economic profitability. Jarir’s translational activities centre around the pole of what Sapiro terms “large-scale circulation”, which favours “bestsellers and other commercial genres such as romances, tourist guides and practical books – all shortsellers that sell tens to hundreds of thousands of copies” (2008: 159-60). Most titles falling under their top translated genre, namely self-help, are US bestsellers and thus mostly attract a mainstream readership, which also mirrors the prevalence of this genre in the West, especially in the US, where it evolved into a cultural phenomenon during the second half of the 20th century (Dolby 2005).

Sapiro argues that large-scale circulation is characterised by “linguistic concentration on the hyper-central English language”, as opposed to the “high degree of linguistic diversity at the pole of small-scale circulation” (ibid.: 161). Although Sapiro’s conclusions are largely based on studies of the literary translation market (see for example Sapiro 2010), they seem to be equally applicable to Jarir’s output, which features no more than 17 translations from a language other than English. Translations of PC guides can also be viewed as a strategy to boost Jarir’s financial profits by increasing sales of PC soft- and hardware at their stores. In Bourdieu’s terms, these choices position Jarir around the pole of economic heteronomy within the sub-field of translation, and reveal some aspects of homology between the sub-field and the field of power, especially the economic field. The choices made by the publisher reflect the influence of the economic field in terms of Jarir’s predominant orientation towards seeking financial capital. I will return to these issues in section 4 below.

Jarir’s translation output helps to identify the type of readership that frequents their bookshops, especially since they target consumers who are essentially not in the market for books in the first instance, but are instead seeking other commodities on display in Jarir bookshops. Being a top publisher and book seller in the field, Jarir’s choices and promotional strategies arguably highlight a tendency in the society for using successful documented Anglophone experience in tackling smaller and everyday social and personal issues, specifically issues that are not catered for by the prevailing
religious doxa. An employee at the publisher’s headquarters, during my visit in 2010, stated that their translation of John Gray’s 1992 *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus* is their all-time bestseller, having sold more than 100,000 copies, which is considered a very large number in the local book market. The abundance of such self-improvement books highlights the popularity of the genre among both casual and regular book readers.

The huge success of this particular title is not surprising given that it not only offers advice on how to improve communication between men and women, but also reasserts a current, religiously sanctioned doxa in the country, namely that men and women are completely different in terms of emotional needs and personal values. This example recalls Bourdieu’s concept of “elective affinity” (1999: 222-3), which describes the importation of foreign writings that correspond to the social and cultural structures in the receiving field and social space; elective affinity is invoked when the imported material occupies “a similar or identical place in the different fields” as domestic material (ibid.: 222). On the other hand, “heretical imports”, according to Bourdieu, are heterodoxic foreign cultural productions imported by “the marginals in the field, bringing a message, a position of force from a different field, which they [the marginal] use to try and shore up their own position” (ibid.: 223). The main theme of *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus* centres on the idea that the psychological makeup of men and women is distinctly different; it adopts a figurative depiction of men and women as belonging to different planets to illustrate what it argues are vast differences between the two species. The popularity of the book among the generally conservative Saudi readership could be attributed to the fact that discourses which emphasise gender differences resonate with dominant domestic beliefs and ideas in the Saudi social space. For the average Saudi reader, the book represents an authoritative Anglo-American account that confirms and provides scientific evidence for mainstream religious and social doxic beliefs about the natural and innate differences that exist between the sexes. Accepting that such significant differences exist helps to justify separating the sexes from each other, whether in schools, at work, or in public spaces, as is the case of gender segregation in Saudi Arabia.

The way a foreign work functions, Bourdieu argues, “is determined not simply by the field of origin, but in at least equal proportion by the field of reception” (ibid.:222):
There is a process of selection (what is to be translated, what is to be published, who it will be translated by, who will publish it), a process of labelling and classification (often the placing of a label on a product that previously has no label at all) by the publishers, the question of the series in which it is to be inserted, the choice of the translator and the writer of the preface (who in presenting the work will take some sort of possession of it, and slant it with his own point of view, and explain how it fits into the field of reception, only rarely going so far as to explain where and how it fits into its field of origin, as the difficulties presented by such an enterprise are too large); and finally the reading process itself, as foreign readers are bound to perceive the text in different ways, since the issues which are of interest to them in the text are inevitably the result of a different field of production. (ibid.)

A product of a social and cultural setting that is significantly different from the target (Saudi) social space, *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus* went through a number of processes to remove and/or contextualise controversial elements, especially as the title directly references the relatively sensitive subject of intimacy and personal relationships. In order to reveal how the translated volume is adapted within the field of cultural production in Saudi Arabia and made to conform to the conservative social and cultural structures that frame gender issues in the Kingdom, an analysis will be conducted of two paratextual features, namely the book cover and the translator’s introduction. The analysis will focus on the censorial strategies involved in adapting the cover of the original title to serve as a cover for the Arabic translation. A brief analysis of the introduction will further demonstrate how the translator explains the fit between foreign views elaborated in the book and those that enjoy currency in the target Arab culture. Both aspects of the analysis will be examined against the backdrop of the social and religious structures that encompass the field of translation and the Saudi social space.

The green front cover of the paperback edition of the original title (published in the US by Quill in 2004 and on which Jarir’s translation was based) features cartoon drawings of a man in the top right corner and a woman in the bottom left corner (see figure 20). While the man is dressed in casual clothing, the woman is drawn wearing

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48 The book was first released in 1992 by HarperCollins.
what might be described as an evening dress and high boots. The dress exposes her upper chest and shoulders. The front cover of the Arabic version is very similar to the original cover (see figure 21). However, three changes have been introduced. First, while the English version includes the phrase “#1 New York Times Bestseller” under the author’s name, the statement in the Arabic version reads: “one of the bestselling books in the world”. Second, while the circle next to the woman contains the phrase “First time ever in paperback!”, the Arabic version reads “sold more than 14 million copies”. The third change is what concerns us most in the present analysis. It involves Jarir’s decision to digitally alter the dress of the woman by extending it to cover the upper chest and shoulders.
Figure 20: Front cover of the English version of *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus*
Figure 21: Front cover of the Arabic translation of *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus*
The prevailing Islamic doxa in Saudi Arabia dictates that women over the age of 15 are obliged to wear the usually black ‘abaya (veil) in public. This is designed to cover most of the body. However, the practice of veiling the face differs in various parts of the country; while the sight of a women’s face is common in less conservative parts of Saudi Arabia, such as the western region, women tend to cover their faces in the more conservative central and northern regions. The social conventions associated with the veiling of women are predominantly sanctioned by the religious field, as part of the field of power; these conventions derive their legitimacy from the unquestioned truths of Islam as interpreted by highly respected religious scholars. The relevant practices and beliefs are instilled in the mind and body of social actors from an early age in various social institutions, such as the family, school, mosque, etc.

Social restrictions related to women’s bodies extend into and are reflected in various social and cultural spheres. The censorial practice applied to photos and drawings by covering certain parts of a woman’s body is not uncommon in fields of cultural production, such as the field of journalism. Figure 22 offers one example: here, the Saudi newspaper *Riyadh* adopts similar tactics as Jarir’s in dealing with what may be deemed, according to the predominant social structures, “indecent” photos. Jarir’s censorial practice could be looked at in relation to the larger social and political structures that influence practices in fields of cultural production. By censoring “revealing” depictions of women’s body, Jarir conforms to the rules of the market, be it the field of cultural production or the social space as a whole, and provides a version of the cover that is more in tune with the social code of the local cultural and religious structures.

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49 This censorial practice is applied by many Arab publications because they usually target the Saudi market and are aware that they cannot enter the Saudi social space without conforming to its conventions.
Figure 22: On the left: picture of American actress Selena Gomez attending the 2012 Venice Film Festival. On the right: altered image, in which the upper chest and shoulders are digitally covered. The photo featured in a story on the event by Alriyadh newspaper.

The back covers of both the original and the translation are also very similar (see figures 23 and 24). The blurb used in the Arabic version is a close translation of the original blurb. Again, the altered drawing of the woman is used in the Arabic version. A small, unmodified picture of the front cover of the English version also appears in the upper left corner. This is arguably because the exposed parts of the woman’s body are too small and barely noticeable, which might explain why Jarir did not attempt to change the image in this case.

Figure 23: Back cover of the English version of *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus*
أنهمك بجدية في قراءة أكثر الكتب شهرة في مجال العلاقات الإنسانية؟

بعد ما تقابل أهل المريخ وأهل الزهرة ووقعوا في الحب وأقاموا علاقات سعيدة معًا لأنهم احترموا اختلافاتهم وقبولها، ثم هبطوا إلى كوكب الأرض وأصبحوا بانتسياً، نسوا أنهم من كوكبين مختلفين.

بالنظر إلى اعتماده على سنوات من الاستشارات الناجحة للأفراد المتزوجين، فإن كتاب الرجل من المريخ، النساء من الزهرة ساعد ملايين المتزوجين على تحويل علاقاتهم إلى الأفضل. يعتبر هذا الكتاب الآن من الكلاسيكيات الحديثة، ولقد ساعد هذا الكتاب: ظاهرة الرجال والنساء على إدراك اختلافاتهم فعلياً وكذلك على فهم كيفية التواصل بطريقة لا تثير الصراعات وتخلق الحميمية في كل فرصة ممكنة.

كتاب قيم ضروري بسرعة للجميع، إنه إسهام في فهم أساليب التواصل للرجال والنساء.

"Getting the Love You Want" - هارفيل هنديكس، مؤلف كتاب

www.marsvenus.com
The translation also features a two-and-a-half page long introduction written by the translator, whose identity is not revealed in the book51 (see appendix 2 for the full introduction, together with an English translation). The introduction is used to contextualise the foreign treatment of the issue of male-female relationships in the original title for prospective Arab/Saudi readers. At the outset, the translator states that the book serves to provide a solid basis for the elaboration of the “true” belief that men and women are very different:

في تقديري فإن اختيار مكتبة "جرير" لهذا الكتاب لكي يترجم إلى العربية موقف لأسباب عدة، لعل من أهمها أن الكتاب يأتي ليفи حاجة ماسة لدى الرجال والنساء لترسيخ فهم صائب عن الطبيعة المختلفة للرجال والنساء.

In my opinion, "Jarir"'s decision to translate this book into Arabic is successful for several reasons. Most importantly, the book caters for the real need of men and women to consolidate a sound understanding of the different natures of men and women. (The translator 2006: i).

The translator here refers to the prevalent beliefs on the different natures of men and women as taken for granted, unquestionable. S/he also implicitly signals the popularity of these beliefs among men and women in the Saudi social context. Making a strong statement on the self-evidence of these ideas highlights the “unconscious” state of these uncontested doxic beliefs in the mind of the translator as a social agent. The process of selection also seems to involve an a priori assumption that the title would be appreciated by the prospective mainstream readership. The translator indicates that the book was selected to strengthen the position of these dominant social beliefs among various social groups in the social space; the translation thus clearly strives for what Bourdieu terms “elective affinity”.

In addition, the translator expresses his/her admiration of the theories presented in the book, stating that they are based on “extensive expertise and field studies, as well as an analysis of data collected from large samples” (ibid.). Although many specialists, the translator continues, may encounter overdramatic generalisations that are not supported by accurate scientific results, “writing for non-specialists and conveying

51 Unlike Obeikan, Jarir’s translations rarely provide any information on the identity of the translator. Moreover, the KFNL bibliography does not include the names of any of Jarir’s translators; the entries instead state “translated by Jarir”. The translators working for Jarir are therefore almost invisible.
scientific knowledge in simple language could be achieved at the expense of scientific accuracy” (ibid.). The original author, in the translator’s opinion, was very successful in this respect, as the book is full of insights that are communicated in engaging language “to the point that the reader may find it hard to stop reading” (ibid.: ii). The translator thus offers an enthusiastic endorsement of the book and states that, for him/her, it is acceptable to trade scientific accuracy, which may challenge the doxa, for ideas that provide scientific legitimacy for the doxa, and reach larger sections of the general public. This again demonstrates how the social agent avoids questioning and challenging firm beliefs regarding men and women, and in turn underlines the unconscious nature of the doxa. In other words, doxic beliefs and values are protected by high levels of resistance against ideas that threaten to undermine their position. In the above case, the logic of science is compromised for the sake of conformity with the doxa.

The translator admits that the book is a product of foreign social-cultural structures that differ greatly from Arab social settings:

Marital relationship in Western societies is preceded by contact\(^{52}\) between the two partners, which is very rare in Arab societies. This requires us to consider two things: the extent to which the reader is convinced of the applicability of the ideas in the book to individuals in Arab environments, and, ultimately, the usefulness of the proposals presented in the book (ibid.)

The translator then asserts that despite these cultural and social differences, the reader should not overlook the big picture, that “we, men and women, are different” (ibid.: my emphasis). Again, the translator reiterates and emphasises his beliefs regarding the differences between the sexes as unquestioned facts. The use of “we” in this sentence is indicative of the way s/he assumes that prospective readers are likely to subscribe to similar beliefs. S/he explains that although one might find it difficult to apply the foreign ideas communicated in the book in the domestic context, the book at

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\(^{52}\) I believe the translator includes “sexual contact” in this context.
least provides evidence that men and women are truly different. Here, we see how the social agent strives to confer further legitimacy on mainstream, local beliefs by importing products that align with the dominant doxa from outside the domestic social and political spheres, namely the dominant Anglo-American cultures.

Finally, the translator expresses his/her hope that readers will not be offended by certain phrases in the book, attributable to the author or to others quoted by him, since “we are usually too embarrassed in our societies to express such feelings” and choose not to discuss them in public (ibid.: iii). On the other hand, discussing the subject of intimacy, the translator maintains, is perfectly acceptable in the society to which the author belongs, and hence these expressions are translated “literally” to ensure the accuracy of the translation (ibid.). The translator here appears to challenge conservative social conventions indirectly by attempting to break the taboo of openly discussing intimate relationships, using “accuracy” as justification. Despite his apparent adherence to the doxa, he may be intentionally seeking to introduce more liberal discourses to the Saudi social space. A more in-depth examination of the translation would help establish the extent of the translator investment in promoting heterodoxic views and reveal the translation strategies adopted in rendering stretches of text that run the risk of offending the Saudi readership. This examination lies outside the scope of the current study.\footnote{A detailed analysis of another translation is offered in chapter 5.}

The homology with the religious field – which, in Saudi Arabia, is very much part of the field of power – is particularly evident in the above example. We could say that, to some extent, the overall success of the self-help genre marks a departure among the general public from local, usually religiously-based, to more “globally-based” sources of guidance for addressing smaller-scale social issues and personal aspirations. Where these global sources of guidance coincide with dominant religious views, the title in question will achieve even higher sales.
3.2 Obeikan

The privately owned *Obeikan Publishers and Booksellers* was established in 1991 and is based in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (Obeikan 2012). The publisher is part of the larger Obeikan Investment Group, set up in 1982, with activities that include bookselling, printing, packaging, and educational development, as well as the provision of office supplies and PC equipment. It is one of the largest and best known booksellers in the Kingdom. The publisher of at least 500 translations, according to the 2008 KFNL bibliography, Obeikan is the second most active publisher in terms of translation production in the Kingdom.

In addition to the KFNL bibliography, details of the publisher’s translation production are drawn from a list comprising all of Obeikan’s translated and non-translated publications obtained from the publisher directly in January 2010; the list was made available as a pdf file. Each entry provides information about the title of each book or translation in Arabic, the name of the original author in Arabic, date of publication, and price in US dollars. As with Jarir’s list, many important pieces of information are missing, in this case the title in the original language in the case of translations, the name of the translator, and the subject that the title falls under; unlike Jarir, the Obeikan list does not feature any subject categories. More importantly, Obeikan’s list does not separate translated titles from non-translated ones. Again, some of these difficulties can be overcome by referring to the KFNL bibliography, at least for books published before the end of 2007.

Figure 25 shows the number of books published by Obeikan, divided under subject categories. The subject categories used here are my own. As explained above, the list provided by Obeikan does not feature any subject categories, and despite repeated requests for a more detailed list, I could not obtain further information from the publisher. Moreover, the subject categories used in the KFNL bibliography to describe many of the translations seem too narrow and are often confusing. This is particularly true of self-help titles, which are often catalogued not as self-help but under more specific areas. For instance, a self-help book on how to enhance the capacity of one’s
mind is listed under the subject “intelligence”, and one titled “Free Yourself from Fears” is listed under the subject “Fear and Anxiety”.

Although the total translational production of Obeikan amounts to about one third of Jarir’s, the subjects are much more diverse. Nevertheless, both publishers tend to focus heavily on translations of self-help titles, though this trend is less dominant in Obeikan’s case (see table 6 and figure 25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Self-Help</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Social Science</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 General Knowledge</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Politics</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Children</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Autobiography</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Biography</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Applied Science</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Economics</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Information Technology</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Religion</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Fiction</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>483</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Number and subject categories of translations produced by Obeikan

The self-help genre features prominently at the top of the list, with 160 translations. As in Jarir’s case, a large number of these books deal with emotional and physical self-
improvement (how to handle stress, lose weight, etc) as well as parenting issues. However, the majority of Obeikan’s self-help titles focus on public and business management, so much so that it is occasionally difficult to determine whether they fall under self-help or the social sciences. Since I do not have access to the books themselves, I have relied on the title, name of the author and size\textsuperscript{54} of each book to determine the category under which it falls, with the help of Google Search where necessary to establish its categorisation by the original publisher. For instance, titles that begin with “how to” and “ten ways to” are easily identified as self-help books, even though the KFNL bibliography lists them as social science books because of the specific topic they address (for example, business management).

Social science books are Obeikan’s second most translated genre, with 67 titles. Unlike self-help titles, these books are written by professionals for professionals and students. The vast majority of the translations can be sub-categorised under sociological and administration studies (for example, Hubert M. Blalock’s \textit{Social Statistics} and Richard Norman’s \textit{Service Management}, respectively). There are also 2 books on psychology and 1 each on law, translation studies\textsuperscript{55}, and journalism). The third most translated genre on Obeikan’s list is general knowledge, with 61 books. Examples of these translations include titles which offer general information about flooding, pollution, and transportation systems in different places in the world.

Obeikan’s fourth most translated genre covers books that discuss political issues (59 titles). A large number of these translations focus on past and current US foreign policies and Middle East issues. The majority are critical in one way or another of US policies, especially in the Middle East. Examples include Michael Collins Piper’s \textit{The High Priests of War} (2004, American Free Press; Arabic version released in 2006), Eliot Weinberger’s \textit{What I Heard About Iraq} (2005, Verso Books; Arabic version released in 2007) – which ranks 2nd on the list of bestselling translations on the Obeikan list according to the publisher’s website\textsuperscript{56} – and Colin Mooers’s \textit{The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire} (2006, Oneworld Publications; Arabic version released in 2008).

\textsuperscript{54} Self-help books tend to be relatively short.
\textsuperscript{55} Roger Bell’s \textit{Translation and Translating: Theory and Practice}.
\textsuperscript{56} \url{http://www.obeikanbookstores.com/listproducts.php?ptype=1&pshow=bestsellers} [last accessed 12 Aug 2012].
These books and others explicitly condemn current US political and military engagements in the region.

Obeikan’s choices reveal a homologous relationship between the publishing field and the political field, as well as how the political doxa in the region influences the actions of agents in the publishing field. The decision makers in Obeikan, those who decide which books to select for translation, might be expressing an anti-American political stance which is very much in line with popular feelings in the region; a poll conducted in 2003 concluded that 97% of all Saudis “had no positive feelings for the US” (Mathi 2003). A 2004 poll on Arabs’ view of the US conducted by Zogby International similarly showed that 94% of Saudis held unfavourable views of the US, and that 97% specifically held unfavourable views of US policy towards Iraq. As part of Saudi society and hence exposed to the prevalent religious and political doxa, the publisher may be acting on their own beliefs of what should or should not be made available to the public. On the other hand, as a private publisher, their choices may also be directed at gaining profit by catering to the tastes and expectations of their readers. Thus their choice of titles to translate may reflect the current doxa either as they genuinely subscribe to it themselves, or as they assume their mainstream readership subscribes to it. Obeikan’s political translations that condemn US foreign policy could hence be described, using Bourdieu’s terminology, as directed at elective affinity. Chapter 5 will offer a detailed discussion of a political translation by Obeikan.

A question arises here: given that Saudis generally hold unfavourable views of the US, how do we explain the apparent tension between a focus on works that question American foreign policy (reflecting negative attitudes towards this policy among the Saudi public) and the success of the self-help genre, which promotes American values? The general dislike of the US among Saudis is arguably linked primarily to American political involvements in the Middle East since the 1990s. Strong feelings of resentment continued well into the 2000s, and were revived following the 2003 invasion of Iraq (See chapter 5 section 3.1 for more details). However, Saudi negative feelings towards the US seem to exclude American cultural products that do not conflict with the local religious and political doxa. In fact, as demonstrated above,

Anglo-American products that reassert dominant social and political beliefs in the Kingdom can become bestsellers. There are various religious fatwas that encourage people to benefit from “worldly” sciences conducted by non-Muslims to improve their economic and social status, as long as they do not promote ideas that undermine faith or lead to sinful deeds. Such social practices and dispositions highlight a twofold relationship with the US as a superpower in the international field. While political attitudes towards the US are characterised by a degree of tension and conflict, attitudes towards cultural and educational material seem favourable provided the ideals and values of the foreign and the local are harmonious. US foreign policies did not affect its status as a leading cultural centre from which scientific and social knowledge and expertise can be derived. For example, some 66,000 Saudis studied in the US during 2011-12, and the numbers are expected to grow in the coming years.

Apart from works that are critical of US foreign policy, other political titles translated by Obeikan focus on international relations, terrorism, and specific wars, such as WWII and the Six-Day War. Children’s books, with 44 translations, occupy fifth place, ranging from short stories to small educational books for very young children. Autobiographies and biographies occupy sixth and seventh place, with 23 and 17 titles respectively. They include accounts of the lives of figures such as Nelson Mandela, John Major, Jimmy Carter, Richard Nixon, George H. W. Bush, and Jackie Spinner. They also include the life stories of famous scientists such as Sigmund Freud, Johannes Kepler, and Thomas Edison. Although fiction features very low on the list, with no more than 6 titles, it is worth noting that these are novels translated directly from Turkish, Pashto (Afghanistan), and Persian, and hence demonstrate commitment to engaging with other cultures, especially those that are politically, historically, and culturally close to the Kingdom. There is also a collection of short stories translated from Australian literature.

In terms of source languages, most of Obeikan’s titles are again translated from English (435), but a few are translated from German (32), French (13), Turkish, Pashto, and Persian (1 each).

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The third most prominent publisher of translations in the Kingdom was officially established in 1977 in the capital city of Riyadh, though its first translation appeared in 1974 (al-Nasser 1998: 146-8). Dar al-Mareekh specialises in the publication of translated and non-translated academic books; it also publishes two academic journals. Its production thus targets students and academics in the main. In addition, it has also published a small number of non-translated educational books for children. Many of its titles are written by university faculty members in and outside of the Kingdom. Abdullah al-Majed, the general manager, states that Dar al-Mareekh aims to contribute to cultural and intellectual enlightenment, “devoting all its intellectual and financial capacities to promoting academic books written by university professors and top intellectuals and writers in the Arab World on various branches of human knowledge” (2008: 7; my translation). The translation programme was first initiated in cooperation with universities in the Kingdom, before expanding to other Arab universities (ibid: 8-9).

A booklet entitled “Catalogue of Dar al-Mareekh’s Publications 2008-2009” was obtained directly from the publisher in January 2010. It lists all titles published by Dar al-Mareekh, translated and non-translated, since it was established and up to 2008-9. The booklet is divided into several sections, each covering books of a single subject category. Details pertaining to ISBN number, title of the book, name of the author, translator, date of publication, number of pages, and the price in Saudi Riyals are provided. A further section lists all the books in alphabetical order. Table 7 details the number of translated books published under each subject category (non-translated books have been excluded from this count).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Administration</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Computer and Info Systems</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Economics</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Accounting</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Mathematics and Statistics</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Library, information and media sciences</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examining the alphabetically ordered list of books provided by Dar al-Mareekh reveals that the total number of translations published so far is 181, rather than 211 as indicated in Table 7. This means that there have been a number of duplications where a book is listed more than once, under two or more subject categories. For instance Noah Feldman’s 2003 *After Jihad: America and the Struggle for Islamic Democracy* is listed 3 times, under History, Law, and Political Sciences.

The primary agents who control the process of selecting most, if not all, translated titles are the translators themselves, who propose them to Dar al-Mareekh (al-Majed 1998:7-9). Dar al-Mareekh manages all other aspects of the publication of books. In a sense, then, Dar al-Mareekh acts as a bridge between the translators, who are university faculty, and prospective readers, mainly students and academics. The vast majority of the translated as well as non-translated titles are indeed books targeted at a professional readership, making Dar al-Mareekh’s role seem very similar to that played by the Translation Centre of King Saud University (KSUTC), discussed in chapter 3. The major difference here is that Dar al-Mareekh is not subsidised and therefore has to attend to the financial implications of their decisions, even though their introduction to the catalogue suggests otherwise.

The variety of subjects covered by the translations reflects the needs of students and academics, and thus the preferences and preoccupations of this relatively small group of readers. Unlike Jarir and Obeikan, the interests of the mainstream readership in the country cannot be analysed by referring to Dar al-Mareekh’s list of publications.
However, the list can offer some insight into certain trends in the academic field, where the relatively high volume of translations on the subjects of administration, computers, and economics seems to point to a shortage of up-to-date original material in these subjects in Saudi Arabia. This locates the publisher as a player within the Arabisation movement, together with KSUTC. The capital sought by these agents, the translators on the one hand and Dar al-Mareekh on the other, can be displayed along a continuum, with economic capital and cultural capital at both ends of the extremes (see figure 26).

![Figure 26: Continuum of the forms of capital sought by Dar al-Mareekh and translators of their books](image)

4. Capital: Logics of Practice

The previous section sought to present a descriptive as well as brief Bourdieusean analytical account of the translational activities undertaken by three major private publishers: Jarir, Obeikan, and Dar al-Mareekh. As in Sapiro’s studies, the assumption is that examining publishers’ strategies and lists of publications can help in constructing a Bourdieusean account of publishing activities, including publishing translations (Sapiro 2008: 161). Bourdieu himself argued that the selection process can be observed sociologically by investigating the chain of agents involved, including publishers, writers, translators, as well as their output (ibid.: 156). Based on these arguments, this section will continue to elaborate on the logic of publishing and translation practices in the Kingdom, using Bourdieu’s notions of field, capital, doxa, homology, and the three poles of heteronomy, namely the economic, political, and religious. The agents discussed in the previous sections share some similarities in terms of their economic ambitions; there are, however, major differences in terms of the type of fields and dominant doxa in the country that exert a degree of influence on the translation production of these agents. The three most active producers of translations

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60 This by no means suggests that economic and cultural capitals are two opposing forms of capital. The figure merely illustrates how the struggle operates in the case of Dar Al-Mareekh.
in the Kingdom also exhibit various forms of homologies with different fields, whether they are fields of cultural production or fields of power.

According to Bourdieu, the fields of power, the economic and political fields, cannot but exert a degree of influence on all fields of cultural production. Bourdieu stresses that the field of cultural production is situated within the field of power, and that any field, “whatever its degree of independence [...] continues to be affected by the laws of the field which encompasses it, those of economic and political profit” (1993: 39). In this sense, Jarir, Obeikan, and Dar al-Mareekh, being private commercial publishers, will be heavily and continually influenced by the economic and political fields. This influence manifests itself in the magnitude of the effects the struggle for economic capital has on the translation choices of these agents. The degree of such influence varies from one publisher to another, and can be measured using a number of factors. One such factor is the subjects under which the translations fall – reflecting the topics and type of knowledge these agents provide to their mainstream readership.

In Jarir’s case, the overwhelming volume of reader-friendly, self-help, bestseller books highlights the economic objectives of Jarir’s activities; the choices made to a large extent reflect Jarir’s economic ambitions. The translation of many computer-related guidebooks is in part aimed at securing even larger profits by boosting sales of computer hardware and software equipment sold at the superstores, and vice versa. Even within the genre of fiction, what is selected for translation is further indicative of these economic motivations. Crime novels generally appeal to a mainstream readership and attract high sales. Agatha Christie is one of the bestselling authors of all time, which explains why a very large percentage of translated crime novels produced by Jarir are authored by her. Other novels also happen to have been bestsellers on the American market, and generally lack any clear form of symbolic capital. It is reasonable to suggest then that Jarir mostly responds to the logic of the economic field, and is thus situated at the heteronomous pole of large-scale circulation; their interest in cultural or symbolic capital seems very limited.

In Bourdieusean terms, Jarir might be said to share strong homologous relations with (a) the field of power, and (b) the field of global publishing. The homology is reflected in Jarir’s extensive importation of goods rich in cultural capital, which is easily
convertible to economic capital, and devoid of symbolic capital. These goods are imported particularly from book industries that enjoy central positions in global mainstream book production, mainly the US and to some extent the UK. The dominance of self-help translations coincides with the prevalence of this genre in recent decades, particularly in the US. The extensive importation of the self-help genre by Jarir – and by Obeikan to some extent – is similar in some respects to the way American science fiction was imported to post-war France as a translated genre (Gouanvic 1997, 1999, 2005; Hermans 1999: 132-4). In the case of science fiction in France, the translated genre succeeded in establishing itself because of the socio-cultural homologies between France and the US, which included the existence of receptive science fiction readers. The ongoing production of translated self-help books which started with Jarir’s first ventures into translation in 1996 clearly indicates the appeal of the genre among the local readership. The homologous relations between the publishing field in Saudi Arabia and the global field of publishing support the importation of the economically viable cultural capital attached to the original books in their home book market. This does not mean that translations of self-help books have established the genre as a field or sub-field in its own right, as was the case in the post-war French science fiction genre, according to Gouanvic. But it does highlight some aspects of the homology between the Saudi local publishing industry and the global English publishing industry in the area of “large-scale circulation”.

Although she concentrates on the literary field and the circulation of symbolic capital, we may recall here Casanova’s concept of “translation as accumulation of capital” in the case of translation taking place from a dominating language into a dominated language (Casanova 1999/2004, 2002/2010, 2005), as well as Heliborn’s discussion of “translation from core to periphery” (1999). Importing popular US books rich in cultural and economic capital into the domestic market of Saudi Arabia could be said to fall under these categories of capital traffic.

Although Obeikan is essentially a commercial publisher and thus influenced by the economic field to a large extent, their commercial orientation seems less marked than Jarir’s. In addition to self-help books, Obeikan also engages in the translation of books on political issues in the Arab world, as well as biographies and autobiographies of

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61 Even though actual sales figures could not be obtained.
various political figures, especially where these books relate to the Middle East in one way or another. As stated earlier, the effect of the field of power seems clear here, particularly the political rather than purely economic aspect of the field. The political books translated by Obeikan respond, as polls have shown, to the dominant doxa of the general public. Since these books appeal to a mainstream readership, which in turn helps to boost sales, one might conclude that economic capital is the primary form of capital sought by Obeikan. A comparison, however, between Jarir and Obeikan shows that Jarir selects translations primarily on the basis of what sells in the US and UK, suggesting that their actions and choices are dictated by the global book industry and that the US and UK in particular are seen as a source of prestige. On the other hand, Obeikan seems to orient itself more clearly towards social and political doxa circulating in the Kingdom. Obeikan thus seeks to enhance their symbolic and cultural capital by aligning themselves with mainstream domestic doxa. At the same time, however, their choices serve to reinforce doxic positions among their prospective readers, especially since many source text authors belong to the cultures being critiqued, thus lending the critique more credibility, further reinforcing the relevant doxic positions, and consequently rendering the cultural and symbolic value of Obeikan’s translational production more visible. This situates Obeikan’s activities nearer the pole of small-scale circulation, in relative terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jarir</th>
<th>Obeikan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic (Large-Scale Circulation)</td>
<td>Cultural/Symbolic (Small-Scale)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 27: Continuum of the forms of capital sought by Jarir and Obeikan

Instead of limiting most of their translations to self-help books, Obeikan’s relatively high number of political translations as well as their specific choices under this category reveal a homologous relation with dominant political and religious doxa in the Kingdom, where, as demonstrated earlier, the mainstream readership is highly critical of neo-conservative policies towards the Middle East, at least as exercised during the presidency of George W Bush. This is also an example of how the process of choosing books by some agents in the field of publishing, in this case Obeikan, cannot be immune to the influence of local and global political narratives, and may eventually
adapt these global narratives in the direction of local sensitivities and doxa. This positions Obeikan nearer to the political and religious poles of heteronomy.

The subjects chosen by Obeikan seem to target a more informed group of readers, seeking to form an understanding of the world and of global relations through political books and biographies. This interest in global relations on the part of mainstream readers was arguably triggered by the 1st Gulf War and intensified after the events of September 11, when foreign political agendas began to impact the region more directly. It reflects a hunger for a broader understanding of current and past political events, especially through the mediation of American writers. At the same time, most titles selected for translation tend to reinforce existing perceptions of hidden political agendas threatening the region. This reveals an attempt to reassure and solidify public narratives already in circulation, including religiously inspired narratives about the position of the region in the political arena, a position jeopardised by Western interest in oil resources.

As for Dar al-Mareekh, control over the process of subject selection is, as I explained earlier, exercised by the translators, who are faculty members. Their choices are based on what they deem important subjects for academic institutions. This recalls the analysis in the previous chapter of the relationships between the publishing and academic fields, and the role of specific agents such as King Saud University Translation Centre in shaping this relationship. A similar conclusion can be reached here about the apparent overwhelming influence of the academic field on the activities of this private publisher. The major difference here is that Dar al-Mareekh is somewhat more oriented towards financial capital than academic publishers in the Kingdom. For example, their catalogue lists the price of each book, which indicates a struggle, however muted, for economic profit. This separates the publisher’s activities from the academic field and legitimises the capital they gain as emanating, in large part, from the book and publishing industry rather than the academic field.

Homology with the academic field is thus evident in the translational as well as non-translational activities of Dar al-Mareekh. The nature of the struggle in each field – commercial publishing and academia – means that both publisher (Dar al-Mareekh) and translators (who are faculty members) pursue a double-layered capital, economic
as well as cultural-symbolic, resulting in unique translational projects. Each of these agents primarily seeks a different form of capital by the production of a joint translational project; i.e. whereas the translators seek cultural and symbolic capital in the large part, Dar al-Mareekh struggles mainly for economic income, but this does not mean that academics do not struggle for any form of economic capital, nor that the publisher is disinterested in cultural or symbolic capital.

5. Conclusion

The field of publishing in the Kingdom is young by comparison to the publishing fields in the Arab world and the global field spearheaded by US and UK markets. The output of Saudi publishers has been, and still is, small. This is the result of two main factors. First, very heavy reliance on exporting books from other Arab countries has been a strong trend in the Saudi book market for many years. In the period 1981-1988 for example, some 19,200 Arabic titles were imported into the Saudi market, whereas only 2700 Arabic books were published in the Kingdom during the same period (Sa’ati 2000: 32). Second, for reasons of censorship and unreliability of local publishers, many Saudi authors continue to prefer to publish their works with more prestigious and established Arab publishers, particularly those based in Lebanon and Egypt. In 2010, the total literary production by Saudi authors amounted to 311 books, 116 of which were published outside the Kingdom, mainly in Lebanon, Egypt and London (al-Yosif 2011). These patterns predate the installation of printing presses in the Kingdom (see section 1 above; for a discussion of the Saudi publishing industry, see chapter 6 section 3).

Statistics show that while Saudi authors continue to publish Arabic works outside the Kingdom, translations have begun to account for larger proportions of the output of two Saudi publishers – Jarir and Obeikan – who began to occupy key positions in the local field since the 1990s. Each of the three publishers discussed in this chapter has a

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62 The publication of literary works by Saudi authors outside the Kingdom is not uncommon during the past 20-30 years, mostly due to censorship in the Kingdom, lower cost of production elsewhere, and the opportunity to reach larger audiences.

somewhat different profile in terms of their translational output, which may be indicative of various evolving homologies between the publishing field and other fields, both locally and globally. Thus, while Jarir’s translational output belongs to the category of large-scale circulation, an orientation which characterises the global book market as well, the outputs of Obeikan, influenced by local political doxa, and Dar al-Mareekh, influenced by homologous relationships with the academic field, are oriented more towards the small-scale circulation end of the continuum.

The following chapter will present a case study to reveal certain socio-political underpinnings of one instance of the cultural production of an agent in the field of publishing. The analysis will incorporate textual as well as paratextual features of the translation of Ferguson’s *Colossus*, produced by Obeikan.
Chapter 5

Obeikan’s translation of Niall Ferguson’s Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire

In the previous two chapters, an investigation of the overall translation production of major academic and private publishing institutions and presses in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia sought to establish the socio-political underpinnings of these translational actions using Bourdieu’s sociological model. The present chapter will continue the investigation by conducting in-depth analysis of a translation that was produced by the private publisher Obeikan. The decision to limit the case study to private publishers’ production, thus excluding universities and academic institutions, is based on the fact that these private publishers cater for larger audiences and target mainstream readerships, making the social impact of their production greater. Furthermore, as argued in chapter 4, the translational products of major Saudi private publishers tend to be situated around the pole of “large-scale circulation”, and to aim for larger economic profits and greater sales. Consequently, in order to acquire larger economic and cultural capital, some agents often opt to translate material that deals with current social, local, and global issues that matter to lay readers as well as the elite in the country. The outcomes of the sociological analyses in this chapter therefore have social implications in terms of the way private publishers like Obeikan influence the general public’s understanding of events. This is in addition to the insights such analyses may offer in relation to the logic of practice of translation agents within what may be referred to as a field of translation in Bourdieusean terms.

Micro textual as well as macro paratextual elements of the source and target texts will both be used as data in investigating the processes of translation and situating them within the social and political circumstances of production.

Two hardback editions of this book were simultaneously released by Penguin in the US and the UK in 2004. The UK version is entitled *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire* (published by Penguin’s subsidiary Allen Lane), while the US version is entitled *Colossus: The Price of America’s Empire* (Penguin Press). The front covers of the UK and the US versions are different (see figures 28 and 29 below), and the UK paperback edition, also released by Penguin, features a different cover again (figure 30). As indicated in the introduction to the Arabic translation, published by Obeikan in 2006, the translation investigated here was based on the UK edition. Figure 31 shows the cover of the Arabic translation.

The book was written by the Scottish historian Niall Ferguson, a renowned commentator on contemporary politics and economics. He is Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History at Harvard University, a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and Stanford University, and a Senior Research Fellow at Jesus College, Oxford. Ferguson is also a weekly columnist for *Newsweek* and a contributing editor for Bloomberg TV. He thus occupies prominent positions in the international, and particularly Anglo-American, academic field and as a political and economic commentator. *Time* magazine named Ferguson among the hundred most influential people in the world in 2004. In *Colossus*, he reveals his enthusiastic support for liberal imperialism in the 20th century, represented by the United States of America, as the successor of the British Empire (Ferguson’s 2003 book, *Empire*, had already covered the history of the British Empire). In *Colossus*, Ferguson argues that the US has been an incompetent empire in denial of its imperial vision, and highlights the defects that he believes hinder US imperial power and dominance. According to *The Independent*, Ferguson calls for “an ‘effective liberal empire’ in which the United States – ‘the best candidate for the job’ – would not only undertake regime-change in nasty countries but would hang in there for as long as it takes to dictate democracy, enforce freedom and extort emancipation” (McCrystal 2004). It won high praise from several

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leading newspapers and magazines, such as The Financial Times and New York Review of Books. His book was also made into a television documentary series called American Colossus, which was produced in Britain in 2004. This underlines the great impact of the book in Anglo-American social spaces.

Apart from an introduction, a conclusion, an acknowledgement and notes, the book is divided into two main sections. The first is entitled Rise and includes the following chapters: The Limits of The American Empire; The Imperialism of Anti-Imperialism; The Civilization of Clashes; Splendid Multilateralism. The second section is entitled Fall and includes the following chapters: The Case for Liberal Empire; Going Home or Organizing Hypocrisy; “Impire”: Europe Between Brussels and Byzantium; The Closing Door.

Figure 28: Front cover of the US hardback version of *Colossus*
Figure 29: Front cover of the UK hardback version of *Colossus*
Figure 30: Front cover of the UK paperback version of *Colossus*
Figure 31: Front cover of the translation of *Colossus*

2. The Agents

The agents explicitly involved in producing the translation are the publisher (Obeikan), the translator (Mo‘en al-Emam), the editor (unknown), and Dr. Mohammed al-Ahmary, who wrote the introduction of the translation.
2.1 Obeikan

It is not surprising that, of all the publishing agents active in the Kingdom, it is Obeikan who chose to produce a translation of this controversial title during that particular period of time; as mentioned earlier, the translation appeared in 2006, two years after the English original. A closer look at the trajectory of Obeikan’s line of translational production reveals a glimpse of Obeikan’s institutional habitus, which has produced a certain level of consistency in terms of importing foreign works that touch upon current socio-political issues involving Arabs as well as Muslims in general. Special emphasis is placed on books that reassure the Saudi public and strengthen dominant public narratives in the country. The choice to translate this title, as the analysis of the introduction reveals below, taps into an ongoing domestic discussion over the US invasion of Iraq as part of the war against terrorism, and the aftermath of such invasion. The choice to translate Ferguson may not be easy to explain at first glance, in that he clearly supports a Western imperial vision, unlike other American and British authors translated by Obeikan who challenge US foreign policies in the Middle East and elsewhere; for example Michael Collins Piper’s *The High Priests of War* (2004, American Free Press; Arabic version released in 2006) and Eliot Weinberger’s *What I Heard About Iraq* (2005, Verso Books; Arabic version released in 2007). As we will see shortly, however, this position is mediated through the addition of an introduction and a number of notes to the translation to set the controversial context of the book within the public narratives of prospective Saudi readers. I attempt to demonstrate below how this translation, together with Obeikan’s other translations of political books on the US, forms part of a recognisable pattern of choices informed by the religious and political discourses circulating in the Saudi social space.

2.2 The Translator: Mo’en al-Emam

The book was translated by Mo’en al-Emam, whose name appears on the front cover. It features neither an introduction by the translator nor any information about him.

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66 See sections 3.2 and 4. in chapter 4 for a discussion of Obeikan’s translation of foreign books on US policy in the Middle East.
The visibility of the translator is thus low in this translation. According to the available data, acquired through lists of translations and online search engines, al-Emam has translated at least nineteen books, mainly in the fields of journalism, education, cultural studies, and politics. Thirteen of his translations are published by Obeikan. Seven of his known nineteen translations (approximately one third) are of books that deal with international politics; five of these deal with and are mostly critical, or at least skeptical, of US foreign policies. Other than the translation under discussion, the translations in question are of the following titles: Ziauddin Sardar’s and Merryl Wyn Davies’s *Why Do People Hate America?* (2003, The Disinformation Company; Arabic version released in 2005), Colin Mooers’s *The New Imperialists: Ideologies of Empire* (2006, Oneworld Publications; Arabic version released in 2008), Obama’s *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (2006, Crown; Arabic version released in 2009) and David Keen’s *Endless War?: Hidden Functions of the War on Terror* (2006, Pluto Press; Arabic version released in 2008). The other two titles dealing with politics are: Ralph M. Coury’s *The Making of an Egyptian Arab Nationalist: The Early Years of Azzam Pasha, 1893-1936* (1998, Ithaca Press) and Eric Hobsbawm’s *Interesting Times: A Twentieth Century Life* (2002, Allen Lane). It is worth noting that all of this translator’s output relating to current US policy, including the above titles, is published by Obeikan. This suggests that Obeikan probably commissioned all the translations, and that it is unlikely that the titles were proposed by al-Emam.

### 2.3 Mohammed al-Ahmary

A Saudi Islamic writer and thinker, al-Ahmary is the former president of the now defunct Islamic Assembly of North America⁶⁷; he also worked as a publishing and translation consultant at Obeikan. In many of his writings discussing Iraq and the US invasion, he denounces George W Bush and Tony Blair, describing them as crusaders⁶⁸. He also described democracy in the US as false for breeding the likes of the George W Bush administration, comparing it with the democracy which brought the rule of Hitler and Mussolini (al-Ahmary 2005). It is worth noting, however, that al-Ahmary was

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⁶⁸ A vast collection of his articles discussing the US invasion of Iraq can be found at the al-Asr online magazine [http://www.alasr.ws/](http://www.alasr.ws/) [last accessed 11 Oct 2011].
fiercely attacked by many religious figures when he later expressed his admiration and support for US democracy, and democracy in general, following Obama’s victory in the 2008 US presidential elections (Aziz 2008). Referring to US hegemony, he states that “the world is fortunate to be ruled by democracy” (al-Ahmary 2008). In an interview following Obama’s triumph, al-Ahmary described democracy as “one of the best systems of governance”, and mentioned that he was almost declared an apostate by some Islamists for the pro-democracy views expressed in his articles. The change in al-Ahmary’s views, particularly in relation to US democracy, could be attributed to the plurality and heterogeneous system of the lived experiences an agent goes through, which come into play and produce context-bound actions and beliefs that may be contradictory in nature (Lahire 2003: 351).

The collaboration between Obeikan and al-Ahmary, who is firmly embedded within the field of religion, specifically as an Islamist intellectual, suggests a level of homology between the publishing and religious fields. Its decision to collaborate with an Islamist thinker suggests that Obeikan subscribes to similar Islamist and political views. In inviting a religious agent to write the introduction to a book on politics, Obeikan, as the analysis reveals below, demonstrates that its translation production is heavily informed by religious-political discourse. The logic of several fields in the social space exerts considerable influence on the publisher’s choice of what to translate and how to carry out the translation. This recalls Simeoni’s (1998) argument that the heavy interrelation of translation with other fields leads to the dissolution of its own boundaries as a field.

3. Textual Interventions

The Arabic translation of Ferguson’s book is accurate in terms of preserving the structure of the original, with no chapters omitted or rearranged, apart from the index and bibliography, which are missing in the translation. The titles of chapters are also closely rendered into Arabic.

69 Full transcription of the interview can be found at http://www.turkid.net/?p=139 (last accessed 11 Oct 2011).
In terms of the text itself, the translation often retains controversial stretches that could have been removed, such as Ferguson’s reference to politics in Middle Eastern countries as “retarded” (2004: 121; 2006:184). Where the Saudi government features as the target of criticism, however, a variety of censorial strategies are adopted, including the replacement of negative or controversial references with more positive ones. When Ferguson refers to early Western bids to turn the Kingdom into “an American satellite” (2004: 109), for example, the translator opts for the much less negative دولة حليفة للولايات المتحدة، “an ally of the United States” (2006: 168). The main form of censorial intervention employed however is omission. As can be seen in the examples discussed below, this can range from omitting individual words and sentences to whole paragraphs. Most of the omissions identified seem to be triggered by sensitive issues which directly address the politics of Saudi Arabia, rather than American foreign policy per se. Thus, these omissions are politically motivated, and are directly or indirectly imposed by powerful institutions in the Kingdom. Al-Ahmary himself admits in the introduction that self or preventive censorship is applied to avoid hindering the publication of the book (see section 3.2 below). As Schäffner (2007: 136) argues, “[a]ny decision to encourage, allow, promote, hinder or prevent to translate is a political decision”.

An example of omission will also be investigated below in terms of how the publishing agent positions itself in relation to the political doxa. The example involves the omission of a word that condemns Palestinian resistance. This will be compared with the abovementioned examples of omission to show the varying positions of the publishing agent in relation to different fields in the social space.
Explicit paratextual interventions by the translator and the editor can also be detected, and include the use of **footnotes**: A total of 44 footnotes are used in the translation, 35 by the translator and four by the editor. The remaining 5 notes, although not marked as such, are likely to have been added by the translator. The translator’s notes provide further information on ambiguous terminologies, historical figures and events. On the other hand, the editor’s notes serve as counterarguments, to discredit a number of Ferguson’s claims.

Attaching an **introduction** to the translation, written by the Islamist thinker Mohammed al-Ahmari, constitutes another form of paratextual engagement. The introduction sets the context for engaging with this controversial book for Saudi readers, providing a synopsis of Ferguson’s arguments as well as highlighting their significance with regard to past and current Saudi, Arab, and Islamic affairs. The introduction will be analysed against the backdrop of the political and religious doxa in Saudi Arabia. Finally, the **title** chosen for the translation and the **blurb** on the back cover of the Arabic version reveal further forms of intervention; the discussion of these elements will attempt to highlight the socio-political underpinnings of the choices made. The analysis offered below will examine these elements in Bourdieusean terms, and is organised thematically. The objective is to demonstrate the extent to which the translational choices made reflect aspects of the dominant doxa and the influence of the field of power in Saudi Arabia, and how the agents involved position themselves in relation to the doxa.

### 3.1 The State’s Politics vs. Religious Politics

Obeikan’s choice of source texts that directly or indirectly criticise the Neoconservative-run US headed by George W Bush as an imperialistic power which poses a threat to the Arab and Islamic world can be traced back to a strong religious and nationalist reaction to the 1991 American engagement in the Gulf, a reaction that was rekindled by the post 9/11 political rhetoric of the US. Saudis in general, and

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70 This is not to say that any questioning of US foreign policies in the Kingdom is religious in nature or purely associated with religious groups. Much of the harshest criticism of American policies is however closely linked to the religious doxa in the Kingdom.
religious Saudi Salafis\textsuperscript{71} in particular (sometimes referred to as \textit{sahwa} or awakening), have long held unfavourable views of the US. This historical dislike can be said to stem from American foreign policies in the Middle East, and particularly the US’s continuous support of Israeli occupation of Palestinian land. The 1973 oil embargo declared by King Faisal, a supporter of the Palestinian cause, was sparked by a massive American reinforcement of Israeli forces during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War (Lacey 1981: 412)\textsuperscript{72}.

Strong criticism of the US is not triggered solely by American support for Israel. Nationalist pan-Arab and pan-Islam movements, which gained considerable currency in the 1950s in response to Western colonialism, had found their ambitions of establishing Arab unity under a common identity and nation-state colliding with the US continuous interference in the region’s affairs (Rubin 1991: 542). In Saudi Arabia, where religion forms an important “component of the nation’s collective identity” (Nevo 1998: 46), political nationalist calls are heavily infused with Islamic undertones (ibid.: 48). While pure pan-Arab nationalist movements are slated by clerics in the Kingdom as secular and hence against Islam (ibid.: 46), the nationalist voice within the political doxa in Saudi Arabia focuses instead on shared Islamic values as the basis for collective identity, spanning not only Arab but Islamic countries as well. Instilling allegiance to the Saudi nation as part – and indeed, the leader – of the Islamic world is a primary goal of the schooling system; history textbooks frame events in Islamic terms, for example by stressing the Islamic character of the Arab revolts against European colonialism (ibid.: 48). The educational system is thus used as a primary tool for transmitting the Islamic political doxa and embedding it in the minds of all citizens.

Islamist and nationalist antipathy towards the US grew stronger in Saudi Arabia in the early 1990s, when the political authorities in the Kingdom decided to ask the US for military aid to confront the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the Saudi city of Khafji. Usama Bin Laden, then widely considered by Saudis and Islamists as a hero\textsuperscript{73} who protected

\textsuperscript{71} Broadly speaking, Salafiyah is an Islamic movement that follows the footsteps of the Salaf, the scholars of Islam who lived during the first 400 years of the Prophet’s era. It was reintroduced by Mohammed Bin Abdul-Wahhab, the founder of the Salafi-like Wahhabi sect, which enjoys a powerful position in the Kingdom.

\textsuperscript{72} The Kingdom was, and still is, the largest financial supporter of the Palestinians (Lacey 2009: 128).

\textsuperscript{73} This attitude has since changed drastically, and Bin Laden is no longer considered a hero, not least because of his subsequent involvement in terrorist attacks within and outside the Kingdom. Polls conducted in 2002-2003 showed that the vast majority of Saudis believe that Bin Laden’s actions are against their values and the values of Islam (Zogby 2003).
Islam by ousting the Soviets from Afghanistan, proposed fighting Saddam Hussein with the help of Jihad-style Saudi-Afghan recruits, but this proposal was ultimately dismissed by the ruling family (Lacey 2009: 150). The response angered Bin Laden and the Islamists, and ushered in a long period of troubled relations with the ruling family, who were now severely criticised for deciding to use outside pro-Israeli “infidel” forces against another Muslim country, namely Iraq. Several renowned Saudi clerics expressed similar views about the hidden goals of American military presence in the Kingdom; these included Safar al-Hwali and Salman al-Awdah. Religious sermons across the Kingdom warned worshippers of the dangers posed by the Americans (ibid.: 150). Shortly afterwards, Bin Laden left the Kingdom but continued to pursue his agenda elsewhere. His Saudi citizenship was renounced, and his family, pressured by the political authorities, disowned him in 1994 (ibid.: 177-8). Back home, several clerics who had spoken publically against the government for inviting the Americans were jailed for several years.

In Bourdieu’s terms, we could say that a split emerged between two closely connected positions in the field of power, undermining the royal-religious alliance – i.e. between positions in the political field, on the one hand, and the religious field on the other. Being part of the larger international geopolitical field of power, certain positions in the local field responded differently to the changes that occurred in the larger field in relation. A set of religious positions, the support of whose occupiers the ruling family “needed for their legitimacy” (Lacey 2009: 131), repositioned themselves within the larger field in relation to the events in Iraq, and diverged considerably from and hence undermined the royal authority. The political actions of the government clashed head on with the long-standing religious political and national doxa, and a new resistant political trend hence emerged within the religious field to protect the legitimacy of doxic religious and nationalist beliefs. It stood against the royal/political institutions and the official religious institutions that backed them (Lacroix 2011: 158-9). This suggests that the field of power is not a uniform homologous entity in Saudi Arabia;

74 The Saudi religious field is dominated by the Sunni elite, as opposed to the rival Shi’i minority in the Kingdom. Many prominent religious figures from as early as the 1990s were known for their strong anti-Shi’i sentiments; some called for banning the practice of Shiism in the Kingdom and excluding Shi’is from any positions of power in governmental institutions (Lacroix 2011: 183). The religious and political split between the Sunni elite and Shi’i minority continues to this day, spilling over into tensions between the Sunni in Saudi Arabia and predominantly Shi’i regimes such as Iran’s.
legitimacy and power are fought over by two main intertwined fields, represented here by the political authority, on the one hand, and the religious on the other. The events of 1991 thus set new priorities for and triggered a struggle between two sets of positions in the field of power; while the political authority sought to redefine the traditionally unquestioned Islamist and nationalist “truth”, or doxa, which forbids collaboration with non-Muslims against other Muslims, those occupying powerful positions in the field of religion sought to protect and strengthen this doxa.

The political and the religious positions both enjoy a great deal of symbolic capital and consecration. While the dynasty enjoys the symbolic capital attached to “royalty” and political authority over “Saudi” Land (both enhanced by the economic capital derived from oil), the religious positions derive their symbolic capital from the common belief that clerics are the carriers of the word of God and his messenger (as expressed in the Quran and Hadith, the Prophet’s sayings), a belief that allows them to exercise considerable power over the minds of citizens. In Bourdieu’s model, then, the struggle in the field of power is not restricted to dominant orthodoxy vs dominated heterodoxy, but can also occur between two equally dominant orthodoxic and heterodoxic trends, as in the present case.

The censorship applied in the translation under discussion here could be viewed as a means by which the political field seeks to protect its legitimacy. Thus, any mention of Bin Laden’s views on the behaviour of the Kingdom during that period, his association with the Wahhabi sect, or the Kingdom’s dependence on US power is omitted altogether – on the face of it to comply with the political doxa and avoid undermining the political positions in the field of power. At the same time, the publisher explicitly signals the act of censorship to the reader by replacing the omitted sections with a set of dots between four brackets, i.e. ((.....)), in the translation. This reveals a deeper struggle between the political field and the religious-nationalist field, and signals the publisher’s positioning within the latter. The practice of using a series of dots and similar typographical signals as a code between the publisher/translator and the reader to mark the places where censorship has been exercised is attested in other cultural contexts; Asimakoulas (2007) documents similar strategies in the Greek context. These included inserting blank lines to indicate cuts in translations of political texts during the 1970s, which served as means of resistance against censorship laws

In the examples that follow, these tactics reveal how Obeikan positions itself in relation to the field of power. They suggest that the publisher seeks to challenge the political doxa of the regime, which is enforced by law, implicitly while avoiding any direct confrontation with the authorities, thus maintaining a measure of autonomy in the publishing field.

In Example 1 below, omissions are underlined in the source text.

**Example 1**

On page 120, Ferguson lists the 3 reasons to “kill the Americans and their allies” which appeared in the Declaration of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and the Crusaders, issued by Bin Laden and his supporters in 1998. The first reason is omitted altogether in the translation:

First, for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples. (2004:120)

(2006:183) أولاً: ((.....)).

**Gloss: First: ((.....)).**

The omitted paragraph clearly questions the behaviour of the ruling family and presents it as a puppet of the US. This is a highly sensitive topic, and it is very difficult to publish any book in Saudi Arabia which contains such explicit condemnation of the ruling family. The editor/translator are obviously aware of this. At this point, the target text features a series of dots, thus appeasing the censor but at the same time alerting the reader to the fact that some element of

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75 A recently proposed anti-terrorism draft law allows the authorities to jail any person for a minimum of 10 years for questioning the integrity of the King (Amnesty International 2011)
the text is missing and that the censor has intervened. Retaining “First” in the translation ensures that the reader does not miss this signal and its implications.

**Example 2**

Part of the third reason listed in the above mentioned Declaration is also omitted in the translation:

.. and their [the Americans] endeavour to fragment all the states in the region such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan into paper statelets and through their disunion and weakness to guarantee Israel’s survival and the continuation of the brutal crusade occupation of the Peninsula. (2004: 120)

وسعهم لتمزيق دول المنطقة جميعا كالعراق والسعودية ومصر والسودان إلى دولات ورقية تضمن بفرقتها وضعفها بقاء اسرائيل ((...........)) (2006: 184)

**Gloss:** And their endeavour to fragment all the countries in the region like Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Sudan into paper statelets whose division and weakness guarantee the survival of Israel ((...........)).

Again, any reference to US presence in the Peninsula as a form of occupation is omitted altogether and a set of dots is used to indicate the censored stretch. The same strategy is adopted in Example 3, which follows the text in Example 2 immediately:

**Example 3**

The aim of killing Americans was therefore clear: it was in order “to liberate al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip...

(2004: 120)

إذن، الهدف من قتل الأمريكيين واضح جلي: تحرير الأقصى ((...........)) من قبضتهم...

(2006: 184)

**Gloss:** So, the goal of killing the Americans is very clear: liberating al-Aqsa ((...........)) from their grip
Example 4

After describing the political culture in Middle Eastern counties as “retarded” and carrying the seeds of terrorism, Ferguson argues that other Islamic countries do not share al-Qa’eda’s ideology, further stating that:

> [e]ven bin Laden’s religious beliefs bear the idiosyncratic hallmarks of Wahhabism, which scarcely exists outside the deserts of Arabia. (2004: 121)

والتي معتقدات ابن لادن الدينية تحمل معالم خاصة (........))، التي لا يكاد تاثيرها يتجاوز الصحاري في شبه الجزيرة العربية. (2006: 184-5)

**Gloss:** And even Bin Laden’s religious beliefs carry special features ((........)), the influence of which barely exists outside the deserts of the Arabian Peninsula.

The reference to the Wahhabi faith is removed here because linking Bin Laden to Wahhabism means linking him to the royal family. The Wahhabi sect and the ruling family have shared strong ties ever since the 1st Saudi state was established by Abdul-Rahman Bin Saud (a political leader) and Mohammed bin Abd al-Wahhab, the father of the Wahhabi sect (a religious leader) in 1744 (Lacey 1981: 57). Stating that Bin Laden’s notorious political and religious agenda is rooted in the field of power in the Kingdom casts doubt on the legitimacy of those occupying that field. “Wahhabism” is thus omitted, and the fact of censorship is again signalled with a set of dots.

Example 5

In this example, and the following one, Ferguson points to the growing presence of the US military in Saudi Arabia since the 1991 Gulf War, and argues that it has little to do with any Iraqi threat:

> Especially remarkable was the rising number of American personnel stationed in Saudi Arabia, temporary “tenants” of the royal dynasty that happened to be accompanied by between one hundred and two hundred warplanes. (2004: 137)
What is particularly interesting is the rising number of US experts, consultants and employees in ((........)), accompanied by between one hundred and two hundred military aircrafts. (emphasis added)

What is particularly interesting here is that the translator retained the preposition في (in), which anticipates/requires a following noun, usually a place name. This, in addition to the dots and parentheses, tells the reader in no uncertain terms that something has been removed, and that that something is a country. The reader can work the rest out for him/herself.

Fergusson continues:

Example 6

These figures understate the extent of the American presence because they do not take account of the number of U.S. naval vessels deployed in and around the gulf. Nor do they capture another aspect of the growing Saudi military dependency: between August 1990 and December 1992 the Saudi regime placed orders worth more than twenty-five billion dollars with U.S. armaments manufacturers. (2004: 137)

Gloss: These figures do not reflect the size of the American presence because they do not include US Navy ships deployed in and around the Arabian Gulf. These also do not show another aspect, which is the growing military reliance of ((.......)) on the US: In the period between August 1990 and December 1992, Saudi Arabia placed orders to buy weapons from US companies valued at more than twenty-five billion dollars.
Here, the word “Saudi” is removed in the translation because it associates Saudi Arabia directly with “military dependency”, and even though the next line, which is preserved in the translation, makes a clear reference to Saudi arms deals with the US. Buying arms does not in itself suggest military dependency, and is a practice in which all states engage. Nevertheless, in the overall context of the translation, and aided by the series of dots in the previous sentence, the publisher is clearly signalling to the reader that the word “Saudi” is missing and that the orders for weapons referred to are intended as an example of Saudi military reliance on the US.

**Example 7**

Ferguson proceeds to describe the aftermath of US military presence in Saudi Arabia with regard to the political and religious scene:

In effect, the Arabian political system, with its exceptionally low military participation rate, made Riyadh dependent for its security on American manpower and firepower. As we have seen, however, this only served to fuel the resentment of the radical Islamist movement inside and outside Saudi Arabia. As early as 1991 Saudi clerics, including Safar al-Hawali, an authority often cited by Osama bin Laden, were denouncing “a larger Western design to dominate the whole Arab and Muslim world.” Disgusted by the Saudi Authorities’ reliance on American protection (they had declined his offer to lead an Afghan-style guerrilla force against Saddam), bin Laden left Saudi Arabia in April 1991, travelling via Pakistan and Afghanistan to al Qa’eda’s new base in Sudan. (2004: 137-8)

وفي واقع الأمر فإن النظام السياسي (العربي) الذي تنخفض فيه معدلات المشاركة في القوات المسلحة إلى الحدود الدنيا، دفع الرياض إلى الاعتماد على القوة ((........)). ((........)). (208)

**Gloss:** In fact, the (Arab) political system, in which participation rates in the armed forces are minimal, prompted Riyadh to rely on the force of ((........)). ((........)).

Ferguson cites historical details of objections by some Saudi clerics against the US military presence in the Kingdom. The omission of these details, in addition to the mention of Saudi dependence on American weapons, attests to the sensitivity of any
issues relating to the 1991 split in the field of power. Two sets of dots are used to replace omitted chunks, again alerting the reader to further instances of censorial interventions. The fact that the publisher is not satisfied with one set of dots but repeats this signal, with a full stop in between, demonstrates clearly that they set out to communicate the fact of censorship to the reader, and hence challenge and undermine the political authorities despite the legal constraints under which they have to operate.

Interestingly, and predictably, where censorship is willingly exercised by the publisher, because omitted material conflicts with their own positioning, the omission is not marked by dots. In the following example, the underlined word is omitted in the translation.

**Example 8**

Ferguson recounts the conflict between Israel and neighbouring Arab countries in the 1950s as follows:

> What Zionist extremists had once done to drive the British out of Palestine, Palestinian extremists now did to the Israelis, once their hopes of an Arab military victory had been dashed. (2004: 112)

فّجَفؼٍَٗثٌقٙج٠ٕزَثٌّضطشفَْٛرثسَِشرَلإخشثػَثٌذش٠طجٔ١١ََِٓٓفٍغط١َٓفؼٍَٗثٌفٍغط١ٕ١َْٛث٢َْمذَثلإعشثة١ٍ١١ٓ،َفجٌّجَصلاؽشَآِجيَثٌؼشحَدضقم١كَٔقشَػغىشٞ. (2006: 173)

**Gloss:** What Zionist extremists had once done to drive the British out of Palestine, Palestinians now did against the Israelis, once Arab hopes for military victory had been dashed.

In this example, the translator and/or publisher omitted the word “extremist”. No dots or any clear textual indicators of intervention are used, as opposed to censorial practices discussed in earlier examples. This is an example of the way in which this translation is adapted to comply with the nationalist doxa regarding the conflict with Israel and demonstrates that Obeikan position themselves firmly within the nationalist field.
Obeikan’s covert omission in this example has to be compared with its overt omissions and its efforts to signal resistance against the political authority elsewhere in the text. There is a clear pattern emerging here: Obeikan uses strong signals to alert the reader to instances of omission and allow them to reconstruct the missing stretches where possible (as in the case of Example 5), where the omitted passages undermine the political authority in the Kingdom, hence defying censorship laws covertly. On the other hand, it seeks to protect the legitimacy of the religious-nationalist doxa by concealing from readers expressions that undermine Palestinian resistance against Israel. The interventions attested in the above examples reflect the current doxa that Obeikan subscribes to as well as how it positions itself in relation to the politically sanctioned positions in the field of power. In addition, the practice of signalling omissions underlines Obeikan’s feel for the game in the sense of an understanding of the publishing field as an (ideally) free realm, the practices of which should not be restricted by outside forces. Their feel for the game is also evident in their assumption that they can get away with such practice.

3.2 Political Doxa Expressed in Religious Terms

As stated earlier, the decision to seek US assistance was met with religious and nationalist opposition directed at the principle of bringing non-Muslim Western military forces into the Kingdom, which, it was argued, posed a direct threat to Islam in the entire region (Lacey 2009: 150-1). Very similar reasons for opposing American military presence in the region in 1991, again couched in religious terms, were reiterated in arguments against the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. The American overt agenda to spread “democracy” in what they see as “troubled countries” in the Middle East and elsewhere is understood by many clerics to challenge basic Islamic tenets in the area. The US preaching of democracy in the Middle East has been furiously attacked by numerous clerics in defence of theocracy. Many people, especially in Saudi Arabia, consider Islamic Sharia, the formally declared constitution of Saudi Arabia, and the Western political concept of democracy to be mutually exclusive (quotes and examples used in this section are taken from a number of popular Saudi
magazines: the Islamic salafi *al-Bayan*, the political *al-Majalah*, and the government-aligned *al-Haras al-Watani*):

لا يمكن لأي إنسان يدعي الإسلام و يعرف معناه أن يؤمن بالديمقراطية بهذا المعنى؛ لأنه إيمان يتناقض تناقضاً بينا مع أصل من أصول الإيمان التي جاء بها دينه.

(Idrees 2005: 53, in *al-Bayan*)

It is impossible for any person claiming to be a Muslim and to know the meaning of Islam to believe in democracy in that sense because it is a belief that clearly contradicts one of the basic principles of faith in his/her religion.

لقد مثل استخدام تلك المصطلحات الواقعة كالديمقراطية والاشتراكية والمعارضة والليبرالية وغيرها في العقود الماضية، نكبة عظيمة على الأمة في عقيدتها وشريعتها وثقافتها.

(al-Sharif 2005: 24, in *al-Bayan*)

The use of such imported terms in the past decades, such as democracy, socialism, opposition, liberalism, and others, has represented a great crime against the [Islamic] nation, its faith, jurisdiction, and culture.

The American invasion of Iraq is sometimes interpreted as a continuation of an age-old hostility between Muslims and Christians:

فقد أخبر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عن الفتن والملاحم التي تكون في آخر الزمان بين أهل الإسلام و عدة الصليبان؛ بما لا يدع مجالاً للشك في أبدية هذه العداوة (...) لا يفتي لهيبها إلا أن تنبع منهم، عيذاً بالله.

(al-Qathi 2003: 15, in *al-Bayan*)

The Prophet, peace be upon him, told us about the trials and tribulations that that will occur at the end of time between the people of Islam and the worshippers of crosses, which, leaves us in no doubt about the eternal nature of this hostility (...) the flames of which will not be extinguished until we follow their religion, God forbid.

In the translation under examination here, a footnote by the editor implicitly refers to the historically troubled relations between the West and Islam along these lines. Here, Ferguson describes the American oil companies’ economic aspirations in Saudi Arabia.
Example 9

In the 1930s they [the Americans] worked assiduously, aided by the renegade British Arabist Harry St. John Philby, to turn the desert kingdom ruled by the Saudi family into an American satellite. (2004: 109)

A footnote is added at this point to explain Ferguson’s use of the word “renegade”:

Many Westerners are still resentful of Philby because he converted to Islam; Anthony Brown wrote a book about him and his son and named it *Treason in the Blood*.

The footnote serves to provide an example of the animosity between the West and Islam, stressing that Philby is resented by his compatriots purely because of the fact that he converted to Islam, and implying that this “hostility” is a “Western” phenomenon rather than merely a British one. By contrast, a British historian and an expert on Saudi Arabian internal affairs, Robert Lacey, argues in his book *The Kingdom* that Philby’s manipulative behaviour during the US and British bids for the early oil-related business with the Saudi ruling family made the British government furious (1981: 233-4). He further suggests that the troubled relationship between Philby and the British government began long before he became a Muslim. Lacey also maintains that Philby was probably an atheist in the first place, and thus his embracing of Islam was intended to help him gain acceptance in the Kingdom (ibid.: 233). The footnote makes no reference to this history, and instead works to underline the theme of animosity between Islam and the West at large.

Saudi magazines have often focused in relatively recent years on the Bush headed neoconservative-Zionist alliance as the main threat to Islam, drawing for evidence on some of Bush’s controversial statements as clear indications of US religious ambitions in the region – in particular, references to the invasion of Iraq as a “crusade”,

championing the right of Israel to be a “religious Jewish state”, and his determination
to move the American embassy to Jerusalem (Kamil 2005: 45, in al-Bayan). Concerns
about the role of Christian and Jewish Zionists in the Iraqi war have been expressed in
America’ (al-Hathlul 2003: 110-9, in al-Bayan); ‘The Truth about the Jewish Infiltration
of Iraq’ (al-Zobeidi 2003: 16-9, in al-Majalah) ‘Iraq..! An Israeli Penetration and an Arab
Cover’ (Harfush 2003: 15, in al-Majalah); ‘Iraq in the American and Israeli Strategy’ (al-
Barsan 2003 43-5, in al-Haras al-Watani), to mention but a few.

Reports on missionary groups being sent to Iraq have also circulated in the Kingdom.
These confirm fears of the “American Zionist-crusader armies” sweeping Iraq (see
Abdullah’s report 2003: 66-9, in al-Bayan). The destruction of many mosques in Iraq by
US forces meant, as one Islamic writer puts it, that “these [the Americans] know for
sure, through studying our civilisation, that the mosque is the source of power for the
Muslim, from which he gains the spirit to defend his religion, nation, honour, and
principles” (al-Dulaimi 2005: 81, in al-Bayan) 76.

The “Islam vs the West” theme is also invoked in the introduction to the Arabic
translation under investigation, which is written by Dr. Mohammed al-Ahmary and
entitled “The Case and Importance of the Book” (see appendix 3 for
the full introduction, together with an English translation). It is worth noting at this
point that after describing the Arabic translation as “clear” and “smooth”, al-Ahmary
admits that some provocative phrases in the original which could “hinder the
publication of the book” were “paraphrased” or “avoided” (ibid.: 16). The many
omissions and other interventions discussed in the examples above are thus presented
as a conscious act of self-censorship. Using Bourdieu’s terms, we might say that the
habitus of the agent has “consciously” aligned itself with the structure of the field
based on a “feel for the game” – an appreciation of what can and cannot be allowed
by the laws of the field: not only the publishing field but, more importantly, the all-

76 Others, however, have stressed that the West does not merely consist of America and that this is not
a war of religions; Khafaji, for one, states: “[n]obody heard that Norway, Finland, or Canada, for
example, target the Islamic and Arabian culture to change it into Scandinavian or Canadian values”
(2005: 68). Those who argue against the idea of current conflicts being motivated by longstanding
hostility between the West and Islam stress that the real threat comes from radical US
neoconservatives, who are not to be confused with other non-Muslim Western nations that do not seek
to invade Arab and Muslim countries.
encompassing field of power in which the publishing field, like all fields, is ultimately
situated.

Al-Ahmary begins the introduction by arguing that “it is important for the Arab
intellectual [...] to be aware of the school that supports and calls for occupation” (al-
Ahmary 2006: 13). He then proceeds to introduce Ferguson and his earlier works to
the reader, before offering a summary of Ferguson’s ideas in *Colossus*. Ferguson’s
imperialistic views, he suggests, stem from the belief that the US is the child of the
British Empire and should continue along its path (ibid.). The introduction then focuses
on the diachronic dimension of the hostile relations between West and East, Islam and
Christianity. Al-Ahmary encourages the Arab reader to look at the text in the context of
the US efforts to dominate the Middle East and “the world, its resources, land,
religions, banks, and behaviours” (al-Ahmary 2006: 13). The troubled relationship
between Islam and the West is shown to inform the religious tone of the war on
terrorism:

ومن طريق ما يعرف به المرشد للإمبراطورية بأن الحرب التجارية اليوم –في أفغانستان
والعراق- هي حرب دينية، وحرب على الموارد، وهذان العاملان هما أهم عناصر المواجهة، وأن
الغطاء على هذين العاملين هو: "الحرب على الإرهاب".

كما أن الكتاب لم يخل من العبارات التي توحي بالكراهية للمسلمين و التحيز الاعمى ضدهم، ولكن
هذه ثقافة موروثة في الغرب زادت الأحداث الأخيرة من إثارةها.

It is interesting that this guide to the empire [i.e. Ferguson] admits that
today’s ongoing war - in Afghanistan and Iraq - *is a religious war, and a
war over resources*. These two factors are the most important elements
of confrontation, with the “war on terror” serving as a cover.

The book is also not free of [i.e. is full of] expressions of hatred of and
strong bias against Muslims. *But this is an inherited culture in the West,
which has been aggravated by the recent events.* (ibid.: 16; emphasis
added)

Al-Ahmary sees Ferguson’s book as a product of the widespread animosity between
the West and Islam, which has endured for centuries. Thus, the declared goals of the
invasion of Iraq are not only seen as an attack against Arab and Muslim *land* but also,
from a religious-political perspective, as an attack against Islamic Sharia (law/jurisdiction) as a whole. Ferguson’s book explicitly promotes this aspect of US policy. The choice to translate it and make it available to Saudi readers is politically and ideologically motivated; it seeks to reaffirm and is the product of the nationalist-religious doxa about the hidden goals of the Americans, which portrays the West’s political engagements in the Middle East as part of a cover plan to overpower Islam.\(^\text{77}\)

The cover and title of the Arabic version, compared to the UK version on which the translation was based, once again reveal the workings of the religious doxa and the positioning of Obeikan within the religious field. The front cover of the original UK hardback edition features a procession of tanks bearing soldiers moving down a road towards the Colosseum, with crowds of people standing on the pavement watching the procession (see figure 29 above). The army signifies the US military power, its engagements in different part of the world, and its imperial quests. The inclusion of the Colosseum signals the fall of the Roman Empire, and hence the likely course that the American empire will also take. It is a symbol of imperial lapse. The unarmed spectators, one might argue, represent the rest of the world, other nations that play a less decisive role in the international arena compared to the US. The symbolism of the front cover reinforces the views expressed in the book itself. The white paperback cover of the UK version (Figure 30 above), on the other hand, features a small toy-like solider holding the American flag. There is a clear element of mockery, signalled by the toy soldier who appears to be very rigid/lifeless. The juxtaposition of the verbal (Colossus) and the visual (image of toy soldier) sets a tone of mockery.

*Colossus* in English is generally used to refer to “[a] statue (...) of a person or god, that is much bigger than life size” or “[a]n extremely large person (...) of great importance, prominence, or influence” (*Oxford English Dictionary*), and tends to be associated with figures from antiquity, such as Colossus of Nero, Apollo, etc. The title *Colossus* together with the image of the Colosseum on the cover symbolise that the American Empire is today’s equivalent of the Roman Empire, and will face the same fate. The book also begins with a quote from Thomas Jefferson, which may have inspired the choice of title:

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\(^{77}\) Again, criticism of the US in the Kingdom is not necessarily dictated by religious beliefs. Obeikan and al-Ahmary do not represent the full spectrum of political and religious positions in Saudi Arabia.
Old Europe will have to lean on our shoulders, and to hobble along by our side, under the monkish trammels of priests and kings, as she can. What a colossus shall we be.

The cover of Obeikan’s translation presents a different picture of this “colossus”, one that is again infused with religious overtones. The upper half of the front cover is dark blue while the lower half is printed in bright blue; it features the Statue of Liberty and the American flag (see figure 31 above). The Arabic title is al-Ṣanam: Ṣuʿūd wa Ṣuqūṭ al-‘Imbrāṭorīah al-Amrīkīyah, which is a close translation of the original title, except for the first word, which constitutes the main title. The word Ṣanam “صَنْصُم”, chosen as the equivalent for “colossus” here, denotes “an object that is worshipped as a God” (Ibn al-Manthur: 2511-2), i.e. an idol. With the advent of Islam in Arabia, the term acquired highly negative meanings, because of its association with polytheism. Polytheism – the worship of idols – was common in pre-Islamic central Arabia during the period of history known to Muslims as Jahiliyyah (age of ignorance). The Prophet encouraged the destruction of statues/idols in the early days to put an end to polytheism, which posed a direct challenge to Islam. The modern radicalist interpretation of this rejection of statues can be exemplified by the destruction of the statues of Buddha by the Taliban in 2001, despite international outcries and intense opposition from many Muslim groups. The word Ṣanam also has a range of negative connotations in modern Arabic; for example it can mean “heartless” or “non-human”, and is often used in a derogatory way to refer to people or objects. The choice to use it as a title, accompanied by the Statue of Liberty on the front cover, draws on the religious doxa and dispositions to portray the US as an ignorant, heartless entity. In effecting a figurative comparison between the US and pre-Islamic idols, the publisher also indirectly evokes the early Islamic practice of destroying idols, thus implying that the US Empire can and should be destroyed, at the same time as drawing a parallel between the clash of Idolatry and Islam during the Jahiliyya period, and the encounter between imperialistic powers and Muslim nations today.

The blurb on the back cover of the Arabic translation (see figure 32 below) features quotes from *The Times, The Daily Mail, The Financial Times, New York Review of Books, The Sunday Times*, and *Evening Standard*. It also features a brief introduction to the author. All the quotes cited praise Ferguson’s views and style of writing, as in the following example, back-translated from Arabic: “[s]mooth style, attractive methodology .. [sic] The book is enjoyable and full of visionary insights and smart ideas” (Fernandez-Armesto, *The Sunday Times*). How can we read Obeikan’s decision to quote so much praise of Ferguson on the back cover when the introduction, title and some of the footnotes openly denounce him and his “visionary insights”? One obvious explanation is that, like any publisher, Obeikan is situated in the economic field and must promote the books it decides to publish effectively: in other words, the decision is by motivated by the prospect of economic gain. Another possible explanation, however, is that Obeikan is indirectly signalling to the reader that imperialistic ideologies that support aggressive behaviour towards the developing world, particularly Arab and Muslim countries, enjoy wide currency in the West. The fact that these reviews are published by well-known international newspapers and magazines confirms that the dominant narratives in the West are supportive of the US imperialistic plans in the region. The strategy portrays the West as a single entity, one that is fully supportive of the US in its ambition to dominate the Arab and Islamic world. The reader is indirectly made aware that the animosity between the West and Islam is an international phenomenon.
New York Review of Books

سلاسة في الأسلوب، جاذبية في المنهجية.. الكتاب ممتع ومثير بالرؤية المبهرة والأفكار.
فيليب فيرنانديز-آرمسترو، "ستنداي تايمز".

كتاب يثير الإعجاب.. مفعم بالطاقة، محفز للخيال والفصول.
هوج توماس، "أينش بوستندر".

فیل فرجرسون، يعمل أستادًا في جامعة هارفرد، وهو كبير
الزملاء الباحثين في كلية المسيح (جامعة أكسفورد). وكبير الزملاء
في معهد هوفتر (جامعة ستانفورد) الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.
3.3 The Historic Suspicion towards the US

Some of the editor’s footnotes included in the translation underline the historical continuity of the suspicious involvement in Middle Eastern policies on the part of the US. In example 10, Ferguson talks about the US initial support of the 1952 Arab Nationalist Revolution.

Example 10

In Egypt the initial American impulse was to back the nationalist demagogue – in this case Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser – against the British ... (2004: 110)

A footnote is added here by the editor:

بشأن هذه العلاقات راجع كتاب: محمد جلال كشك "ثورة يوليو الأمريكية". (171: 2006)

Gloss: On these relationships, refer to Muhammad Jalal Kishk’s The American July Revolution.

In this controversial book recommended by the editor, Kishk recounts the US involvement in the Egyptian Revolution of 1952 and claims that Gamal Abdel Nasser had links with – i.e. was working for – US intelligence agencies. The reader is thus directed to material that can only serve to further reinforce the idea that the US has, and has always had, a hidden agenda, that it has always meddled in the affairs of the region.

Other footnotes serve similar purposes:

Example 11

Ferguson argues that the US was not always on good terms with the then newly found Israel, stating that:

[t]he United States was hostile when Israel occupied Sinai and the Gaza Strip in 1956, insisting that the Israelis withdraw. (2004: 110)
Gloss: The author’s statement here is not accurate in both idea [interpretation] and historical fact. The occupation of Gaza and Sinai occurred in 1967.

By highlighting Ferguson’s error with respect to the date on which Sinai and Gaza were occupied, the editor undermines his credibility as an author/historian, but he [the editor] also directly questions the idea that the American government was “hostile” towards the Israelis and that they suspended aid to Israel on several occasions (Ferguson 2004: 110). By discrediting Ferguson in terms of the accuracy of one aspect of his argument, he discredits the whole argument.

Example 12

In discussing tactics adopted by some Arab states after suffering losses in wars with Israel, Ferguson claims the following:

Humiliated on the battlefield, the Arab states early on resorted to the sponsorship of terrorism by Palestinian exiles. (2004: 123)

The editor adds the following footnote:


Gloss: The author sees the resistance of Arabs and Muslims as “terrorism”, even when he admits that the motives of the West – including Israel – are economic and religious; he also admits that the word terrorism is a ((form)) or a cover for these wars.

The footnote stresses the double standards of the US and the West and their manipulative use of the word “terrorism” to condemn or justify actions from the perspective of Western interest in the Middle East. The note is also consistent with the publisher’s/editor’s positioning in relation to the conflict between Palestinians and Israel, as reflected in the discussion in section 3.1 above.
4. Conclusion

This case study sought to reveal certain socio-political underpinnings of one instance of the cultural production of an agent in the field of publishing. The analysis incorporated textual as well as paratextual features of the translation of Ferguson’s *Colossus* produced by Obeikan, one of the leading publishers of translations in the Kingdom.

The analysis suggests that the political doxa and the field of power in the Kingdom do not constitute single homologous entities. The US intervention and presence in the Kingdom in 1990/1991 and later in 2003 (the two invasions of Iraq) have been met with a strong reaction from various quarters. The struggle that ensued brought the doxa from the subconscious to conscious level, i.e. the doxa no longer remained undisputed, no longer constituted fully taken-for-granted beliefs. Two prominent, dominant trends sought to define the beliefs that regulate the Kingdom’s relationships with Western powers. While the nationalist cum-religious trend struggled to resist outside intervention in regional affairs, the political authority of the House of Saud and the institutions that supported them sought to reshape the doxa, and thus constituted a heterodoxic, but nonetheless powerful, opposing trend. Examples of censorial strategies, directly or indirectly enforced by the political authority, were offered in the case study discussed. The censorship, and the publisher’s dual strategy of complying with it and simultaneously undermining it, demonstrates the dynamic of power and resistance operating in the field. The publishing agent’s position in relation to the struggle between the nationalist-religious field and the political field is reflected in textual and paratextual choices, as well as in the very choice of the source text. Passages deemed threatening to the political authorities are omitted, but readers are alerted to the omissions through typographical and other means. This strategy suggests opposition to censorial laws enforced by the government and an attempt to protect the autonomy of the field as much as possible. Alignment with the nationalist-religious position is signalled mostly in the paratexts. This alignment does not mean that Obeikan is a radical-Islamist publisher obsessed with conspiracy theory. But it does suggest that the nationalist religious principles, i.e. the doxa, can be traced in the habitus, or the dispositions instilled in the minds and bodies of the agents, and that their practice in the field of publishing can provide a glimpse into these dispositions.
Chapter 6

Findings and Conclusions

As discussed in chapter 1, a key justification for this study is the lack of in-depth research into translation activities in Saudi Arabia as cultural and sociological phenomena. The very few academic studies that investigate translation activities in the Kingdom overlook the sociological and political motivations and implications of the acts of translation they examine. Against this background, the main research question this thesis set out to address was:

How can Bourdieu’s model help in examining translation practice in Saudi Arabia as an emerging field of cultural production in its own right, and in exposing translation actors and actions as sociological phenomena situated within the field of power?

Bourdieu offers a robust framework for the investigation of cultural practices from interrelated social, cultural, and political perspectives. Since the late 1990s, when sociological theories began to impact Translation and Interpreting Studies, Bourdieu’s model has proved particularly attractive and has been adopted by numerous scholars to examine translation and interpreting practices in various cultural and political settings. Bourdieu’s conceptual tools generated much discussion and debate, focusing on how to define the habitus and agency of the translator and interpreter within the fields in which they operate. Explicating and critiquing his core concepts was the focus of chapter 2, which – together with the analytical chapters – aimed to address the first research sub-question:

How can Bourdieu’s core concepts be used to describe and explain the practice of both academic and private publishers as the principal producers of translations in Saudi Arabia and as players in the emerging field of translation?

Key Bourdieusean notions were discussed in detail, drawing examples from previous Bourdieu-inspired research within Translation and Interpreting Studies and using various examples from the Saudi socio-political context. The dynamic and interrelated notions of field and habitus were found helpful in that, in examining cultural practice,
the model places equal emphasis on the structure of the fields operating within the social space and the agency of the players in the game. The two-way relationship posited between the habitus and field, i.e. between the subjective system of dispositions and the objective structures of the field, means that each conditions and is conditioned by the other. A Bourdieusean examination of translation activities does not take into account the practice of the agents and the resulting cultural products in isolation but rather identifies them within the dynamics of the encompassing structures or fields in the social space that condition and in turn are conditioned by the agents. In other words, constructing a Bourdieusean sociological representation of translation practice is achieved by locating this practice within a network of relations between the positions available in the fields of cultural production, the agents occupying these positions, and the positions in the dominating field of power. Bourdieu’s notion of heteronomy proved useful in describing translation practices that are influenced by the economic and political dictates of the field of power, where cultural production is subjected to the rules of the market and agents aim for economic profit and larger audiences and consumers. The notion of autonomy, on the other hand, was used to describe practices where the initiation of cultural products was more focused on the acquisition of cultural and symbolic capital.

In addition, Bourdieu’s notion of homology proved helpful in understanding the relationships and points of overlap between the fields operating in the social space. The notion was deployed to examine the way in which the dynamics of the academic field, the publishing field, and the field of power feed into the logic of practice in the translation field, and vice versa. The nature and circulation of capital are determined by the agents’ ongoing struggles in the field, which highlight aspects of their “feel for the game”, their ability to sense that they are members of a network of positions with unique characteristics, striving over unique sets of capital. The relationships between the positions of the agents and the methods they apply in their struggles over capital are analysed to delineate the boundaries of the field in which they operate (Sela-Sheffy 2005: 11). In other words, identifying field-specific forms of capital and highlighting ongoing struggles over them help us distinguish these practices from those that are carried out in overlapping fields of cultural production in the social space.
However, although Bourdieu provides a solid, comprehensive tool-kit for the examination of social phenomena, in some respects these conceptual tools seem to be tailored for the examination of established social and cultural structures located in central European and Anglo-American social spaces, where Bourdieusean theory was developed and has thrived. The social agents in larger fields of cultural production, such as those located in European and Anglo-American social spaces, often enjoy more concrete and sustained networks of positions. The individual and institutional agents both possess longer trajectories and greater volumes of cultural production, from which the social observer can draw a wealth of data for sociological research. On the other hand, the individual and institutional agents in new fields of cultural production in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are fewer in number, and their history in the game is relatively blurred and short due to their emerging status. Applying Bourdieu’s sociological model to “weaker” and relatively new fields of cultural production, such as the field of translation and publishing in Saudi Arabia investigated here, could lead to rather mechanistic and deterministic sociological depictions, which I have tried to avoid in this study. This in turn leads to the critical question: can Bourdieu’s sociological model be imported to investigate sociological phenomena in recently established social structures of fields of cultural production such as those located in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia?

It is difficult to provide a straightforward answer to this question in the present study. The analyses presented in earlier chapters attempted to investigate translation practice in the Kingdom based mostly on the trajectories of institutional agents and their lists of translated books. Notions such as field, habitus, capital, and homology proved to be the most fruitful in this respect since they provided insightful glimpses into some of the ways in which the more established field of power in the Kingdom (the three poles of heteronomy: economic, political, and religious) influences and is influenced by these emerging fields of cultural production. Further research is required to investigate individual social agents (including translators) and their specific histories or trajectories to further highlight aspects of the individual habitus that feeds into their (translational) practice in the fields in question (see section 6 below).
1. A Field in its own Right?

The notion of a translator’s habitus and that of a translation field have been much debated since Bourdieu’s theory found its way to Translation and Interpreting Studies. The late Simeoni (1998) was among the first translation scholars to place the notion of a translator’s habitus under scrutiny. He calls the space where translation is carried out a “pseudo” or “would-be” field, because the translators’ products are the result of “diversely distributed social habituses [...] governed by the rules pertaining to the field in which the translation takes place” (ibid.: 19; emphasis in the original). He maintains that what translators produce does not emanate from a “field of translation, but that of heteronomous (literary, technical, legal, etc.) production” (ibid.: 20). Simeoni proposes that because of their low status, translators are more susceptible to the influence of other fields in which they operate, and which ultimately govern their habitus.

Simeoni’s argument may be plausible in situations where a given space for translation is too small and young to have evolved into a field, as in the case of translation practices undertaken in the Jeddah Literary and Cultural Club (chapter 3 section 4.5). The social agents who provide translations for Nawafidh reveal no clear indicators of how they or their products are positioned in a “field of translation”; instead, they seem completely overwhelmed by the dictates of the literary field in the Kingdom. The autonomy that characterises their translation production is rooted in the autonomy of the literary field; the autonomous literary agents in JLCC who established Nawafidh are the agents who set the rules of the game for the magazine: defining the conditions for accepting translations to be published; specifying the source languages from which to translate, as well as the subjects and literary themes for each edition; writing the editorials, etc. The translators must abide by these rules for their translations to be accepted, and in this sense they seem subservient to the dictates of the literary field. Thus, while the practices of the translating agents for Nawafidh are largely aimed at acquiring cultural and symbolic capital and are subjected to minimal exposure to the influence of the field of power, rendering them autonomous in this respect, it could be said that, at the same time, they are heavily subjected to a strong heteronomous influence from the literary field in the Kingdom. This seems rather contradictory from a
Bourdieu's perspective and points to one of the problematics in applying Bourdieu's model to relatively new spaces of cultural production and to diffuse practices such as translation.

Many Bourdieu-inspired studies of translation that followed Simeoni's article have challenged his conceptualisation of the notion of habitus and the generalisations he makes about the subservient position of translators. Gouanvic rightly argues that the problem with Simeoni's redefinition of habitus is that it overlooks the fact that habitus cannot be examined in isolation from other highly interrelated key notions – field, capital, etc. – within Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus (2005: 148-9). Indeed, as discussed in chapter 2, the habitus and the field cannot be analysed in isolation from each other, as cultural practices in fields of cultural production are generated and guided by the dynamic relations between structure and agency. In a similar vein, Sela-Sheffy describes Simeoni's concept of the translator's habitus as "too monolithic and static" and argues that it lacks the dynamic function of action, which Bourdieu has always emphasised as an indispensable feature of the habitus (2005: 4). She stresses that it is not possible to speak of a universal translator's habitus based on English and French cultures, from which Simeoni draws his conclusions (ibid.: 5), but that investigations should rather be carried out on the dynamics of specific fields in different cultures where translation practices occur.

Against this background, the key translating agents within the academic and literary institutions (chapter 3) and the private publishing industry (chapter 4) in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia were identified and examined in order to address the second research question:

*Using Bourdieu, how can the structure of the sub-fields of translation in contemporary Saudi Arabia be described?*

The space where translation is practised in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was divided into two networks of positions, each offering different forms of capital and exhibiting different logics of practice. Putting aside some minor and limited translation activities undertaken by some governmental institutions, the positions in question are those located in academic institutions, and in the private publishing industry. Based on the
analysis of the translation practices of three major academic institutions (King Saud University, Institute of Public Administration, and King Abdulaziz University) and three major private publishers (Jarir, Obeikan, and Dar al-Mareekh), I would argue that there are two emerging fields of translation in Saudi Arabia: one that is a sub-field of the academic field, and one that is a sub-field of the publishing field. The logic of practice of these (sub)fields is still being negotiated, with unique positions occupied by agents seeking unique sets of capital slowly emerging.

2. The Sub-field of Academic Translation

Translation in major academic institutions, as discussed in chapter 3, is undertaken by academics, and the products are consumed mainly by students and scholars within the academic field (chapter 3 section 5.1). Translations are focused on intellectual or training needs and the needs of those who belong, work, or study within the relevant institutions. I suggest that these practices and the positions of the agents involved in them comprise a unique field or sub-field, which can be referred to as the sub-field of academic translation, based on three main considerations:

- There are unique conditions of membership that an academic agent in each of these institutions must fulfil to become a member of the sub-field; these include mastering at least two languages and being well acquainted with the basics of translation, which are essential qualities, or cultural capital, that not all academics possess.
- Although the majority of the capital sought by the translation agents, such as academic consecration, academic career promotion, etc., is overwhelmingly intertwined with the academic field, the above-mentioned qualities allow the players to engage with translation activities that generate additional financial rewards offered by the universities exclusively for these translation practices.
- In addition, examining the winners of the annual King Abdullah International Award for Translation (discussed in chapter 3, section 5.1.1) reveals that all the Saudi recipients of the awards are university professors working in Saudi universities. Their award-winning translations are also published by university translation
centres. King Saud University Translation Centre was selected as Institution of the Year in the second year of the award, 2008. These facts suggest that the annual awards have become a significant site of struggle among translators in the sub-field of academic translation for economic, cultural, and symbolic capital offered by the award, further legitimising translation as a field in its own right.

- Finally, academics engaged in translation and their products are sometimes listed on the universities' websites in a separate group, as in the case of King Saud University Translation Centre. This listing recognises them as ‘translators’, and distinguishes them from other non-translating academic agents.

The boundaries between individual agents’ positions as academic translators and as academic teachers are very loose, i.e. the agents can cross over from one position to another. These indicators suggest that academic translation agents occupy distinct positions in the sub-field and compete in a separate field to gain unique forms of capital that are not necessarily motivated by their careers as academic agents. However, practices in this sub-field directly feed into the ongoing inter-institutional competition among universities in the Kingdom to establish themselves in the academic field and occupy higher positions locally and globally. Translation is considered by Saudi universities as an important means for enhancing their own scientific research output, which help secure higher positions in international ranking lists (section 5.1.1).

3. The Sub-field of Translation within the Publishing Field

In investigating translation as practised within the publishing industry in Saudi Arabia, it is useful to compare the publishing field in the Kingdom with Thompson’s (2010) Bourdieusean depiction of the publishing industry, in which he draws on data from the Anglo-American book market. Thompson argues that the publishing field is not structured as a single entity but is marked by a “plurality of worlds” (2010: 4), and suggests that it comprises multiple fields, each having a distinct set of positions, a unique logic of practice and distinctive forms of capital. These fields or sub-fields would include the field of higher education publishing, the field of professional publishing, the field of literary publishing, etc. For example, the habitus or dispositions
of individual agents who occupy positions in the field of literary publishing are shaped by and respond to a feel for their own game that might necessitate, for instance, discovering new and promising literary authors or maintaining relations with existing prestigious authors. They seek types of capital that, although similar in principle, are different from those sought by agents in, say, the field of higher education publishing. Each group of specialist agents seeks different forms of capital; Thompson (2010: 5-8) identifies the following: economic capital; human capital – or the staff and their accumulated skills; social capital – or the network of contacts they enjoy or seek to enjoy in their specialist areas; intellectual capital – or the rights the publisher owns of intellectual content; and symbolic capital. These differences and the boundaries they reveal between various highly interrelated fields only become manifest when the agents and their positions are closely examined to ascertain whether a set of practices and relations between positions have evolved into a logic of a field unique to the positions and the agents occupying them. The logic of a field is defined by Thompson as:

a set of factors that determine the conditions under which the individual agents and organizations can participate in the field – that is, the conditions under which they play the game (and play it successfully) (ibid.: 11).

In examining the Saudi publishing field, we can see that the field itself is in the course of being structured, its ‘structure’ being far less stable and clear than the publishing fields in other parts of the Arab world – especially Egypt and Lebanon – or, for that matter, the highly structured and now global Anglo-American publishing field. This is evident in the low numbers of literary and intellectual books published in Saudi Arabia. In 2010, the total literary and intellectual book production by Saudi authors amounted to 311 books. More than 1/3 (116 books) were published outside the Kingdom, mostly in Lebanon, Egypt and London81. Another 112 books were published by institutions subsidised by the government or at the authors’ expense. Only 80 books were published

81 Publishing literary books by Saudi authors outside the Kingdom has not been uncommon during the past 20-30 years. The decision to publish outside the Kingdom may be motivated by a wish to avoid censorship, lower production costs, and/or the availability of better promotion outlets that allow authors to reach larger audiences. See Riyadh newspaper 2011 survey of the obstacles that hinder book publication and distribution in Saudi Arabia, available at http://www.alriyadh.com/2011/03/03/article610162.html [last accessed 22 March 2012]
published by local private publishers (al-Yosif 2011). Table 8 shows the approximate\textsuperscript{82} figures of literary and intellectual book production of Saudis published in and outside the Kingdom (taken from a series of studies by al-Yosif in 2009-11):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total number</th>
<th>Outside KSA</th>
<th>In KSA</th>
<th>Saudi Private publishers</th>
<th>Saudi Gov Publishers /published by author / Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Place of publication of non-translated literary and intellectual production by Saudis in 2008-10

The table shows that the majority of Saudi literary works are released either by publishing industries outside the Kingdom or by Saudi governmental publishers and the authors themselves. A smaller proportion of the overall output is issued by local private publishers. In addition, major private publishers do not engage in these activities. Obeikan rarely features as a publisher of Saudi literary works in the period 2008-10: it published 2 works in 2008, 2 in 2009, and 4 in 2010 (al-Yosif 2009, 2010, 2011). Jarir was not involved in publishing any of these works\textsuperscript{83}. Saudi works are published outside the Kingdom because the authors wish to ensure that their works circulate in the Arab as well as international markets (al-Yosif 2010), which suggests lack of confidence in the local publishing industry. As discussed earlier, books produced in Saudi Arabia do not enjoy much visibility. This is due to the fact there are only a few, restricted promotion outlets available; these include annual book fairs, a small number of literary magazines and periodicals published by the literary cultural clubs and not easily available to the mainstream readership, occasional book reviews published in local newspapers (which tend to prioritise books by non-Saudis published outside the Kingdom), and the publishers’ own catalogues, which can only be obtained directly from their bookshops.

This situation suggests an absence of an essential type of homology between the publishing field, on the one hand, and the literary field and field of journalism on the

\textsuperscript{82} Slight errors in the numbers of books published by different institutions were discovered in several places in al-Yosif’s studies. The statistics are used here only to offer a general idea of the publishing field in the Kingdom.

\textsuperscript{83} This however does not mean that Saudi literary and intellectual production is not sold and distributed by these publishers.
other, a homology that is typically found between fields of cultural production that engage in book-related practices. The absence of a structured space for discussing and debating Saudi book production limits the circulation and distribution of cultural and symbolic capital (in the form of prizes and positive reviews) as well as economic capital. In general, as a form of cultural commodity produced by fields of cultural production in Bourdieusean terms, books, translated or otherwise, are often marketed and circulated within literary forums and press circles. These spaces are common sites for the struggle over and the distribution of economic, cultural, and/or symbolic capital for the agents and their products. In other words, they constitute essential environments for shaping and reshaping forms of struggle and organising the hierarchy of positions in fields of cultural production (Sela-Sheffy 2005: 11).

In his examination of different layers of homologous relationships between the field of drama translation and other fields at the turn of the 20th century in Egypt, Hanna identifies a field of drama translation criticism (2006: 81-7). In this field, Hanna argues, agents, who include reviewers of translated drama, historians of drama translation and researchers in drama translation, struggle to impose their views of what counts as “the acceptable mode” of drama translation production (ibid.: 84). “It is in this field,” Hanna continues, “that supply and demand, the positions of producers of drama translation and the dispositions of consumers (readers or spectators), are orchestrated” (ibid.). In the case of translation in Saudi Arabia, the absence of homologous relations between what could be referred to as the field of translation or the publishing field, on the one hand, and the literary field and the field of journalism on the other, results in a lack of structured arenas, whether in the media or elsewhere, where translators and critics can engage in discussions and debates over translation and books in general. This situation is acknowledged and is a cause for concern among Saudi intellectuals. Having worked with Obeikan on translation projects for years, when Mohammed al-Ahmary, a recognised Islamic writer and thinker (see chapter 5, section 2.3), was asked for his opinion on current translation production in Saudi Arabia, he replied:

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84 Hanna later abandoned the idea of a separate field for drama translation criticism and concluded that discourses on drama translation in Egypt are best described as emanating from three distinct fields: theatre journalism, literary journalism, and translation studies (ibid.: 278).
Much [of this production] is commercial, and, unfortunately, these books are sweeping the market. Sometimes the quality of translation is very poor. There are some highly influential books of high cultural value. The problem is that no one markets them after publication. For example, when I was there [in Obeikan], excellent books were translated. Other publishers translated [excellent books], too. But, unfortunately, there are no intellectuals in the press who follow [new products] and write reviews of them. I remember, one time, a journalist visited me and took a very large number of books; he filled his car with these new books, and said he was going to write about them. He did not write a single article (Liqa’ al-Juma’h TV show 2012; my translation and emphasis).

Al-Ahmary speaks here of an aspect of Saudi press circles that, he argues, has limited the visibility of translation production, even among the readership in the Kingdom. The lack of homologies between agents in overlapping fields of cultural production can thus undermine the way capital associated with book production is negotiated and managed, and this may ultimately affect the dynamics of the field(s). This issue has also impacted, to some extent, the scope of this study. It proved difficult to locate sufficient reviews of Arabic translations in Saudi Arabia in the course of this research; had such reviews existed, they would have been helpful in shedding more light on the dynamics of the circulation and consumption of translation production. Although analysing publishers’ strategies through book lists is a useful method in applying Bourdieu’s sociology (Sapiro 2008: 161), book reviews nonetheless provide further insight into the reception of cultural goods by critics and readerships alike, and no doubt influence the positions of the agents and the distribution of capital.

85 I would also argue that the “crisis discourse” discussed in chapter 1, which triggered national debates in the Kingdom over the shortage of translations into Arabic and led to subsequent calls for establishing large translation projects, fails to recognise, or at least acknowledge, the absence of this crucial site for the distribution of capital, and the way in which this absence undermines the relationships between the producers and consumers of translations in Saudi Arabia.
With such lack of homologous relations between the fields of cultural production, do translation activities in the publishing field, and the dispositions and struggles that shape them, display sufficient Bourdieusean characteristics of fields to allow us to speak of a translation field in its own right? It is also difficult to provide a straightforward answer to this question. In what follows, I offer some observations to support my contention that the fields of publishing and translation are both ‘emerging’ and in the process of negotiating and developing their respective structures in the Saudi social space.

Private publishers import large numbers of books in various genres, including titles by Saudi authors released by foreign publishers, a tradition which has existed for many years. In the period 1981-1988, for example, around 19,200 Arabic titles were imported into the Saudi market, whereas only 2700 Arabic books were published in the Kingdom during the same period (Sa’ati 2000: 32). The imbalance of book traffic between the Saudi publishing industry and the more structured Arab and global publishing industries highlights the ongoing structuring phase of the former. It is reasonable to assume that massive importation of books is likely to be accompanied by extensive importation of the structures of publishing industries that produced them. This process is likely to lead to the establishment of similar arenas for debating, discussing, and reviewing books in the Kingdom. This recalls Gouanvic’s account of how the importation of American science-fiction magazines into 1950s France helped to establish a field of science-fiction in its own right in that country (Gouanvic 1999).

That the publishing industry in the Kingdom is emerging as a field is evident in the proliferation of publishing houses, both private and governmental, that now operate in the Kingdom. Moreover, the large volume of translation production by Jarir, Obeikan and Dar al-Mareekh, especially in recent years as far as Jarir and Obeikan are concerned, indicates that translation is occupying a unique space in these institutions, as also evident in the incorporation of separate departments for translation production. These translation departments hire agents to take charge of setting up criteria for selecting books to be translated, acquiring rights, etc., thus delineating the boundaries of positions in a field of translation since these agents will consequently

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86 Such arenas are now beginning to surface in online social networks, such as Twitter and Facebook, as a growing number of Saudis, including writers and intellectuals, are participating in online groups to discuss old and new publications available on the market.
partake of relations of struggle involving translational positions in other competing publishing houses. The fact that the publishing houses discussed here have repeatedly refused to provide me with sales figures for their translations is further indicative of a struggle among publishers. Their practices and the capital they seek display a dynamic of its own; translated and non-translated titles are promoted separately, which suggests a distinction in the sources of economic capital between, on the one hand, the publishing field in general and, on the other, the field of translation publishing in particular. As in Jarir’s case, a special catalogue is issued to promote each publisher’s translated titles separately. These practices suggest that translation might be emerging as a sub-field within the emerging field of publishing.

4. Capital

Drawing on lists of translated publications to examine the strategies of agents, I made use of the notion of capital to highlight the characteristics that define the agents’ positions by identifying the types of stakes they strive for through their production. I also adopted the concepts of “large-scale circulation” and “small-scale circulation” (Bourdieu 1971, Sapiro 2008) to describe translational trends in terms of the types of capital prioritised, and how they relate to the degree of influence exercised by the field of power. This part of the study was undertaken to address the third research question:

_How might the principal agents contributing to the definition of the translation field(s) and their products be described in terms of the capital prioritised, and how do their practices reflect the autonomy or heteronomy of the field(s)?_

I would argue that the spaces in which translation is practised in the Kingdom are structured around the opposition between large-scale and small-scale circulation. The vast majority of the translations produced by the private publisher Jarir were found to be commercially oriented, targeting mainstream readership (chapter 4, section 3.1). The prominent features that define these translations are that they usually consist of

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87 Available at [http://www.jarirbookstore.com/catalog/arabic.asp](http://www.jarirbookstore.com/catalog/arabic.asp) [last accessed 19 February 2012].
(1) bestsellers in the US and UK markets, and (2) reader-friendly self-improvement books. The translations thus largely aim at achieving economic success. This situates Jarir around the heteronomous pole of large-scale circulation, which favours “bestsellers and other commercial genres” (Sapiro 2008: 159-60). This trend could also be tied with the heteronomous shift in the Saudi book industry from a culture of small business to one of large corporate structures, thus strengthening the influence of economic capital (section 2).

On the other hand, translation practices undertaken by academic institutions and the private publishers Dar al-Mareekh and Obeikan suggest that these agents are positioned nearer to the autonomous pole of small-scale circulation, where agents prioritise cultural and symbolic forms of capital. Academics in major universities initiate translations that are later published by university translation centres and sold to students at cost price. Being fully funded by the government, these academic institutions are disinterested in the economic profit these translations may generate and rather focus on gaining cultural and symbolic capital (chapter 3, section 5.1.2). Dar al-Mareekh initiates joint translation projects with faculty members of Saudi universities. Academic professors engage in the process of choosing and translating titles, while the publisher handles printing and publication issues. Dar al-Mareekh prioritises cultural and symbolic over economic capital in that their translation production derives prestige from their association with university professors (chapter 4, section 3.3). Although Obeikan follows a similar pattern of operation as Jarir with regard to translating large numbers of self-help books, a significant proportion of their translation production targets smaller groups of well-informed readers by providing political books as well as biographies and autobiographies of political leaders and prominent intellectual and historical figures (chapter 4, section 3.2). While Jarir translates almost exclusively from English, Obeikan translates novels written in less dominating languages such as Turkish and Pashto, reflecting an autonomous trend that suggests less interest in direct economic capital and an emphasis on gaining symbolic capital. This situates Obeikan nearer to the pole of small-scale circulation, and shows a heavy influence from the heteronomous pole of politics in terms of their political translations.
5. Homologies

Different types of homologies were identified by investigating the sources and subjects of translated titles, which reflect the relationships between the positions occupied by translation agents and positions in overlapping fields in the social space. The investigation was undertaken to address the fourth research question:

*How can we describe the homologies between the translation field(s) and other overlapping fields in the social space, as well as the global book market?*

Being motivated by economic profitability, Jarir’s translation practice is highly influenced by market forces and thus reveals aspects of a strong homology between the emerging field of translation within the publishing field and the field of power, especially the economic field (chapter 4, section 3.1). It was also argued that the heteronomous trend highlights the influence of external social factors exercised through homologous relations with the Anglo-American publishing field, evident in the exclusive importation of what sells in their markets. This trend reflects the way in which a “dominated language” seeks to acquire some of the prestige enjoyed by “dominant languages” (Casanova 2005), or those languages that occupy “hyper-central” positions in the global field (Heilbron 1999), which is English in this case, by importing their cultural goods through translation. The aim here is to import cultural and economic capital to gain access to and occupy stronger positions in the local market.

The notion of homology was also deployed to describe the close relationship or overlap between the practices in the sub-field of academic translation and the practices in the broader academic field. The discourses that exercise influence on translation practices and the way forms of capital are circulated in the sub-field of academic translation within Saudi universities can be said to be emanating in large part from the academic field. A similar relation of homology was suggested between positions in the publishing field and the academic field, evident in the overlap in practices between the private publisher Dar al-Mareekh and academic institutions. Agents in the academic field cross over and act as temporary members of the
emerging sub-field of translation. They engage with the process of selection and translation that feeds into and responds to the needs of the academic field. Therefore, the homology here may be said to be three-fold: between the academic field, the publishing field, and the sub-field of translation within the publishing field.

By focusing on a wide range of political translations, Obeikan was shown to be responding to the doxa that is circulating in the social space, particularly public beliefs and views on American politics in the Middle East. Bourdieu’s notion of homology was helpful in describing Obeikan’s focus on translating anti-American and anti-imperial political books and how the trend relates to the established political doxa. I also used Bourdieu’s model to conduct a case study to locate specific translation strategies adopted by translation agents in Obeikan at several levels of interplay among different fields, especially the religious field and the field of power. The case study aimed to address the fifth and sixth research questions:

*To what extent do macro and micro translation practices reflect the struggle between political and religious orthodoxy and heterodoxy in contemporary Saudi Arabia since the 1991 war on Iraq?*

*To what extent does translation practice reflect the translating agents’ positions in relation to the political and religious doxa and their relationships with the field of power, especially in the context of the international geopolitical aftermath of the 1991 war on Iraq?*

The concept of doxa was deployed to demonstrate how several paratextual engagements at the macro level (the title of the translation, the blurb, the introduction to the translation, and the footnotes) in Obeikan’s translation of Ferguson’s 2004 *Colossus* mirror doxas and discourses of anti-Americanism that have circulated in the Saudi social space since the US intervention and presence in the Kingdom in 1990/1991, and later in 2003. The concepts of orthodoxy and heterodoxy were also used to analyse a series of textual interventions at the micro level. Typographic signalling of censored sections that undermine the political authorities was found to reflect the agent’s positioning in relation to the heterodoxic, pro-American stance in the political field (chapter 5, section 3.1). The publisher’s position in this respect aligns with and reflects the orthodoxic stance of the pan-Islamist, religious-cum-nationalist
field whose agents have protested the continued military cooperation between the
Kingdom and the US.

The translator’s/publisher’s use of typographical signals to challenge censorship
supports Bourdieu’s argument that the practices shaped by the agent’s dispositions do
not merely reproduce the structure of the field(s) but also attempt to effect change
within it. In other words, the act of simultaneously complying with and challenging
censorship policies demonstrates that relations of power between the agents and the
structures do not proceed in a rigid, top-down direction. The agent, as the examples in
chapter 5 have shown, is also active in negotiating the boundaries of these imposed
policies.

6. Suggestions for Future Research

Research on translation practices in the Kingdom can be extended at several levels,
drawing on Bourdieu. Case studies could be conducted to further investigate the
dynamics of power relations between the sub-fields of translation and surrounding
fields of cultural production, and to examine the influence of the field of power in
detail. While chapter 5 investigated a political translation by Obeikan, Bourdieu’s
model can be applied to wider genres and translations produced by other translation
agents in the publishing and academic fields. The genres can range from children’s
short- stories published by Jarir and Obeikan to medical books published by university
translation centres.

Research can also be conducted to examine the impact of censorship on paratextual
features of translated books in the Kingdom, including the cover and blurb. It is often
the case, for example, that pictures of women on front covers in the originals are
edited by covering certain parts of the body, such as the neck, shoulders, and legs,
before being displayed in various media outlets. In the case of imported non-translated
books and magazines, “indecent” pictures are often blue-pencilled or removed
altogether. University students report that certain medical books which contain
“explicit” pictures of human bodily parts have been banned due to pressures by
religious figures outside the university. Bourdieu’s model provides an excellent
framework to investigate social and cultural phenomena of censorship in terms of the way in which the religious field and the religious doxa strive to dictate discourses on translation and publishing in different fields.

Another area of study concerns the investigation of the currently emerging fields of translation within the publishing and the academic fields. Further research could be conducted to highlight new types of capital distributed in the relevant fields and the influence of the vast importation of books, translated and non-translated, on the structure of the publishing and translation fields.

Investigating the habitus and trajectory of individual translation agents in the Kingdom is another promising area of study that would allow us to test the applicability of Bourdieu’s theory in such small and evolving structures on the micro, individual level. This might involve conducting interviews with different agents in the translation sub-fields in the Kingdom to reveal their historical trajectories and the forms of capital they currently strive for. To further understand the logic of the field, it is important to capture changes in the positions of the agents and the forms of capital they prioritise, and relate these to the autonomy or heteronomy of the fields.
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Appendix 1: A Chronologically Ordered list of Saudi Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>University</th>
<th>Date of Est.</th>
<th>City</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>King Saud University</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Riyadh</td>
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<tr>
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<td>King Fahd University for Petroleum and Minerals</td>
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<td>Dhahran</td>
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<td>Al-Hasa</td>
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</table>
Appendix 2: Translator’s Introduction to *Men are from Mars, Women Are from Venus*

مقدمة المترجم

في تقريري فإن اختيار مكتبة "جرير" لهذا الكتاب لكي يترجم إلى اللغة العربية موقف لأسباب عدة، نعم من أهمها أن الكتاب أتى ليفي حاجة ماسة لدى الرجال والنساء ونحو تسريحة فهم صائب عن الطبيعة المختلفة للرجال والنساء.

كما أن نظم الحياة في المجموعات الاجتماعية، خاصة في ظل الاتجاه العالمي وسهولة انتقال التأثيرات من مجتمع إلى آخر، مع استثناءات فنية جداً لمجموعات بداية معروفة، تتناسب بشكل كبير من التوترات والإحباطات المتكررة التي قد تسبب مادة هذا الكتاب - حين الإفادة منها - في تخفيف حدةها.

والأشخاص جاء نتيجة خبرة علاجية عملية ودراسات ميدانية وتحليل بيانات جمعت من عينات كبيرة.

والمتخصصون الذين قد يجدون في تابا الكتاب ما يثير حفيظتهم من تعقيدات مبالغ فيها لا تن سم مع طبيعة معرفتهم العملية الدقيقة لأولهم إن كتابة المختصين للقارئ المعاصر غير المخصصين ونقل المعرفة العلمية بلغة سهلة الفهم قد تكون على حساب اللغة العلمية، ولكن هذا الفن لا يتعلق إلا في الفصول. والكتاب - في تقريري المواقف. أستاذ في هذا الفن، فالكتاب رحلة من الاستغلال والاستكشافات المكتوبة بطريقة طريفة ممتعة أشبه ما تكون بالأحاديث التي قد يبدوا خيالنا في التوقف عن القراءة.

كما أن القارئ يدرك أن هذه الأراء والمقترحات نتم في بيئة حضارية مختلفة عن البيئة الحضارية القارية.

وللاشك أن القارئ يدرك أن هذه الأراء و المقتراحات نتم في بيئة حضارية مختلفة عن البيئة الحضارية القارية العربي على الرغم من القائم الإنساني المشترك بين البينيين، فإاقامة شروكة زوجية في المجتمعات الغربية يصبحها اتصال بين الشرقية يدبر جداً أن يكون له نظير في مجتمعاتنا العربية. وهذا يقتضي النظر في مجتمعنا العربي. مدى اقتصاد القارئ بتطبيق الأفكار الموصى في الكتاب على الأفكار في العربي، وبالتالي مدى فائدة المقترحات الموصى في تابا هذا الكتاب. وأيضاً كانت وجهة نظر العالم العربي اتفاقاً أو معارضة فألم طالما أولاً تتحول وجهة نظره بهو. وبين أديراك الفكر العامية التي يطرحها الكتاب، وهي أن، الرجال والنساء، مختلفون وأن الكثير من الأمور ينجم عن عدم إدراكنا لهذه الفروق، ويبقى بعد ذلك الجيد في سبيل تأسس منظور ذي خصوصية بيئة حول الفروق.

وأينما ذكر اختلاف على ما نعره الكاتب بين جنس الرجل على بسائمه الإيحاء لدى كل منا، ومن هنا فعل مادة هذا الكتاب تسويس قاعدة متينة لإدراك الفروق عموماً تبني عليها قدرة أعظم لدى كل منا على احتفال هذه الاختلافات لنتمكن بالتأكيد من الإبقاء على علاقاتنا وتعزيزها لتحقيق سعادة أعظم لنا جميعاً.

وأخيراً ... فاننار أرجوا أن ينزعج القارئ من بعض التعبيرات التي قد يتفهم الكاتب العربي من استخدامها كقول المؤلف "يقدم الشك للمبتعدين"، أو تلك التي ترد على أقوال الذين يملؤهم المؤلف مما يشب مشاعر اعتمدة في مجتمعاتنا على الانتباه بها وراء جدار من خجل الربح بها على الرغم من أنها مشاعر إنسانية. فمثل هذه التعبيرات مقبول جداً في مجتمع المؤلف، بل ومن قبل أفراد يتميزون بخصائص شخصية معينة في كل المجتمعات. وقد نقلها
Introduction by the Translator

In my opinion, "Jarir"’s decision to translate this book into Arabic is successful for several reasons. Most importantly, the book caters for the real need of men and women to consolidate a sound understanding of the different natures of men and women. The lifestyles of the majority of communities around the world, with very few exceptions such as primitive communities living in isolation, are characterized by repeated tensions and frustrations, especially in light of globalisation trends and the ease of communication between nations. This book – when applied – may contribute in overcoming these frustrations.

The book was based on extensive therapeutic expertise and field studies, as well as an analysis of data collected from large samples. And to those specialists who may be infuriated by exaggerated generalizations in this book that are inconsistent with their rigorous scientific knowledge, I say that writing for non-specialists and conveying scientific knowledge in simple language could be achieved at the expense of scientific accuracy. Only few are masters in this art. The author – in my humble opinion – is a master of this art; the book is a journey of insights and explorations written in a humorous and enjoyable style. They are almost like fun puzzles, to the point that the reader may find it difficult to stop reading.

The author presented the ideas in this book in a variety of ways to suit people of various tastes and cultural backgrounds. He thus reiterates his ideas in different ways and using different expressions in order to reach the largest number of readers. I therefore think that the book is useful for both types of readership: specialist and non-specialist.

The reader, obviously, understands that, despite common human characteristics, these views and proposals are the product of a cultural environment that is different from the cultural environment of the Arab reader. Marital relationship in Western societies
is preceded by contact between the two partners, which is very rare in Arab societies.

This requires us to consider two things: the extent to which the reader is convinced of the applicability of the ideas in the book to individuals in Arab environments, and, ultimately, the usefulness of the proposals presented in the book. Whether the Arab reader agrees or disagrees, I hope that his views do not prevent him from grasping the general idea proposed in the book; that we, men and women, are different, and that much of the pain is caused by the lack of our understanding of these differences. What remains for us is to make an effort and establish a domesticated theory that suites the Arab environment on the differences between men and women and on ways to improve communication and relationships between individuals and couples in Arab societies.

The material in this book will hopefully establish a solid basis for understanding differences in general in order to strengthen our ability to tolerate these differences. Then we will be able to maintain and protect our relationships and achieve greater happiness for all.

Finally, I hope that the reader will not be offended by certain expressions that the typical Arab writer may refrain from using, such as the author’s usage of the phrase “they expressed their thanks to me,” or those expressions of feelings attributable to others quoted by him. We are usually too embarrassed in our societies to express such feelings and choose not to discuss them in public. Not only are such expressions perfectly acceptable in the society to which the author belongs, but these expressions are also used by individuals with certain personal characteristics in all societies. These expressions are translated literally to ensure the accuracy of the translation. In this respect, I encourage the reader to focus on the substance of the book on the ways to enhance communication between individuals and improve their relationships.

The Translator
تقديم:

قضية الكتاب واهيمته

هذا الكتاب يمتاز بكونه أعمق بين كتب التأليف البيروتية، ولا يزيد ذلك عن 된 ، وهو هما ركز بين الدراسة التاريخية والاستراتيجية. الكاتب (أنيير فريج) أستخدم في التاريخ العام والقضايا الاستراتيجية، علم هذا الفن في جامعتي أوكسفورد وكامبريدج وستانفورد ونيويورك وهافرارد. وأهم – تحديثا. تاريخ التمثيل لحركة الاستعمار والتوسع البريطاني، وسبق أن كتب في بعض كتبه عن تاريخ عائلة روتشيلد، وخدمتها للاستعمار البريطاني وخدمة بريطانيا لهذه العائلة الهولندية، فأصبح في أكثر من مكان استمرار فترة بنك روتشفيلد في البنك الدولي الحالي، الذي أسس على رأسه بعض الشخصيات الصهيونية المتزمنة من أمال "بول وولف" أثناء. أكتب بعد كتاب "الاستهلاكية"، وقد احتل بعض الأمريكيون فيalice من يروجون السياسة الإمبراطورية الأمريكية، وكتب المؤلف لولاية أخرى من النصائح التي استقاحتها من تاريخ الاحتلال البريطاني ميلان خصوصية، ثم قدمها في هذا الكاتب، الذي بوازن وانجع ولاحظ بين الإمبراطورية ذهبت وأخرى تطور في الطريق تخطو وتكبور أو تصغير وقد نُسِق في محاولاتها للسيطرة على العالم وأموره وأدائه وبنوكه وسلوكه.

الكاتب مصنف براجس استمرار السيطرة الاستعمارية على العالم لِن براهم قيلان امه وتاريخه، فامريكا يراها خلال كتاباته استمرارا لبريطانيا ولللدور التي قامت به في التاريخ، تاريخ الإقامة في الأفق للسيطرة على الأرض والتجارة والنشرية بالصراعية، ويبٌع سخريته من الإمبراطوريين الذين لم يتسلموا بعد انهم يقومون برسالة مستمرة، ويسيرون في خط التاريخ العالمي الذي لا بد ان تمثله وتسيره الإمبراطورية.

احتلال أفغانستان والعراق من قبل أمريكا جعله يتوقف ويندفع في نقد التفاصيل الذي رآه مخلالا لطراف المستعمرين من قبل، شاهد في بدل النصائح للأمريكان ولإمبراطورية المستعمرين الجدد. فتلا ينتمي أمريكا على أمور منها: أن الشخاب الأمريكي لا يهتم بالإقامة في المستعمرات، لا يستوطنها كما فعل أسلفه البريطاني الذي أقاموا في قارات جديدة في العالم مثل أمريكا وأستراليا ونيوزيلندا، فأكان البريطانيون والأكسفورد يفصولون ردا طويلا في حياتهم في المستعمرات البعيدة، وأحيانا لا تقبل منهمية بعضهم عن فرع وعشر من، ومن حكم المستعمرات في بقي أربعين عاما يثير مستعمرات مثل بنغلاديش، بينما بول بريمر أول حاكم للعراق المحتل تزده حكمه على عام، وقبلة جانزر الذي لم يكمن سوى أشهر قليلة. ويبع منتقد الطالب الأمريكي الذي يدرس ليكون متمكا في التجارة أو المحاماة أو الطب، ولكن ينير جدا من ينكر في إعداد شيء من المستعمرات الإمبراطورية، ومن الندرة كذلك أن تجد من يهدأ لغات المستعمرات يعبر ثقافة شعبها. وذلك بخلاف نخبة من خريجي جامعتي أوكسفورد وكامبريدج في بريطانيا الذين احتوا المستعمرات وسكنوها وأداروها، حتى من النساء أمثال جرتروود بيل الخريجة صاحبة المركز الأول على نفسها في أكسفورد التي أدارت الحكمة في العراق إبان العهد الملكي.

كما يوجه المؤلف نصائح جيدة بالتأمل والفهم - لما يمكن أن يكون عليه مستقبل بلد كالأعرق وغيره. ومنها قوله:
لأ هذه الأسباب مجتمعة ليس لدى الرئيس بوش وغيره من المسؤولين الأمريكيين من خيار حقيقي سوى الاستمرار في إطالة الوعود لبانسحب الجند الأمريكيون الوشيك من العراق، مثلما فعل البريطانيون في مصر، من الممكن تقديم عدد كبير من الوعود والتعهدات بمغادرة البلاد، على مدى حقبة زمنية طويلة، دون الاضطراب للفواجه بها.

انه يرى ان أمريكا تصدر مواضع كثير خروجها من المستعمرات، ولكن عليها في الوقت نفسه أن لا تنوي، ولا أن تكون صادقة في مواقعها، ويدلل على ذلك أن البريطانى وعدت المصريين بالخروج عاجلا من مصر بعد احتلالها مباشرة ولم تتفكر ولم يخطر لها بال أن تنكر في تنفيذ ذلك، والدليل على ذلك أنها أصدرت سنة وستين وعاذا الخروج، ثم هبطت سنة وسبع عامة. ويؤكد على أهمية اعتماد ما يسمى ديرزيلي: "النقاش المنظم" الذي كان يعتمد جلدستون في مستعمرات بريطانيا، وينصح بالكتب على الشعوب المستعمرة، ويصبح بأن يرسل إليها رجال ذوي قدر فذة، ويقترح على أمريكا أن ترسل إلى العراق حاكما يبقى فيها أما طويلا، ويكون شخصا من أعمال كرومار، وإن لم تجد أمريكا هذا الشخص فإن أوروبا ستستبرع لها ذلك النوع من الحكم. وينصح أمريكا بالسيطرة على حكومة وبرلمان شكلين في العراق، يظهر للناس أنه يحكم، ولكن في الحقيقة أن المال والقرار والسياسة الخارجية والأمن يد المحتل الأمريكي كما كان في العهد البريطاني.

ولم تزل الحقيقة أول ضحايا الحرب، فنص بالبحث بها وتغطيتها عن العالم فيقول: "وحتى هذه السياسة الاستعمارية توجب تغيينها ببناء التعابير اللفظية، وإنكار طبيعتها الإمبريالية مرارا وتكارا." ويعتبر مثل البعث بالكلمات فالغزو والسيطرة والإحتلال العسكري اعتبرناها بتعابير مملقة "بناء الدولة"، ويدعى أن الإحتلال ليس فقط إكاها عسكريا ولكن هناك مرابح مالية تحصل عليها المجموعة المنتمية الوسطية بين الشعب المحتل و بين المستعمرة، وطلاق على هذه الطبقة كل الصفات التي تجعلها مقبولة مثل: "الخبيرة" والمجمعا النقدية والداعية إلى التطور والمستقبل الواعد المرتبط بالإحتلال، ويفص الشعب المقاوم ومن يمثله بكل كلمات السلبية مثل: متخلف وظلامي، وتمعصبة.

ومن طريق ما يعرف به المرشد للإمبراطورية بأن الحرب الجارية اليوم في أفغانستان والعراق، هي حرب دينية، وحرب على الوجود، وهذان العاملانهما أعم عناصر المواجهة، وأن الغطاء على هذين العاملين هو: "الحرب على الإرهاب". كما أن الكتاب لم يخل من العبارات التي توجى بالكرهية للمسلمين، و وغيرها الأعماض، ولكن هذه ثقافة موروثة في الغرب مازالت الأحداث الأخيرة من إثارةها.

كما أنه ينص بوش حكومته بأن يعتمدوا طريقة جلدستون في إدارة مصر، وهي السماح بمصالح ويدور المستعمرن أخرين في حمل أجواء البلد وعدم الانفراد به، قد صم جلدستون للفرسن أن يهموا في الإشراف المالي عليها من خلال "صندوق الدين العام"، وسمح بالسلطة الإبستية للخليفة الإسلامي أن تستمر نحوا من ثلث قرن إلى الحرب العالمية الأولى.

وقد رأينا إدارة بوش تتنازل عن تفريدها بكل شيء في العراق وتفتح المجال لدول أوروبية تقاسمها العقيلة وعليه هناك أو تتفتح مناطق أخرى، وهذا يعني شرعية دولية لممارستها الإمبراطورية، فالشرعية الدولية في عصر الاحتلال - تدل أحيانا بالمشاركة في استغلال الوضعاء، وقتلهم والإستيلاء على ثرواتهم، وهذا يكون التنسيق.
Introduction:

The Case and Importance of the Book

This is the book of the season for colonialism, because it is pro-empire. It is important for Arab intellectuals to be aware – as well – of the school that supports and calls for occupation, just as he is interested in the opposite view. The book received wide attention upon its release. The author is interested in colonial phenomena, and in it he combines historical and strategic studies. The author (Niall Ferguson) is a professor of financial history and colonial studies. He taught these subjects at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Stanford, New York, and Harvard, and is interested – specifically – in the history of the funding of the British colonisation and expansion. He had already written his most important book on the history of the Rothschild family, their services for the British colonisation, and the services Britain provided for this Jewish family. He then discussed in several places the continuation of the idea of the Rothschild Bank within the International Bank to this day, which was seized by puritanical Zionist figures, such as "Paul Wolfowitz" as of late. Then he wrote "Empire". Some Americans celebrated the author, particularly those who promote US policy of imperialism. The
author wrote many tips for them, being a specialist in British colonialism. He presented these tips in this book, which investigates, reviews, and compares an empire that passed away, with another that still stumbles on the road; an empire that might rise and then fall in the attempt to dominate the world, its resources, land, religions, banks, and actions.

The author is driven by the obsession that those he sees representing his nation and history would continue their colonial domination of the world. In his book, he sees America as the continuation of Britain and the role that it played in history; the history of roaming the planet, seeking control over land and trade, and preaching Christianity. He ridicules those imperialists who have not yet understood that they are still carrying a continuous message, and walking along a line of world history that must be owned and controlled by an empire.

The occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq by America leads him [Ferguson] to angrily critique [US] negligence, which he sees as contradicting with the methods of past colonists. He was assiduous in giving advice to the Americans, the empire, and the neo-colonists. For example, he criticises America for a number of things: young Americans are not interested in residing or settling in colonies like their British predecessors, who stayed in the new continents of the world such as America, Australia, and New Zealand. The British and the Scottish lived long periods of their lives in far colonies, and sometimes delegations lasted no less than twenty four years. Some rulers remained forty years running colonies such as Bangladesh, while Paul Bremer, the first ruler of occupied Iraq, did not last more than a year; Garner, before him, stayed only a few months. He criticises US students who study for a master in business, law, or medicine, but rarely consider running American colonies. Rare are also those who are fluent in the languages of the colonies and the cultures of its peoples, unlike some university graduates of Oxford and Cambridge in Britain who occupied, inhabited, and ran colonies, including women such as Gertrude Bell who received a first class honours degree at Oxford and ran Iraq during the royal era.

The author offers advice worthy of contemplation and consideration – as to what could be the future of a country such as Iraq and others – which includes the following:
"For these reasons, President Bush and other US officials have no real option but to keep on promising the imminent withdrawal of US troops from Iraq. Still, as the British showed in Egypt, it is possible to make a great many promises to leave a country, over quite a long period of time, without actually having to go."

He believes that America should set numerous dates for leaving colonies, but at the same time does not intend to abide by them, nor be honest in fulfilling their commitments. He demonstrates that Britain promised the Egyptians to leave immediately after the occupation, but did not even think about leaving; Britain had made sixty-six pledges to leave, and yet remained seventy-six years. He stresses the importance of adopting what Disraeli calls "organised hypocrisy," which was adopted by Gladstone in the British colonies. He recommends lying to the people of colonies and sending men with unique capabilities to rule them. He suggests that America should send a governor, of the likes of Cromer, to remain in Iraq for a long time. And, if America could not find a person of such calibre, Europe will provide this person for them. He also recommends America to set and control puppet government and parliament in Iraq, which pretend to the people that they are in control, but, in fact, the money, decisions, foreign policies, and security are all in the hands of the American occupier, just as they were during the British reign.

Truth is still the first victim of war. He recommends manipulating and hiding the truth from the world, stating: "even these [US] colonial policies have to be covered with a cloak of euphemistic phrases, and to deny its imperial nature over and over again." He gives an example of word manipulations; invasion, domination, and military occupation, are referred to by the euphemistic term "state building". He stresses that the occupation is not limited to military coercion, but there are also financial profits to be obtained by exploitative groups that act as intermediary agents between the occupied people and the colonial power. Colourful words are used to describe these groups in order to make them acceptable, such as "elite" and progressive groups that call for the development of a promising future associated with the occupation. On the other hand, he describes the people and their resistance with all the negative terms such as: backward, obscurantist, and bigoted.
It is interesting that this guide to the empire [i.e. Ferguson] admits that today's ongoing war – in Afghanistan and Iraq – is a religious war, and a war over resources. These two factors are the most important elements of confrontation, with the “war on terror” serving as a cover.

The book is also not free of [i.e. is full of] expressions of hatred of and strong bias against Muslims. But this is an inherited culture in the West, which has been aggravated by the recent events.

He also advises Bush and his government to adopt Gladstone’s method in ruling Egypt, which is to share the burdens of the country with other colonists by allocating them interests and roles; Gladstone allowed the French to contribute in the financial supervision over Egypt through the "Public Debt Fund", and allowed the nominal authority of the Ottoman Caliph for almost one third of a century until World War One.

We have seen the Bush administration giving up its monopoly over everything in Iraq and opening the way for European countries to share the booty and the burden there, or by opening other areas. This grants international legitimacy to the practices of the empire; international legitimacy – in the era of occupation – can sometimes be obtained through participating in the exploitation and killing of the weak and capturing their wealth. Coordination and partnership between the colonists is thus labelled "international legitimacy". He recommends using education, the movement of capital, forced globalisation on closed societies, and religion to emphasise colonial influence.

The translation is clear and smooth. The translator did not overuse certain terms. He often used the word ‘empire’ instead of ‘imperialism’. Some provocative phrases in the original which can hinder the publication of the book were paraphrased or avoided. These were very few.

The reader who is familiar with other editions of the book may note that the original title of the book is: The Rise and Fall of American Empire. This is the title of the British edition on which the translation was based, while the US edition had the soft title: “The Price of the American Empire”.

To conclude, this book is – indeed – rich with information on the study of the rise of the empire, the preconditions to continue domination over colonies, and how the
empire deals with itself and with other nations. It provides a lot of financial and management observations. It warns America against the dangers of poor management over zones of influence or colonies, and provides strategic notes worth considering. The book fills a vacuum in a subject that will interest Arab readers, perhaps for a long period time.

Mohammed Hamid al-Ahmary