



AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND THE ARAB  
REVOLUTIONS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

by

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# AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: Knowledge Production and the Arab Revolutions: An Exploratory Study

Knowledge production is an area of study that is often overlooked, particularly with regards to the social sciences and humanities, and even more so with regards to the Arab world. The earliest works in the field are rooted in Karl Mannheim's work on the Sociology of Knowledge in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which focused on the interrelations between human knowledge and social contexts. In 1962 Thomas Kuhn published a book entitled "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions," which set the stage for the consequent interdisciplinary reflexive study of scientific practice. Today, much of the research dedicated to the production of knowledge is limited to the study of the sciences, and on science and technology studies (STS) in particular. Recent advances in the field have encouraged the expansion of the study of scientific practice to include the production of knowledge in the social sciences and humanities. In a similar vein, new perspectives on the sociology of knowledge have suggested discourse analysis as a means through which knowledge can be understood. In addition, the impact of geography and language, as well as the impact of the political economy on the institutionalization and internationalization of knowledge production and research practice is beginning to emerge.

This research study uses content analysis to explore knowledge produced on the Arab Revolutions, published between 2011 and 2012 in both international and Arab refereed journals. The purpose of this study is to delineate differences and similarities in knowledge production practices and discourses across different disciplines, geographies, and languages. It also attempts to explore the ways in which internationalization affects knowledge production on local issues. This research is less focused on the Arab Revolutions as such but rather on the ways in which we as academics and researchers perceive these events and the ways in which we portray them in scientific discourse, taking into account the social forces that come into play in the production of knowledge. Isolating the Arab revolutions as a fixed variable allows us to address the following questions: What is the knowledge being produced? Who is producing it? Where is it being produced, and how? Qualitatively, this is done by measuring results across multiple variables, including hypotheses, theoretical frameworks, use of references, and paradigms, among other variables. The purpose of this study is to elucidate predominant paradigms within scholarly discourse while contrasting differences and similarities across geographies and disciplines, not only in structure but also in content. It concludes with an assessment of the state of knowledge production in the Arab world.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH INQUIRY AND METHOD

### **A. Research Context**

The definition of knowledge is often equated to fact or truth. The implication of this definition is that knowledge possesses a static nature, in that anything you ‘know’ is also true, wherein the determining characteristics of truth are universality and eternity. The nature of knowledge however is essentially dynamic. What we knew 200 years ago differs greatly from what we know today, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Similarly, what we will know 200 years from today will be qualitatively and quantitatively different from what we know today. This is because the existence and evolution of knowledge is dependent on humanity’s quest to produce it. Whether or not what we know qualifies as the truth (in that it is both universal and eternal), is a quest that humanity is still undergoing and will continue to undergo. The topic of this study however has less to do with what constitutes as truth and more to do with what constitutes as knowledge, or rather, the dynamic aspect of knowledge.

Knowledge has been historically transmitted through schools, which have gone through, and continue to go through, secular transitions, which take the form of (broadly defined) Western academic institutions. These transitions, which invariably differ across histories and geographies, play a deterministic role in the qualities and capacities of these schools as producers of knowledge. This is evident in the extent to which

knowledge produced by Western academic institutions, particularly in the West, is perceived as legitimate “scientific” evidence, globally acknowledged as fact. In the Arab world, becoming a knowledge producer means adhering to Western standards of knowledge production.

Knowledge production is an area of study that is often overlooked, particularly with regards to the social sciences and humanities, and even more so with regards to the Arab world. The earliest works in the field are rooted in Karl Mannheim’s work on the Sociology of Knowledge in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which focused on the interrelations between human knowledge and social contexts. In 1962, Thomas Kuhn’s *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, set the stage for the consequent interdisciplinary reflexive study of scientific practice, demonstrating that the development of science does not only depend on the development of scientific procedures, but is also dependent on the type of power structure that exists within the scientific community. Today, much of the research dedicated to the production of knowledge is limited to the study of the sciences, and on science and technology studies (STS) in particular. Recent advances in the field have encouraged the expansion of the study of scientific practice to include the production of knowledge in the social sciences and humanities. In a similar vein, new perspectives on the sociology of knowledge have suggested discourse analysis as a means through which knowledge can be understood. In addition, the impact of geography and language, as well as the impact of the political economy on the institutionalization and internationalization of knowledge production and research practice is beginning to emerge.

## **B. Research Questions**

This research study uses content analysis to explore knowledge produced on the Arab uprisings, published between 2011 and 2012 both in international and Arab refereed journals. The purpose of this study is to delineate differences and similarities in knowledge production practices and discourses across different disciplines, geographies, and languages. It also attempts to explore the ways in which internationalization affects knowledge production on local issues. This research is less focused on the Arab uprisings as such but rather on the ways in which we as knowledge producers perceive these events and the ways in which we portray them in scientific discourse, taking into account the social forces that come into play in the production of knowledge.

Isolating the Arab uprisings as a fixed variable allows us to address the following questions: What is the knowledge being produced? Who is producing it? Where is it being produced, and how? Qualitatively, this is done by measuring results across multiple variables, including hypotheses, theoretical frameworks, use of references, and paradigms, among other variables. The purpose of this study is to elucidate predominant paradigms within scholarly discourse while contrasting differences and similarities across geographies and disciplines, not only in structure but also in content. It concludes with an assessment of the state of knowledge production in the Arab world.

This issue will be addressed through the following research questions:

- R1: What is the knowledge being produced on the Arab Revolutions?
- R2: Where is this knowledge produced?
- R3: Who is producing it?

- R4: How is it being produced?

Knowledge is dynamic and therefore must be continually assessed, and it is the role of the intellectual/scholar to do so. This study offers an appropriate sample event occurring in the Arab world and attracting a plethora of scholarly attention both locally and globally, serving as an effective medium for content analysis of the above-mentioned questions. In essence, we are not looking at the uprisings as such, but rather looking at the ways in which we as academics and researchers view these uprisings, what the predominant paradigms in knowledge are both within and without the Arab world, but also the differences in discourse that develops in different languages by way of contrast between knowledge produced in Arabic and in English, highlighting the relative differences in ideology that dictates these differences in the type of knowledge being produced. A further area of analysis that falls outside the means of this thesis but may contribute largely to its significance is the study of the differences in knowledge produced within Academic discourse in contrast to knowledge produced for the public. This is an integral step in understanding the relationship between intellectuals and revolution.

### **C. Research Method**

The purpose of this study is to evaluate knowledge produced on the Arab revolutions. The sample consists of 519 articles published in international and local refereed journals between 2011 and 2012, in English, Arabic and French. In keeping with Latour & Fabbri (1977), this study will analyze both what knowledge is made of, or the network of articles produced on the Arab Revolutions, as well as who knowledge is made by, or the network of authors who influence each other. So in addition to

analyzing citations, it will also analyze the content and style of the article by applying semiotic analysis. In addition, “sociological markers,” including discipline, institutional affiliation, among others discussed below will be measured quantitatively. The purpose of this study is to delineate differences and similarities in knowledge and discourse produced across disciplines and geographies. Isolating the Arab revolutions as a fixed variable allows us to address the following questions: What is the knowledge being produced? Who is producing it? Where is it being produced, and how?

#### **D. Data Collection**

This thesis is part of a research project on knowledge production in the Arab world<sup>1</sup>. The research team who contributed to this study include myself in working on the English articles, Aida Mukharesh, Sari Hanafi and Safwan Soloh, who worked on the Arabic articles, and Julie Astoul who worked on the French articles. The qualitative analysis was conducted by myself, while Sari Hanafi, Rigas Arvanitis and I contributed to the network and quantitative analyses together. The network analysis, which is not yet complete and is therefore only minimally referred to in this thesis was carried out through the help of Jean-Philippe Cointet from Cortext.

In order to yield the largest results, a keyword search was conducted in Arabic, English and French for Arab Revolution; Arab Spring; Arab Uprising; Arab Awakening; Arab Upheaval, yielding 519 results. English references were primarily derived from Web of Science and Scopus, in addition to 15 references that were added arbitrarily from 11 different journals not included in the database. The total number of

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<sup>1</sup> Project was funded by the Lebanese Council for Scientific Research and headed by Sari Hanafi and Rigas Arvanitis.

English references is 370 articles. Arabic references were scarcer, primarily due to the limited availability of Arabic databases. *e-Marefa*, the only Arabic database available at AUB yielded only 15 results, while the rest of the articles were only available in hard copies in the following journals: *Idafat*, *Al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi*, *Majalet al-Dirasat al-Falastiniya*, *Majalat el 'Ouloum el Siyasiya*, and *Omran*. A total of 72 Arabic references are included in the sample. In addition, 77 articles in French were derived from CAIRN.

### **E. Data Analysis**

Quantitative analysis was conducted on the following sociological markers, which were codified and entered into SPSS for analysis: title; language; region; title in original language; date; issue; journal of publication; author; institutional affiliation; country of institutional affiliation; discipline; geographical scope; and keywords. In addition, citation analysis was conducted on each of the references, measuring the impact factor of the most cited authors.

Network analysis facilitated by Cortext was conducted to map out the network of authors used as references in the sample. Qualitatively, a two-part analysis was conducted: first, an analysis of the most cited authors and theorists is conducted on the sample of English articles. Operationalizing (identifying) factors include how each author is being cited (whether its to refute, support, or frame arguments), as well as the context and pretext under which he/she is being mentioned. Predominant discourses are also highlighted. Second, a qualitative analysis of a sample of knowledge produced from within the Arab world is conducted using the following guidelines:

- **Structure of the Article:** Looking at the structure of the article reveals whether there's a common style of writing within peer-reviewed journals on social/political sciences inside and outside the Arab world. Comparisons between different languages of publication at a later stage may reveal different styles, uses of language, and forms of scholarly writing.
- **Use of Theory:** This is an important question because we can not only attempt to see whether or not Arab scholars use a theoretical framework, but we can also find out whether the theory used is foreign or local. It is important to see whether there is knowledge production going on in the Arab world, or whether there exists a hegemony of Western scholarly writing and knowledge production.
- **Prescriptive vs. Descriptive:** Looking at whether the articles are prescriptive or descriptive in nature is particularly relevant for a topic such as this. Being as it is a local event, whether knowledge producers are being prescriptive or not discloses the level of engagement between the scholarly community and the public sphere. Indeed, too much description might allow blur the boundaries between the social sciences and journalism.
- **References:** Taking a closer look at the references of each article reveals information about the way authors use references and why they use them. It also reveals information about whether authors cite foreign or local references more, and the types of references they cite depending on the language.



## Chapter 2

# LITERATURE REVIEW: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE AND METHODOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

### **A. Theoretical Foundation for the Sociology of Knowledge**

Both influenced by, and critical of Phenomenology, Karl Mannheim is considered one of the forefathers of the Sociology of Knowledge. Although he was one of the first social theorists to coin the term, Mannheim contributed little to the definition of 'knowledge', and failed to develop a unified theory for the Sociology of Knowledge. Nevertheless, his contributions were essential for the development of the field, and his introduction of questions and problematics that arise within the field of the Sociology of Knowledge are worth much consideration. Mannheim was concerned with the sociology of knowledge from a particularly empirical perspective, advancing the notion that the sociology of knowledge must be developed into a scientific discipline, rather than one that is strictly philosophical (Mannheim, 1991).

This empirical approach implies that the relationship between human knowledge and social contexts can be objectively measured (idem). Mannheim particularly stresses the role that social practice plays in the production of knowledge. His structural approach places emphasis on the point or position in which the unit of analysis occupies within a certain structure. In other words, nothing can be understood in isolation of the

structure in which it exists. There are significant parallels between Thomas Kuhn (1970) and Robert Merton (1957) (discussed below), who contributed significantly in the study of scientific institutions and the role of social practice in influencing the production of scientific knowledge, and Karl Mannheim (1991), who attempts to apply similar principles to the study of social institutions, or in his particular case ‘ideologies,’ in influencing the production of social knowledge.

Mannheim attempts to uncover the social origins of knowledge and modes of thought by investigating how individual thought functions in the public sphere, as an instrument of collective action. It is important to distinguish that what Mannheim means by knowledge or “thought” is not intellectual or philosophical thinking, which applies to only specific dimensions of existence, but rather knowledge that applies to all spheres of life, both practical and instrumental. According to Mannheim, it is significant to examine this type of knowledge, given that it guides our political and social destinies, and is therefore in need of intellectual control and self-criticism. The problem with the empirical examination of knowledge is that it is difficult to objectify, since knowledge cannot be isolated or studied in isolation of its psychological roots and social context. The principle thesis of the sociology of knowledge, Mannheim argues, “is that there are modes of thought which cannot be adequately understood as long as their social origins are obscured” (1991; 2). In other words, in order to understand knowledge, one must first understand the social context which gave rise to that knowledge.

Mannheim defines the sociology of knowledge first in terms of its theoretical dimension, and second, as a method of research. “As a theory it seeks to analyze the relationship between knowledge and existence; as historical-sociological research it seeks to trace the forms which this relationship has taken in the intellectual development of

mankind” (idem; 264). He goes on to argue that the task of a sociology of knowledge is again twofold: “On the one hand, it aims at discovering workable criteria for determining the interrelations between thought and action. On the other hand, by thinking this problem from beginning to end in a radical, unprejudiced manner, it hopes to develop a theory, appropriate to the contemporary situation, concerning the significance of the non-theoretical conditioning factors in knowledge” (idem; 264).

Mannheim perceived the sociology of knowledge as a theory of existential/social determination of knowledge. He uses the terms “existential,” “social,” and “extra-theoretical” interchangeably throughout his definition, explaining that the process of knowing is not an inherent process determined by an “inner dialectic” or “nature of things,” but rather a process determined by extra-theoretical factors. Here he establishes the point that the theory in itself is empirical in its essence.

This existential determination of knowledge, regarded as a fact, determines also the scope and intensity of experience and observation, thereby determining perspectives. In other words, Mannheim argues that perspective is socially conditioned, since these perspectives inevitably vary over time and space. Knowledge, therefore, cannot be understood as an “object in itself” with static forces that control it. Knowledge is rather subject to numerous interpretations and representations that vary in concordance with the dynamism of the process of its accumulation. To illustrate this point, Mannheim draws attention to the fact that there had not been a linear progression in the history of knowledge, rather that every epoch has had a “fundamentally new approach, and a characteristic point of view, and consequently sees the “same” object from a new perspective” (idem; 271). This correlation between the socio-historical context and the content of knowledge is significant because it begins to answer questions as to why the

world presents itself in a certain manner, or in other words, why certain perspectives arise at certain times.

“‘Perspective’ in this sense signifies the manner in which one views an object, what one perceives in it, and how one construes it in his thinking. It refers also to qualitative elements in the structure of thought, elements which must necessarily be overlooked by a purely formal logic. It is precisely these factors which are responsible for the fact that two persons, even if they apply the same formal-logical rules... in an identical manner, may judge the same object differently” (idem; 272). In other words, perspective defies logic. Mannheim illustrates this point using the concept of “freedom,” explaining that the content of its meaning and implications varies across different periods, e.g. German conservatism, Protestant movement, liberal and conservative periods. Even categories such as “conservative” vary across periods and contexts. In each case, the connotations attached to the concept of ‘freedom’ is significantly characteristic to the period in which it exists – therefore, one might argue, that there is no absolute definition of ‘freedom,’ or any such concept.

Mannheim also makes a distinction between two types of discussions, one carried on between two socially and intellectually heterogeneous participants, and another between two socially and intellectually homogeneous participants. He asserts that the two discussions cannot be equated and will essentially differ on the basis of social positions. While this distinction may be obvious, Mannheim makes a significant point by drawing attention to the fact that the participants tend to overlook the fact that they differ in their entire outlook/perspectives, not merely about the point of discussion. A further example illustrates the shift in perspectives that accompanies a shift in the social position of a participant (here Mannheim uses the example of rural to urban

transitions). He stresses the importance of “relationism” in understanding knowledge – in that certain assertions cannot be formulated absolutely, but only in terms of the perspective of a given situation (idem; 283).

In essence, the sociology of knowledge is rooted in the notion that social contexts invariably impact knowledge production. While varying socio-historical conditions induce heterogeneous perspectives, particularly in the postmodern world, it is necessary to study the practical and instrumental conditions that have come to shape knowledge produced globally. While Mannheim provides theoretical foundations upon which knowledge can be studied, much of the methodological developments in the study of knowledge production are rooted in the study of science. These methodologies are nevertheless useful in assessing knowledge produced in the humanities and social sciences. The following section explores some of the main methodological foundations upon which the study of “scientific” knowledge is based.

## **B. The Methodology of Knowledge Production**

Bruno Latour (1987) focuses on the necessity of studying the *social* history of science. He differentiates between two distinct concepts, ready made science, and science in action. The purpose of this differentiation is to illustrate the distinction between discourse on the one hand, and practice on the other. Making this distinction helps social scientists that wish to study the production of scientific knowledge. Latour argues that in order to be able to understand the production of scientific knowledge, one must not study ready-made science (scientific discourse), but more importantly study science in the making (scientific practice), which entails analyzing the social and historical context of the production of scientific knowledge.

While scientific discourse is predominantly constituted of black boxes, and may give very little detail as to how it came to be, other than as a direct result of a change in paradigms, scientific practice denotes specific personal, social, cultural, economic, political, and historical contexts that played a paramount role in the creation of scientific discourse, or the resulting black boxes of our time. This amplifies the fact that there is no clear distinction between context and content, and that even scientific fact, often considered dogmatic, is a socially produced concept. Latour asserts, for instance, that “not only the Software people have to be kept happy, but also the manufacturing people, those from marketing, those who write the technical documentation, the designers who have to place the whole machine in a nice looking box (not a black one this time!), not mentioning the stockholders and the customers” (idem; 10).

The idea of putting content into context is attempting to give life to a lifeless discourse, or to be more specific, to give voice to the lives that produced that discourse in specific conditions. To illustrate this fact, Latour gives the following example:

We start with a textbook sentence which is devoid of any trace of fabrication, construction or ownership; we then put it in quotation marks, surround it with a bubble place it in the mouth of someone who speaks; then we add to this speaking character, another character *to whom* it is speaking; then we place all of them in a specific situation, somewhere in time and space, surrounded by equipment, machines, colleagues; then when the controversy heats up a bit we look at *where* the disputing people go and *what* sort of new elements they fetch, recruit or seduce in order to convince their colleagues; then, we see how the people being convinced stop discussing with one another; situations, localizations, even people start being slowly erased; on the last picture we see a new sentence, without any quotation marks, written in a text book similar to the one we started in the first picture (idem; 15).

This example is an illustration the processes involved in the study of scientific practice or science in action, which serves as the foundation for studying the social conditions for the production of scientific knowledge.

Thomas Kuhn (1991) approaches the study of scientific knowledge in quite the same way as Bruno Latour, although each of them uses a distinct set of terminology. Nevertheless, the parallels are evident; Kuhn's 'Paradigm' is Latour's 'Black Box', and while Latour champions the analysis of scientific practice that leads to the creation of black boxes, Kuhn focuses on analyzing the interplay between the individual and institution that influences the construction of a paradigm. To clarify, Kuhn defines a paradigm as a reference to "universally recognized scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners" (idem; 15). Kuhn also suggests using citation indexes as a reference to scientific revolutions.

Andrew Pickering (1995) delves deeper into the analysis of scientific practice, understood as "the work of cultural extension." He focuses primarily on the social dimensions of science, alongside the transformation of scientific concepts to scientific material. The point that Pickering is trying to make is based on the notion that the conceptual, social, and material dimensions of science are fragmented. This is a valid point that has often been neglected by sociologists of science. For Latour (1983) however, the laboratory serves as a window into scientific practice, providing what he calls an 'internalist' vision of science. Without entering the lab, Latour argues, social scientists can never fully grasp the social context influencing and shaping scientific practice. Despite the critics, Latour affirms a direct relationship between the micro-study of laboratories, and the macro-study of Science, Technology and Society (STS). His focus is to study not the laboratory itself, but rather its *construction* and *position* in the social milieu (idem; 143).

Latour draws on Pasteur's work, using examples of his experiments, proving that the sciences are one of the most convincing tools to persuade others of who they are

and what they should want. The significance of using Pasteur's work to illustrate this point lies in that fact that Pasteur had a significant balance between the dichotomy of internal lab work, and external fieldwork. The integration of these two worlds requires a good deal of translation, however, it is the most effective way of achieving results.

While studying certain elements in the field (outside) prove to be difficult, the construction of the lab (inside), the extraction of these elements from the field (outside), their translation inside the lab (inside), and reintegration into the field later on (outside), is a successive process that must be traced from beginning to end in order to understand scientific practice.

“I am multiplying the words ‘inside’ and ‘outside,’ ‘micro’ and ‘macro,’ ‘small scale’ and ‘large scale,’ so as to make clear the destabilizing role of the laboratory. It is through laboratory practices that the complex relations between microbes and cattle, the farmers and their cattle, the veterinarians and the farmers, the veterinarians and the biological sciences, are going to be transformed” (idem; 149). Latour's proposition here is that, since the process of scientific discovery exists not only in the lab, or in the field, but rather in between both, models of analysis that respect the boundaries between micro and macro-scale are not effective in understanding scientific practice. In studying science and technology, relying on traditional means of analysis, such as bibliometrics, citation analysis, and semiotics studies cannot be enough. Latour argues that indispensable information is often left out unless scientists are followed into the laboratory. The laboratory, being by definition the place where scientists work, is the only place where we are able to study not the end result (science/ scientific text), but rather the source of that science.



By “shadowing” scientists into the laboratory, Latour argues, we can study the black box before it is closed. In other words, we would be studying the production process before the final product is produced. The starting point of inquiry in this case would be the initial statement uttered by somebody, and the reaction of belief or disbelief upon hearing it. Latour differentiates between positive and negative modalities. Modalities are sentences that possess the quality of modifying or qualifying other sentences. He goes on to argue that “depending on the type of modalities, people will be *made to go* along completely different paths”(1987; 25). The benefits of this mode of analysis is that we would be able to decode these statements before they are transformed by scientists into the direction of fact or fiction, and also be able to recognize opposing points of view within said statements. In other words, Latour argues, “when we approach a controversy more closely, half of the job of interpreting the reason behind beliefs is already done” (idem; 26).

Following scientific debates more closely not only divulge information about the debaters’ personalities, but also divulge details through which certain discoveries are made. More importantly, since each added statement to the debate automatically modifies the original statement or discovery, following the debate will divulge information detailing the process of developing scientific knowledge, and the way in which it evolves. So based on the premise that “the status of a statement depends on later statements” (idem; 27), we will find that the process of constructing scientific knowledge is a *collective* process, that is dependent on the actions, interactions, and reactions of all those who are involved in the process.

Using scientific articles as the basic unit of analysis – since articles provide the platform where scientific facts are publicly debated – Latour argues that the strength of

scientific text is drawn from its references – an indicator that constructing scientific knowledge is a collective process. References trace the validity of an argument. They too are modalized, and, depending on their modalities, influence the remainder of the text. Thus, “what is called the context of citation shows us how one text acts on others to make them more in keeping with its claims” (idem; 35).

Therefore, as Latour argues, the numbers of references themselves don’t matter inasmuch as their modalities do, particularly when discussing the strength of an article. For instance, if a borrowed reference stands without indication of doubt or uncertainty among both the author and the readers, then it qualifies as a paradigm. In addition to their modalities, references could also be simply signposts indicating technical resources. Latour argues that combining both negative and positive modalities further strengthens an article, thereby attacking opposing claims in addition to including supporting claims

Still, the process of constructing scientific knowledge is not complete. At this point, the article itself must become a reference in order for it to become a fact. If a fact is generated in an article, but ignored by the scientific community, it ceases to exist. In other words, in order for a fact to survive, others must adopt it as well. However, even after the article becomes a reference, it is still subjected to the same modalities that will either support it or render it obsolete. According to Latour, “a fact is what is collectively stabilized from the midst of controversies when the activity of later papers does not consist of only criticism but also of confirmation. The strength if the original statement does not lie in itself, but is derived from any of the papers that incorporate it” (idem; 42).

In research evaluation, citations are used as a measure of the impact of scientific publications. They provide signposts, footprints, and an overall methodology that

permits sociologists of science to trace and identify individuals who have been most influential in scientific thought and practice (Glanzel, 2001). Measuring citation impact by means of documenting scientific communication provides a strong indicator of the reception process. However, the controversy lies in the interpretation of citations. Some authors are not entirely restrained or selective in their referencing habits, which may result in a large degree of inconsistency when it comes to measuring referencing practices. Problems of reliability, bias, shortcomings, and other sorts of limitations may arise. Furthermore, not all citations are of similar qualities; while some are positive, others may be negative, neutral, relevant, less relevant, irrelevant or redundant. The aim of this categorization is to help visualize the weight of citations (idem; 54). On the other hand, there are also multiple reasons why citations are not mentioned – for lacking relevance, unawareness, disregard evolutionary or revolutionary obsolescence, obliteration by incorporation, or extinction (idem; 56-57). Glanzel also raises questions related to author self-citations and journal self-citations. Possible problems in the reliability of citation impact may arise in cases where authors artificially inflate their citation rates by continuously citing themselves as a reference. Luukkonen (1997) traces the evolution of citation analysis from the traditional Mertonian understanding of citation impact as an indicator of the process of recognition in the scientific community, to Latour's more complex analysis that includes the notion of modalities and incorporates social aspects and writing patterns in citation analysis.

In addition to citation analysis, Latour & Fabbri (1977) provide an analysis that combines the sociology of science with semiotic analysis, using an article selected from neuroendocrinology published in 1962 in *Comptes rendus* of the Paris Academy of Science. Traditionally, the sociology of science took one of two paths: either that

science was made up of scientists (authors), who influence one another through an intermediary of articles; or that science was made up of knowledge (networks of articles) that influence each other through an intermediary of scientists (1977; 116). In their analysis of scientific text, Latour & Fabbri combine the two paths of sociology of science, including both scientists and the articles in their analysis. So, in addition to analyzing citations, they also analyze the content and style of the article by applying semiotic analysis to scientific text. The aim of this analysis, according to Latour & Fabbri, is “to determine whether the literature of the exact sciences obey general rules valid for all forms of literature” (idem; 118).

Prior to analyzing the text, Latour & Fabbri draw attention to the notion of “sociological markers,” that “explicitly refer to the conditions under which [the article] was produced” (idem). These markers indicate strategies of both the author and the institution. Explicit markers include the discipline, title, timing, and the journal in which the article is published. In addition, markers include references to gatekeepers, funders, and the laboratory. Implicit markers include the conflicts that arise but are not explicitly mentioned in the text. Sociological markers are significant indicators to study because, as Latour & Fabbri argue, “the production of this piece of knowledge stands in the intersection of all these practices. If any of these conditions were to vary, the article we have before use would be different” (idem; 119).

Drawing on Mannheim’s theoretical foundations, namely the impact of social and historical contexts on the practices shaping knowledge production, this thesis will utilize Latour’s approach to studying these factors, particularly with regards to studying knowledge producers and the context (space/time) in which they exist. In addition, particular attention will be placed on the fact that knowledge production is a *collective*

process, dependent on the actions, interactions, and reactions of all those who are involved in the process. This study will in turn use scientific articles as the basis unit of analysis, using references as an indicator for their validity, while the references' modalities will be analyzed qualitatively. In addition, sociological markers will be used as indicators that will be analyzed quantitatively.

### **C. The Internationalization and Commercialization of Higher Education and Research: The Impact of Global Capitalism on Knowledge Production**

Recent studies have been exploring the changing role of knowledge and universities in advanced industrial states, focusing on factors that account for variation across nations. In order to understand these changes, knowledge producers are viewed in terms of where they are situated within the wider social and political context of changing power relations. Factors including changing ideas about knowledge and its uses, as well as the changes in relationship between universities, industry, and society greatly influence the role of knowledge producers. In addition, universities are no longer the only contributors to the production of knowledge, but rather share the stage with research institutions, private firms, and government laboratories and think tanks (Bleiklie & Powell, 2005). These realities invariably influence the kind of knowledge being produced. Several significant dimensions are explored, among which is the relationship between knowledge, power, and systemic organization, contributing to the idea of academic capitalism. Many authors argue that universities are increasingly becoming like commercial enterprises, which produce and sell research and education services on the marketplace, while forging closer ties with industry as a potential buyer of research products (*idem*). Crucial in this connection is the development of research

findings that not only translate into new technologies and commercially viable products on the one hand, but also risk posing an influence on scientific ethos.

Robert Merton (1957) discusses four integral elements found in scientific ethos, namely, Universalism, Communalism, Disinterestedness, Originality, and Skepticism<sup>2</sup> (idem; 535). These four elements, he argues, comprise the institutional imperatives of modern scientific ethos. These elements, however, no longer depict the reality of the practice of modern science (Dennis, 1987), but rather highlight the basic imperatives that are *missing* in modern scientific practice, particularly in light of the advent of academic capitalism. Merton's "Ethos of Science" depicts an idealistic understanding of the theoretical notion of science, rather than a realistic understanding of the true nature of scientific practice, that is, as Latour argues, inseparable from the social context (and ultimately social structure) in which it exists. I will dwell on the inherent discrepancies in two of Merton's imperatives, namely universalism and communalism, based on some of the examples provided by Dennis.

Dennis's analysis is based on the premise that modern science exists with great magnitude outside the discipline-oriented university wherein Merton's ethos of science can be conceived. His argument is that, with industrial development, capital and labor (the main components of industry, and generators of profit and economic growth) have been replaced, within the past century, by research and development. This transition generated the need for corporations to create research labs geared towards generating profit and competing with the international market. The industrial imperatives in such

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<sup>2</sup> Merton defines Communalism as the premise that scientific knowledge is public knowledge that is freely available to all, and that the results of research do not belong to individual scientists but to the world; Universalism as the premise that there is no privileged source of scientific knowledge and that the laws of science are the same everywhere and independent of the scientists involved; Disinterestedness as the premise that scientists are unbiased, have no personal stake in the acceptance of their claims, and that they conduct research in order to further human knowledge; Originality as the premise that science is the discovery of the unknown; and Skepticism as the premise that scientists take nothing on trust and must consistently critique existing knowledge for possible error.

cases are inclined towards private corporate interests, rather than Merton's notion of the ethos of universalism and communism. These divergent imperatives comprise the fundamental discrepancies found between "pure science" and science generated by industrial research. This argument is extended by Dennis's discussion on consultancy, mergers, and patents, all directed towards inherently anti-universalistic and anti-communal imperatives. Even Merton himself admits that "[t]he communism of the scientific ethos is incompatible with the definition of technology as 'private property' in a capitalistic economy. Current writings on the 'frustrations of science' reflect this conflict. Patents proclaim exclusive rights of use and, often, nonuse. The suppression of invention denies the rationale of scientific production and diffusion" (idem; 558).

Changes in funding, research and innovation have brought about a transformation in the role of knowledge producers. Fasenfest (2010) argues that the role that foundation funding has played in setting the agenda for research over the recent period has greatly impacted the credibility universities had in maintaining their status of honest brokers in society, unfettered by the demands of public or private interests (idem; 484-485).

Money, alone, cannot solve the social problems we face but money can alter the environment in which the kind of research needed to solve social problems is undertaken... We are now confronted by a sea of change in universities driven in large part by a change in both funding and purpose... At issue is whether and how the traditional functions of the university might or will change under these new relationships, and if indeed these traditional roles and activities of the institution even still exist. Will closer relationships between industry, government and the university – the core of the triple helix that is the subject of this issue of the journal – lead us into some sort of knowledge-industrial complex where innovation means commercialization of knowledge, where public resources are channeled to support research and discovery only to have that knowledge appropriated in support of some private benefit? (idem; 86-87).

Several authors also address the different policies and practices of academic production, diffusion and commercialization by analyzing changing national science policies and their influence on knowledge production in universities. Leisyte & Horta (2011) argue that both governments and universities have implemented policies to foster academic production, diffusion and commercialization. While some authors argue that the interaction between universities, industry and government has blurred the traditional boundaries between different sectors (Nowotny *et al.*, 2001), others argue that these changes have kept the institutional boundaries intact as academics mainly giving advice to social actors which assume the role of advice-taking (Krucken *et al.*, 2009). Taking this context into account, it is important to ask about the implications of these new arrangements for academic knowledge production, diffusion, and commercialization in different national settings (Leisyte & Horta, 2011; 423). Sa & Litwin (2011) focus on how science policies to promote knowledge commercialization have evolved and how universities have responded to them, adapted their practices and designed strategies of their own to foster them at the organizational level. They find that the Canadian Federal Government has used an increasing variety of policy tools to foster university-industry linkages.” In a similar vein, Jurgen Enders (2005) finds that recent policies in Europe have shifted research training away from traditional models towards more professional models modeled after the American PhD. However, despite increasing formalization of knowledge production in European countries, national particularities, such as salary, promotion rules, and recruitment procedures have not been reduced (Musselin 2005).

Nevertheless, it is normative to assume nowadays that Western scientific institutions are the model that ought to be reproduced in the developing world – a model



that is thought of as a symbol of modernity. However, some authors have argued that scientific institutions in developing countries have resulted in unequal success, and have often been characterized by fragility, fragmentation, and incoherence. Vessuri (1994) provides an historical analysis of scientific institutionalization in developing countries, defining scientific institutionalization as “the process by which modern national scientific traditions have emerged in the varied social contexts in the post-colonial nation-states, and where scientific institutions have represented at different times the multifarious manifestations of specific patterns of cultural and economic response to the complex combination of ideas and developments identified as Western science” (idem; 2). To clarify, he defines colonial science as low science (less complex); derivative (not initiated by national scientists); and dependent (both on western initiative and western recognition). This raises the question as to whether the development of science in the developing world is dependent upon colonial science, or whether the colonial science itself is detrimental to the development of science and the reason why developing countries have witnessed such asymmetrical development.

#### **D. Knowledge Production in the Arab World**

The strategies of Western science are intrinsically connected to academic, administrative, and commercial interests. International strategies are usually in line with policies of colonial development, with the aim of cultural influence and competition with other developed nations (Vessuri 1994:3). Thus, instituting science in developing countries is not an inherently international effort for development (or in line with the norms of science mentioned above), but rather a product that grew out of the interests of the developed world. For example, the characteristic British policy was not to

encourage technological development in India, but to increase the productive resources of the country through the agency of imported technology (idem; 4). Another significant historical event was the emergence of 4 year college programs aimed at providing society with a labor force prepared for particular occupations (idem; 12). These programs were initiated for purposes of utility, not the universality of science.

The picture in the Arab world is more much complex. Hanafi (2011) argues that there are three main types of academic institutions in the Arab world (commercial, public, and selective), each of which has its own specific institutional constraints and social forces that compartmentalize scholars by language of interaction and type of social research, all of which ultimately leads to the demise of the university as a public sphere. The institutional constraints of Western academic institutions in the Arab world (which Hanafi refers to as “selective”) often include “internationalized” requirements, both with regards to promotion and publication, which disengage researchers from local and regional relevance for the sake of international relevance. This is one of the primary pitfalls of publishing in international journals particularly when dealing with local or regional issues. These institutions also impose their own linguistic constraints; seeing as most Western academic institutions in the Arab world were historically funded by missions, they teach exclusively in English or French, which leads to the marginalization of the Arabic language in Western academic institutions. This marginalization means that the localized meanings and values inherent in the Arabic language are continuously disengaged from any links to the international community, both in terms of contributing globally in light of local expertise, as well as growing locally in light of global developments.

Although faculty at these universities might benefit from privileges similar to those in modern capitalist societies (particularly with regards to access to resources), these privileges come at the cost of losing touch with local issues. Many academic institutions in the Arab world do not evaluate faculty's civic engagement positively, and in some cases require faculty to dissociate their opinions from their institutions when engaging in public issues. In the Arab world, being critical must not compromise the academy's status as an objective institution. This is particularly problematic for social scientific research, which as Hanafi argues, is essentially local (2011; 292). Such institutional constraints then necessarily impoverish local research.

On the other hand, public universities, which educate the majority of the Arab student populous, and tend to teach exclusively in Arabic, suffer from what universities in the developing world usually suffer from: high cost; explosion in numbers (with little value), poor quality of instruction; and privatization of higher education" (Vessuri, 1994; 19). Indeed, facing declining budgets and under intensified competition, private and public universities in the Arab world have responded with market solution, standardization and corporatization. They have instituted joint ventures with private corporations and have been reinventing education as a commodity through distance learning. (Hanafi, 2011; 294). However, even when universities acquire their real status as modern universities, they restrict their role to being 'teaching universities' specialized in shaping new professionals rather than making research one of their main activities (Kabbanji, 2010; 217). In addition, some authors have argued that the complexities involved in working in the field of internationalization require additional sets of knowledge, attitudes, skills and understandings about the international, intercultural and global dimensions of higher education (Knight, 2008 & Yew, 2009),

which further strains the development of science and the production of knowledge in the global South.

## CHAPTER 3

### QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS: SOCIOLOGICAL MARKERS

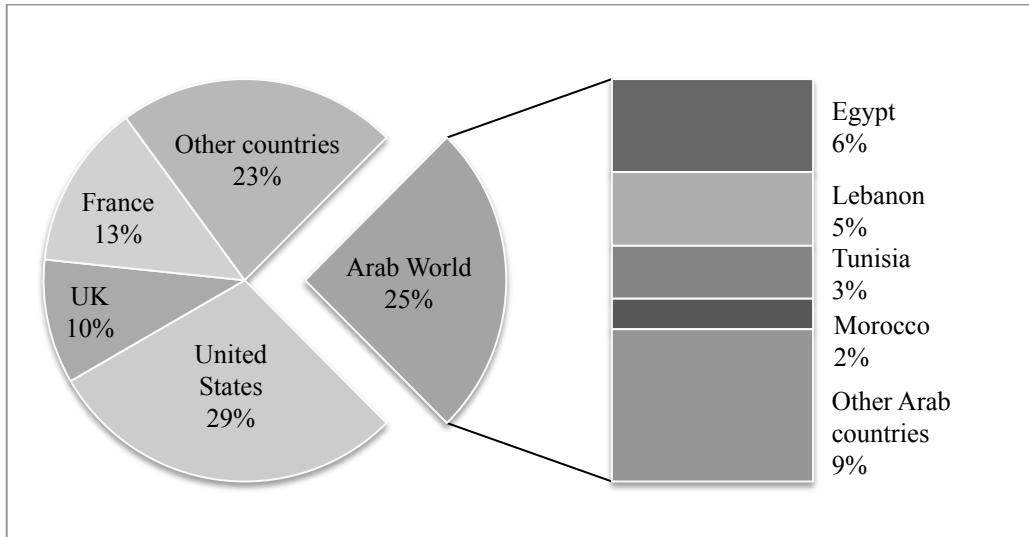
This section introduces some of the main findings by quantifying the sociological markers of each article. Question that will be addressed in this section include: R1: What type of knowledge being produced on the Arab uprisings?; R2: Where is this knowledge produced?; and R3: Who is producing it?

#### **A. R2: Geography of Knowledge Production**

##### ***1. REGION***

The majority (75%) of knowledge on the Arab uprisings is produced outside the Arab world, while only 25% of knowledge is produced within the region. Even this percentage is relatively high, and if we remove the 20 articles included from *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, a journal published by the Center for Arab Unity Studies (CAUS), this rate shrinks to 7.5%. As indicated in figure 1 below, four countries account for 62% of the articles written from within the Arab world, namely Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Morocco respectively, while the rest of the Arab world accounts for the remaining 38%, with each contributing less than 2% of the articles in the entire sample. Also as indicated below, authors writing from the United States contribute nearly 30% of the entire sample collected in three different languages.

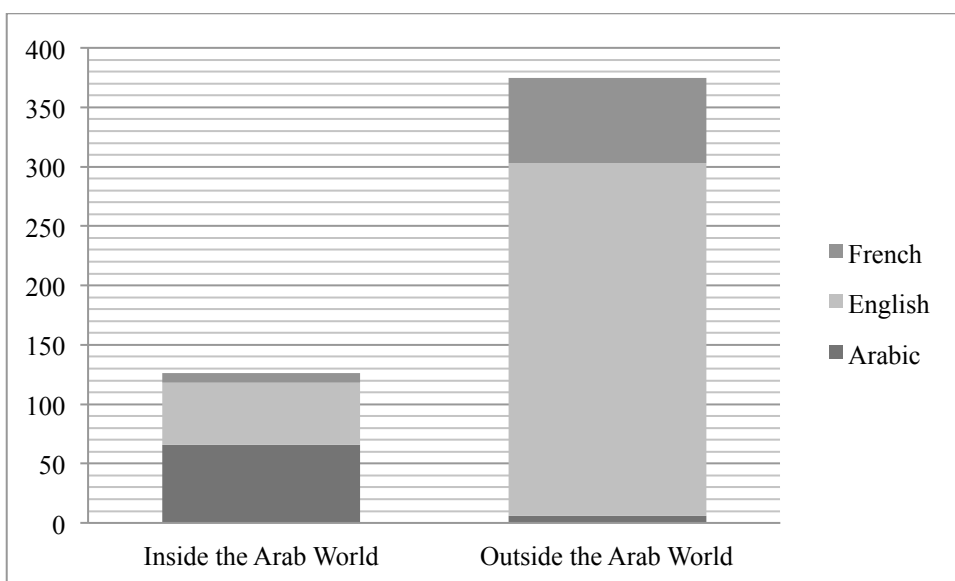
**Figure 1: Percentage of publication per country**



## ***2. LANGUAGE OF PRODUCTION***

The chart below indicates that the number of articles written in Arabic from within the Arab world only slightly outnumber those written in English.

**Figure 2: Language of publication by region**

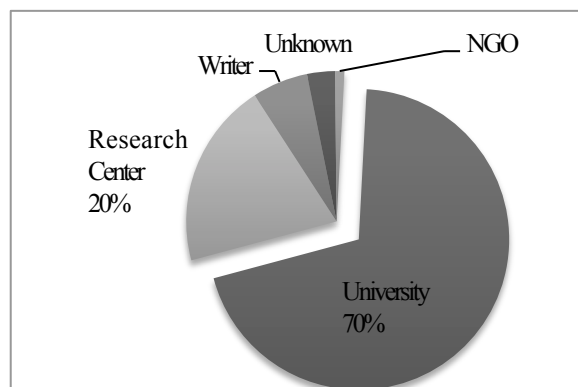


The findings in this section indicate two main issues: first, that the majority of knowledge on the Arab revolutions is being produced outside the region, and second, that what little knowledge is being produced from within the region is being produced in Arabic, constraining it to the local community and isolating it from potential global debates.

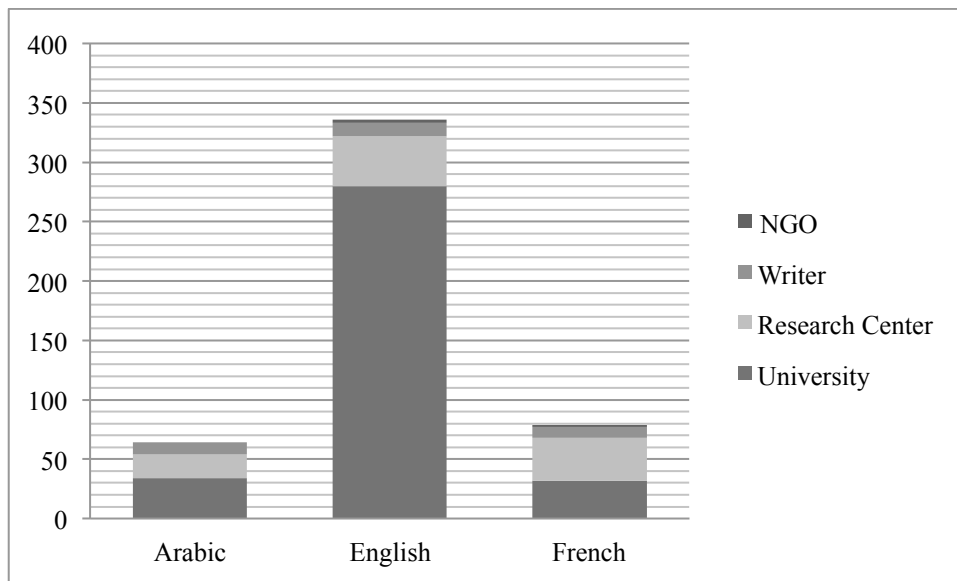
### ***3. INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION***

The majority of knowledge on the uprisings is being produced in universities (70%), while research centers contribute around 20%. Overall, English journals predominantly publish articles by authors affiliated to institutions outside the Arab world. The bar chart below indicates the distribution of institutional affiliation by language of publication. NGO publications are relatively low across languages, while most university affiliates publish in English. In Arabic, university publications are only slightly higher in number than publications by research centers, both of which are relatively low compared to English publications.

**Figure 3: Institutional Affiliation (percentage)**



**Figure 4: Institutional affiliation by language of publication**



Most strikingly, faculty produce 84% of English articles against only 54% of Arabic articles. This trend is the opposite concerning authors affiliated to research centers (22% vs 12%). Writing in English is related to promotion, in addition to the fact that there are limited Arabic outlets where one could publish. Almost half of the articles written in French are published by authors who are affiliated to research centers rather than universities, setting them apart from both English and Arabic publications. Most probably these researchers are affiliated to the giant *Center National de recherches scientifiques* (CNRS).

Writers who are not affiliated to universities or research centers publish less frequently in academic journals than those who are affiliates across all three languages. However, the relative number of publications by writers in French and Arabic in comparison to university and research center affiliates is closer in frequency than the relative disparity found in the number of writers who publish in English. While writers contribute to 13% of academic writing without being affiliated to a university or research center, this is very rare in English (only 3%). This could mean that writers are

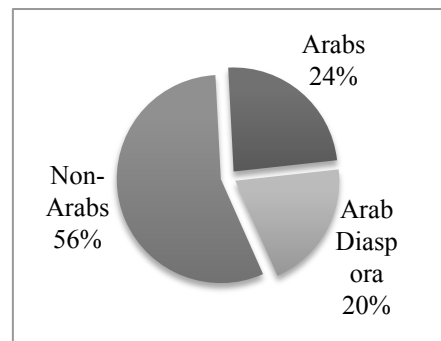


more likely to publish in their local languages rather than engage with the global (English-speaking) community.

### **B. R3: Knowledge Producers**

At this point, the findings indicate that most of the knowledge on the Arab revolutions is being produced outside the Arab world (predominantly the US), by university affiliates, who are most likely to publish in English. The pie chart indicates that 56% of knowledge is being produced by Non-Arabs, 24% by Arabs and 20% by Arab diaspora, 57% of whom are writing from the United States.

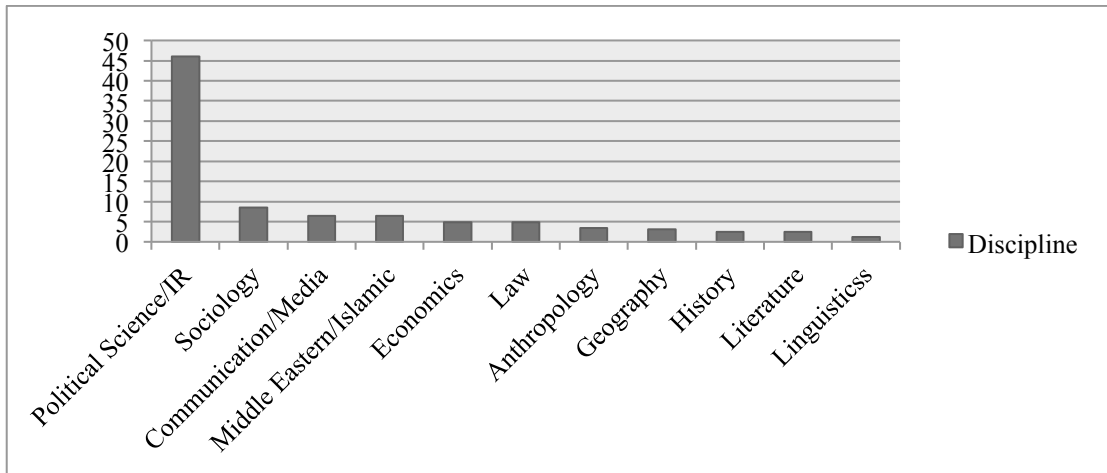
**Figure 5: Percentage of publications by Arabs**



### **1. DISCIPLINE**

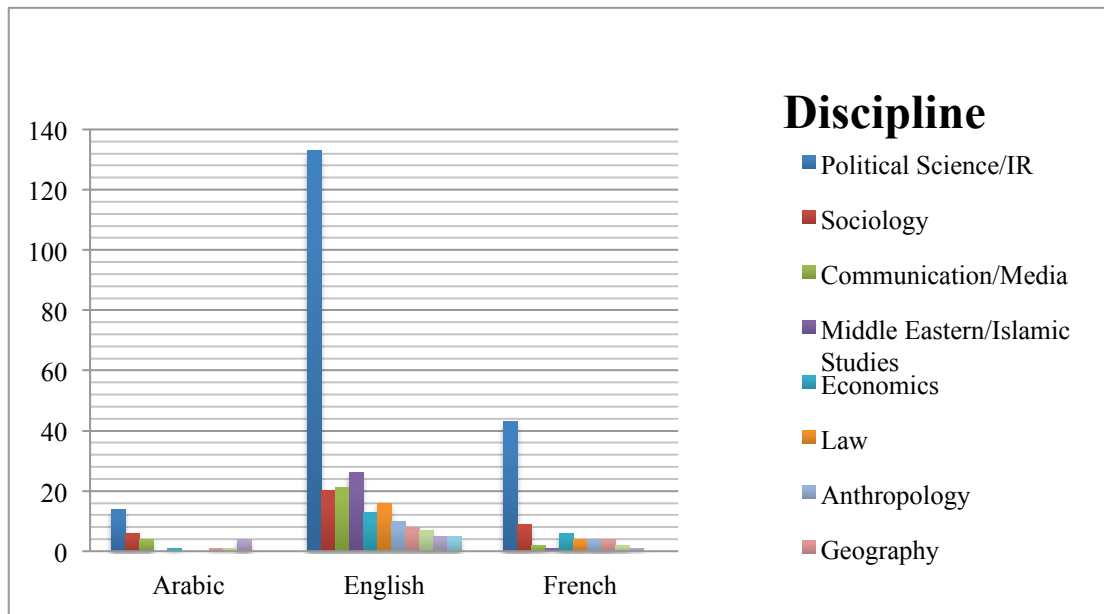
The chart below illustrates the authors' distribution by discipline. Almost half (47%) of the authors are political scientists. Sociologists account for only 8%, while anthropologists 2% - whereas Middle Eastern studies account for only 6%.

**Figure 6: Percentage of publications by discipline**



The chart below illustrates the distribution of discipline by language of publication. Overall, political scientists monopolize authorship on the Arab revolutions across all three languages. In Arabic, political science, sociology, media, and literature are prevalent, however there is a relative disparity in the range of disciplines engaged in the topic compared to English publications. English publications contain the largest range of disciplines and include Middle Eastern studies, sociology, economics, media, and law. In French, economics, law, anthropology, and geography are prevalent.

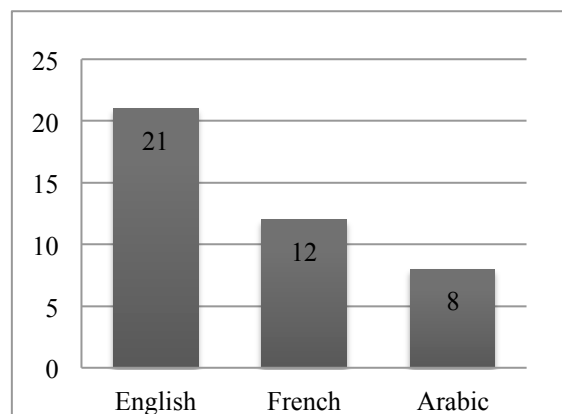
**Figure 7: Distribution of disciplines by language of publication**



## 2. CITATION ANALYSIS

Overall, there are higher numbers of citations in English articles than there are in French and Arabic. The chart illustrates the average number of citations per article by language. Authors who write in English cite almost twice as much as those who write in French, and almost three times as much as those who write in Arabic.

In addition, only 10% of citations are Arabic (most of which are cited in Arabic articles), while 75% of cited articles are in written in English. Authors who are affiliated to the Arab world tend to cite more Arabic articles. Arabs writing from Lebanon and Egypt are more likely to use English articles in addition to Arabic articles, while Arabs

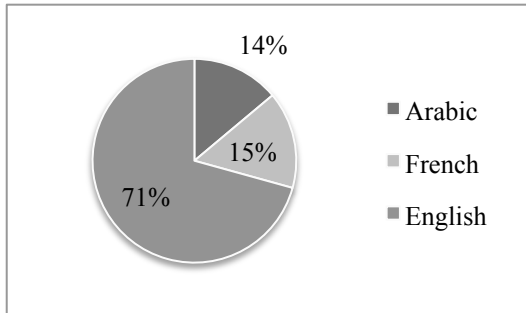


**Figure 8: Average number of citations by language**

writing from Morocco and Tunisia tend obviously to cite more French articles.

## C. R1: Language and Content

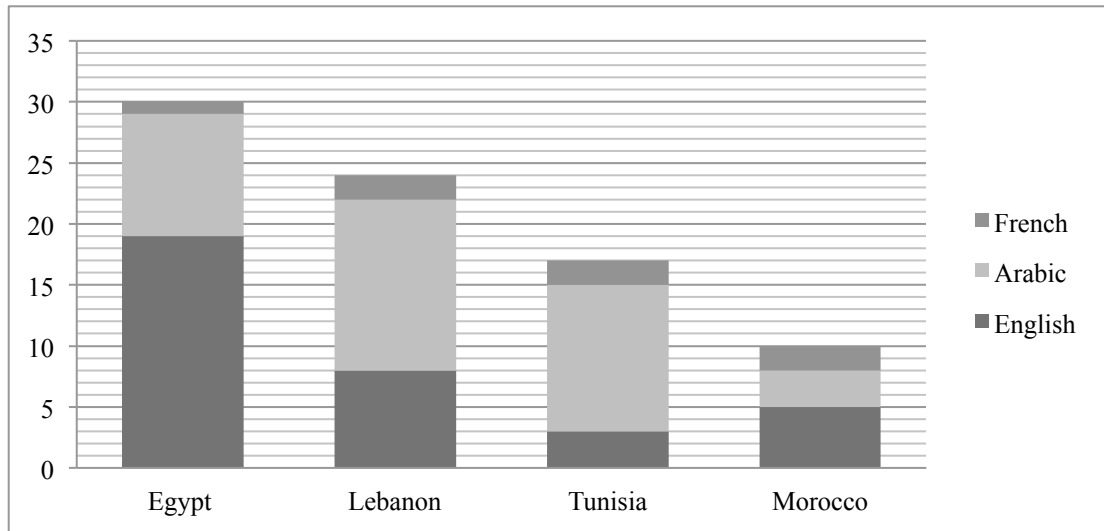
### 1. LANGUAGE



**Figure 9: Percentage of production by language**

Figure 9 illustrates the relative disparity in the quantity of production between English language articles and Arabic language articles: 14% of the sample is comprised of Arabic articles derived from the available (9) peer-reviewed Arabic journals, while the remaining majority (71%) is comprised of English articles derived from 165 International peer-reviewed journals. This stark difference in the number of peer-reviewed journals within the sample size reflects the relative disparity in the overall production of knowledge in the Arab world. In addition, even though the topic is local, the numbers of articles written in French still outnumber the number of articles written in Arabic on the revolutions.

**Figure 10: Language of publication by Arab country**



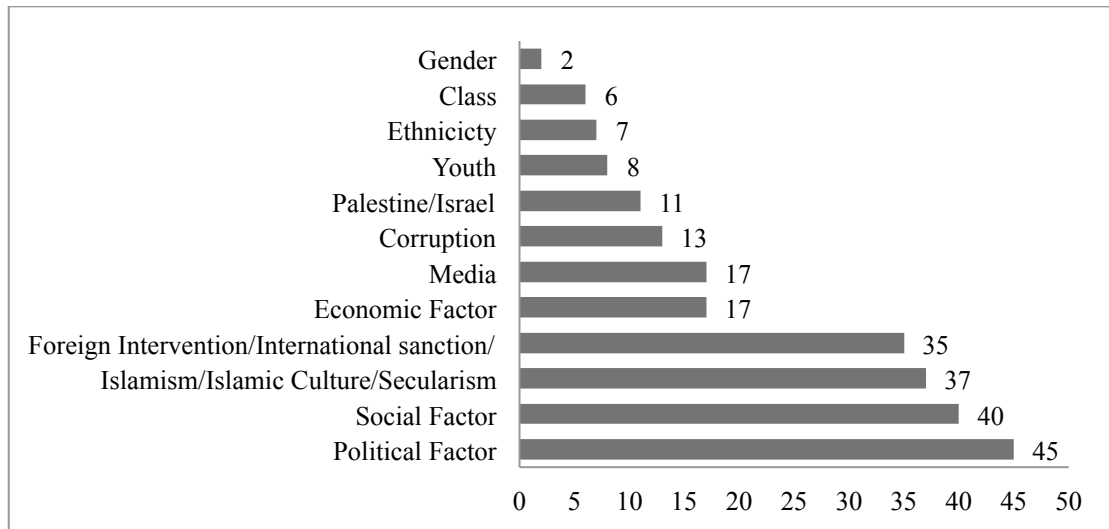
There is little move for translation. Only 2% of the articles in the sample are translated from their original language. The journal of Contemporary Arab Affairs accounts for most of these articles, the majority of which are originally written in Arabic and translated to English. As mentioned above, those who work in Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, and Lebanon are the most frequent producers in the Arab world. In terms of language, those in Tunisia write in Arabic, while Egypt has a frequency of 50 Arabic and 50 English. Lebanon produces double the number of Arabic articles than those published in English, while the majority of those who publish in French are writing from Morocco.

## **2. KEYWORDS**

Generally speaking, the Arab revolutions are framed within the lens of political factors, with a frequency of around 45%, followed closely by social factors (around 40%). Islamism, Islamic culture and/or secularism are mentioned in nearly 37% of the articles. Foreign intervention and geopolitics follows by a frequency of 35%, while Economic factors account for only about 17% of the keywords – the same percentage

goes for media and communication. Social factors and social class are around three times more likely to appear in Arabic than those written in English (23:7). Ethnicity is a theme predominantly explored in English articles. Islamism is also more predominant in articles written in English.

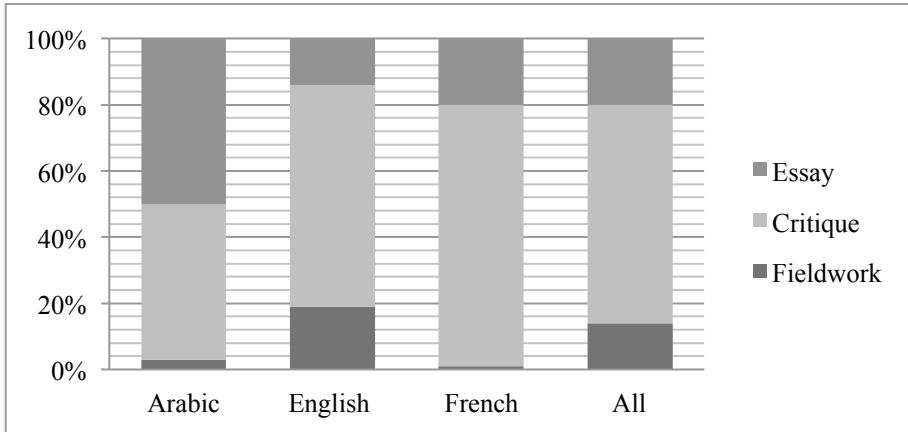
**Figure 11: Frequency of keywords (percentage)**



### **3. TYPE OF ARTICLES**

We distinguish between three types of articles: articles based on fieldwork, articles without fieldwork that could be either in a form of essay (no citation at all of any reference) or in the form of a critique of existing literature. As indicated below, the type of articles most common are critical of existing literature, while only 14% of research is based on Fieldwork, predominantly in English (19% vs. 3% in Arabic and 1% in French), conducted by those who are affiliated outside of the Arab region. 50% of the articles written in Arabic are essays, while essays constitute only 20% of the entire sample.

**Figure 12: Type of article by language of publication**



When researchers use fieldwork for their paper, they tend to privilege the qualitative research methods (45% vs. 29%) this could be related to the topic of the research (the Arab uprisings) or to the difficulty to conduct a quantitative research, such as surveys. The remaining percentage (26%) are articles that used both methods.

## Chapter 4

# QUALITATIVE FINDINGS: NETWORK AND CITATION ANALYSIS

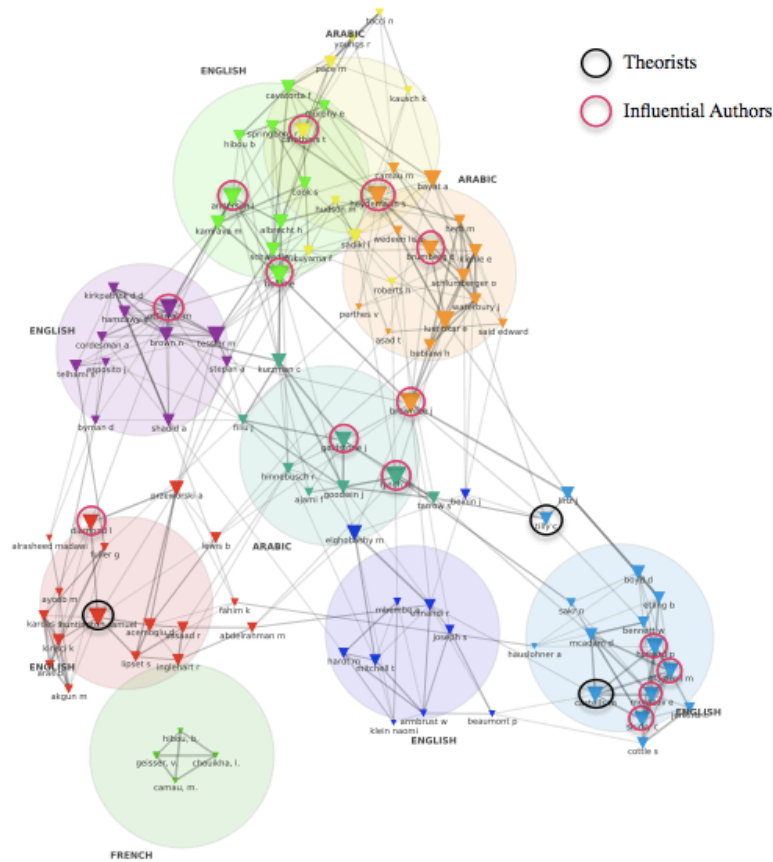
In order to study the collective process involved in knowledge production, a closer look at the references used, as well as their modalities will be explored in this section. Concurrently, a network analysis was conducted to elucidate the dynamics between these references across different languages of publication. R4: How is knowledge being produced? Will be addressed in this section.

### **A. Network Analysis**

The diagram below illustrates the network of authors who are cited across languages of publication. Each circle corresponds to the predominant language in which the authors are cited, as well as a particular niche within which a certain topic is discussed. Each niche is constituted of a number of authors who are either loosely or tightly connected to one another. The degree to which each niche is connected to other niches also varies. For example, the diagram indicates that the circle of French authors is completely isolated from other niches, but tends to have strong connections within it. A qualitative analysis of the content of these articles can provide an illuminative account of the content found within this French language niche.



**Figure 13: Network analysis of authors by language of publication<sup>3</sup>**



The circle on the bottom right corner of the diagram constitutes a niche of tightly connected technology journalists who specialize in social media, information technology and globalization. These authors include Clay Shirky, Evgeny Morozov, and Malcolm Gladwell, Manuel Castells contributes to this niche with his theoretical contributions to network societies and the effect of social media on contentious politics. Charles Tilly is loosely connected with contributions to contentious politics and the study of social movements. In addition, it is also evident that this niche is very loosely connected to Arabic language publications, indicating that much of the discussion about

<sup>3</sup> This figure is the best we can do at this stage. Some authors' names (such as Beatrice Hibou) were written in different ways and got more than one point in this figure.

the impact of information technology on the Arab uprisings is only happening in English.

The diagram also illustrates the distribution of the most influential authors across different niches. What is evident is that there seems to be very loose connections between these authors, while each of them, or each pair of them, seem to occupy a certain niche within which they exercise a certain degree of intellectual hegemony. For example, the red circle on the bottom left side of the diagram includes Samuel Huntington and Larry Diamond, both of whom are referred to as prominent political scientists who propagated skepticism towards the viability of democracy in the Arab world.

### **B. Qualitative Analysis of Most Cited Authors**

The table below is a list of the top 25 most cited authors on the topic of the Arab uprisings. Several attributes join these authors in common, including the fact that most of them are affiliated to US academic institutions. In addition, 10 of these authors are American political scientists who are affiliated to think tanks. Only four sociologists made it on the list, followed closely by three (technology) journalists, indicating a remarkable shift in the legitimation of knowledge producers. Only four theorists are among the most cited authors. 21 authors are from the US, two authors are French, alongside two Arab diasporic authors.

**Table 1: Top 25 most cited authors**

name of cited author	No of citation	place of the institution	type of scholars hip	Institutional affiliation
Samuel Huntington	30	US - NY	T	Political Science, Harvard/Columbia
Asef Bayat	24	US - CH		Sociology/Middle Eastern Studies, University of Illinois

Eva Bellin	23	US - MA		Political Science, Democracy, Brandies University, Harvard, AUC (2007)
Marc Lynch	22	US - DC		Political science and international affairs at George Washington University
Steven Heydemann	19	US - DC		Political Science/Public Policy, Georgetown University/ Special advisor on Middle East Initiatives at the US Institute of Peace
Lisa Anderson	18	US/Egypt		International relations. University of Colombia; President AUC; APSA; Carnegie Council for Ethics in IR; HRW; Council on Foreign Relations
Jason Brownlee	17	US		Government & Middle Eastern Studies, The University of Texas at Austin; Wilson Center
Vincent Geisser	17	F		researcher in CNRS (currently based in Beirut)
Philip N Howard	17			Sociology, communication, impact of information technology on democracy and social inequality, University of Washington
Joel Beinlin	16	US		History/Middle East History, Stanford University, Director of Middle East Studies at AUC (2008)
Manuel Castells	16		T	Sociology, network society, University of Southern California/Open University of Catalonia
Beatrice Hibou	16	F		Researcher in Center d'Etudes pour les Relations Internationales (CERI) (Paris)
Thomas Carothers	14	US		International expert on International democracy support, democratization, and US foreign policy, Vice president of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Larry Diamond	14	US		Political Science and sociology at Stanford University, democracy studies, senior fellow at Hoover Institute (conservative policy think tank)
Mona Elghobashy	14	D		Political science professor at Bernard College, Carnegie scholar
Jack Goldstone	14	US		Political science and sociology, social movements, revolutions & IR, Public Policy at George Mason University, US government consultant (USAID democracy assistance), Brookings Institute senior fellow
David D Kirkpatrick	14	US	J	Technology journalist (the facebook effect), Forbes Technology Media, technology conferences
Marina Ottaway	14			Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Foreign Affairs, Wilson Center, Political reform, taught at AUC
Edward Said	14	D	T	Literature, critical theory, post-colonialism, Columbia University
Charles Tilly	14		T	Sociologist, Political Scientist, historian, Columbia University, contentious politics

Daniel Brumberg	13			Department of Government, Georgetown University, special advisor for US Institute of Peace's Muslim World Initiative, democratization, political reform
Malcolm Gladwell	13		J	The New Yorker, frequent use of academic studies
Bernard Lewis	13			Historian, Orientalist, Princeton, advisor for Bush Administration, foreign policy advisor
Clay Shirky	13		J	Socio-economic effects of internet technologies

T= theoretical; J= Journalism

The qualitative analysis below takes a closer look at some of the most cited authors across the following categories: theorists; political scientists, representing the “theoretical center,” Arab diasporic authors, representing the “theoretical semi-periphery,” and the left, representing the “theoretical periphery.” An analysis of the most cited authors and theorists involves operationalizing (identifying) factors including, who these authors are, how each author is being cited (whether its to refute, support, or frame arguments), as well as the context and pretext under which he/she is being mentioned. Some quotes from the articles will be also highlighted.

### **1. THEORISTS**

Among the most cited authors, only four theorists are commonly cited on the topic of the Arab uprisings. These authors include Samuel Huntington (political science; democratization), Edward Said (literature; orientalism), Manuel Castells (sociology; social networks), and Charles Tilly (sociology; social movements). These authors are seen as pioneers in their respective fields whom most authors often cite to pay homage to, and not necessarily critique.

Samuel Huntington is one of the most influential political theorists of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. On the subject of the Arab uprisings, he is notably the most cited theorist (30 times), confirming the pattern evident in the extent to which this topic is exhausted

mostly through a political lens. Huntington is cited as a pioneer in the field of political science and international relations, equally whether he is being cited to support or to be refuted. His most cited references are to “the third wave” (1991) and “the clash of civilizations.” (1993) Most strikingly, some authors, such as Filipe R. Campante and Davin Chor (2012), who take a negative position on the Arab uprisings tend to cite Huntington to support their arguments, usually by maintaining Huntington’s assertion that (political) modernization (which is perceived by many authors as one of the demands of the uprisings) without institutional infrastructure leads to political instability<sup>4</sup>.

On the other hand, authors who seem to take a positive position towards the revolutions uprisings will often refute Huntington’s theory of the clash of civilizations, arguing that the Arab spring is evidence of global political development and modernization<sup>5</sup>, and that the ‘third democratic wave’s’ failure of reaching the Arab world is shaped by an invalid western orientalist view of the region<sup>6</sup>. What is most interesting to denote here is the extent to which the way we use knowledge can be manipulated to represent certain political inclinations, i.e. knowledge is inherently political.

Manuel Castells is a prominent sociologist and one of the world’s most cited authors on communication and information societies. On the subject of the Arab revolutions, Castells is the second most cited theorist after Samuel Huntington, and the most cited sociologist on the topic. Also regarded as a pioneer in the field of understanding the political dynamics of urban global economies in network societies, Castells is often cited in articles that address the impact of social media on political

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<sup>4</sup> See also Chaney, E (2012)

<sup>5</sup> Grinin, L & Korotayev A. (2012).

<sup>6</sup> See for example Sayyid, S. (2011); Schraeder, P. J. (2012); Strawson, J & Collins, B. (2011).

contention<sup>7</sup>. For example, Lynch (2011)<sup>8</sup> uses Castell's argument that "the rise of networked communication challenges and transforms the possibilities of power exercised by the territorial nation state by undermining its ability to legitimate its rule" to highlight the key argument about the transformative effects of the Internet; an argument that he uses to frame his article, which is dependent on the notion that new individual competencies and networked forms of communication will aggregate over time into systemic change. Castell's argument is used to frame rather than just support many of the authors' arguments, particularly with regards to the power of networks over the nation-states<sup>9</sup>.

Charles Tilly is most notably cited as one of the most influential sociologist on the subject of contentious politics and the study of social movements. On the topic of the Arab revolutions, Tilly is among the top cited theorists, and is often used to support the claim that "revolutions are not distinct occurrences, in a category apart, but almost always develop out of other forms of political conflict."<sup>10</sup> Overall, Tilly is used to support and explain the theoretical foundations behind political contention and social mobilization.

## **2. CENTRAL AUTHORS: POLITICS, THINK TANKS & US FOREIGN POLICY**

One of the most significant finding of this study is that almost half (40%) of the most influential authors are American Political Scientists, predominantly graduates of Ivy League universities, who in addition to holding academic positions in leading universities in the US, such as Georgetown or George Washington University, usually in the fields of Middle Eastern Studies, Foreign Policy or Governance, are also research

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<sup>7</sup> Comunello, F. & Anzera, G. (2012) and Bennett, W.L. & Segerberg, A. (2012).

<sup>8</sup> Lynch, M. (2011a).

<sup>9</sup> Aouragh, M. (2012) and Khondker, H. H. (2011).

<sup>10</sup> Harsch, E. (2012).

fellows at US led think tank such as the Wilson Center, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the Brookings Institute. Many of these authors also serve as foreign policy advisors to the US government. Authors include Marc Lynch, Steven Heydemann, Jack Goldstone, Larry Diamond, Thomas Carothers, and Daniel Brumberg (see table 1 above). We refer to these authors as the “central authors,” (not all of them theorists) due to their evident intellectual hegemony on the topic of the Arab uprisings. These authors, their trajectories, arguments, and the modalities to which they are referenced are explored below.

- **Marc Lynch** is the most widely published political scientist on the topic of the Arab uprisings, both publicly and academically. Since the beginning of the uprisings, Lynch has published many academic articles and books, and countless articles in *Foreign Policy* magazine where writes regularly. He publishes frequently on the politics of the Middle East, with a particular focus on the Arab media and information technology, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, and Islamist movements. He also works on public diplomacy and strategic communications. His most recent book, *Voices of the New Arab Public: Al-Jazeera, Iraq, and Middle East Politics Today*, was selected as a Choice Outstanding Academic Book.

In the sample selected for this study, Lynch is the author of two articles and is cited 20 times, mostly by authors writing from the US. In his articles, Lynch (2011)<sup>11</sup> focuses on the impact of Arab social media in creating a new public sphere, which, as he argues, has come to challenge the resilience of authoritarian regimes in ways that were not previously conceived possible, citing McAdam, Tilly and Tarrow (2001) on political opportunity structure, and the role media plays with regards to scale and

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<sup>11</sup> Lynch, M. (2011a) and (2011b).

diffusion. He argues that “new media have reshaped the structure of political opportunity across an increasingly unified political field, but have ambiguous effects on the specific mechanisms of authoritarian power” (2011a; 302). Lynch claims that the new forms of citizen engagement and the changing political dynamics of the region that has been enabled by the new media has succeeded in challenging authoritarian monopoly over information. His conclusions are prescriptive, and suggest that research must be oriented towards studying the vast amounts of data that has now been made available through information technology in order to be able to make more concrete empirical assumptions about how information travels through new media in different contexts, and theorizing how this shift has impacted political attitudes and opportunities. Lynch also introduces the question as to whether the new information environment affects Arab politics in distinctive ways as compared to the rest of the world, securing the ‘Arab exceptionalism’ argument’s position in the debate.

Lynch cites Shirky (2008) and Morozov (2011) as reference to the public debate on the extent to which the digital public sphere may extend to the concrete public sphere. He cites Heydemann (2007) in reference to his notion of the authoritarian ‘upgrade,’ and Diamond (2010) on how authoritarianism uses new media to punish dissent. He uses Castells (2008) argument that “the rise of networked communication challenges and transforms the possibilities of power exercised by the territorial nation state by undermining its ability to legitimate its rule” to support his claim that the “wired” youth of Tahrir Square “embody this vision of new competencies aggregating into political change” (Lynch, 2011a; 307). Lynch cites Howard (2010) to support his prescription that “research agendas should now shift to tracing out specific causal



mechanisms and analyzing the more systemic effects of these broad changes in the production and communication of political information” (Lynch, 2011a; 304).

Lynch also cites Gladwell, Bellin, and Brownlee among other top most influential authors, relying heavily on those who write most frequently on topics where new media, political contention, and network society intersect. On the subject of US foreign policy, Lynch argues that so far, the US has been successful in responding to the ways in which the Arab uprisings has challenged authoritarian regimes, but maintains that future alliances are yet unclear. He prescribes that Washington must “take more into account the views and interests of empowered Arab publics who have conclusively and profoundly rejected the status quo upon which American grand strategy has been based” (2011b; 40). Lynch also references his own research on al-Jazeera and the Arab blogosphere. He is cited for his books and articles alike, including his articles in *Foreign Policy*. He’s cited for his research on the way in which al-Jazeera has impacted political opinions and shaped debates in the Arab world.<sup>12</sup> He is also cited as a reference to US foreign policy concerns regarding the rise of Salafis post Arab uprisings. Overall, Lynch is cited as a reference to the relationship between social media and contentious politics in the Arab world, particularly with regards to framing the debate concerning the extent to which new media may change/challenge the political dynamics of the region, as well as to allude to “the reemergence of a pan-Arab identity oriented toward collective empowerment and mobilization,” manifested in its resistance to corrupt authoritarian regimes<sup>13</sup>. His research on Arab public opinion and support for increased credible research in the region on the topic is also heavily referenced<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> See for example Rinnawi, K. (2012) & Tetreault, M. A. (2011).

<sup>13</sup> See for example Kuhn, R. (2012); Sawani, Y. M. (2012); Al-Rasheed, M. (2013); Bellin, E (2012); Nanabhay, M. & Farmanfarmaian, R. (2011).

<sup>14</sup> See Al-Sumait, F. (2011).

- Another American political scientist who is heavily cited on the topic of the Arab uprisings is **Steven Heydemann**, who also serves as special advisor for Middle East Initiatives at the US Institute of Peace. Heydemann specializes in authoritarian governance, political economy, civil society and political reform in the Middle East. He has also directed the Center for Democracy and Civil Society at Georgetown University. He has a wide range of publications on authoritarianism in the Middle East, many of which are cited in the context of the uprisings.

In a 2011 publication for the Institute of Peace co-authored by R. Leenders, Heydemann argues that the uprisings are a demonstration of social learning by Arab citizens facilitated by new media, as much as it is a demonstration of the counter-revolutionary strategies used by authoritarian regimes to circumvent political contention. In another publication that deals with the Syrian case directly, Heydemann and Leenders (2012) make a contribution to Social Movement Theory (SMT), arguing that threat and opportunity are necessary but not sufficient elements for popular mobilization, and that they must be contextualized in order to understand their local significance. Like Lynch, Heydemann is also cited by political scientists writing from the US who co-cite Lynch, Huntington, Asef Bayat, and Eva Bellin among other influential authors. Heydemann (2007) is most cited as a reference to factors that account for authoritarian resilience in the region<sup>15</sup>, as well as a reference to the ways in which authoritarian regimes try to channel change within the regime in order to be able to prevail at all costs<sup>16</sup>.

- **Jack Goldstone** specializes in political science and sociology, social movements, revolutions and international relations. He is a Professor at George Mason

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<sup>15</sup> See Bellin, E (2012).

<sup>16</sup> See Droz-Vincent, P. (2011).

University' School of Public Policy, a US government consultant (USAID democracy assistance), and a Brookings Institute senior fellow. He has appeared on NPR, CNN, Al-Jazeera, Fox News, and written for Foreign Policy, The Atlantic, the Washington Post, Al-Hayat and the International Herald Tribune. Goldstone published an article in *Foreign Affairs* (2011) where he discusses the weaknesses and resilience of authoritarian regimes in the wake of the Arab revolutions.

Goldstone is cited 14 times in English and twice in French. Authors who cite Goldstone are predominantly political scientists writing from the US and Europe, who co-cite Lynch, Heydemann and other influential authors. For example, Bellin (2012) who is an influential author herself cites Goldstone (2011) to support her claim that in the context of the Arab revolutions, it is likely that the military will not support an autocrat who is perceived as a national liability. On the other hand, Heydemann (2012) refers to Goldstone's<sup>17</sup> "opportunity" and "threat" approach to SMT, and explains why these two factors are necessary but not sufficient in the Syrian context. In other circumstances, Goldstone (2001) is cited for his definition of a revolution, as well as for his findings in the *State Failure Task Force Report* (2000) where he argues that non-monarchic regimes with political leaders staying in power for long periods are unstable, and that their downfall rarely results in democracy<sup>18</sup> (Goldstone, 2011). Goldstone (1991) is also cited for his arguments regarding the connections between an increase in youth population and political instability. Goldstone's (2008) typology of a failed/fragile state is also used as a reference<sup>19</sup>, as well as his study (et al. 2010) correlating high infant mortality rates with state failure and violent conflict.

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<sup>17</sup> Goldstone, J. (2004) and Goldstone, J & C. Tilly (2001).

<sup>18</sup> See Al-Momani, M. (2011) and Comunello, F. & Anzera, G. (2012)

<sup>19</sup> See for example Schwarz, R. & M. de Corral (2011).

- **Larry Diamond**, is a political scientist at Stanford University, who specializes in democracy studies. Diamond is also a senior fellow at Hoover Institute and at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, where he also directs the Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. He has also advised and lectured to the World Bank, the United Nations, the State Department, and other governmental and nongovernmental agencies dealing with governance and development. Most of his work deals more so with the developing world rather than the Arab world in particular. In this study, he is cited in 14 English articles and 2 articles written in Arabic. In English, he is cited<sup>20</sup> for his definition of liberal democracy (2008), and his justifications for Arab exceptionalism with regards to democracy (2010). Lynch (2011a) refers to Diamond's (2010) claims that authoritarian regimes have become more capable of controlling and punishing dissent through the Internet.

- Similarly, **Thomas Carothers**, cited in 9 English article and 2 French articles, is an International expert on International democracy support, democratization, and US foreign policy. Carothers previously served as an attorney advisor at the US Department of State. He is also vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and has extensive experience with issues dealing with Human Rights, civil society building, and think tank development in transitional and developing countries. Carothers is most cited<sup>21</sup> for his claims that democracy in the Arab world is a US foreign policy interest<sup>22</sup>, as well as his prescriptions on how democracy should be promoted in the region if it is to be beneficial<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> See for example Chaney, E. (2012); El-Affendi, A. (2011); O'Connell, J. (2012).

<sup>21</sup> See for example O'Connell, J. (2012); Seerberg, M. (2013); Al-Sumait, F. (2011); Pace, M. & F Cavatorta, (2012).

<sup>22</sup> In Carothers, T. (2007); (2002); (1999).

<sup>23</sup> Carothers, T. (2004).

- **Daniel Brumberg** is an Associate Professor at the Department of Government, Georgetown University, and special advisor to the US Institute of Peace's Muslim World Initiative. He specializes in democratization and political reform. Brumberg is distinct in this sample in that he is cited in 10 English articles, two Arabic articles, and three written in French. However, similar to the authors mentioned above, Brumberg is predominantly cited<sup>24</sup> for his justifications for the failure of democracy in the region, such as his notion of "liberal autocracy,"<sup>25</sup> and his assumptions that these autocracies are unsustainable. For instance, Pace (2012) argues that "[t]he questioning of the validity of the paradigm of authoritarian resilience has meant that the theoretical assumptions of the democratization paradigm seem to have found a new lease of life after the criticism of the late 1990s and early 2000s (Carothers, 2002). In particular, the idea that authoritarian or semi-authoritarian forms of governments are only temporary stages on the path towards democracy and not sustainable political systems in their own right, as argued in the past (Brumberg, 2002), has resurfaced."<sup>26</sup>

- **Lisa Anderson** specializes in International Affairs and has relatively more knowledge of the region than most other authors in this category. She has served as provost at the American University in Cairo since 2008 and is currently its president since 2011. In terms of her trajectory, Anderson is similar to other authors in that she is a Columbia graduate, has served on the faculties of both Harvard and Columbia, serves on the board of the Carnegie Council for Ethics in IR and Human Rights Watch, and is also a member in the Council of Foreign Relations, an American foreign policy think tank. Anderson is cited 18 times in English only, predominantly by authors writing from the UK and US. She is not cited in Arabic or by authors writing from the Arab world.

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<sup>24</sup> As in Bellin, E. (2012)

<sup>25</sup> In Brumberg, D. (1990); (2002).

<sup>26</sup> Pace, M. & F Cavatorta, (2012).

She is most cited for *Demystifying the Arab Spring (2011)*, published in Foreign Affairs, e. g. in O'Connell (2012)<sup>27</sup>, Strawson (2011)<sup>28</sup>, Rogers (2012)<sup>29</sup>, Weyland<sup>30</sup> (2012), mainly as an area expert who delineates historical, political and institutional differences and similarities between different Arab countries, or as a reference<sup>31</sup> to explain the resilience of Arab monarchies (Bellin 2012)<sup>32</sup>, and (Pace 2012)<sup>33</sup>.

- **Jason Brownlee** is associate professor at the University of Austen, Texas, has written extensively on issues dealing with authoritarianism and democratization in the Arab world, and on US foreign policy, and has numerous publications in the American Journal of Political Science, Comparative Political Studies, Studies in Comparative International Development, and World Politics. Brownlee was also a fellow at the Wilson Center Middle East Program, one of the highest ranking US think tanks in the world. In this sample, Brownlee is cited in 17 English articles and 1 French. Three of the 17 authors writing in English are writing from the Arab world, while the rest are predominantly from Europe and the US. Most notably, Lynch (2011) and Bellin (2012) cite Brownlee (2007), among other authors, both similar and in contrast to him, as reference to the extensive literature written on Arab authoritarianism during the past decade. Weyland (2012) cites Brownlee's forthcoming publication<sup>34</sup>, where he argues that "in only one Arab country, Tunisia, did the domestic balance of power favor challengers during the transition" (928).

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<sup>27</sup> O'Connell, J. (2012).

<sup>28</sup> Strawson, J & B. Collins, (2011).

<sup>29</sup> In Rogers, A. E. (2012), Rogers cites Anderson as "one of the few commentators to disagree with the 'Facebook Revolution' thesis; she argues that new media merely provides a different platform on which to enact older forms of protest" (pp. 472).

<sup>30</sup> See O'Connell, J. (2012).

<sup>31</sup> Anderson, L. (2006); and (1991).

<sup>32</sup> Bellin, E. (2012)

<sup>33</sup> . Pace, M. & F Cavatorta, (2012).

<sup>34</sup> Brownlee, J. et al. (Forthcoming). *After the Awakening: Revolt, Reform, and Renewal in the Arab World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

### **3. SEMI-PERIPHERAL AUTHORS**

This category includes authors who do not belong to the hegemonic politics-centered theoretical center, but are not completely marginalized either. Authors in this category have specialized knowledge that is often referred to in the context of the uprisings. In addition, these authors come from non-English backgrounds, which seems to affect the way in which they approach the uprisings.

- Among the 25 most cited authors, two are French. **Beatrice Hibou** is a researcher at the *Center d'Etudes pour les Relations Internationales* (CERI) (Paris). She is cited 16 times in 8 English articles, and 7 articles written in French. In English she is cited<sup>35</sup> as a reference to explain the Tunisian economy<sup>36</sup> and the predatory nature of its ruling elite<sup>37</sup>, as well as the ways in which the state responded to economic challenges in the past (particularly with regards to foreign aid), and the impact its strategy had on society<sup>38</sup>. For instance, Schwarz (2011)<sup>39</sup> argues that “[i]n times of fiscal crisis it challenged the foundations of many states: international pressures to enact economic reform and privatization measures, and cut-off patronage networks left the state apparatus weakened and some privileged private entrepreneurs strengthened, and in some cases exceeded a particular state’s capacity to enact reforms, thus undermining its capacity even further and encouraging neopatrimonialism to become even more rampant.”

- **Mona El-Ghobashy** is the only Arab diasporic author (besides Edward Said) in the top 25 most cited authors list. El-Ghobashy is political science professor at

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<sup>35</sup> See Cavatorta, F & R. H. Haugbolle, (2012); Pace & Cavatorta, (2012); Chomiak, L. (2011).

<sup>36</sup> Hibou, B. et al. (2011).

<sup>37</sup> Hibou, B. (2011).

<sup>38</sup> Hibou, B. (ed.) (2004)

<sup>39</sup> Schwarz, R. & M. de Corral (2011).

Bernard College, Columbia University and is also a Carnegie scholar. Her research focuses on political mobilization in contemporary Egypt, and has published articles in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Middle East Report*, *American Behavioral Scientist*, and *Boston Review*. In this sample, she is cited in English only, 16 times in 14 articles by authors writing from outside the Arab world. El-Ghobashy is most cited for her 2011 article entitled *The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution*<sup>40</sup>, where she describes the Egyptian protests in great detail, as well as the events that led to its occurrence. For example, Kanna (2012)<sup>41</sup> claims “[i]n an excellent recent essay, Mona El- Ghobashy (2011) argues that the Egyptian Revolution of 2011 resulted from a sudden change in the balance of forces between the regime and the population. Rejecting the assumption that the revolution was spontaneously willed into being by the population, El-Ghobashy shows how for years Egyptians had been experimenting with resistance to the regime, and in actions such as strikes, protests and the like, negotiating the limits of regime domination. The events of January 2011 were prepared years in advance, such that ‘by January 25, 2011, a strong regime faced a strong society versed in the politics of the street.’” Alternatively, Pace 2012<sup>42</sup> cites an earlier publication<sup>43</sup> to support his claim that Islamism is a broad field and movements such as the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood have gone through considerable ideological and structural transformations. Overall, El-Ghobashy is cited as a reference to the socio-political conditions that both accompanied and preceded the Egyptian protests.

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<sup>40</sup> El-Ghobashy, M., (2011).

<sup>41</sup> Kanna, A. (2012)

<sup>42</sup> Pace, M. & F Cavatorta, (2012).

<sup>43</sup> El-Ghobashy, M. (2005).



#### 4. ALTERNATIVE AUTHORS: THE LEFT

We use ‘alternative’ authors here and not peripheral authors as they are located in the center as well as in the peripheries. This category includes authors who are attempting to look at the uprisings through a “revolutionary” or alternative lens. Although authors in this category are scarce, they nevertheless provide a critical perspective that counteracts the mainstream.

- **Joel Beinin** is an American History/Middle East History professor at Stanford University. He was also Director of Middle East Studies at AUC (left 2008). Beinin is significant in that he is the only leftist scholar among the top 25 most cited authors. Beinin is cited 16 times in 12 English articles and two articles written in French. He is also the author of one of the articles in the sample entitled *Workers and Egypt's January 25 revolution*, published in 2011, where he discusses social class, union organization in Egypt, and the strengths and weaknesses of the workers movement as the largest and best-mobilized leftist revolutionary coalition. Beinin is most cited as a reference to details regarding labor strikes and workers movements in Egypt both before and after January 25<sup>th</sup> 2011<sup>44</sup>.

- **Asef Bayat** is a professor of Sociology at University of Illinois. What qualifies Bayat as a “theoretically” alternative author, are two aspects. First, his work is often based on deep longstanding empirical knowledge of some Middle Eastern societies (Egypt and Iran). His work on youth everyday politics for instance demonstrates his sensitivity to the interplay between their social conditions and the changes in the cultural scripts that influence their world vision and inspirations. (see Bayat, 2013b; 2013c; Herrera and Bayat, 2010).

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<sup>44</sup> See Snider (2011) citing Beinin, J (2010). SEE ALSO Moustafa, T. (2011) citing Beinin, J. (2007)

Second, the level of complexity in his arguments reflects the complexity of the Arab uprising and connects the political to the social and economic with historical depth. For instance, he argues that the contrasting reactions of authors of the revolution – lauding and lamenting – reflect the paradoxical reality of the Arab ‘revolutions’. While they are appraised as ‘movements’, which has been the predominant narrative in most knowledge produced on the Arab revolutions, their capacity to bring about ‘change’ is narrated as less than commendable, although little, according to him, has been written about how to deal with these challenges (2013a; 48). Bayat argues that “a world in need of revolutions does not mean that it has the capacity to generate them, if it lacks the means and vision necessary for a fundamental transformation” (idem; 49). Indeed, what happened was that “few Arab activists (and I would add, intellectuals or scholars) had really strategized for a revolution, even though they might have dreamed about it. In general, the desire was for reform, or meaningful change within the existing political arrangements” (idem; 58). This is evident in how little knowledge has been produced outside of the ‘normative’ ideology of reform. In other words, although many authors are positive about the revolutions, none of them approach the issue with any truly ‘revolutionary’ approach.

In light of this, Bayat refers to the Arab revolutions as “refolutions” which he describes as “revolutions that aim to push for reforms in, and through, the institutions of the existing regimes” (idem: 53). He argues that this is occurring in light of an intellectual climate dominated by the global advance of neoliberal ideology informed by the spirit of individual self-interest and accumulation.<sup>45</sup> Bayat saw up until the 1990s,

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<sup>45</sup> The advance of neoliberalism, beginning in 1979-80 with the victories of Thatcher and Regan, later expanding as the dominant ideology across much of the world, played

the predominance of three major ideological traditions offered strategies for fundamental change in the Arab world: anti-colonial nationalism, Marxism and Islamism (idem; 54). His study was confirmed by other studies in the Arab World.<sup>46</sup> What is obvious here is a significant finding: that social change in local contexts is invariably influenced by global ideological shifts. Former anti-colonial revolutionaries “turned into administrators of the post-colonial order, they largely failed to deliver on their promises; in many instances nationalist governments devolved into autocracies, were saddled with debt, then pushed into neoliberal structural adjustment programs, if they had not already been overthrown by military coups or undermined by imperialist intrigues” (Bayat 2013a: 55), while after the 1990s, we saw the advent of what he calls the “post-Islamist” trends (e.g. Tunisia’s Nahda Party), which “aim to transcend Islamist politics by promoting a pious society and a secular state, combining religiosity with rights, to varying degrees” (idem; 57). Bayat like François Burgat (2010) witnessed the demise of the Arab left and the predominance of two political ideologies, neoliberal on the one hand (being the most influential international ideology) and post-Islamist on the

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a central role in this change of discourse. In place of ‘state’ and ‘revolution’ there was an exponential growth of talk about NGOs, ‘civil society’, ‘public spheres’ and so forth – in a word, reform. Gradual change became the only acceptable route to social transformation. Western governments, aid agencies and NGOs promoted this new gospel assiduously. The expansion of the NGO sector in the Arab world and in the global South more generally signified a dramatic shift from social activism, informed by collective interests, to an emphasis on the individual self-help in a competitive world (Bayat, 2013a: 56).

<sup>46</sup> Two studies conducted in Lebanon in the 1970s and the 1993 examining the ideological orientations of Lebanese youth reveal that there was a drastic paradigm shift in political identification and ideological orientation. While emphasis on Arab nationalism was more predominant in the 1970s, with 42% of youth identifying as Arab nationalists, this figure significantly declines in 1993 to 16%, to be replaced by Lebanese nationalism accounting for 68% of the youth’s orientations. In the 1970s, 25% identified as Lebanese nationalists, only 5% more than those who identified as Internationalist (communist). This figure also declines in 1993 to 8%, where Internationalism is defined as Islamism (Faour, 1998).

other, both of which share the narrative of reform. In brief, the connection between the politics with the social was rarely well articulated by influential figures of social science. Hanafi (2012) demonstrated that many think tanks (Freedom House, Economist Intelligence Unit, Arab Reform Initiative, etc.) investigate formal indices that prove helpful in tracking the micro-transformations of the Arab World, and in determining which state has undergone governance change and moved towards the rule of law, however, they fail, as Hanafi argues, to examine the potential for real political restructuring.

### **C. Qualitative Analysis of Arab Knowledge Production**

As indicated above, only 25% of the knowledge on the Arab uprisings is produced from within the region, from which around 50% of this knowledge is produced in Arabic, 45% in English, and 5% in French, with the majority of those contributing being Arabs. Although no Arab authors are present in the list of top 25 most cited authors, Samir Amin is cited 7 times, most commonly for his contributions to post-colonial analysis of the impact of capitalist imperialism on Egypt and North Africa, by both Arab and non-Arab authors alike. Most Arabs writing from within the Arab world in English tend to cite both Arabic and English references. In addition, around 40% of the articles are based on fieldwork<sup>47</sup>, which resonates in the amount of detailed description found in many of these articles. However, there is very little evidence of any of these authors engaging each other in debate. In exceptional cases when authors do engage each other, they are not explicit in their critique. For instance, after some authors replied to Altahir Labib's editorial in *Idafat* (issue 18) in an implicit manner, *Idafat*

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<sup>47</sup> See for example, Abdel-Baki, M. (2012).

editor, Sari Hanafi, asked them to criticize him or any other authors more overtly, to generate a debate. Many authors were reluctant to do so.

80% of Arabs who produce knowledge in English are affiliated to universities, both public (Qatar, Egypt, Jordan, Oman, among others) and private (predominantly from the American University in Cairo and the American University of Beirut). The rest are either writers or affiliated to local or regional research institutions (such as the Center for Arab Unity Studies). Since many of these authors base their studies on fieldwork, they tend to lay out a structured plan organized around an introduction, methodology, findings section, and a discussion and conclusion, and tend to adhere to Western academic standards of publication. Preliminary results from the qualitative analysis conducted on the sample of Arabic publications seems to suggest that the opposite is true: most Arab authors who publish in Arabic tend not to lay out a structured plan for the article in the introduction; a common feature has been to use numbered subheadings to indicate a thread through the article.

When theory is used, it is generally a foreign theoretical framework. This is true for both Arabic and English language publications. One hypothesis is that this is due to the scarcity of Arabic “theoretical frameworks.” Arab authors publishing in Arabic also seemed to rely more heavily on media (News, Facebook pages, etc.) in their citations, as opposed to Arabs who write in English who tend to cite more journal articles and books. In general, Arabic references are less likely to be academic references, and in many cases include blogs, newspaper articles, interviews, and other first-hand accounts. In addition, much of the fieldwork is conducted in Arabic for reasons of accessibility, which is why it is striking to find that few authors who publish in Arabic rely on fieldwork. The two cases that do include fieldwork rely on secondary statistical data to

explain the situation rather than getting first hand perceptions and meaningful knowledge produced by local, grassroots actors. More often than not, knowledge produced in the Arab world is descriptive in nature, and lends very little to what *should* be. The exemplary position of the Arab author is one that uses the revolutions as an indication of a legitimate struggle for social justice against oppressive autocracies<sup>48</sup>. They also tend to lend a retrospective view of the historical socio-political conditions that led to the uprisings, usually framing the events as a necessary outcome of long-term systemic oppression<sup>49</sup>.

#### **D. Hierarchy of Legitimacy in Knowledge Production**

From the analysis above we can conclude that there is an evident hierarchy between three levels of knowledge production. At the first level, knowledge producers who have the highest level of legitimacy (and the highest citation factor) are US Foreign Policy Ivy Leaguers, who create the theoretical, informational or/and analytical center. These authors are cited by all levels of knowledge producers and publish often in high impact factor journals. Their legitimacy comes from their status as “experts” on authoritarianism in the Middle East, democratization, and political Reform. “Expert” in this context has little to do with local knowledge, since few of these producers reference local producers of knowledge when studying the region. Instead, some of the expertise is confined to understanding the costs and benefits of US foreign policies in the Middle East, while some is critical to the longstanding US administration support for the Arab authoritarian regimes. Titles like “Common Interests, Closer Allies, How Democracy in Arab States Can Benefit the West,” and “Authoritarian Learning and Authoritarian

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<sup>48</sup> See for example, Al-Afifi, F. (2012).

<sup>49</sup> See for example, Kilo, M. (2011).

Resilience: Regime Responses to the ‘Arab Awakening’” are pertinent examples of the ways in which these producers perceive the problems they are studying. In addition, their statuses as both academics and researchers at prominent US think tanks is particularly problematic when it comes to scientific ethos, where their research imperatives are necessarily inclined towards US private interests. The Brookings Institute, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Wilson Center, and other US think tanks are funders of political/social scientific research in the Middle East, a factor which has undoubtedly affected the role of knowledge producers. These producers’ legitimacy is further solidified through their public appearances on international news networks like CNN, and regular publications in journals such as *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*.

At the second level are semi-peripheral knowledge producers, who have not pronounced a level of intellectual authority. Here we are not talking about the local scholars who are sometimes used as “informants” to first level knowledge producers. Mona Abaza (2011) complains strongly that local academics have often been reduced to “service providers for Western "experts" who jet in and jet out”. Rather, we are referring to scholars who are less cited in spite of the significance of their work. The best example is Mona El-Ghobashy, who had followed the Egyptian revolutions very closely on the ground. However, what we noticed is that her writings were subsequently used as a reference to factual events that occurred during the time and not as a theoretical reference in any case. Other authors in this category might include Arab authors writing from within the Arab world in English. These authors significantly differ from first level knowledge producers in that they cite both first and third level producers.

Third level producers are peripheral knowledge producers and include Arabs writing from within the region, in Arabic. These voices are seldom heard on the international level, and are only referenced by second level knowledge producers. What is particularly problematic is the one-way relationship between first and third level producers, which creates the hierarchal structure of legitimacy; while third level producers cite first level producers (thus legitimizing them), first level producers do not cite third level producers, thereby delegitimizing their positions as knowledge producers at the international level. A recent longitudinal study conducted by Mosbah-Natason & Gingras (2013) exploring the globalization of social sciences have concluded with similar results: the centrality of North American and European knowledge production, and the dependency of peripheral authors on referencing central authors rather than locally embedded references. The collective nature of knowledge production is broken, and a hierarchical structure based on the legitimacy of hegemonic western-institutionalized standards of political and ideological normativity is set in place.



## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSION

The findings in this study indicate that the majority of knowledge on a predominantly local social issue is being produced outside the Arab world in English. This is primarily due to the hegemony of the English language (Hanafi & Arvanitis, Forthcoming) in research and knowledge production, facilitated by the dominance of Western Academic institutions, think tanks, as well as the standards of publication in international journals, which give little to no effort in accommodating foreign languages. Furthermore, what little knowledge is being produced within the Arab world is produced in Arabic and not being translated. In fact, scarcely any authors who write in English or French reference in Arabic. To a large extent, authors who write in a particular language, cite in a particular language. Houssay-Holzschuch & Milhaud (2013) find that French authors tend to quote mostly French references and this is confirmed by our work. The issue of language compartmentalization becomes significantly poignant here. Some authors see translation an opportunity for increased reflexivity (Burns and Zichner, 2009; Crane et al., 2009; Hanafi, 2010), which might lead to new ways of conceptualizing and articulating concepts. New ways of thinking can indeed be *found* in translation, as long as translation is understood and practiced as a process that is never-ending, dialogical, and fraught with heuristic tensions (Houssay-Holzschuch & Milhaud, 2013).

The hegemony of political science is significantly problematic as well, in addition to the weakness of peripheral authors (both geographical and theoretical), which greatly impoverishes the international debate. Karim Makdisi in *Reflections on*

*the State of IR in the Arab Region* makes several key contributions related to the context within which social science scholars work in the Arab world by looking at the types of institutions that teach or conduct social research. He points to the problematic of understanding International Relations in a region where scholars have had little impact on the discipline and its principal journals and forums. An overview of influential IR journals shows not only that voices and research from the Arab region are notable only by their general absence, but also that those IR “conversations” dealing with the Arab region routinely eschew Arabic sources, let alone oppositional Arab voices. He argues that indeed, the discipline’s general lack of interest in, even deliberate neglect of, the work of Arab scholars is not new and reflects a long pattern of academic and intellectual hegemony and orientalism exposed in the path-breaking work of Edward Said. Given Arab scholars’ lack of resources, language barriers, poor publication record in mainstream journals, it is clear that many Arab scholars working in Arabic and within national institutions are virtually invisible internationally. The challenge today is the disengagement of social science research from its local context, both of which are amplified by the hegemony of neoliberal interests and concurrent narratives for change, as well as the marginalization of local knowledge by many Arab scholars who suffer from both local and global constraints on knowledge production.

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## APPENDIX

### List of Journals

1. Idafat
2. Almustaqbal Alarabi
3. Contemporary Arab Affairs
4. Transition
5. The Wilson Quarterly
6. Critical Inquiry
7. The Journal of Economic Perspectives
8. Theological Studies
9. Middle East Journal
10. International Journal of Social Economics
11. Insight Turkey
12. The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations
13. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
14. International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies
15. Middle East Law and Governance
16. Middle East Policy
17. Social Research
18. Journal of Central Asian Studies
19. Brown Journal of World Affairs
20. International Journal on World Peace
21. Turkish Journal of Politics
22. International Journal of Middle East Studies
23. International Labor and Working Class History
24. Aslib Proceedings: New Information Perspectives
25. Africa Spectrum
26. American Anthropologist
27. American Ethnologist
28. American Foreign Policy Interests
29. Political Analysis
30. Annals of Surgery
31. Applied Geography
32. Arab World Geographer
33. Area
34. Armed Forces and Society
35. Australian Journal of International Affairs
36. Bilig
37. Cambridge Review of International Affairs
38. CEU Political Science Journal
39. City
40. Commentary
41. Contemporary Politics
42. Computers in Human Behavior
43. Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory
44. Contemporary Islam
45. Contemporary Security Policy
46. Cultural Studies
47. Current History
48. Democracy and Security
49. Development (Basingstoke)
50. Discourse
51. Discourse and Society
52. Economic Affairs
53. Economy and Society
54. Education, Business and Society: Contemporary Middle Eastern Issues
55. European Journal of Migration and Law
56. European Journal of Political Theory
57. International Journal of Transitional Justice
58. International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development
59. Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication
60. World Affairs



61. Brookings Papers on Economic Activity
62. Cinema Journal
63. Contemporary French and Francophone Studies
64. Denver University Law Review
65. Economist
66. European Urban and Regional Studies
67. Expressions Maghrebines
68. French Cultural Studies
69. French Review
70. Geopolitics of Energy
71. Global Change, Peace and Security
72. Global Economy Journal
73. Global Media Journal
74. Globalizations
75. Harvard International Review
76. Holy Land Studies
77. Hts Teologiese Studies- Theological Studies
78. Human Affairs
79. IDS Bulletin
80. Ieee Network
81. Information Communication and Society
82. International Affairs
83. International Journal
84. International Journal of Communication
85. International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences
86. International Journal of Refugee Law
87. International Politics
88. International Review of Education
89. International Spectator
90. Irish Studies in International Affairs
91. Islam and Christian Muslim Relations
92. It Professional
93. Journal of Arabic Literature
94. Journal of Asian and African Studies
95. Journal of Civil Society
96. Journal of Classical Sociology
97. Journal of Common Market Studies
98. Journal of Communication
99. Journal of Democracy
100. Journal of Economic Issues
101. Journal of Human Rights
102. Journal of North African Studies
103. Journal of Politics
104. Journal of Theoretical Politics
105. Journalism Studies
106. Journalism
107. Language and Intercultural Communication
108. Law and Critique
109. Library Review
110. Maghreb - Machrek
111. Mediterranean Politics
112. Mediterranean Quarterly
113. Middle East Quarterly
114. Mobilization
115. Monthly Review
116. Muslim World Journal of Human Rights
117. New York University Law Review
118. Nation
119. Nations and Nationalism
120. New Left Review
121. North Korean Review
122. Oil & Gas Journal
123. Orbis
124. Peace Review
125. Perspectives on European Politics and Society
126. Perspectives on Global Development and Technology
127. Perspectives on Politics
128. Philosophy and Social Criticism
129. Planning Perspectives
130. Planning
131. Politics and Policy
132. Political Studies Review

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| 133. | Population and<br>Development Review     | 149. | Studies in Conflict and<br>Terrorism           |
| 134. | Problems of Post-<br>Communism           | 150. | Survival                                       |
| 135. | Public Policy Research                   | 151. | Swiss Political Science<br>Review              |
| 136. | Regional Science Inquiry                 | 152. | Technoetic Arts                                |
| 137. | Representation                           | 153. | Technology Review                              |
| 138. | Review of African<br>Political Economy   | 154. | Telecommunications<br>Policy                   |
| 139. | Review of Radical<br>Political Economics | 155. | Telematics and<br>Informatics                  |
| 140. | Rhetoric Society<br>Quarterly            | 156. | Terrorism and Political<br>Violence            |
| 141. | Romanian Journal of<br>European Affairs  | 157. | Third World Quarterly                          |
| 142. | RUSI Journal                             | 158. | Times Literary<br>Supplement                   |
| 143. | Social Movement<br>Studies               | 159. | TripleC  |
| 144. | Social Science<br>Information            | 160. | Turkish Studies                                |
| 145. | Social Science Quarterly                 | 161. | Washington Quarterly                           |
| 146. | Stanford Journal of<br>International Law | 162. | Water Policy                                   |
| 147. | Strategic Analysis                       | 163. | West European Politics                         |
| 148. | Strategic Comments                       | 164. | World Affairs                                  |
|      |  | 165. | World Futures: Journal<br>of General Evolution |