

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

FRAMING ARAB POVERTY KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION: A
SOCIO-BIBLIOMETRIC STUDY

by
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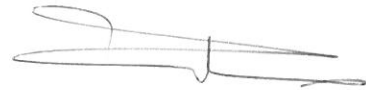
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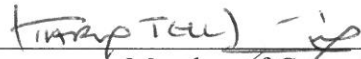
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Sarah Monzer El Jamal

Title: Framing Arab Poverty Knowledge Production: A Socio-bibliometric Study

Based on Mannheim's theory that knowledge is socially constructed, and its production process is influenced by the social context in which it occurs, this study seeks to identify and analyze the social influences and forces behind the knowledge produced and disseminated in the form of academic journal articles on the topic of poverty in the Arab World. Although the knowledge production process will not be studied in its making, certain features and elements of the final body of knowledge (the articles) will be taken as telling indicators of the process in hindsight. These will be the basis of three kinds of analyses that will be carried out: content analysis, authorship analysis, and citation analysis. In content analysis, I will scrutinize the poverty concepts used, the methodologies applied, the use of theory including theoretical frameworks of the studies, the prevailing political and epistemological paradigms, the structure of the articles, and the types of articles (critique, essay, fieldwork). In authorship analysis, I will survey the sociological markers pertaining to the authors and institutions producing the articles. In citation analysis, I will analyze the characteristics and trends of the references. Ultimately, I seek to answer the following question: What are the social factors conditioning the production of academic articles on poverty in the Arab World, and what are the observed trends thereof?

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH INQUIRY AND METHOD

A. Research Context

Our current economic and social system is a 'knowledge economy' and a 'knowledge society' dominated by professional experts and their scientific methods and the expansion of knowledge-producing occupations. At the same time, knowledge is being questioned and challenged increasingly. We tend to take for granted what we call 'common sense' in the system we happen to inhabit (Burke, 2000). The objective of this thesis is to make us conscious of the 'knowledge system' in which we live, by studying underlying forces, influences, structures and trends in a subset of the knowledge-producing community: the authors of academic articles on Arab poverty, namely those published in journals, conferences, or forums since the year 2000 in Arabic, French, and/or English. In addition to its epistemological significance, this exploration also comes at a time when there is an overwhelming Western effort to integrate the Arab states into the 'global economy' through structural adjustment programs imposed on Arab economies in return for development loans. The belief in this need to integrate is

based on knowledge produced and/or influenced by the World Bank. Analyzing the social influences, the motives, and the origins of this knowledge is important to guard against “giving the forces of the economy and politics an internal logic and coherence with an internal rationality” (Bush, 2004, p. 687).

The aim of this thesis is to explore how poverty studies concerning the Arab region have been framed, through analyzing authorship, text, and references of academic journal articles in Arabic, English, and French. This study is driven by the principles of the sociology of knowledge production that studies the social factors influencing and conditioning the making of knowledge. Karl Mannheim's theory that knowledge is socially determined is the theoretical basis of our research inquiry (Mannheim, 1936).

It is written in the context of a larger project on the social conditions of knowledge production in the Arab World¹. We used the methodology that developed by Sari Hanafi and already applied in other topics, such as the Arab Uprisings, that was the subject of the Master thesis of Nada al-Maghlouth. The topic of Arab poverty, which far predates the Arab uprisings, should serve to provide a valuable comparison between two inquiries- one historical and hegemonized by the discipline of Economics and the other

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contemporary and studied politically- that use the same theoretical and methodological foundations.

B. Research Questions

This study purports to explore the social influences and resulting trends observed in the production of academic journal articles, in Arabic, English, and French, on the topic of Arab Poverty published in 2000 or later.

This issue will be addressed through the following research questions:

-R1: What are the social factors conditioning the production of academic journal articles on the topic of Arab Poverty?

-R2: What trends correlate with the observed conditioning?

C. Research Method

To analyze the academic journals' articles in English, Arabic, and French on the topic of Poverty in the Arab World, we choose to deal with the last 14 years, ie. starting from 2000. Only articles that explicitly tackle Poverty are analyzed.

The Arab World consists of the 22 Arabic-speaking countries. Only articles that focus on the Arab World as a whole, a sub region thereof, and/or individual countries therein, whether exclusively or comparatively with another region or country, are included in the study.

Certain features and elements of the final body of knowledge (the articles) are

taken as telling indicators of the knowledge production process in hindsight. These are the basis of three kinds of analyses that have been carried out: content analysis, scholarship analysis, and citation analysis.

In content analysis, I have scrutinized the trends in the topics and research questions chosen, the theories and methodologies upon which the article is based, the structure of the article, the epistemological paradigms portrayed, the choice of keywords, and the nature of the articles (critique, essay, fieldwork).

In authorship analysis, I have surveyed the domicile of the institutional affiliations of the authors, the choice of language, the place of origin of the authors (to take account of diasporic ones), the disciplines to which the authors adhere, any collaborations between authors (co-authoring), and how prolific and influential they are in the sampled literature.

In citation analysis, I have studied the language of the chosen references, the types of references (books, articles, etc), the place of origin and location of the cited authors and theorists, and the relationships between the cited authors (network analysis).

D. Data Collection

As part of a broader research project, the research team who contributed to this study includes, besides myself, Nada Al-Maghlouth and May Habib, who have qualitatively analyzed the content of approximately half of the articles. The qualitative analysis was conducted by the three of us, while Sari Hanafi and I collaborated to do the network and quantitative analyses. IFPO assisted in providing the French articles.

The retrieval of the 201 articles was based on a keyword search in Arabic, English and French, limited to the year 2000 or later, for (Poverty OR Destitution OR “Social Exclusion” OR “Social Class”) AND (“Middle East” OR Arab OR [The name of every Arab country]), yielding 201 results.

English references were primarily derived from Web of Science (WoS) and Scopus (136 articles), but Arabic references were scarcer, primarily due to the limited availability of Arabic databases. *E-Marefa*², the only reliable Arabic database, yielded only 29 results, while the rest of the articles were retrieved from other online or print sources³. The French articles were derived from the CAIRN platform (9 articles).

E. Data Analysis

In a spreadsheet, coded information on each article's sociological markers was collected and then imported into SPSS for analysis: title in English; title in original language; language; translation; date of publication; journal issue number; journal of publication; author; number of authors; institutional affiliation; country of institutional

² This database contains 1015 academic and statistical journals issued by various bodies (universities, research centers, public statistical departments, central banks, scientific associations, regional organizations) in the Arab world in three languages: Arabic, English and French. E-Marefa database provides 100,000 articles and statistical reports, 11,000 theses and dissertations (masters and PhD), and 7,500 book reviews issued in the Arab World. This database involves over 275 universities, research centers, statistical apparatus and regional organizations in the Arab world in 19 countries. These bodies supply their journals and publications to the e-Marefa database on a regular and continuous basis. Other than E-marefa, there are also two databases: one for all sciences, called al-Manhal (<http://www.almanhal.com/>), whose coverage is much less comprehensive than E-Marefa's, and the second concerns literature on education only (produced in the Arab world or about it), called Shamaa (*šabakat al-ma'lūmāt al-'arabiyya at-tarbawiyya*, ie. Arab Educational Information Network). Currently, about 20,000 studies are documented in Shamaa, 5,000 of which with their full text.

³ In the following journals: *Idafat*, *Omran*, *Mu'tah Lil-Buhuth wad-Dirasat*, and *The National Sociological Journal*.

affiliation; region of institutional affiliation; discipline; diasporic status of author; geographical scope; keywords; and a list of cited authors. The spreadsheet was also uploaded to Cortext Manager, an online Network Analysis tool that produces network maps of cited authors. The top cited authors were identified, and a co-citation network map was created using a statistical semantic measure proposed by Weeds (2003). The network is also organized according to clusters of interconnected subgroups of authors distinguished by colored circles. This is done by applying the Louvain community detection algorithm based on the work of Blondel et al (2008).

Qualitatively, an analysis of the most cited authors was first conducted to examine their discipline, institutional affiliation, connection to other cited authors, their most commonly cited contribution to the body of poverty knowledge, and how their influence prevails in the articles. Second, a qualitative analysis of a sample of knowledge produced from within the Arab world was conducted to scrutinize the following elements: dominant paradigms, the choice of the research question, and what was being actively left out or dismissed.

F. Delimitations

Although Arabic, English, and French are the most prolific languages in which articles about the Arab region have been written, they still do not encapsulate the entire body of literature on the topic as they exclude Spanish articles tackling North African countries, Turkish articles, Iranian articles, and other languages.

As this study is focused on academic articles only, it cannot be taken as

representative of the complete body of knowledge produced on Arab poverty as this should include books, news articles, and other academic and non-academic material.

As for the geographic scope of the sampled articles, this was limited to the Arab region and countries therein, excluding a more inclusive global account of poverty knowledge and the opportunity to draw comparisons with other regions.

It is also important to note that the period considered was limited to the year 2000 and onward, thereby excluding knowledge produced before that year. This limits the ability of this study to provide a grand historical perspective or account of Arab poverty studies. It also excludes the 'statist period' -discussed further in the next chapter- which was a prosperous period for the Arab region in terms of development and growth. This would have served for a valuable comparison with the more market-centered period starting in the mid-1980s.

The analysis carried out was restricted to the content of the articles and information collected about the authors and cited authors from their CVs and biographies. Interviews with authors would have been invaluable to the study as they would have provided a more subjective and informal account of the knowledge production process. Even a survey would have provided more information about the knowledge production process that is not obtainable from the articles or author CVs. The time constraint did not allow for such interviews or surveys.

Finally, the content analysis performed has relied on sociological markers and signifiers in the texts that served as important indicators of the social conditions and trends in knowledge production. Nonetheless, a more in-depth account and analysis of

modalities and language use would have strengthened the study. This was not carried out due to time constraints. As for the co-citation network analysis, in addition to the top cited authors, a more elaborate network map of the works cited would have provided a clearer picture of what the top cited authors were contributing to the poverty discourse.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE AND ARAB POVERTY KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

A. Theoretical Foundations of the Sociology of Knowledge Production

Central to the discipline of sociology is C. Wright Mill's concept of 'sociological imagination', defined as the ability to mentally connect individual experience with the wider society (Mills, 1959). It is the ability to imagine connections between a certain outcome – for example, social norms or knowledge- and its socio-cultural context. Sociological imagination is key to the sociology of knowledge, which studies the social sources and consequences of knowledge.

The definition of knowledge and the way it has been studied in sociology have varied throughout the history of the discipline (McCarthy, 1996). According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), “the sociology of knowledge must concern itself with whatever passes for ‘knowledge’ in a society, regardless of the ultimate validity or invalidity (by whatever criteria) of such ‘knowledge’” (p. 15).

Within the social order, knowledge’s place has been theorized in two divergent yet recurring propositions during the course of the history of the sociology of knowledge. The first one, upon which this paper is based, is Mannheim's social

determination theory (McCarthy, 1996). According to McCarthy, proponents of the first proposition, including Marx and the classical sociologists succeeding him, believe that the prevalent forms of a social order influence the knowledge it produces. The second one is that in addition to being socially determined, knowledge impacts the formation of a social order (Williams, 1981).

Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss (1963) pioneered the sociology of knowledge at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. They were the first to study how logic, language, and thought are shaped by the social context in which they emerge. Influenced by Karl Marx's doctrine that human thought and consciousness is rooted in people's social and economic realities, Karl Mannheim proposed the social determination of knowledge in *Ideology and Utopia* in 1929 (Calhoun, Gerteis, Moody, Pfaff, Schmidt, & Intermohan, 2002).

A more contemporary contribution to the discipline is Michel Foucault's *Madness and Civilization*, in which he proposed that the concept of insanity, reason, and knowledge are prone to culture bias (Foucault, 1961). Foucault also studies the relationship between power and knowledge in *In Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*. He postulates that knowledge is socially constructed for the purpose of maintaining the power of the ruling class. This happens when knowledge is produced, shapes discourses, and, in turn, mainstream ideologies that have power over people's behaviors. He suggests that we should question the prevalent ideology that benefits the ruling class (Foucault, 1975).

B. A Review of Citation Analysis

The final product of science, or ready-made science, according to Bruno Latour (1987), is different from science in action, or in the making. To understand knowledge production, one must study the latter and not the former. This requires studying the historical and social context within which knowledge is produced. Latour contends that references are greatly indicative of the collective process of producing knowledge and provide a trace for the ideas put forth in the article. The manner in which they are used and their modalities could tell a great deal about the author's paradigms.

Luukkonen (1997) summarizes Latour's empirical findings in citation studies:

1. The heterogeneous usage of references. In spite of the fact that authors have different motives and different rhetorical reasons for inserting references into their texts, and these reasons vary from one reference to another in the same text, the general role of citations is uniform, that of supporting knowledge claims. The heterogeneity is indicative of the variety of means used to fulfil this function.
2. The difference between the intentions and interests of the authors of the cited and citing texts is being explained- knowledge construction is a social process and authors of texts cannot control the later usage of their texts. The subsequent transformation of the cited texts in the process is an essential part of the social construction of scientific knowledge.
3. Different citation 'etiquettes' are understandable considering the primary function of citations as a rhetorical device and the fact that different groups of scientists might have different discourse practises. (p.30, 31)

Jacques Gaillard (1994) conducted a study on third world scientific production. The findings were that 78% of references cited by third world scientists were from mainstream scientific literature, with a lag of over ten years since the date of publication

for nearly half of them. They cite articles from national journals at a smaller frequency but much earlier than articles from the mainstream international journals. Gaillard (1994) contends that citation modes undermine scientists at the periphery, including third world scientists, because most of the work makes it only to local journals that are bound within the country and is often inaccessible beyond these frontiers. There is a vicious circle in place because even the publication of their work in mainstream journals does not make them on a par even with their mainstream peers who publish in the same journals and end up much more cited. Even third world scientists rarely cite other third world scientists who get published in mainstream journals while citing their colleagues from industrialized countries. Velho (1986) found that “citation patterns are significantly influenced by factors 'external' to the scientific realm and thus reflect neither simply the quality, influence, nor even the impact of the research work referred to” (p. 71). The citation frequency of a certain publication is strongly determined by the place of publication.

C. Overview of Available Arab Poverty Knowledge and its Implications

If one is to gather a general account of the poverty landscape in the Arab region as a whole, the mainstream go-to source for that is usually the World Bank documents. However, drawing a clear picture of this landscape is a tricky affair given that, while the material on the subject is voluminous, very little thereof is comparable. World Bank (2002) acknowledges that the survey data in the MENA region is the least productive, and countries where national income and expenditure surveys, which can be used as

alternatives for a purpose-specific survey, are conducted- Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon and Jordan- take up the bulk of the literature. The accuracy of these surveys is nonetheless disputable. Excluded from the 'MENA' category are the Gulf countries while the categorization of Turkey and Iran is ambiguous. UNDP (2014) provides a comparison of poverty indicators, as of 2013 figures, pertaining to regions in the latest Human Development Report summarized in the following table.

Table 1: Income and multi-dimensional poverty⁴, by region

Region	No. of Countries in sample	Income poverty head-count (%)	Near income poverty⁵ (%)	Number of countries in sample	Multi-dimensional poverty head-count (%)	Intensity of deprivation (%)	Near multi-dimensional poverty⁶ (%)
Arab States	10	6.5	36.4	9	15.5	48.4	8.7
East Asia and the Pacific	11	12.7	25.1	10	6.4	44.7	16.2
Europe and	15	1.4	6.0	15	1.8	37.3	4.5

⁴“Multidimensional Poverty Index, captures the multiple deprivations that people face in their education, health and living standards. The MPI shows both the incidence of nonincome multidimensional poverty (a headcount of those in multidimensional poverty) and its intensity (the relative number of deprivations people experience at the same time). Based on intensity thresholds, people are classified as near multidimensional poverty, multidimensionally poor or in severe poverty, respectively” (UNDP, 2014, p. 157).

⁵ Percentage of the population at risk of suffering income poverty, or close to the poverty threshold (UNDP, 2014).

⁶ “The population considered near multidimensional poverty... can be called the ‘near poor’. The population considered near poor in a monetary sense has an equivalent income of more than \$1.25 a day but less than \$2.50 a day” (UNDP, 2014, p. 135).

Central Asia							
Latin America and the Caribbean	20	5.7	7.0	14	6.7	42.8	9.5
South Asia	8	30.6	44.4	7	53.4	50.8	17.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	40	50.9	27.8	36	59.6	55.0	16.2

Source: Multidimensional poverty, Human Development Report Office calculations based on various household surveys, including ICF Macro Demographic and Health Surveys, United Nations Children's Fund Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys and several national household surveys; income poverty, Human Development Report Office calculations based on data from the World Bank's World Development Indicators database.

In *Sustaining gains in poverty reduction and human development in the Middle East and North Africa*, a 2006 World Bank publication by Farrukh Iqbal, the MENA region's experience with poverty reduction under the international development agenda is framed and summarized in terms of two periods that encompass the modern economic history of the region until the year 2000: a 'statist period' lasting until the mid-1980s and a 'transition period' from then to the year 2000. The statist period, in which the state dominated the economic system, relied on 'an inward-looking economic strategy' and public investments for growth. The transition period has relied on a shift towards more 'open and market-centered strategies with an emphasis on the private sector. The following table summarizes the major features of the two periods with respect to development and poverty levels:

Table 2: The Major Features of the Statist Vs. Transition Period

Indicator	Statist Period: Until mid-1980s	Transition Period: mid-1980s to 2000
GDP per capita	Rapid increase (mainly due to hydrocarbons).	Stagnation (in conjunction with a decline in hydrocarbon prices).
Poverty rate	Decrease for Tunisia and Egypt.	Very little progress ⁷ .
Gini index ⁸		No deterioration ⁹ .
Human development indicators	Progress in adult literacy, schooling, child mortality, and life expectancy.	Continued progress in human development indicators.
Social security (public employment, public education, subsidies)	Improved.	Declined.

7. “Very little progress was made on the poverty front. The region's average poverty rate fluctuated between 20 and 25% during the entire decade of the 1990s. By 2001, approximately 52 million people were poor, an increase in absolute numbers of approximately 11.5 million people, compared with the situation in 1987” (Iqbal, 2006, p. xix).

8 The Gini coefficient is a measure of the inequality of a distribution, a value of 0 expressing total equality and a value of 1 maximal inequality. Worldwide, Gini coefficients for income range from approximately 0.23 (Sweden) to 0.70 (Namibia) although not every country has (http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Gini_coefficient.html)

9 “The Gini measure of inequality fluctuated between 0.32 and 0.44 for most MENA countries, although it was lower in the 1990s than in the 1970s for Egypt, Iran, and Tunisia. On the whole, the lack of any systematic deterioration in inequality after 1985 suggests that structural reforms adopted in this period did not have an adverse impact on inequality” (Iqbal, 2006, p. xix).

Even though human development indicators have not stopped progressing throughout the two periods, there were no gains in GDP, poverty reduction, inequality, or social security. Iqbal (2006) attributes this to the region's "difficulties in translating rising human capital into higher productivity" (p. xix). Furthermore, the World Bank (1995) has acknowledged a "record of low levels of poverty" as one of the consequences of the "authoritarian populist regimes that have been common in the region" (as cited in Bush, 2004, p. 679). Between 1960 and 1985, the MENA outperformed all other regions except East Asia in its income growth and equality of income distribution. Consequently, human development indicators, such as infant mortality and life expectancy, improved significantly. Adams and Page (2001), a major cited source for the Arab Human Development Report (AHDR), finds that the MENA has the lowest poverty level for a "developing region defined as US\$ 1 or US\$ 2 per person per day, except for the old socialist economies in Europe" (as cited in Bush, 2004, p. 680). They also rank the region's absolute poverty at the time as the lowest in the world with the following disclaimer: "it is likely that chronic poverty is eclipsed by the presence of Islamic and social welfare and/or coping mechanisms that obscure the persistence of poverty" (as cited in Bush, 2004, p. 680). The AHDR offers that "egalitarian income distribution practises and the ability of the poor to draw on periods of relative prosperity from 1970 to 1985" were the main reasons for the low poverty levels in the region (UNDP, 2002, p. 90). As for income distribution between 1995 and 1999, Adams and Page (2001) confirm high equality as indicated by a Gini coefficient of 0.364, explained by "high shares of income accruing to the bottom quintile of income distribution,

namely 7.2 per cent — the same proportion that accrues to this group in the OECD countries” (as cited in Bush, 2004, p. 680).

Although Iqbal (2006) describes inequality in the 'transition period' as non-deteriorating as indicated by the Gini index, there are studies that expose it as rather rampant within the Arab societies. This indicates that the Gini coefficient does not necessarily give a full picture of inequality. According to Marcus Marktanner (2011), inequality- measured using the Estimated Household Inequality Indicator (EHII) from the University of Texas Household Inequality Data project for the 1980s and 1990s- has tremendously risen: the difference between the EHII in the 1980s and that of the 1990s for the MENA region is 3.8 (Tunisia 10 and Egypt 3.2), which is higher than the world average (2.4). One shouldn't forget that the so called "Tunisian economic miracle", a phrase that is frequently used by IMF and the World Bank, is in the capital and northern coastal cities but not in the interior of Tunisia or in the south. The de-regulation of the real estate market, the absence of social housing projects and the absence of protection for tenants who rent has tremendous impact on the young generation. The increase in inequality has worsened since 2007 in the wake of the Triple F crisis (fuel, food, and financial). Rising fuel and food prices rendered universal subsidy systems no longer financeable. Due to the state food subsidies being stopped (pushed by the IMF) and due to the price inelasticity of fuel and food consumption and the fact that poor households spend greater proportions on food and fuel of their income, real income inequality has accelerated in recent years far beyond the nominal one. The global financial crisis has moreover reduced receipts of remittances, affecting many vulnerable households

(Marktanner 2011). In the words of Michael Burawoy¹⁰, we are in an era in which exploitation and exclusion are the main phenomenon that strikes most societies, and the sweeping impact of the exclusion has made it a sort of privilege, especially for the younger generation.

Table 3: Estimated Household Income Inequality 1980s vs. 1990s

Country	EHI80s	EHI90s	Difference
Algeria	34.2	38.6	4.4
Egypt, Arab Rep.	40.9	44.1	3.2
Iran, Islamic Rep.	34.7	41.5	6.8
Iraq	40.7	44.8	4.2
Jordan	45.5	44.6	-0.9
Kuwait	50.9	54.8	3.9
Morocco	45.9	46.2	0.3
Qatar	53.2	55.5	2.2
Syrian Arab Republic	39.9	46.8	7.0
Tunisia	38.4	49.2	10.9
MENA	41.5	45.3	3.8
East Asia and Pacific	39.1	40.2	1.1
Central and Easter Europe	31.6	38.3	6.7
Latin America and the Caribbean	43.8	46.1	2.3
South Asia	43.9	44.2	0.3
Sub Sahara Africa	46.1	47.5	1.4
Western Europe	34.0	35.5	1.5
World	40.1	42.5	2.4

Source: (Marktanner 2011; Calculated from University of Texas Income Inequality Data Project) Marktanner, Marcus (2011) The Economic Causes of the Arab Uprising. Paper presented in a workshop at AUB.

10..... Speech given to the European Sociological Association Congress (Geneva) on 23 September 2011.

D. Critical Reviews of Arab Poverty Knowledge Production

The aforementioned data provide an overview of poverty, inequality and human development in the Arab region yet raise several questions about the nature of this knowledge. First, the difference in inequality trends detected by using different indicators (Gini index, EHII, etc) shows that the Gini coefficient does not give a very full picture of inequality.

Oyen (1996) discusses the current state of global poverty studies, exposing dominant paradigms, theoretical frameworks, and practices. According to her, “in most poverty studies, the poor are studied in an isolated context. The fact that they are also living in symbiosis with the rest of the society is more or less ignored” (p. 11). She contends that any progress in understanding poverty requires a paradigm shift in which the focus is the non-poor bloc and their own role in causing poverty. This is because the non-poor have perceptions and ideologies about the poor that underlie their social, political, and economic activities, infrastructure, and institutions, and these, in turn, have grave consequences on the lives of the poor.

The relationship between the poor and non-poor should be incorporated into poverty studies, according to Oyen (1996). She observes that the image of the poor as an economic burden on the non-poor is the dominant one in the literature, and a less observed one is the non-poor economy's need for the poor to carry out the activities that they prefer not to carry out themselves. While there is a plethora of literature on the impact of the poor on the non-poor, the impact of the latter on the former has been scarce.

This relationship was studied through two analytical frameworks: ignorance

and conflict. The framework of ignorance is based on the idea that the two worlds are physically, socially, and mentally separated. The framework of conflict is based on the idea that attempts to alleviate poverty require a transfer of resources, which might disrupt the social hierarchy and shift the present balance. This has great conflict potential. To redress that, Oyen (1996) insists on the importance of a new theoretical framework to address the poverty problem. She contends:

Much of poverty research has been parochial, insofar as it has been anchored in culture-specific perceptions of values and human life. Western thought has dominated and almost monopolized poverty thinking. Comparative studies are one way of rectifying the situation and bringing in conceptual thinking that may lead to new theory formation (p. 16).

Tooze and Murphy (1996) confirm the analysis of Oyen (1996) by arguing that the fields of International political economy (IPE) and international relations are 'blind' to the poor, rendering them mysterious and invisible in mainstream discourse. They attribute this to an epistemological root, namely the dominant rationalism in the two fields. They state:

For us, it is the denial of time, history, culture, and difference that is inherent in rational choice models that sets up the epistemological process which, in turn, constructs as mysterious many of the explanations that the poor give for their behaviour. The logic of such denial within rational choice IPE leads to a strong form of objectivism, and, by defining those things of which we can have knowledge, puts up further obstacles to the production of political economy knowledge about the poor. (Tooze & Murphy, 1996, p. 688-689)

Therefore, in addition to the 'rational' and 'empirical' dimensions of epistemological legitimacy that need to be considered when producing knowledge, they propose three more dimensions that might improve the understanding of the poor in

IPE: the 'critical', the 'democratic' and the 'ameliorative' dimensions (Tooze & Murphy, 1996).

The first is the 'critical' dimension. They explain that, “Habermas suggests that the prime characteristic of critical social sciences is the knowledge of its own past. In this sense, we should prefer knowledge that successfully includes its own history and can account for its own existence as knowledge” (Tooze & Murphy, 1996, p. 697).

The second is the 'democratic' dimension, which they explain as: “...writing in such a way that as large an audience as possible can understand and judge our work. It also means eschewing the rhetorical devices that construct a psychology of communication and meaning that demands consent” (Tooze & Murphy, 1996, p. 697).

As for the 'ameliorative' one, it favors knowledge that gives us or inspires solutions to the poverty problem (Tooze & Murphy, 1996). While this thesis will tackle the first two dimensions, it will not address the last one as we will not look at how scholars disseminate their knowledge beyond the academic journals.

To sum up, Tooze and Murphy (1996) suggest that, in addition to being rationalistic and empiricist-oriented, knowledge production should incorporate historical knowledge of its subject matter, be executed in a democratic way that is inclusive to the largest possible audience, and purport to provide solutions to the problem at hand.

Concerning the poverty studies in the Arab World, Ali (2007) identifies three major approaches. The most mainstream approach is the quantitative one, which focuses on monetary or material poverty. Another approach is that of capability, which views poverty as a lack of fundamental freedoms. Ali elaborates: “Deprivation of elementary

capabilities can be reflected in, among others, premature mortality, under-nourishment, morbidity and illiteracy. An example of applying such an approach is to be found in the Human Development Index of the UNDP” (p. 16). The third approach is the participatory one, which includes the poor in the knowledge production process using qualitative methods because they are assumed to know the most about their own reality (Ali, 2007).

Hanafi (2013) contends that poverty studies carried out in the Palestinian territory lack causal explanations. Although there is a plethora of data on poverty, there is a lack of sociological, anthropological, and historical analysis, and the topic of poverty is tackled almost exclusively in a descriptive, quantitative manner that unwittingly attributes poverty to the geographical area in which the poor are located.

Traboulsi (2005) criticizes poverty studies, stating: Studies in poverty replace studies on income distribution—the latter at best restricted to the global level (the rich billion and the rest)—as poverty begins to resemble a natural catastrophe or a contagious disease. Consequently, we study poverty—without studying wealth. We define the “poor” but not the “rich.” As for the middle classes, they are either pictured as being reduced in size and effectiveness and consequently dying out or are assigned the role of repositories of the democratic mission. In both cases, very little in terms of socio-political effort is invested in studying their political behavior, assuming that they might tend toward a homogeneous and unidirectional political behavior. (p. 530).

Finally, with respect to the linguistic dimension of poverty studies of the Arab world, one may take the choice of language, holding all else equal, as another possible indicator of the social influences at work during the knowledge production process. As

Hanafi and Arvanitis (2014) state, “Many factors including the political economy of publication, globalization, internationalization and commodification of the higher education have marginalized the peripheral languages such as Arabic” (p. 723).

CHAPTER 3

THE 'NORMAL SCIENCE' OF ARAB POVERTY KNOWLEDGE

Thomas Kuhn defined 'normal science' as “research firmly based upon one or more past scientific achievements, achievements that some particular scientific community acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundation for its further practice” (Kuhn, 1962, p. 10). The first major finding of our study is that Arab poverty knowledge, as disseminated in our sample of articles, emulates a 'normal science' in that it is becoming an increasingly routinized and systemized scientific enterprise. It has its own language and technical jargon, theoretical and interpretive frameworks, and “stylized rituals of investigation” (O'Connor, 2001, p. 14). This chapter provides a quantitative analysis of our sampled articles to show an emergent pattern of recounting the methods and theories 'sanctioned' by the World Bank in its 'Poverty Manual', a guidebook that surveys and evaluates empirical methods for measuring and analyzing poverty: poverty lines, poverty indices, robustness analysis, inequality measures, cross-tabulation and mapping, regression analysis for identifying determinants, and indices fit for international comparison (World Bank Institute, 2005).

Social scientists have debunked the myth that poverty is merely due to laziness, idleness, or that poor people are all alike, by using the universally-recognized principles of the scientific method comprised of: “(1) the theoretical setting, (2) the data, (3) the method, and (4) the results” (Frisch, 1933, p. 3). In this chapter we explore the following question: What are the observed trends of the 'normal science' of Arab poverty?

A. The Economism of Arab Poverty Studies

There is a clear hegemony of economics as the form of inquiry in our sample. Approximately 73.6% of the articles' authors are economists. 7.6% are anthropologists and sociologists, whereas political scientists and International Relations scholars comprise only 2.9% of the authorship. Other relatively prolific disciplines are statistics and development studies that produce 2.9% and 2.5% of the articles respectively. This is consistent with the relevant domination of the Economic Research Forum working and conference papers in Arab poverty studies (discussed further in Chapter 4). By language of journal, we notice that economics is more dominant in French and in English than in Arabic. Another noteworthy trend concerns the affiliations of the authors of the 201 articles. The majority of the authors are university academics (73.2%) hence we expect most of the articles to follow academic norms and standards of scholarship.

Table 4: Disciplines of Authors

Discipline	Percentage of Articles
Economics	73.60%
Sociology	4.70%
Statistics	2.90%
Political Sciences/IR	2.90%
Anthropology	2.90%
Development Studies	2.50%
Business	2.20%
Education	1.40%
Demography	1.10%
Nutrition	0.70%
Environmental Studies	0.70%
Communication/Media	0.70%
Biochemistry	0.70%
Urban Development	0.70%
Theology	0.40%
Public Administration	0.40%
Psychology	0.40%
History	0.40%
Total	100.00%

B. The Research question and geographical scope

All of the articles in our sample have a clearly defined research question, fulfilling the first requirement of a scientific article. Categorizing the questions into descriptive, causal, and explanatory of the causal mechanism according to Lokshin (2008), we find that only 15% of them are descriptive, and the rest are causal. Most of the descriptive articles aim to profile and/or measure poverty for certain regions and demographics. Broadly speaking, we observe that there are boundaries on what questions can be investigated, given the predominant adherence to the scientific method. Questions that cannot be broken down into variables that can be processed with typical models of cause and effect- such as questions concerning capitalism, market inefficiencies, and social structures- are often outside the boundaries of inquiry (O'Connor, 2001).

Given that the 201 articles collected were exclusively about the Arab World, a country therein, or a comparative study on the Arab World or an Arab country vis-a-vis a non-Arab country or region, a definite part of the research question is the country/region focus of the study. Comparing the frequencies of the articles' geographic focus shows that the Arab World as a general geographic focus is the most prevalent at 22.22%, followed by Egypt at 20.71%, Tunisia at 13.64%, and so on.

Taking the Arabic, English, and French articles each separately, we find that the most frequently chosen country focus within the Arabic literature is Iraq (30.9%), followed by the Arab World (27.3%), and Egypt (12.7%). As for English articles, Egypt tops the most frequently chosen country focuses at 25.%, followed by the Arab World at

19.9%, and Tunisia at 19.1%. Morocco is the most frequent country focus for French articles at 60%, followed by the Arab World at 20%.

Table 5: Country Focus

Country Focus	Percentage of Articles
Arab World	22.22%
Egypt	20.71%
Tunisia	13.64%
Jordan	9.09%
Iraq	9.09%
Yemen	5.05%
Morocco	5.05%
Lebanon	5.05%
Palestine	3.54%
Sudan	2.53%
Syria	1.52%
Bahrain	1.52%
Saudi Arabia	1.01%
Algeria	1.00%
Libya	0.51%
Mauritania	0.51%
Other ¹¹	5.56%
Total ¹²	107.6%

¹¹ These include non-Arab countries (Australia, Canada, Germany, and Greece) in comparative studies with other Arab countries.

¹² .. Some articles have more than one country focus hence the total is more than 100%.

C. Review of relevant literature, context

To convey previously established knowledge-theories, methods, and data sources- and allow for comparisons with previous findings, a literature review is an important constituent of a scientific article (Lokshin, 2008). Almost all of the English and French articles include a literature review as such. Only 2% of the sample, all in Arabic, are essays without any references or literature review.

Table 6: Nature of Article

Nature of Article	Percentage of Articles
Fieldwork	74.10%
Critical Of Existing Literature	23.90%
Essay	2.00%
Total	100.00%

Although not a strict requirement, laying out the broader political and historical context adds value to the soundness and relevance of the article. The predominance of econometric methods has resulted in a widespread preclusion of any political context as the majority of the articles follow a self-contained reasoning system where “individuals are the units of analysis and markets the principal arbiters of human exchange” (O'Connor, 2001, p. 15).

D. Mathematical models and hypotheses

A model or theory is another essential component of a scientific article as it propels the research question, methodology, and the interpretation of results. Whether a mathematical equation or a description of the processes in question, a theoretical model gives rise to a hypothesis that could be tested against the data (Lokshin, 2008).

Most of the fieldwork-based articles, comprising 74.1% of our sample, use at least one mathematical model to test several hypotheses. Articles aimed at studying causal relationships use econometric simulation models, such as the frequently used static CGE model and the latent class stochastic frontier model (LCSFM). Since 1980s, Foster, Greer and Thorbecke (1984) noticed that descriptive articles profiling or measuring poverty most commonly use the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke class of measurements. “The preoccupation with model-building is the preserve of econometrics specifically but also more generally a brand of development economics that seems to shy away from an understanding of the relevance or serious integration of qualitative material to inform analysis of income distribution or poverty” (Bush, 2004, p. 681).

E. Data Collection

Almost all of the fieldwork-based articles in our sample use data from national household surveys either directly or by citing World Bank documents, especially to retrieve expenditure data. Some studies also use a census, which is more comprehensive and representative of the country. However, these surveys, almost by definition, exclude people outside of “households”, namely homeless people and refugees inhabiting

camps, I.e. the people who are most likely to be poor. This means that none of these poverty studies include this group of people in their measurements or analysis.

Nonetheless, there are studies exclusively dedicated to refugees or bedouin, but they are separate from conventional studies and do not depict a comprehensive picture of country-level poverty either. These make up 4.5% of the sampled literature. It is important to note that these surveys are not purpose-specific, i.e. conducted for the purpose of poverty studies, but rather secondary sources routinely conducted by the government. Besides the household survey and the census, the World Bank is the principal source of information on poverty estimates (Iqbal, 2006).

Table 7: Method of Data Collection

Method of Data Collection	Percentage of Articles
Using Existing Data	65.10%
Survey	16.10%
Multiple Methods	12.10%
Case Study	3.40%
Observation	1.30%
Ethnography	1.30%
Total	100.00%

F. Data analysis, empirical methodology

The articles can be classified into three types: articles based on fieldwork, critiques of existing literature, and essays (without references or citations). The majority of the articles is fieldwork-based (74.1%), followed by articles that are critical of

existing literature (23.9%). Only 2% are essays. Separating the articles by language shows that Arabic articles are more or less equally distributed between fieldwork-based and critical of existing literature while English and French articles are mostly based on fieldwork.

As for the articles based on fieldwork, the quantitative method is used in the majority thereof (84.6%). Only 6% of articles use qualitative methods, and 9.4% use both methods. More precisely, 65.1% of fieldwork-based articles use existing data, 16.1% use surveys, 12.1% use multiple methods, and the rest are divided between observation, ethnography, case studies, and other methods. The prevalence of the quantitative method is also confirmed when the articles are separated by language. Each of the three languages shows a sweeping tendency to use the quantitative method: 91.7% of Arabic articles, 84% of English articles, and 66.7% of French articles. The quantitative measure is most often based on the government-conducted household income and expenditure surveys (with limited sampling).

Table 8: Method of Inquiry

Method of Inquiry	Percentage of Articles
Qualitative	84.60%
Quantitative	9.40%
Both	6.00%
Total	100.00%

For data analysis, empirical methods are used to link economic theory and the actual measurements (Haavelmo, 1944). In varying degrees of appropriation and modification, all of the economics articles use a set of empirical methods developed by Western theorists.

That poverty is “an objective, quantifiable condition- measurable against a scientifically calculated standard of need known as the *poverty line*” is an idea first proposed by nineteenth century social investigators (O'Connor, 2001, p. 14). It promotes rational means in order to explain, reduce, and/or eliminate poverty. The poverty line has become the hallmark of poverty studies, and it is the first element in a set of measurement techniques and indices typically used to measure poverty or study it as a function of another factor. Most articles in our sample calculate a country- or city-specific standard poverty line based on the Cost-of-basic-needs¹³ approach of Rowntree (1941), whose method is sensitive to the variation of context. Another less used approach is the Food-energy-intake method¹⁴(World Bank Institute, 2005).

In its Poverty Manual, the World Bank Institute (2005) declares, “No study of poverty is complete without some discussion of the robustness of the findings” (p. 83). According to the Institute, robustness analysis tests whether a measurement is consistent under varying conditions, such as the choice of the poverty line. However, such discussion is seldom found in our sample.

¹³ This approach consists of estimating the cost of a fixed basket of food items typically consumed by a poor person plus the cost of some non-food items deemed necessary for a minimal standard of living.

¹⁴ The Food-energy-intake method sets a fixed amount of calories deemed necessary for a person per day then calculates the cost of acquiring them. The method lost popularity after Ravallion and Bidani (1994) showed discrepancies between the results of the two methods when applied to the same data set.

CHAPTER 4

THE SHAPERS AND INFLUENCERS OF ARAB POVERTY KNOWLEDGE

The second major insight from our study is that the Arab poverty knowledge network of producers and influencers, is highly elitist in nature in that it is run by certain institutions and academics to the exclusion of other factions of both the knowledge society and society as a whole. According to O'Connor (2001), this echoes the politics of knowledge in broad terms; well-placed researchers act as advocates for certain theoretical frameworks and methodologies. On one hand, this has resulted in the professionalization of poverty knowledge and the adherence to established standards of scientific expertise. On the other hand, “the claim to scientific objectivity rests on technical skills, methods, information, and professional networks that historically have excluded those groups most vulnerable to poverty...putting poverty knowledge in a position not just to reflect but to replicate the social inequalities”(O'Connor, 2001, p. 11). Arab poverty knowledge appears to be a political act or an exercise of power, in which an academic elite overwhelmingly affiliated with the UN Systems institutions (World Bank, Economic Research Forum, UNDP, ESCWA, etc) determines how poverty is defined, measured, studied, and ultimately dealt with.

A. Arab Poverty Knowledge Producers

The majority of the authors in our sample are university academics (73.2%) hence the university is numerically the biggest producer of knowledge on poverty, and more from inside the Arab World than outside. The second greatest producer is international organizations (10.5%), namely the World Bank. It is noteworthy that the World Bank is also the most cited author in the 201 articles.

Table 9: Institutional Affiliation

Institutional Affiliation	Percentage of Articles
University	73.2%
International Organisations	10.5%
Research Center	9.4%
Governmental Institution	3.5%
NGO	2.4%
Corporation	0.7%
Total	100.00%

Granted that all 201 articles are either academic journal articles, working papers, or conference papers, 28.9% of them are working or conference papers published by the Economic Research Forum (ERF). The publication of the remaining articles is more or less divided equally among 102 academic journals, each producing no more than 3.5% of the articles. This indicates that there is no single dominant

producer of Arab poverty knowledge, but the ERF is nevertheless an outstanding one. The ERF is a research center (with NGO status) and network devoted to economic research for the sake of development in the Arab World, Turkey, and Iran, in whose creation the World Bank has played an important role and has always supported financially. The ERF is also a UNDP project and is supported institutionally by the UNDP (Partners and Donors, n.d.).

Needless to say, all of the articles published by the ERF are written from an econometric approach, mostly by academic economists, and mostly in the English language. This reflects the fact that, of the entire sample of articles, 67.7% are in English, 27.4% in Arabic, and the remaining 5% in French. Although almost half of the articles (47.3%) are coauthored by two or more authors, one author emerges as the most prolific: Sami Bibi has written 7% of all articles and almost half of the English articles on Tunisia. He is a Tunisian economist who is currently a Research Advisor at the Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC), Labour Program, Research and Data Development (RDD) Division. He is also a Research Fellow at the ERF. Previously, he was a Professor of Economics and has provided training workshops on econometric software (STATA) for poverty analysis at the World Bank Institute and UNDP -Syria. He has graduate degrees in Economics from both Tunisia and Canada. It is noteworthy that he is also the seventh most cited author by the authors of the 201 articles.

Although currently based in Canada, many of Sami Bibi's articles were written when he was still in Tunisia, reflecting the dominant trend of non-diasporic authorship in our sample. At 84.8%, non-diasporic authors make up the large majority of our

sample while the diasporic authors comprise only 15.2%, most of whom were located in North America or Europe at the time of writing their respective articles. This trend persists when holding the language variable constant; almost all Arabic articles (98.1%), 79.1% of English articles, and 88.9% of French articles are written by non-diasporic writers.

Table 10: Diasporic Status of Author(s)

Diasporic Status of Author(s)	Percentage of Articles
Non-diasporic	84.80%
Arab in North America	7.60%
Arab in Europe	4.60%
Arab in Other Part of the World	1.50%
Non-Arab in Arab Region	1.00%
Non-Arab outside Arab Region	0.50%
Total	100.00%

Having said that, it is important to note that non-diasporic authors include both Arabs living inside the Arab world and non-Arabs living outside the Arab world. Approximately 65.2% of authors were located inside the Arab World at the time of writing their respective articles. This leaves over a third of them writing from outside the region. Narrowing down to country, we find that 12.4% of authors were located in Iraq, 11.9% in Egypt, 10.9% in the USA, 9% in Tunisia, 7.5% in Jordan, 7% in Lebanon, 6% in the UK, 5% in Canada, and the rest were distributed among numerous other Arab and non-Arab countries.

Table 11: Author's Region

Author's Region	Percentage of Articles
Arab World	65.20%
Other countries	34.80%
Total	100.00%

Table 12: Author's Country of Location (At the time of writing)

Author's Country of Location	Percentage of Articles
Iraq	12.40%
Egypt	11.90%
USA	10.90%
Tunisia	9.00%
Jordan	7.50%
Lebanon	7.00%
UK	6.00%
Canada	5.00%
Algeria	3.00%
Morocco	3.00%
Palestine	3.00%
France	2.00%
Kuwait	2.00%
Unknown	2.00%
Bahrain	1.50%
Ethiopia	1.50%
Belgium	1.00%
Italy	1.00%
Mexico	1.00%
Netherlands	1.00%

Yemen	1.00%
China	0.50%
Denmark	0.50%
Germany	0.50%
Iran	0.50%
Israel	0.50%
Japan	0.50%
Libya	0.50%
Mauritania	0.50%
Nairobi	0.50%
Nigeria	0.50%
Saudi Arabia	0.50%
South Africa	0.50%
Sudan	0.50%
Turkey	0.50%
UAE	0.50%
Total	100.00%

B. The Co-Citation Network by Language of Article

“Networks are of enormous help in the accumulation of academic currency (e.g., citations, jobs, officer standing in professional organizations, editorships, contributions to edited volumes, etc.), and this currency influences and determines knowledge production in both direct and indirect ways” (Yanow and Schwartz-Shea, 2006, p. 234).

Figure 1: The Co-Citation Network Map by Language of Article

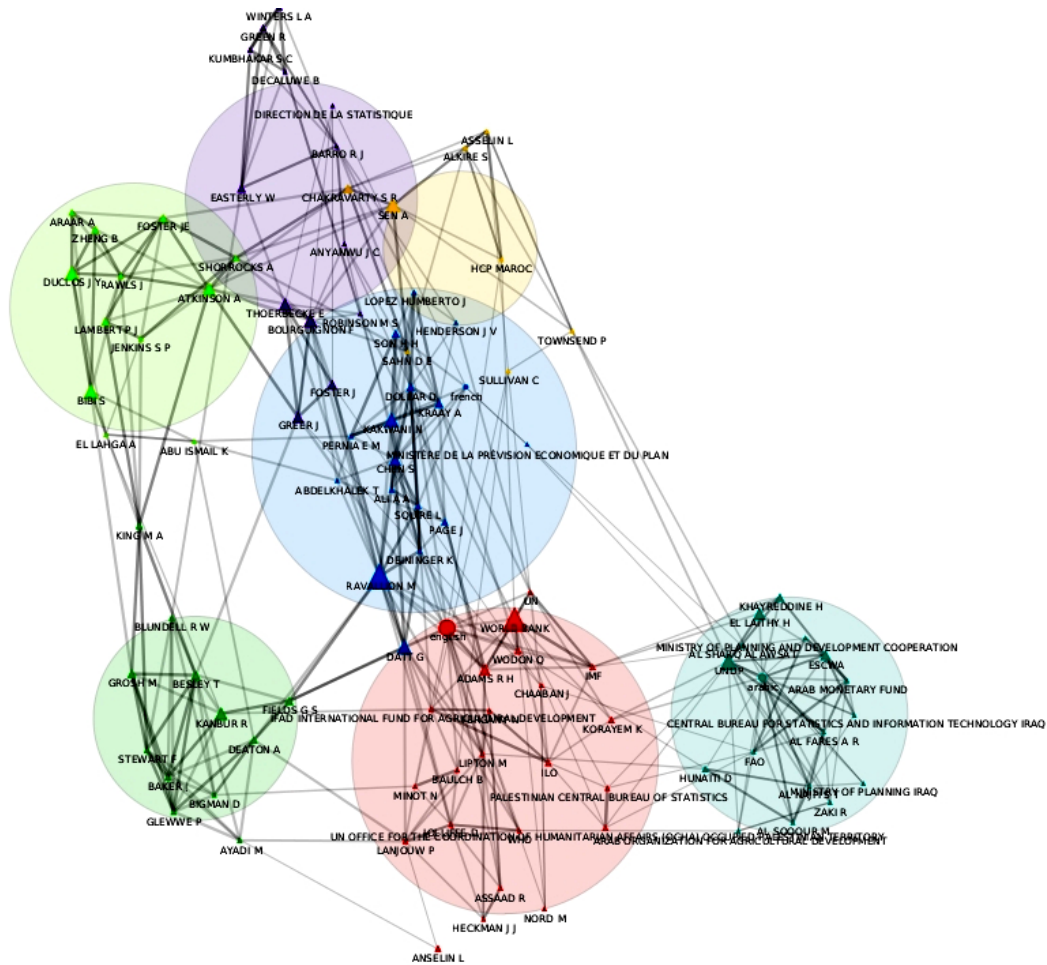


Illustration 1 depicts a map of the co-citation network connecting the top 100 cited authors, who are the major influencers of the authors of our study. Co-citation is the frequency with which two authors are cited together by the same article¹⁵. The co-

¹⁵ There is no discrimination between cited co-authors of the same article and two cited authors of two distinct articles. This does not affect the validity of the co-citation network as a visualization of a discourse between authors.

citation map is an integral part of bibliometrics and was first introduced by White and Griffith (1982).

Rather than focusing on the authors of our study, ie authors of Arab poverty articles, the map is a visualization and mathematization of the broader field of global poverty scholarship reflected in the citations of the sampled articles. This is based on the assumption that scholarship can be seen as discourse among agents engaging in a network. Authors that are co-cited are inserted into a discourse with one another hence form together a certain intellectual tradition, niche or another commonality amongst them.

The nodes of the network are heterogeneous: the triangles correspond to authors cited at least five times in our sample, and the dots correspond to languages- Arabic, English, or French. The size of the node is directly proportional to the total number of times the respective author is cited. Every incident of pairs of cited authors is taken into account to construct a co-occurrence matrix from which a proximity network is tracked using a statistical semantic measure proposed by Weeds (2003, p.82)¹⁶. The grey lines linking the nodes indicate co-citations, with widths directly proportional to the number of co-citations. The circles depict clusters, or groups of highly interconnected nodes representing authors that are cited simultaneously in the entire set of articles.

¹⁶ More precisely, the measure we use is called “difference-weighted mutual information-based co-occurrence retrieval models”. The similarity between two authors results from the comparison of their respective profile of mutual information they share with every other authors in the network.

The network is also organized according to clusters of interconnected subgroups of authors distinguished by colored circles. This is done by applying the Louvain community detection algorithm based on the work of Blondel et al (2008). Each cluster is assigned a tag (“English”, “Arabic”, “French”) indicating the most commonly used language in the publications citing the authors of the corresponding cluster (chi2 specificity score). The computation was performed using the CorText platform of IFRIS¹⁷. In order to analyze the network and understand the roles and relationships of its agents, we evaluate the position of the co-cited authors in the network map as a whole and in his or her respective cluster.

The map shows that the nodes representing the 100 top cited authors are well-connected across all three languages, yet each language belongs to a distinct cluster comprised of even tighter interconnections. The total number of clusters, each of which is identified by a distinctly colored circle, is seven.

1. The English language cluster

The English articles, represented by the red dot in the pink circle in the middle, belong to a cluster in which they are shown to frequently cite authors including, by decreasing order of citation frequency: The World Bank, Richard H. McAdams, Karima Korayem, the International Labor Organization (ILO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Luc Anselin, and others.

Although the WB is the number one most cited author in the network and the

17. CorText is the digital platform of IFRIS (Institut Francilien Recherche, Innovation, Société) which includes a direct access to network computing tools named the CorText Manager.

cluster, it is not uniformly co-cited with each of the agents of the English language cluster. As shown by the map, the darkest edges linked to it are linked to a few other authors, and lighter edges link it to the rest of the cluster members. It is most heavily co-cited with Quentin Wodon, an Adviser in the World Bank's Education Department (“Quentin Wodon”, n.d.), Richard H. McAdams, an economist who was part of the Economics Research team at the World Bank Group, the IMF, which is also highly affiliated with the WB, and the “UN” as a generic author. This subcluster is highly redundant as all of the above are highly affiliated with the WB or the UN system institutions. This indicates that the authors who cite the WB tend to cite researchers and institutions highly affiliated with the Bank hence creating a discourse hegemonized by the narrative of the WB.

Besides its central role, the WB also serves as a bridge between the English language cluster and other clusters in which it is highly co-cited, namely the French language cluster and Amartya Sen's cluster. This means that in addition to being a dominant agent in the English language poverty discourse, the WB is also the biggest common denominator between the latter, the French language discourse, and Amartya Sen's discourse on poverty.

Another highly central node is the International Labor Organization (ILO), another UN system institution that is highly affiliated with the WB. It is most highly co-cited with the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), a specialized agency of the UN established to “finance agricultural development projects primarily for food production in the developing countries” (IFAD, n.d.), Nader Fergany, also

highly affiliated with the UN system as he is an ERF fellow and the lead author of the UNDP's Arab Human Development Report, and Karima Korayem, who has worked as a consultant to the World Bank, UNDP, ESCWA, and ILO. She is most cited for the effects of structural adjustment on the Egyptian poverty and is positioned on the periphery of the cluster, serving as a bridge to the Arabic-language cluster. To conclude, the English language cluster of most cited authors is hegemonized by the WB and UN agencies, employees, and consultants.

Positioned on the periphery of the English-language cluster and serving as a bridge to the Ravi Kanbur cluster (represented by the dark green circle) is Luc Anselin, an author who brings a niche topic to the poverty discourse. He is specialized in spatial econometrics and, unlike most of the top cited authors, is not affiliated with the WB or its agencies.

2. The Arabic language cluster

The Arabic articles, represented by the green dot in the teal circle at the bottom right, belong to a cluster in which they are shown to frequently cite authors including, by decreasing order of citation frequency: the UNDP, ESCWA, Heba El Laithy, Doukhi Hunaiti, and others. Similar to the English-language cluster yet to a lesser extent, the discourse in this cluster is hegemonized by UN agencies and economists affiliated therewith, such as UNDP, ESCWA, FAO, and Heba El Laithy, who is an Egyptian statistician and an ERF fellow. Doukhi Hunaiti, a Jordanian economist who is also affiliated with the UN system institutions as a consultant and advisor, is distinct in his

contribution to the cluster as he writes in Arabic as well as English. He also serves as a bridge to the English-language cluster.

Unlike the English-language cluster, this one includes several authors who are not affiliated with the UN system institutions. Hanaa Kheir-El-Din is the former director of an independent Egyptian think tank and a former university Economics professor. She has written in Arabic as well as English and is highly co-cited with the UNDP and ESCWA in our sample of articles. She also serves as a bridge to the English-language cluster as she is highly co-cited with the IMF. Another distinguishing citation tendency observed in this cluster is the prevalence of governmental organizations and ministries, the most cited of which is the Arab Monetary Fund (AMF), which is a “sub-organization of the Arab League that facilitates monetary cooperation, trade and financial market development among member states” (Arab Monetary Fund, n.d.). Next in citation frequency are the Ministry of Planning and the Central Bureau For Statistics And Information Technology in Iraq.

3. The French language cluster

The French-language cluster is depicted by the blue circle in the center, and its top co-cited authors are, by decreasing order: Martin Ravallion, Gaurav Datt, Nanak Kakwani, Shaohua Chen, Aart Kraay, and David Dollar, all of whom have worked at the WB as economists or statisticians. Hence the French-language poverty discourse is also hegemonized by the WB narrative. Gaurav Datt also serves as a bridge node to the

English-language cluster.

4. The Amartya Sen Cluster

At the periphery of the network (beige circle at the top) lies a smaller, singular cluster with fewer nodes and looser connections within itself and with other clusters. It is dominated by a singular yet highly influential author who holds a distinctive position in the poverty discourse. Amartya Sen is one of the few economists who are cited for their theories in addition to their econometric methods and poverty measurements. He is an Indian economist and a Nobel laureate, who is most frequently cited for his axiomatic framework (Sen, 1976) and theories on multidimensional poverty (Sen, 1987). He is one of the top cited authors who are not affiliated with the UN system institutions even though he has influenced the UNDP's Human Development Reports and the WB's poverty rhetoric with his capability approach to defining poverty. His take on measuring human development is central to the knowledge produced by the UN and the WB.

The most highly co-cited author with Amartya Sen is another Indian economist, Satya R. Chakravarty. He is a Professor of Economics at the Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata, India and is most frequently cited for his indices of poverty measurement (Chakravarty, 1983). Another highly co-cited author is Sabina Alkire, the director of the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI), a research centre within the Department of International Development, University of Oxford (“Sabina Alkire”, n.d.),

which developed the Multidimensional Poverty Index for the UNDP's Human Development Report (Sabina and Santos, 2010).

All the members of this cluster are all also highly co-cited with the Haut-Commissariat au Plan Maroc, a governmental research institute responsible for national surveys, statistics, and economic research (Haut Commissariat au Plan, n.d.). Although it is a national governmental organization in Morocco, it is also a part of the United Nations Statistical Commission, self-described as “the highest decision making body for international statistical activities especially the setting of statistical standards, the development of concepts and methods and their implementation at the national and international level” (“UN Statistical commission”, n.d.). Its membership requires it to comply with the IMF Standards for Data Dissemination, a set of criteria that are meant to guide “members that have, or might seek, access to international capital markets in the provision of their economic and financial data to the public” (“IMF Standards for Data Dissemination”, 2014).

To sum up, the Amartya Sen cluster is the smallest cluster and is comprised of authors who have a semi-peripheral role in the overall co-citation network. Its members are not directly affiliated with the UN system institutions yet have undeniable ties with them. The ties are not unidirectional as the influence flows in both directions: Amartya Sen has shaped the WB's poverty rhetoric to a certain extent, Sabina Alkire has helped develop the Multidimensional Poverty Index used by the UNDP in its Human Development Reports, and the IMF has influenced the research produced by the HCP Maroc via its standards.

5. The Foster-Greer-Thorbecke cluster

The cluster depicted by the purple circle at the top has Francois Bourguignon, William Easterly, James Foster, Erik Thorbecke, and Joel Greer as the main hubs. The most central node is Francois Bourguignon, Professor of Economics at the Paris School of Economics and former Chief Economist and Senior Vice President at the World Bank in Washington. He is most cited for his work on transfers and poverty targeting (Bourguignon and Fields, 1997).

Foster, Greer, and Thorbecke are also central to the cluster and are mostly cited for their joint 1984 *Econometrica* paper, one of the most cited papers on poverty, in which they introduced the FGT index, a generalized measure of poverty within an economy (Foster, Greer, and Thorbecke, 1984). The measure has become “the standard for international evaluations of poverty and is reported regularly by the World Bank’s PovcalNet, by a host of UN agencies, and by individual countries” (Foster, Greer, and Thorbecke, 2010, p. 2). Foster also serves as a bridge to the French-language cluster and is highly co-cited with Martin Ravallion.

A semi-peripheral node in this cluster is William Easterly, Professor of Economics at New York University, Co-director of the NYU Development Research Institute, and former Senior Adviser at the World Bank. He is most cited for his work on inflation (Easterly and Fischer, 2000) and ethnicity (Easterly and Levine, 1997).

6. The Atkison-Bibi-Duclos cluster

A sixth distinct cluster, depicted by the light green circle is centered around the economists Jeans-Yves Duclos, Anthony Atkinson, and Sami Bibi. Duclos is a researcher at CIRPÉE, an Inter-University Centre on Risk, Economic Policies, and Employment and a program coordinator at PEP, an international organization that links researchers globally. He is most cited for his work on measuring Horizontal Inequity (Duclos and Lambert, 1998).

Sami Bibi is most cited for his methodology for studying pro-poorness of economic growth (Bibi, 2005). In addition to Bibi, Duclos has also collaborated with Atkinson and is highly co-cited with him. Atkinson is a British economist and professor who is most cited for his work on Inequality measures (Atkinson, 1970).

7. The Kanbur-Deaton-Besley-Fields cluster

The last cluster in the co-citation network- the green circle at the bottom left- has several mainstream economists, some of whom are highly affiliated with the World Bank. The core node is Ravi Kanbur, a British economist and university professor who worked at the WB for almost two decades and directed the World Development Report (“Ravi Kanbur”, n.d.). He is most cited for his work with Tim Besley on food subsidies (Besley and Kanbur, 1988).

Besley is a Professor of Economics and Political Science at the London School of Economics (“Professor Tim Besley”, n.d.). Although he was never employed with the WB, he has written many papers for several WB publications (Timothy J. Besley, n.d.).

Another major hub in the cluster is Angus Deaton, Professor of Economics and

International Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and the Economics Department at Princeton University. He is most cited for the measurement of poverty in India and around the world (Deaton, 2005).

C. The Hierarchy of Influence in the Scientific Community of Arab Poverty

Knowledge

Having seen that the authors who dominate the discourse on Arab poverty are non-diasporic academics from inside the Arab world and mostly published by the ERF, a citation analysis reveals a grander network of institutions and authors that is central to the Arab poverty discourse. Tracking down the institutional affiliations of major contributors to the discourse has shown, as depicted in Table 13, that the top 25 most cited authors on the topic of Arab Poverty are comprised of 19 central authors positioned at the cores of the co-citation clusters, three semi-peripheral authors positioned in between the core and the periphery of each cluster, and 3 peripheral authors positioned at the outer borders of the clusters. The central authors can be grouped into: authors who are directly affiliated with the UN system and its specialized agencies: The World Bank, UNDP, ESCWA, and their employees; two Arab economists affiliated with the ERF; and academics (mostly economists) who have influenced the work of the UN specialized agencies but are not directly affiliated with them. The semi-peripheral authors are the ILO, which is another UN specialized agency, and two academic economists unaffiliated with the UN and its agencies. The peripheral authors are two Arab economists unaffiliated with the ERF or the UN agencies and a niche economist who is specialized in spatial econometrics.

Table 13: Top 25 Cited Authors

Cited Author; Network Position	No of Cit- ations	Most Commonly Cited for	Affiliation	Connection to Other Cited Authors
World Bank; Central	208	World Development Report data		Specialized agency of the United Nations
Martin Ravallion; Central	173	Poverty measurement steps (Ravallion, 1998)	As of 2013 he was the inaugural Edmond D. Villani Professor of Economics at Georgetown University, and previously had been director of the research department at the World Bank, Washington	Director of research department at WB from 1988 to 2013
UNDP; Central	119	The Human Development Reports		Specialized agency of the United Nations; Influenced by Sen's capability approach
Gaurav Datt; Central	66	Poverty targeting (Datt and Ravallion, 1995)	Monash University, Melbourne, Australia	Has worked in research positions at the WB and co-authored numerous publications with Martin Ravallion

Amartya Sen; Central	58	Multidimensional poverty (Sen, 1987) and the axiomatic framework (Sen, 1976)	Professor of Economics and Philosophy at Harvard University	Influenced UNDP's Human Development Reports
Heba El Laithy; Central	54	Poverty line studies (El Laithy, 1996)	Professor of Statistics, Cairo University	ERF ¹⁸ Fellow, collaborates with Sami Bibi
Sami Bibi; Central	50	Methodology for studying pro-poorness of economic growth (Bibi, 2005)	Research Advisor, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC), Labour Program, Research and Data Development (RDD) Division	ERF Fellow, collaborates with Heba El Laithy, has provided training workshops on econometric software (STRATA) for poverty analysis at the World Bank Institute and UNDP Syria, is closely connected to Jean-Yves DUCLOS
Jean-Yves Duclos; Central	47	Measurement of Horizontal Inequity (Duclos and Lambert, 1998)	Researcher at CIRPÉE (Inter-University Centre on Risk, Economic Policies, and Employment) and Professor at University of Laval	Has collaborated with Sami Bibi
Nanak Kakwani; Central	47	Economic growth and inequality (Kakwani and Pernia, 2000)	Professor of Economics at University of South Wales, Australia	Consultant: World Bank, Washington DC and UNDP, Manila
ESCWA; Central	47	Economic indicators from Technical Papers		Specialized agency of the United Nations; Collaborates with UNDP

18 The Economic Research Forum (ERF) was founded as a UNDP project, and the World Bank played an important role in its creation (Donors and Partners, n.d.).

Francois Bourguignon; Central	45	Transfers and poverty targeting (Bourguignon and Fields, 1997)	Professor of Economics, Paris School of Economics	Previously: Chief Economist and Senior Vice President, World Bank, Washington, Worked with Chakravarty and Atkinson
Erik Thorbecke; Central	43	Foster-Greer-Thorbecke class of poverty measures	Professor of Economics, Cornell University	FGT measure was developed by Professor Erik Thorbecke, his former student Professor Joel Greer, and another graduate student at Cornell University at the time, Professor James Foster.
Ravi Kanbur ; Central	43	Food Subsidies (Besley and Kanbur, 1988)	Professor of Economics, Cornell University	D. Phil. (Oxford). Thesis Advisers: Joseph Stiglitz, James Mirrlees and Amartya Sen) 1989-1997 World Bank
Anthony Atkinson (Sir); Central	42	Inequality measure (Atkinson, 1970)	Warden, Nuffield College, Oxford	Co-authored a book with Francois Bourguignon
Shaohua Chen; Central	41	Growth Incidence Curve (Ravallion and Chen, 2003)	Senior Statistician in the Development Economics Research Group of the World Bank	Senior Statistician in the Development Economics Research Group of the World Bank, Collaborated with Martin Ravallion, Gaurav Datt
Joel Greer ; Central	38	Foster-Greer-Thorbecke class of poverty measures	US General Accounting Office, Washington, and previously with Cornell University	FGT measure was developed by Professor Erik Thorbecke, his former student Professor Joel Greer, and another graduate student at Cornell University at the time, Professor James Foster.

Richard H. McAdams; Central	38	Measuring inequality and poverty (Adams and Page, 2003)	Professor of Law at the University of Chicago Law School	
William Easterly; Central	30	Economic growth	Professor of Economics, New York University	World Bank: 1985-2001
James Foster; Central	29	Foster-Greer-Thorbecke class of poverty measures	Professor of Economics and International Affairs at The Elliott School of International Affairs at The George Washington University	FGT measure was developed by Professor Erik Thorbecke, his former student Professor Joel Greer, and another graduate student at Cornell University at the time, Professor James Foster, co-authored a book and co-taught with Amartya Sen
Doukhi Hunaiti; Peripheral	23	Rural Poverty (Hunaiti, 2005)	Professor of Rural Development and Agricultural Economics, University of Jordan	
Karima Korayem; Peripheral	21	Poverty measurement for Egypt	Professor of Economics, Faculty of Commerce (Girls), Al-Azhar University	Consultant to World Bank, UNDP, ESCWA, and ILO
Luc Anselin; Peripheral	21	Spatial Regression Analysis (Anselin, 2003)	Director of the School of Geographical Sciences and Urban Planning (ASU), Arizona State University	

Satya R. Chakravarty; Semi-peripheral	21	Poverty measurement (Chakravarty, 1983)	Professor of Economics at Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata, India	Co-authored publications with Bourguignon, Ravi Kanbur
ILO; Semi-peripheral	21	Employment figures		Specialized agency of the United Nations
Angus Deaton; Semi-peripheral	20	The measurement of poverty in India and around the world (Deaton, 2005)	Professor of Economics and International Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and the Economics Department at Princeton University	

1. Central Authors: The United Nations System

The most central authors who make up the cores of the co-citation clusters are the agencies and employees of the United Nations System consisting of: the World Bank, UNDP, ESCWA, and the authors who have worked for or collaborated significantly with these institutions: Martin Ravallion, Gaurav Datt, Nanak Kakwani, Francois Bourguignon, Ravi Kanbur, Shaohua Chen, and William Easterly.

The most cited author in our sample is the World Bank, a specialized agency of the United Nations System and a Bretton Woods Institution. During World War II, delegates from 44 nations met in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, United States, for the Bretton Woods Conference, during which they put forth a system of regulations and institutions for the international economic system. This included the plan to found the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, both of which started operating in 1945. The World Bank's declared mission is to “eradicate poverty and promote shared prosperity” (The IMF and the World Bank, 2014). Over 15,000 academic articles and books have been published by the Bank since 1995. The frequency with which these publications have been cited shows that they have tremendously been influential on development studies and thought (DEC, 2012).

World Bank researchers and consultants publish reports, papers, books, and academic articles in economics and development journals on a regular basis. The annual World Development Report, cited at least once by almost every English article in our sample, is produced by the Development Economics group (DEC) of the World Bank. In addition to the DEC, which has a research group of economists, research is done throughout the entire Bank (Banerjee, Deaton, Abhijit, Lustig, & Rogoff, 2006).

Research done by the WB, not to mention numerous other institutions and researchers, is based on the data the WB collects and organizes in documents such as Living Standards Measurement Surveys, the joint household survey project with the Inter American Development Bank called MECOVI, the World Development Indicators, and the International Comparison Project, which gauges and compares poverty, economic growth, and development worldwide (Banerjee et al., 2006).

The position of the WB at the core of the co-citation network and its rank as the number one cited author is not by accident. The Bank has been trying to position itself as a 'Knowledge Bank' since 1996 as declared in the annual meeting speech given by President James D. Wolfensohn (World Bank, 1996). It has been building a 'Knowledge Empire' by developing itself as a repository and a broker of knowledge.

This was seen as an expansion of its role which was previously centered around providing international loans to finance infrastructure projects. The 1989-90 World Development Report (WDR) declared the Bank's new intended role in closing the 'knowledge gap' between developed and developing countries (Mehta, 2001).

To what extent has the Bank earned its position as the primary source of development (and poverty) knowledge in the world (and our sample) purely by merit? An evaluative report of the WB's research process by Banerjee et al. deems the WB's organization of its data activities, including collection, archiving, and dissemination, as haphazard. The WB has not sufficiently capitalized on the success of the Living Standards Measurement Surveys for producing poverty or mortality data that is internationally comparable, and it “has no coherent policy for data release, for its own researchers, nor for client countries to which it provides support in data collection” as stated in the report (Banerjee et al., 2006, p. 6). This suggests the importance of considering the role of the Bank's political power in its perceived position as the world's 'Knowledge Bank'. Mehta (2001) has predicted the implications of this issue:

Who determines what counts as knowledge for development? Who owns this knowledge? As a Knowledge Bank, the World Bank implicitly claims and asserts its ownership over knowledge for development. Indeed, what the World Bank deems as knowledge for development is more likely to count than the conceptions of knowledge for development of, say, less powerful southern actors. Its power and hegemony in shaping these discourses could, thus, end up legitimizing a Washington-based vision of knowledge and development. And because power has been excluded from the analysis, knowledge for development can be construed monolithically and in absolute terms, rather than as something that can be contested and context-based. (p.192)

Statistical and econometric analysis dominates WB research, which is mostly empirical. This approach is also echoed in the sampled articles, 84.6% of which use the quantitative method. The methods of this approach are outlined in the WB's Poverty Manual, published in 2005 as a reference document for poverty analysts. It recounts all the quantitative poverty measurement and analysis methods, with applications using data from household surveys. The typical quantitative poverty article, which comprises the majority of our sample, is written based on the methods outlined in this manual (World Bank Institute, 2005). This points to the Bank's role in determining what counts as valid practise in analyzing poverty and suggests its role in propagating economism. The next chapter analyzes the discourse observed in our sample of articles in conjunction with the Bank's influence.

2. Central Authors: Academics unaffiliated with the UN System

The top cited authors not belonging to the UN System are mostly academic economists with long careers as university professors who have influenced the work of the UN agencies in tracable ways yet have never been employed by a UN agency. The top cited one in this category is Amartya Sen, Nobel Laureate and Professor of Economics at Harvard University. Known for his sense of ethics and humanity, he is referred to as 'The Mother Teresa of Economics' in his native India. He contributed to formulating the United Nations' Human Development Index, which has become “the most authoritative international source of welfare comparisons between countries” (Steele, 2001). He has also contributed the multi-dimensional definition of poverty, which examines the “capability” to function in society and includes dimensions in addition to income, such as education, health, security, self-confidence, access to opportunities, facilities, resources, and human rights (Sen, 1987).

Although the vast majority of the articles in our sample use the monetary definition of poverty which takes income or expenditure as the sole indicator of a person's poverty status, many pay homage to- but don't apply- Sen's (1987) multi-dimensional definition. In rare cases, a specific resource-based type of poverty is studied, such as water or food poverty. Sen's poverty measurement index is rarely used.

Sen's major observed influence on the articles is through his axiomatic framework. He argues that poverty measures should comply with criteria that are ethically defensible (Xu and Osberg, 2001). The result of this proposition is a set of

axioms that are referred to and applied tremendously in the literature¹⁹.

In addition to Amartya Sen's major contributions to poverty knowledge, an indispensable element of a poverty profiling article is a poverty index, chosen to measure the poverty level. The most widely used index in the sample taken is the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke class of poverty measures (F-G-T measures) developed by Professor Erik Thorbecke, his former student Professor Joel Greer, and another graduate student at Cornell University at the time, Professor James Foster. Since their introduction in 1985, these measures have played a central role in the global literature on poverty. Their popularity is attributed to their simple structure, which makes them easily understandable by policymakers. They are used as an international standard of poverty measurement and disclosed on a regular basis by the WB's PovcalNet²⁰, numerous UN agencies, and governments. From 1985 to 2010, the paper in which these measures were first introduced has been cited on an annual basis at an average rate increasing approximately 1.5 per year as reported by the Social Sciences Citation Index (Foster, Greer, & Thorbecke, 2010).

Although the F-G-T measures are the most popular in our sample and widely popular in the overall worldwide literature, the headcount measure is still the most

19 Sen's axioms: The focus axiom holds that the poverty index should focus on the poor population to the exclusion of the non-poor. The Weak Monotonicity Axiom holds that a decrease in a poor person's income, *ceteris paribus*, should increase the poverty index. The Impartiality Axiom holds that the poverty index should not cause a loss of generality when defined over ordered income profiles.

20 PovcalNet is "an interactive computational tool that allows you to replicate the calculations made by the World Bank's researchers in estimating the extent of absolute poverty in the world (\$1 a day). It also allows you to calculate the poverty measures under different assumptions and to assemble the estimates using alternative country groupings or for any set of individual countries of your choosing. PovcalNet is self-contained. PovcalNet is a product of the World Bank's Development Research Group." (Key Readings, n.d.)

commonly used one worldwide and the second most commonly used one in our sample. It is far more crude than the F-G-T measures in that it merely gauges the proportion of the population that is living under the chosen poverty line, precluding any measure of the intensity or severity of poverty. It also takes the household, not the individual, as its object, which distorts and oversimplifies the measurement (World Bank Institute, 2005).

Income inequality is widely discussed in the sampled literature as it is globally; if not as the main research question of the article then at least as a sub-topic or an element of a poverty analysis study. Here we distinguish between income and social inequality and stress that only income inequality is tackled in the typical poverty analysis article. Social inequality is a broader concept that includes, in addition to income inequality, inequalities based on race, gender, class, age, etc and inequalities in health, rights, access to opportunities, and social capital. Only 5% of articles tackle gender inequality, and only one article provides social class analysis. As for income inequality, the most commonly used measures in our sample are the Gini coefficient and the Atkinson method, developed by Sir Anthony Atkinson (1970), who ranks in the fourteenth place in the top cited authors of our study and in third place for top cited authors not belonging to the UN System cluster. A less popular method is Thiel's inequality measures.

Jean Yves Duclos is another academic with a central role despite the lack of his direct affiliation with the UN system. He is an Economics Professor at the University of Laval and a Research Fellow at CIRPEE and is most cited for his work with Peter Lambert, measuring Horizontal Inequity (Duclos and Lambert, 1998). Lambert is also a Professor of Economics at the University of Oregon and a former visiting scholar at the

IMF, a specialized UN agency (Lambert, 2014).

Richard McAdams is the only non-economist who has made it to the top 25 cited authors list. He is a Law Professor at the University of Chicago. Nevertheless, he has collaborated with economists and is most cited for his work with John Page, a former World Bank Director, measuring trends in poverty and inequality (Adams and Page, 2003).

3. *Central Authors: Arab Economists Affiliated with the ERF*

The only Arab authors with a central position in the co-citation network are Sami Bibi and Heba El Laithy, both academics and Research Fellows at the ERF. Heba El Laithy is an Egyptian statistics university professor, who is most cited for her poverty line studies (El Laithy, 1996).

4. *Semi-peripheral Authors*

The ILO is the only UN agency without a central position in the co-citation network. As an organization specialized in employment rights and data, its semi-peripheral position might be due to its less relevant role in the poverty discourse than, say, that of the WB's or UNDP's role. It is most commonly cited for employment figures.

Another semi-peripheral node is Satya Chakravarty, an Indian economist

who has co-authored publications with central authors such as Francois Bourguignon and Ravi Kanbur.

Angus Deaton, an academic economist with no affiliation with the UN system is the third semi-peripheral author among the top 25 cited list.

5. Peripheral Authors

Three of the top 25 cited authors have a peripheral position in the co-citation network: Doukhi Hunaiti, Karima Korayem, and Luc Anselin. Hunaiti and Korayem are both Arab academic economists. Hunaiti is Jordanian, and Korayem is Egyptian. While Korayem has worked as a consultant to the World Bank, UNDP, ESCWA, and ILO, Hunaiti is rather independent of the UN system. Korayem is most cited for figures on Egyptian poverty while Hunaiti is cited for his work on Rural Poverty (Hunaiti, 2005). Luc Anselin is a niche academic economist specialized in spatial econometrics and is not affiliated with the UN system.

CHAPTER 5

IDEOLOGIZING ARAB POVERTY KNOWLEDGE: THE DOMINANT NEOLIBERAL DISCOURSE AND THE ALTERNATIVE PERIPHERAL NARRATIVE

A third insight from our study is that Arab poverty knowledge is of an overwhelming ideological nature, reflecting the evolution of the Washington Consensus in the US. Poverty knowledge is “a project of twentieth-century liberalism...deeply rooted in the rise of the “new liberalism” that emerged in late nineteenth-century Euro-American political culture as an alternative to the laissez-faire individualism of the industrial age”(O'Connor, 2001, p. 8). It is anchored in several commitments and paradigms:

A commitment to using rational empirical investigation for the purposes of statecraft and social reform; a belief that the state, in varying degrees of cooperation with organized civil society, is a necessary protection against the hazards of industrial capitalism and extreme concentrations of poverty and wealth; a commitment, nevertheless, to maintaining a capitalist economy based on private ownership and market principles, however much it need be tamed or managed by public intervention; and finally, a distinctly secular faith in human progress, not just through the accumulation of knowledge, but through the capacity to apply it for the common good. (O'Connor, 2001, p. 8).

The Western discourse on poverty in Third World Countries, led by the World Bank (WB) and academic economists, has gone through three distinct stages of ideological evolution and paradigm shifts. The major reference point in this historical evolution is the Washington Consensus (WC), a term that represents the near-consensus of the international financial institutions, the American government, the Federal Reserve

Board, and the major think tanks in Washington to implement certain policy reforms in order to stimulate growth, decrease inflation, maintain a healthy balance of payments, and distribute income in an equitable manner in the developing world (Lora, 2009). Accordingly, the three phases are: the Pre-WC phase, the WC phase, and the post-WC phase (Saad-Filho, 2010).

A. The Pre-WC Period

Robert McNamara's Presidency at the WB (1968-81) marked the first phase, the pre-WC period. The dominant ideology in this period was anti-communism, in response to the Soviet and Chinese alternatives offered to recently decolonized developing countries. The advocated development policy was that of Keynesianism, structuralism, and an early version of welfarism, in which the state was required to give a "Big Push" to support industrialization led by the private sector, by coordinating investment projects. This was presumed to stimulate growth, create jobs, stabilize the economy and balance of payments, ultimately reducing poverty through the "trickle-down" effect. In the first phase of development, inequality was expected to increase inevitably because the wealthy have a "higher marginal propensity to save than the poor", according to Keynes (Saad-Filho, 2010, p. 2).

The pre-WC was debunked after the rapid growth of the 1960s and 1970s did not reduce poverty or inequality in many countries where it was applied, as per the West's influence. Then in 1974, Hollis Chenery, the WB's vice president for development policy, published *Redistribution with Growth* (Chenery, 1976), leading to a

review of the WB's adherence to capital-intensive development and a promotion of labor-intensive industry instead (Saad-Filho, 2010).

The newfound paradigm had not been thoroughly applied before the international debt crisis that shifted the economics profession towards monetarism and supply-side and new classical economics. The consolidation of neoliberalism in the US and UK in the 1980s reinforced this shift, in which poverty was now believed to be the fault of the poor countries themselves because they were uncompliant with the economic policies upheld by the West (Saad-Filho, 2010).

B. The WC Period

The early 1980s gave rise to the WC as a reaction of the right-wing to the failure of the pre-WC developmentalist ideology. The accompanying rhetoric promoted universalist neo-liberal ideology committed to the free market and against state intervention. The prevalence of the WC comprised four major elements. The first one was the abandonment of old development economics and adherence to neoclassical economics, in which the market is seen as efficient and the state as inefficient, the market is the answer to development problems, and globalization is good for the global and national economy. The second element was the shift from attributing the cause of poverty to lack of capital to blaming state intervention for fostering inefficiency. The WC view contends that neoclassical economic policies would inevitably result in development, and the end goal is presumably an “idealized version of the US”. Third, despite the WC's theoretical adherence to the free market, in practice, it allowed some

state intervention required to secure the “market economy” by promoting globalization and capitalism. The fourth element is the WB's role to prepare “the agenda for the study of development, with the Bank and the IMF imposing the standards of orthodoxy within development economics, and enforcing the relevant policies through conditionalities imposed on poor countries facing balance of payments, fiscal or financial crises” (Saad-Filho, 2010, p. 4). What did the WC paradigm mean for poverty studies and policies? Saad-Filho argues that with the loss of the state's capacity to intervene, poverty alleviation cannot be directly addressed; it is supposed to be a result of the trickle-down process.

C. The Post-WC Period

Discontent with and opposition to the WC eventually led to the post-WC phase, set in place by Joseph Stiglitz, chief economist of the WB in 1997. He is a main proponent of new institutional economics, and his views influenced the focus away from the neoclassical value of competition and markets and “towards the institutional setting of economic activity, the significance of market imperfections, and the potential outcomes of differences or changes in institutions” (Saad-Filho, 2010, p. 6).. The PWC advocates state intervention across a range of social and economic policy that is wider than that set by the WC. However, the PWC is similarly pro-market and pro-globalization, but this time globalization “should have a more human face because it would be supported by appropriate institutions and the gentle steer of the national state and the IFIs” (Saad-Filho, 2010, p. 7).

D. The Rise of the 'Inclusive Growth' Discourse

Where did equity fit in the discourse? In response to the PWC's neglect of active redistribution policies, the pro-poor policy emerged in the early 2000s, “claiming that equity is an ethical imperative, and that distribution as well as growth would benefit the poor.” The mainstream responded in a four-stage process. First, it agreed that “equity is good in itself”. Second, it defined “equity” as “equality of opportunity” and nothing more. Third, it measured the effect of equity on growth and used the findings to inform its distribution policies. Finally, it “concluded that poverty and inequality are mutually reinforcing, and that “inclusive” growth is the best way to address both of them simultaneously” (Saad-Filho, 2010, p. 16).

The following Table 14 sums up the main keywords underpinning the ideology of each of the WC, PWC, and Inclusive Growth (IG) paradigms:

Table 14: From the Washington Consensus to Inclusive Growth

Original Washington Consensus	post-Washington Consensus (Original WC plus)	Inclusive growth
Secure property rights	Anti-corruption	Competitive environment
Deregulation	Corporate governance	Government commitment to growth
Fiscal discipline	Independent central bank and IT	“Good policies”

Tax reform	Financial codes and standards	Public sector investment
Privatization	Flexible labour markets	Labour market deregulation
Reorientation of public expenditures	WTO agreements	Employment and productivity growth
Financial liberalization	“Prudent” capital account opening	International integration
Trade liberalization	Non-intermediate exchange rate regimes	Exchange rate management
Openness to FDI		“Prudent” capital account opening
Unified and competitive exchange rates	Social safety nets	Social safety nets
	Targeted poverty reduction	

Source: (Saad-Filho, 2010: 14)

E. Text Analysis: Keywords

How has the ideological evolution of the global poverty discourse influenced Arab poverty studies? A quantitative study of recurring keywords across the articles reveals that State Policy and Intervention is the most prevalent one (64.65%). This is in line with the PWC paradigm that promotes state intervention. After that, by decreasing frequency, we find that Social Inequality, Poverty Measurement, Rural Poverty, Employment, Poverty Causes/Determinants, Education, Urban Poverty, and Spending Behavior are tackled. The prevalence of Social Inequality as another top keyword also points to the adoption of the pro-poor growth literature in the poverty discourse after

decades of neglect.

Looking at articles written from inside the Arab World and the rest of the articles separately, we find that three most frequently referenced keywords/themes are still State Policy and Intervention, Economic System, and Social Inequality. This means that writing the article from inside the Arab World does not isolate the author from the dominant paradigm in the West. Moreover, Poverty Causes, Education, and Employment are much more prevalent in articles written in the Arab World while Rural Poverty is more frequent in articles from outside the Arab World.

Separating the articles by language shows that Arabic articles are the most likely to tackle Education or Poverty Causes/Determinants, the English ones are the most concerned with Social Inequality, Rural Poverty, Poverty Measurement, and Spending Behavior, whereas the French ones have the highest frequencies for State Policy and Intervention, Economic System, Employment, and Urban Poverty.

F. Text Analysis: Choice of Research Topics

Analyzing the choice of research questions tackled in the articles reveals another prevalent paradigm that echoes that of the West: Poverty research “takes postindustrial capitalism as a given and focuses primarily on evaluating welfare programs, as well as on measuring and modeling the demographic and behavioral characteristics of the poor” (O'Connor, 2001, p. 16). The two most frequently chosen research topics in our sample are respectively: Poverty alleviation methods- mostly subsidies and transfers with the present economic system/structure taken as a given- at

18.4% and profiling/measuring poverty within a certain location and/or for a certain demographic at 15%. After that comes pro-poor growth at 9%, where the effect of economic growth- again with the present economic system taken for granted- on the poverty level is studied. Pro-poor growth is based on Dollar and Kraay's (2001) paper and is in line with the 'inclusive growth' rhetoric put forth by the World Bank.

At 8%, Income Inequality is the fourth most tackled research topic. Here we distinguish between income and social inequality and stress that only income inequality is tackled in the typical poverty analysis article. Social inequality is a broader concept that includes, in addition to income inequality, inequalities based on race, gender, class, age, etc. and inequalities in health, rights, access to opportunities, and social capital. Only 5% of articles tackle gender inequality, and only one article provides social class analysis. This not only re-emphasizes the prevalent tendency to reduce human welfare to a mathematical equation, but also reflects the struggle between the individualist and structuralist interpretations in Western poverty knowledge as explained by O'Connor (2001).

O'Connor (2001) declares that the nature of inequality-whether it is considered an individual problem or an issue of structural and institutional reform- is a problem that has created “tension within liberal thought” (p. 9) as reflected by poverty knowledge. The individualist interpretation has become the most prevalent one as there is a “virtual absence of class as an analytic category, at least as compared with more individualized measures of status such as family background and human capital”(O'Connor, p. 9). Another sign of the domination of individualist rhetoric is “the reduction of race and gender to little more than demographic, rather than structurally constituted categories”

(O'Connor, p. 9). The present economic and social structures are taken as inevitable conditions rather than systems that are “socially created and maintained”(O'Connor, p. 9). The discourse on poverty and reform has unnoticed ideological boundaries that “eclipse an alternative, more institutionalist and social democratic research tradition” for the sake of “remaining realistic or 'relevant' for political purposes” (O'Connor, p. 9).

This individualist rhetoric is also echoed in the articles tackling the determinants of poverty as the main topic and making up 7% of the sample. The determinants are identified using regression analysis, and the possible factors considered are most often characteristics specific to the poor people or the space they inhabit, thereby isolating them from the grander scheme of the social and/or economic structure they are bound to. Conspicuous by its absence is a discussion of the non-poor's role or impact on the poverty level. Another remarkable observation is that the determinants of poverty are tackled less frequently than poverty reduction strategies. The discourse focuses on solving the problem more often than it tries to uncover its causes.

To conclude, text analysis has shown a predominance of the rhetoric on the benefits of economic growth, economic reform/market liberalization, and subsidies and transfers as anti-poverty strategies then tested using policy simulation models. This, again, is in line with the 'trickle-down' paradigm that contends that poverty reduction is a by-product of economic growth and neoliberal policies. Again, inclusive growth is also present in the literature and represented by the term 'pro-poor growth'. As expected (because they are not in line with the dominant paradigm), the role of microfinance, charity, income redistribution, the private sector, education, and healthcare receives little

attention in the sampled articles. Even in the least neoliberalist articles, the market and economic performance are still advocated for whatever they are worth. To quote one of the articles using this rhetoric: “Despite the controversy about the causal link between openness and economic performance in the literature, the virtues of trade’s contributions to faster growth and poverty alleviation are generally recognized ” (Hassine and Kandil, 2007, p. 2).

G. The Anti-neoliberalist narrative

In addition to the dominant neoliberal bias in the discourse, there is a less prevalent, peripheral narrative that emerges in a minority of the articles. Its paradigms, frameworks, and talking points serve to point out the loopholes and omissions of the neoliberalist narrative while putting forth some alternative concepts, methodologies, and solutions pertaining to Arab poverty. The findings are based on qualitative text analysis of around 17 articles that comprise an alternative niche within the poverty discourse.

1. Anti-Globalization

Bush (2004) challenges the success of globalization to reduce poverty:

I argue that poverty occurs not because of a failure to be integrated into the national or local or international economy and the vulnerability that may accrue through non-incorporation. The poor are poor precisely because of their incorporation into the reality of the contemporary capitalist economies. Adverse differential incorporation results in labour regimes that are hugely exploitative, at their worst leading to the recreation of child labour recruitment or a return to ‘indentured labour’ as in parts of Egypt since Law 96 of 1992, which dramatically removed protection for land tenants afforded them since Nasser’s revolution. Differential incorporation has also led to a decline in employment as privatization creates redundancy,

and job opportunities, in the age of 'globalization', fail to meet demand and labour force growth (Bush, 2004, p. 675).

2. Challenging the Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment Programs

Hamdan and Al-Qadi (2007) argue that the Structural Adjustment Programs and privatization policy in Jordan between 1989 and 1992, whereby the government forfeited subsidy and price control in the name of laissez-faire economics, led to an increase in food and other prices without a corresponding increase in income. This resulted in an increase in poverty levels. Abdelbaki (2013) supports this argument in his study of the negative effects of economic reform programs. He cites the cases of Algeria and Egypt as testimony:

After Algeria had come a long way in economic reform programs, the unemployment rate among citizens less than 20 years old was 49% in 2004, 44% among young people aged between 20-24 years, and 73% among those less than 30 years in that year compared to 42% in the year 1996. It is not different in Egypt, which adopted the economic reform programs with the IMF and the World Bank in 1990, where such programs had resulted in deep negative effects on poverty and the poor as well as widening the income gap. Although Egypt tried to mitigate the negative impacts on the poor through some programs including the Social Fund but, malpractice, corruption and weak budgets prevented the achievement of desired objectives, poverty and the poor has increased significantly, as the Egyptian household Expenditure Survey showed that 44% of the populations are not able to get the minimum adequate food (as cited in Abdelbaki, 2013, p. 144).

Shuaa (2012) has also criticized the power relations within the International Financial Institutions (IMF and World Bank) promoting the economic reform programs, revealing that developing countries have limited voting power compared to the five developed countries led by the US.

3. Challenging the 'Trickle-Down' Narrative

The 'trickle-down' narrative holds that economic growth inevitably and automatically benefit the poor in addition to the rich. Ibrahim (2011) argues that in some regions in Egypt, such as Manshiet Nasser and Menia, the benefits of economic growth were not equitably distributed, and the poor were stuck in 'poverty traps'. Kalwij and Verschoor (2007) studied the relationship between income distribution, economic growth, and poverty reduction for 58 developing countries for the period 1980–1998. They found that the differences in the capacity of income growth to decrease poverty is mostly due to differences in initial income distribution. Their analysis challenges the common mantra that economic growth is the 'royal avenue' for poverty reduction. "Although differing income growth rates account for most of the variation in poverty reduction over time and across regions, the impact on poverty reduction of differing changes in inequality and income and Gini elasticities of poverty is significant and almost always far too large to be ignored. In Eastern Europe and Central Asia their combined effect is much larger than the impact of growth alone" (Kalwij and Verschoor, 2007, p. 821).

H. The Qualitative framework

The overwhelming majority of authors in our sample use the quantitative framework to evaluate poverty and equity. A few exceptions to this include Laabas Belkacem (2001) who has incorporated the historical context of poverty in Algeria and

Khasawneh (2001) who recommends, in addition to a comprehensive survey, a holistic understanding of the broader context within which Jordan witnessed an increase in poverty levels in 1987-92 then a decrease in 1992-97. His analysis shows:

...higher rates of illiteracy among the poor (about 42 per cent of the adult poor are illiterate in Jordan); the fact that the poor were often not without work, but were employed in the informal sector where remuneration was extremely low, so that poverty was indicative of low wages rather than simply unemployment (although this category ignored 'lumpen' elements who are destitute or near destitute); poor families with heads of household employed in the private sector were poorer than those with work in the public sector; and, despite higher rates of poverty in rural Jordan, about two-thirds of the poor are urban-based (as cited in Bush, 2004).

Other authors who look beyond the quantitative framework are Abouchedid and Nasser (2001), who studied the relationship between religious divides and economic inequalities in Lebanon, and Collicelli and Valerii (2000), who have studied the territorial and geographical context of poverty (Bush, 2004).

I. Faith-based Conceptualizations and Solutions

Occasional voices refer to local faith-based concepts and solutions pertaining to poverty, revealing that, for the most part, they are in line with secular concepts and narratives yet offer untapped solutions designed to alleviate poverty and inequality. Abdelbaki (2013) expounds on the concept of poverty as explained in Muslim scripture. Labor and productivity are highly encouraged while beggary is discouraged. Poverty is considered a danger to the family and society and is categorized into different types: poverty is not having enough resources, as determined by the standards and norms of

one's community, while neediness is not having a shelter. The existence of social classes is acknowledged in the Quran, and income distribution among the classes is ordained through rules and regulations regarding private property, public property, and Zakat, the income and wealth tax.

Most authors writing about Zakat as a solution to poverty make a bold statement similar to the one by Abdelbaki (2013): “Zakat can guarantee the eradication of poverty and then income and wealth inequality in Islamic communities” without any supporting empirical data.

J. The Colonialism and Conflict Narrative

Studying the historical context of Arab poverty necessitates studying the history of colonialism, imperialism, war, and conflict because they are an integral part of the history and current reality of most Arab countries. Only two of our sampled articles refer to colonialism and war when describing the historical context of poverty. Laabas (2001) relates poverty in Algeria to its colonized past and exposes colonialism as the main reason for the inherited poverty of the newly independent state of Algeria:

The French colonial policy in Algeria was a deliberate destruction of the country's national identity and indigenous social system, which was based on the society's basic needs. A massive wave of dispossession and confiscation of tribal land dislocated the farming and nomadic population. This colonial policy resulted in the virtual destruction of traditional institutions of Algeria. By the 50s, the French population in Algeria totalled nearly one million. The settlers owned most of the fertile land. Gross inequality of income distribution was associated with dualism in production structures...Settlers represented only 5% of total population whereas their incomes was about 60%...Colonial rule restricted the indigenous people's access to principal human assets...The modern highly mechanized colonial agricultural sector, and absence of vibrant industrial sector, could not provide job opportunities for migrant peasants. (Laabas, 2001, p. 48).

K. Voices of the 'Poor'

In most of the sampled literature, the 'poor' are almost always treated as victims of exclusion and objects of study, rarely given voice, agency, or the position of 'subject'. Ibrahim (2011) has written one of the few articles that break the pattern by contrasting “micro-level voices” with macro-level data on Egypt:

The first Egypt—as represented by government figures—was characterised by rapid economic growth, improved literacy rates, reduced unemployment, expanded health care services and protected political rights. The second Egypt—as revealed by the voices of the poor—was marked by a rising income gap, an irrelevant and uninspiring educational system, frustrated unemployed educated youth, inefficient health care services and a corrupt political system.

The absence of adequate accountability and participatory channels, especially at the local level, widened the gap between the state and the public. While the state undermined people’s suffering, it continued to be misled by promising macro-data drawing a ‘rosy’ picture of Egypt’s future.

This analysis has revealed how such macro-level trends were not reflected in poor people’s lives. Rapid economic growth was not felt by the poor because of the decline in real wages and the rising costs of living, especially food prices. The state was spending on social security benefits which failed to help the poor as they were too little and badly targeted. The state claimed it was providing free education, while poor families were paying half of their incomes on private tutoring and other hidden educational costs. It tried to encourage entrepreneurship and help young people open up their own businesses, overlooking the difficulties they encountered because of their limited access to credit and the complicated licensing procedures for such projects. Despite improvements in school enrolment and literacy rates, in reality the educational attainments of the poor failed to help them achieve their goals in life. The state was spending five per cent of GDP on education; however, these resources were not translated into better educational attainments because of overstaffing, inefficient spending and limited accountability. While the state successfully lowered unemployment rates, it overlooked the poor quality of jobs, which were usually insecure, temporary and informal. Unemployment also remained highest among the most educated, hence their frustration and their leadership of the protests. The state also successfully improved reproductive health programmes but ignored the deteriorating quality of other medical services. It also neglected the bad treatment and humiliation that the poor suffered from in public hospitals. Finally, while allowing for limited political participation through manipulated and rigged elections, the state has clearly failed to realise

the growing political aspirations of Egyptians, which have clearly surpassed such 'nominal' participation.(Ibrahim, 2011, p. 1364-1365).

L. A New Methodology to Measure Urban Poverty

In a joint effort between the Urban Institute for Urban Development and UN ESCWA that began in 2011, a report was recently published to propose a new poverty index designed to be specific and idiosyncratic for the nuances of Tripoli, Lebanon. The pioneering work is the first attempt at the localization of a poverty measure in the Arab region. It is based on a nuanced multi-dimensional definition of poverty, stemming from Amartya Sen's definition but adjusted to better reflect the case of Tripoli. It is also designed to be simple, accurate, cost-effective, and more qualitative. It incorporates both relative and absolute poverty and avoids using the conventional poverty line. It is people and family-centric as it aims to capture the dynamics of people's everyday lives. It includes five component indicators: needs, resources, capabilities, rights, and freedoms/choices (ESCWA & the Arab Institute for Urban Development, 2014).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The findings in this study indicate that the majority of knowledge on Arab Poverty is modelled after the typical empirical economics article, based on the norms of the UN Systems institution cluster, in its structure and methodologies. There is hegemony of the discipline of economics of this topic and not enough sociological, anthropological, historical, political, or interdisciplinary takes on the subject. The quantitative method is used enormously, and the qualitative one is almost completely neglected. The data source is predominantly secondary, and there is a lack of purpose-specific fieldwork. There is a lack of any study of social inequality or class analysis as a bigger picture in which poverty prevails. The vast majority of articles are concerned with poverty alleviation strategies, but significantly less so with determinants or causes of poverty. There is a prevalent neoliberal paradigm propagated by the Washington Consensus and observed in the text analysis of the articles as most champion the free market, trade liberalisation, and globalization and neglect the role of the grander economic structure, market failures, the non-poor class, income redistribution, charity,

microfinance, etc. Most articles are produced in English although two thirds of them are written from inside the Arab region by non-diasporic writers. There is a prevalent Western hegemony of thought, structure, and language. In a nutshell, “Globalization is now seen to be the only game in town: MENA had better learn the rules and start playing by them — or else” (Bush, 2004, p. 676).

To challenge the status quo observed in the 'normal science' of Arab poverty, I would like to echo two of O'Connor's (2001) suggestions as stated below:

Restructuring poverty knowledge is a project that would draw upon the insights from historical analysis to take in the political, ideological, institutional, and cultural as well as the more immediate research agenda-setting dimensions of the task. The first task is to redefine the conceptual basis for poverty knowledge, above all by shifting the analytic framework from its current narrow focus on explaining individual deprivation to a more systemic and structural focus on explaining- and addressing- inequalities in the distribution of power, wealth, and opportunity. A second is to broaden the empirical basis for poverty knowledge- recognizing that studying poverty is not the same thing as studying the poor-by turning empirical attention to political, economic, institutional and historical conditions, to the policy decisions that shape the distribution of power and wealth, and to interventions that seek to change the conditions of structural inequality rather than narrowly focusing on changing the poor (p. 22).

Regarding the 'dependency path' in which the third world depends on the mainstream Western model for knowledge production, Hanafi (2011) suggests that it is not inevitable and can be challenged at least partially. He advocates the facilitation of a liaison between the university and research on one hand and the local and regional community on the other. He states, “Institutional resources are very important for the Arabization of social sciences: university can facilitate publication in the Arab language through providing funding to faculty to publish/translate in Arabic or in cooperation

with local publishers” (Hanafi, 2011, p.304).

In my view, the status quo of a centralized, absolutist, economic approach to studying poverty that neglects the role of social classes and relations and relies on a unidirectional transfer of 'knowledge for development' from elitist institutions such as the World Bank to developing countries in order to fill an alleged 'knowledge gap' has to be challenged. A more decentralized, democratic, inclusive, multi- and interdisciplinary approach that is detached from a certain dogma and incorporates the knowledge of developing countries could be the answer to finally 'eradicating' social inequality.

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APPENDIX

List of Journals

- Idafat
- International Journal Of Social Economics
- Middle East Journal Of Culture And Communication
- Hts Teologiese Studies-Theological Studies
- IDS Bulletin
- Islam And Christian Muslim Relations
- Third World Quarterly
- International Journal Of Educational Development
- African Development Review- Revue Africaine De Developpement
- Canadian Journal Of Development Studies-Revue Canadienne D'Etudes Du Developpement
- Children And Youth Services Review
- Development And Change
- Development Policy Review
- Economic Development And Cultural Change
- Environment And Urbanization
- European Economic Review
- ICIC 2009: Second International Conference On Information And Computing Science
- International Migration
- Journal Of Economic Psychology
- Journal Of Housing Economics
- Journal Of Refugee Studies
- Journal Of Social Policy
- Nursing & Health Sciences
- Nutrition Reviews
- Proceedings Of 2010 International Conference On Business, Economics And Tourism Management
- Review Of Income And Wealth
- Social Indicators Research
- Social Policy & Administration
- Social Science & Medicine
- Water International
- World Development
- Refugee Survey Quarterly
- Pakistan Journal Of Statistics And Operation Research
- Dirasat: Human And Social Sciences
- Journal Of Education College For

- Feminist Review
- Food Policy
- El Nahda Journal (النهضة : مجلة)
(كلية الاقتصاد و العلوم السياسية)
- Al-Rafideen Agricultural Journal
(مجلة الرافدين الزراعية)
- British Journal Of Science
- World Applied Sciences Journal
- Economic Sciences
- Orient
- Revue D'economie Et Du
Developpement
- Critique Internationale
- European Journal Of Social
Sciences
- Quarterly Review Of Economics
And Finance
- Review Of Development
Economics
- Research In Middle East
Economics
- Current Research In Social
Psychology
- Middle Eastern Studies
- Journal Of Development And
Economic Policies
- IUG Journal Of Natural And
Engineering Studies
- Girls: A Scientific Tribunal Journal
- Feuilles Universitaires: Revue
Publiee Par La Ligue Des
Professeurs De L'universite
Libanaise
- Economic Studies: A Peer-
Reviewed Economic Periodical
دراسات اقتصادية : دورية اقتصادية محكمة
- Journal Of Economic Cooperation
Among Islamic Countries
مجلة التعاون الاقتصادي بين الدول الإسلامية
- Almasrafi Magazine
مجلة المصرفي : مجلة فصلية مصرفية
و اقتصادية تصدر عن بنك السودان
المركزي
- Jordan Journal Of Agricultural
Sciences
(المجلة الاردنية للعلوم الزراعية)
- Economic Research Forum :
Working Paper Series.
- Applied Econometrics And
International Development
- Critique Économique
- Mondes En Développement
- World Bank: Policy Research

- Contemporary Affairs (شؤون العصر)
 - Israeli Affairs (قضايا إسرائيلية)
 - Arab Economic Journal
بحوث اقتصادية عربية : مجلة علمية فصلية محكمة
 - The Journal Of Law And Humanities: A Quarterly Peer-Reviewed Journal By The Faculty Of Law And Political Sciences At The University Of Jalfa
- مجلة الحقوق و العلوم الإنسانية : مجلة فصلية
حكمة تصدرها كلية الحقوق و العلوم السياسية
بجامعة الجلفة
- Iraqi Journal For Economic Sciences
 - Economic Gulf (الاقتصادي الخليجي)
 - Journal Of Strategic Studies
(دراسات استراتيجية : دورية فصلية)
 - El-Bahith Review
مجلة الباحث : دورية أكاديمية
محكمة، نصف سنوية
 - Emirates Journal Of Food And Agriculture
 - Mu'tah Lil-Buhuth Wad-Dirast
(مؤتة للبحوث و الدراسات)
 - Review Of Integrative Business & Economics Research
 - Modern Economy
 - Economics: The Open-Access, مجلة جامعة القدس المفتوحة للأبحاث و
- Working Papers
 - Human Ecology
 - Hagar
 - African Development Bank
 - Carnegie Papers
 - Institute Of Social Studies Working Papers
 - Topics In Middle Eastern And North African Economies
 - Inflammation & Allergy - Drug Targets
 - Tanmiat Al-Rafidain (تنمية)
(الرافدين)
 - Al-Anbar University Journal Of Economic And Administration Sciences
 - Journal Of Economics And Administrative Sciences
 - The Journal Of Political Thought
(الفكر السياسي)
 - Anthropology Of The Middle East
 - Journal Of The Maghrebian University
(مجلة الجامعة المغاربية)
 - "AL - Mustaqbal Al - Arabi"
Journal (المستقبل العربي)
 - Journal Of Al-Quds Open University For Research And Studies

Open Assessment E-Journal

الدراسات : علمية محكمة

- Mesopotamia Journal Of Agriculture
(مجلة زراعة الرافدين العراقية)
- Kut Journal For Economics Administrative Sciences
مجلة الكوت للعلوم الاقتصادية والادارية
- The Arab Gulf (مجلة الخليج العربي)
- Buhuth Mustaqbaliya Scientific Periodical Journal
(مجلة بحوث مستقبلية)
- Journal Of Educational And Psychological Research
(مجلة البحوث التربوية)
- Journal Of Economics And Political Sciences
مجلة الإقتصاد و العلوم السياسية : مجلة علمية دورية سنوية محكمة
- IUG Journal Of Islamic Sciences
مجلة الجامعة الإسلامية : سلسلة الدراسات الإسلامية
- Journal Of Economics And Administrative Sciences
(مجلة العلوم الاقتصادية و الإدارية)
- Adwaa Journal (مجلة أضواء)
- Omran
- The National Sociological Journal

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A community-based framework for poverty alleviation: The case of post-revolution Egypt
A culture of poverty or the poverty of a culture? Informal settlements and the debate over the state-society relationship in Egypt
A Microeconomic Analysis of the Poverty and Equity Implications of A Rise in Value Added Tax in Lebanon
A Multidimensional Analysis of Water Poverty at Local Scale: Application of Improved Water Poverty Index for Tunisia
A New Methodology for Comparative Analysis of Poverty in the Mediterranean: A Model for Differential Analysis of Poverty at A Regional Level
A profile of poverty for Palestinian refugees in Jordan: The case of Zarqa and Sukhneh camps
A profile of poverty in Egypt
A Study of the Growth Rates Required for the Sake of the Poor
A Tale of Two Egypts: contrasting state-reported macro-trends with micro-voices of the poor
Agricultural Trade Liberalization and Poverty in Tunisia: Micro-Simulation in a General Equilibrium Framework
Agricultural Trade Liberalization, Productivity Gain and Poverty Alleviation: A General Equilibrium Analysis
An Analysis of Income Inequality and Education Inequality in Bahrain
An Elixir for Development? Olive Oil Policies and Poverty Alleviation in the Middle East and North Africa
Analysis of poverty in Iraq with a focus on the role of inequality and inflation in increasing impoverishment after 2003
Anti-poverty transfers and spatial prices in tunisia
Application of spatial regression models to income poverty ratios in middle delta contiguous counties in egypt
Assessing Absolute and Relative Pro-Poor Growth, with an Application to Selected African Countries
Bedouin in Lebanon: Social discrimination, political exclusion, and compromised health care
Boom, bust, and the poor: Poverty dynamics in the Middle East and North Africa, 1970-1999
Breaking the poverty/malnutrition cycle in Africa and the Middle East
Building logistic regression model to identify key determinants of poverty in Palestine

Chronic and transitory poverty: Evidence from Egypt, 1997-99
Comparing Effects of General Subsidies and Targeted Transfers on Poverty: Robustness Analysis Using Data Set from Tunisia
Comparing multidimensional poverty between Egypt and Tunisia
Comparing the impact of food subsidies and regional targeting on poverty : evidence from Tunisia
Comparison of the poverty indicators in Iraq in 2007
Complete and Partial Analysis of Pro-Poor Growth in Egypt 2000-2008
Complete and Partial Analysis of Pro-Poorness with Illustration using Tunisian Data
Could the behavioral responses justify the absence of direct transfers to fight poverty in MENA region?
Data flow mechanism for poverty monitoring in Jordan
Determinants of poverty for rural and urban households in Iran
Discriminating poor from non poor households in the remote communities of the southern part of Jordan
Do Services and Transfers Reach Morocco's Poor? Evidence from Poverty and Spending Maps
Does Agricultural Trade Liberalization Help the Poor in Tunisia? A Micro-Macro view in a Dynamic General Equilibrium Context
Does Infrastructure Mitigate the Effect of Urban Concentration on Poverty in Developing Countries?
Does The Specification of A New Class of Poverty Measures Matter? Evidence from Tunisia
Dryland Afforestation and Poverty Alleviation: Bedouin and Palestinian Non-timber Forest Product Collectors in Contrasting Economic Environments
Economic and non economic poverty in the MENA Region
Economic Globalization and Poverty Alleviation in Egypt
Economic growth and poverty in the Arab countries : does the income of the poor grow by the same rate as average income?
Economic Growth, Employment and Poverty in the Middle East and North Africa
Economic Impacts of Tourism Employment Creation in the MENA Region: Issues for Poverty Reduction
Economic inequality and economic development: lessons and experiences from across the world
ECONOMIC POLICY, POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN MOROCCO: MICRO-SIMULATED GENERAL EQUILIBRIUM ANALYSIS
Education, Employment and Poverty Among Bedouin Arabs in Southern Israel

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Estimating Utility-Consistent Poverty Lines with Applications to Egypt and Mozambique
Estimation of Poverty in Greater Cairo: Case Study of Three "Unplanned" Areas
Evaluation of poverty reduction policies and strategies in a sample of arab countries
Evolution of poverty in Tunisia: 1990-2000
Financial Sector Policy and Poverty Reduction in Sudan
Food security, poverty, and economic policy in the Middle East and North Africa
Food subsidies and poverty in Egypt : analysis of program reform using stochastic dominance
Food subsidies: The Worst or the Better System for fighting poverty?
From comparative to global social policy: Lessons for development practitioners from UNICEF's Global Study on Child Poverty and Disparities
From poverty to revolt: Economic factors in the outbreak of the 1936 rebellion in Palestine
Gender Poverty in Tunisia: Is There a Feminization Issue?
Ghetto Poverty and Pollution in Egypt: A Deadly Threat for Western Countries Caused by New and Infectious Mutants. A Cultural, Social and Microbiological Synopsis
Greywater reuse in urban agriculture for poverty alleviation - A case study in Jordan
Growth, inequality and poverty alleviation policies in the MENA region
Holding the line: poverty reduction in The Middle East and North Africa, 1970-2000
Horizontal inequity and the redistributive: effect of the anti-poverty design: evidence from Tunisia
How did the world's poorest fare in the 1990s?
How Does Urban Concentration Affect Poverty in Developing Countries?
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The reality of unemployment and poverty in the province of Nineveh A field study of the Year 2008
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