

**TRANSLATION AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RELIGIOUS OTHER:
A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF
ISLAMIC POLITICAL DISCOURSE**

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Lastly, for the memory of my late parents, this thesis is for them.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me, the work herein is mine, and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification of this, or any other university, or other institute of learning, or any approved degree-awarding body.

Ahmed Elgindy

15th June 2013

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Note on Transcription of Arabic

For the transcription of Arabic, this study follows the style used by *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Transliterated names and titles were kept as found in their original form.

For Arab authors with publications in a language other than Arabic, their names are kept in the form used with their publications. The symbols used to transcribe Arabic sounds are as follows:

Consonants

Arabic	English	Arabic	English
ء	'	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	‘
ث	th	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	dh	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	ه	h
س	s	و	w

ش	sh	ي	y
ص	ṣ	ال	al-
ض	ḍ	ة	-a

Vowels

Short vowels: a, i, u.

Doubled vowel: iyy (in final position).

Long vowels: ā, ī, ū.

Diphthongs: aw, ay.

Note on style:

Possessive adjectives and personal pronouns that refer to translators in general, or to authors, publishers, editors, readers, and critics are in the masculine.

Abstract

Translations of texts associated with the phenomenon known as ‘political Islam’ into English remain largely unexplored. The main objective of the current thesis is to develop a sociological model for the study of translations of Islamic political discourse, based on the work of Pierre Bourdieu.

The basic assumptions of Bourdieu's sociological theory are adapted to formulate a methodology for the study of translations of Hassan al-Banna's *Towards the Light*, and Sayyid Qutb's *Social Justice in Islam* into English. The thesis discusses in detail Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production, its intellectual foundations, theoretical tools, and methodological relevance to both translation in general, and translation of Islamic discourse in particular. The research hypothesizes a field of activity which could be called ‘the field of translating political Islam’ in the Anglo-American culture. The dynamics of this field and its structure are premised on the notion of struggle over specific forms of capital between producers and co-producers of translation in this context.

Bourdieu's key concepts of *field*, *habitus*, *capital*, and *doxa*, are used to both describe and interpret the activity in this field. They are also used to provide a sociological insight into the production and consumption of translation, as well as the translatorial agency within this field.

Chapter One

Theoretical framework and research questions

Introduction

There is no shortage of books on the Islamic political phenomenon in the Arab world, or in the English speaking societies. Abu-Rabi (1995) claims that there is a systematic treatment of the religious, intellectual, cultural, and social foundations of Islamic resurgence in the modern Arab world that is grounded in the larger context of Arab and Islamic intellectual history. The ideas of Muslim thinkers such as Hassan al-Banna, and Sayyid Qutb, which discuss the relationship between religion and society, have for a long time been associated with, and blamed for, the contemporary Islamic resurgence. At the same time, the terms, assumptions, labels, categories, and narratives used to describe and explain the phenomenon have emerged as one of the most important political discourses of the modern era (Jackson 2007). As a term used in the field of politics, i.e., the field of power, 'Political Islam' has come to possess discernible ideographic characteristics (Winkler 2006: 11-16). Terms such as: 'freedom', 'democracy', 'terrorism', 'Islamism', and 'fundamentalism', are frequently used in the Anglo-American societies in political debates concerned with the Islamic movements. Similarly, 'Political Islam' now operates as a key term that defines the central narratives of Islam, although remains largely unquestioned in its meaning and usage (Jackson 2007).

This thesis aims to study the translations of Islamic political discourse in the Anglo-American culture as a socially situated activity by drawing on the sociological work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. The primary assumptions of Bourdieu's sociological theory are used to formulate a conceptual apparatus for understanding and explaining the practices that transpire in a field of activity which could be called 'translations of Islamic political discourse'.

These ‘thinking tools’, as Bourdieu calls them, are applied to identify and investigate the modes of producing translations of Islamic political discourse, the different positions in the field, the capital at stake, the struggles between the field’s occupants, and the influences of other fields on this specific field of cultural production.

The methodology proposed in this dissertation strives to locate the translation activities within this field in their socio-political context of cultural production. This chapter outlines the key research questions that motivate this study, and offers an overview of the organisation of the thesis.

1. Translation studies and the sociology of Bourdieu

The nature of Bourdieu’s work and his sociological concepts lend themselves to the study of the translations of Islamic political discourse as a socially situated activity.

In 1992, the field of translation studies underwent a cultural turn underpinned by the idea of ‘Interdiscipline’. This new orientation in the field challenged and questioned the traditional paradigms, tools of analysis, and objects of study inherited from comparative literature and linguistics. This cultural shift opened the doors for studying translation as social, cultural and political acts essentially linked to local and global relations of power and domination (Cronin 2003). The notion of ‘interdisciplinarity’ meant re-negotiating the boundaries between the different disciplines. This in turn, suggested questioning the inherited mechanisms of analysis, and at the same time, proposed new perspectives on translation. The sociological model developed by Bourdieu is one of these new perspectives. Bourdieu’s sociological model is

attuned to the sociologically and anthropologically informed approaches to the study of translation processes and products (Inghilleri 2005). The application of Bourdieu's theoretical model to the study of translation is considered as part of the "re-evaluation of descriptive and polysystems approaches" (ibid: 126). Bourdieu argues that "one cannot fully understand language without placing linguistic practices within the full universe of compossible practices: eating and drinking habits, cultural consumption, taste in matters of arts, sports, dress, furniture, politics, etc." (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 149). Subsequently, linguistic practices can only make sense when they are placed in the context of their particular field of activity (Hanna 2006). Understanding language by placing it in the social and cultural space within which it is produced, and by linking it to the agents who produce it in power-related encounters is a common ground Bourdieu's sociological theory shares with other cultural approaches to the study of translation which can be seen in the work of such scholars as: Bassnett and Lefevere (1990) Venuti (1996, 1998) Simon (1996) Tymoczko (1999) and Cronin (2003).

Bourdieu's work made a major contribution that allowed for placing more attention on the translators themselves by critically analysing their role as social and cultural agents dynamically engaged in the production of discourse (Inghilleri 2005). His efforts were aimed to construct an action theory that could explain the practices of agents (Gouanvic 2005: 147). Bourdieu's sociological framework focuses on the dynamics of cultural production, i.e., the process of producing cultural goods. His concepts of *field*, *habitus*, and *capital*, in particular, made it possible to study the interactions between agency and structure (Inghilleri 2005). That is to say, in the field of translation studies, they enabled researchers to study the interactions

between individuals, and the structures that restrict or initiate them. Full explanation of these concepts, their merits, and their relation to each other is discussed in chapter two; however, some of the tenets of these concepts are worth emphasising at this point. Bourdieu's notion of 'field' forms the core of his *relational* sociology. As Grenfell (2008) correctly observes, Bourdieu is content that in order to understand the interactions between people or organisations, it is necessary to analyse the social space in which the interactions take place. Thus, Bourdieu developed this concept as the unit of analysis in studying any domain of cultural production. The concept of field offers the researcher the opportunity to study translation, or any cultural product for this matter, as the outcome of a complicated network of interpenetrating activities between institutions and human agents. The concept of field filled the gap found in other theoretical approaches such as Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, and Toury's descriptive translation studies, where they lacked "a social explanation of the role of institutions and practices in the emergence and reproduction of symbolic goods" (Gouanvic 1997: 126). Gouanvic also stresses that the 'field' as conceptualised by Bourdieu does not strive to attain reality, but it aims to provide "a vantage point from which to view the real" (Gouanvic 2002: 99). Bourdieu's notion of field is intertwined with his other concepts, such that none can be defined or examined without reference to the others.

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* has been widely used in a variety of intellectual fields and many research contexts. It is probably the most cited concept of Bourdieu's work. In order to understand Bourdieu's concept of habitus, it helps to understand the logic behind the concept. One of Bourdieu's main concerns is to examine social life as *constituted in social practices*, rather than analyse it as individual actions or expressions (Inghilleri 2005). For Bourdieu,

people do not behave through acts of special knowledge feeding on a set of possible meanings; rather, they act in a habitual normalised manner (ibid). He castoffs the idea that social agents are cognisant, measured logical actors. Nevertheless, he concedes to an element of “rational choice” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 131). Bourdieu argues that habitus “allows us to take into account, and to account for, the constancy of dispositions, tastes, *and* preferences” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 131, emphasis added). In other words, habitual ‘normalised’ patterns of behaviour inform the process of decision making, and manifest in practice. Thus, for Bourdieu any social act involves an external objective structure, i.e., the field, and internal incorporated dispositions, i.e., *habitus*, where neither should be considered separately. That is to say, for Bourdieu, “there exist neither internal nor external dimensions but a concurrence of both” (Gouanvic 2005: 149). The concept of habitus is useful for studying translation because it explains the subjective choices made by the translator (ibid). Gouanvic (2005: 158) argues that the changes or restrictions imposed on the source text by the translator are not “a conscious strategic choice but an effect of his or her specific habitus”. In other words, it is the translator’s habitus that influences the way in which translation is practiced.

Bourdieu’s sociological model is based on *relational* thinking, which regulates the analysis of the field of power, field of cultural production, and the agent’s *habitus* (Hanna 2006). His methodology of analysis proposes a perceptive tool into how we could study translation as a socially situated activity. The following section discusses the research questions prompting the current thesis.

1.1 Research questions, organisation, and rationale

The fundamental question underpinning this thesis is:

How could the sociological contributions of Pierre Bourdieu provide us with a model for studying the translations of Islamic political discourse into English in the Anglo-American culture?

Bourdieu's sociological model has been adapted to examine various fields of cultural production including the study of translation. Although, his conceptual tools have been used to study the translation of fiction, poetry, and theatre, no attempts have been made to apply them to study the translations of Islamic political discourse from Arabic into English. The primary question raised above highlights the rationalization of this research. This rationalization is based on three legitimising factors: first, the importance of the object of inquiry, i.e., political Islam, in the Anglo-American culture, particularly following the 9/11 events. Second, the absence of research applying the sociological model of Bourdieu to the study of translation of Islam in general, and translation of Islamic political discourse in particular. Third, the lack of research adapting Bourdieu's sociology to the study of translation from Arabic into English.

The structure of the thesis is guided by the fact that the fundamental question comprises four interconnected sub-questions:

- 1. How could the sociological hypotheses of Bourdieu provide us with conceptual tools for studying and understanding translation as a socially situated activity?***

Chapter two aims to provide an answer to this question. This involves a comprehensive discussion of the sociological concepts of Pierre Bourdieu, the assumptions underpinning his work, and the other theories against which he developed his sociological model. As discussed in depth in chapter two, Bourdieu conceptualised his sociological theory in response to the existentialism vs. structuralism debates among philosophers and social scientists in France during the 1950s and 1960s. These were the intellectual trends at the time, and each had its own sociological paradigm as developed by Sartre and Lévi-Strauss respectively. The answer to this question also involves the examination of Bourdieu's concepts in relation to the study of translation in general and translations of Islamic political discourse in particular.

Chapter two attempts to understand and elaborate Bourdieu's fundamental concepts of *field*, *capital*, *habitus*, and *doxa* in relation to other concepts, and examines their viability for studying translations of Islamic political discourse. The chapter will provide examples relating the theoretical concepts to the object of inquiry.

2. How could Bourdieu's sociology help us explore the genesis of a field of representations of Islam and Muslims in Western culture, the role of translation in the construction of these representation(s), the motivations of these translations, and the interests they have been made to serve?

In attempting to answer this question the following sub-question will also be addressed:

- *What is the effect of agency and mediation, in translation, on the representation and production of knowledge about Islam and Muslims?*

Chapter three aims to attempt an answer to these questions. In this chapter, Bourdieu's concept of field will be adapted to investigate the genesis of the early translation activities in relation to Islam. Bourdieu's concept of field is helpful in mapping out the boundaries of the intellectual social space dealing with translations of Islamic texts. The initiation of such a field of activity, the early participants in this new field of knowledge, their motives, and their positions within this field are explored. Chapter three will also engage with other Bourdieusian concepts such as habitus, agency, *doxa*, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, in order to elaborate a full understanding of a field of activity, which could be named the field of translating Islam. The chapter will also examine the consumption of these early translations, and their socio-political implications, i.e., the role they played in representing Islam and Muslims.

Chapter three analyses the field of translating Islam at two different periods: one is the initial period of activity mentioned earlier and the other covers the translation activities during the Enlightenment era. This latter period is the intellectual cultural movement, which began in the seventeenth century. It was based on the belief that right reason, or rationalism, could find true knowledge and lead mankind to progress and happiness. Its purpose was to reform society and advance knowledge. During this period the conceptions about Islam and Muslims, inherited from the mediaeval and renaissance periods, were challenged and contested by a new generation of scholars. Translated texts about Islam were re-examined and a new body of literature started to emerge. These changes in the field were accompanied by the development of new positions, new forms of capital, and the rise of new agents and new types of readership. The early translation projects of Islamic texts and the new translations of the *Qur'an* into various Indo-European languages are also explored.

3. How could Bourdieu's sociology, particularly his understanding of agency, help us explain the activities in the field of translating political Islam?

The answer to this question is the focus of chapter four. This chapter engages with a field dealing with the translations of Islamic political discourse. The chapter has two aims: first, to investigate the development of the field and the emergence of new positions and position takings within it. This new inquiry is necessary due to the emergence of a new Islamic discourse negotiating a place for Islamic principles in the field of politics, i.e., reorganising the relationship between 'religion' and 'state'. This new religiopolitical discourse signalled a shift in the translation mode from translating Islam purely as a religion or a theology, to translating Islam as a political system, as a way of life and governance. The second aim of chapter four is to analyse the agency of the translator, the relationship between the field of translating political Islam and the field of power, and the possible effects agents' contributions could have on the imminent narrative as a consequence. The chapter uses two translations of Hassan al-Banna's *Towards the Light* نحو النور, as a testing ground for the translator's agency. One of the two translations is offered by the Muslim Brothers, the other is presented by Charles Wendell. The effect on the new narrative in the receiving culture is examined by comparing the two translations.

4. How can we read/interpret the (re)translation of Sayyid Qutb's Social Justice in Islam العدالة الاجتماعية في الإسلام in terms of Bourdieu's sociology?

Chapter five attempts an answer for this question. This question tests the ability of Bourdieu's sociology to explain the retranslation phenomenon. The notions of *distinction* and *text ageing* are used to tackle this question. The commonly accepted views about retranslation are explored, and a new alternative understanding based on the sociological contributions of Bourdieu, particularly his concept of *capital*, is proposed. The chapter tests the capital at stake in the field of translating political Islam, by analysing the (re)translation phenomenon and the factors that warrant or motivate the production of new translation of the same source text. The translations of Sayyid Qutb's *Social Justice in Islam* العدالة الاجتماعية في الإسلام have been chosen as the testing ground.

The conclusion of the thesis, chapter six, puts forward an evaluation of Bourdieu's sociological model and the potential of applying it for studying translations of Islamic political discourse as a socially situated-activity. The chapter also revisits the research questions motivating this dissertation, comments on the merits and drawbacks of Bourdieu's sociology, and discusses its relevance to translation. Suggestions for future research are also outlined in the final part.

1.2 Criteria of data selection

The current thesis draws primarily, but not exclusively, on the translations of the work of the two key figures of political Islam, Hassan al-Banna, and Sayyid Qutb. The selection of these two Islamic theorists is not accidental. The status of al-Banna and Qutb in the field of political Islam in both source and target cultures is the prime reason that justifies the selection. Statements of experts and researchers of contemporary Islamic movements testify to their credence. According to Badrul Hassan (1982) and Sivan (1990), al-Banna and Qutb are considered the

‘most influential Muslim thinkers or activists’ of the modern era. It is widely claimed that while al-Banna was the chief theoretician of the Muslim Brotherhood, a “mainstream and today relatively peaceful political organization”, Qutb’s writings have been embraced by “the movement’s radical and violent offshoots” (Brykczynski 2005: 1).

Al-Banna was the founder of the Muslim Brothers movement in 1928 in Egypt. His writings were the first to conceptualise a new vision of a socio-political system based on the teachings of Islam. Qutb, according to Benjamin and Simon (2003), merged the core elements of modern Islamism with Hassan al-Banna's political activism. Thus, al-Banna’s *Towards the light* (1945) and Qutb’s *Social Justice in Islam* (1953), the source texts and their translations, are chosen as a testing ground for the research questions raised above.

1.3 Notes on names and terminology

Bourdieu used specific terminology to describe and refer to fields of cultural production. These have been kept in their original form when discussed in chapter two. Some Arabic names such as Hassan, Sayyid, and *Qur’an* have an established English spelling form. However, occasionally they may appear in a different spelling such as Hasan, Sayed, and Koran. This is only to preserve the form of the original source.

Chapter Two

Pierre Bourdieu and the development of a sociological approach to translation

Introduction

This chapter has two aims: first, to examine the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu and analyse his conceptual model against the backdrop of the theoretical and methodological contributions of modern sociology. Second, to develop conceptual tools premised on Bourdieu's sociological model for studying translation in general and the English translations of Islamic political discourse in the Anglo-American culture in particular. These conceptual tools will be utilised in the following chapters to examine and interpret a selection of translated Islamic political texts into English. These translated texts will be located in a hypothesised 'field' of intellectual activity. Bourdieu's conceptual tools will be critiqued, and their relevance to the study of translation will be elaborated. The inadequacy of these tools to explain some translation phenomena will also be highlighted, emphasising the need to critically assess the implications of Bourdieu's work for the understanding of translation.

There is a body of research in the field of translation based on Bourdieu's theories of sociology. In this body of research, the agents, e.g., translators, publishers, art designers, blurb writers, etc., are not just objects, 'slaves' of rules, and 'applicators' or followers of laws which they do not understand. The agents are active participants who put into practice their 'incorporated principles of a generative habitus', i.e., the dispositions which they acquired through historical experiences. Alongside translation scholars who have tried to test the viability of Bourdieu's sociology in the study of translation, there have been others who used non-Bourdieuian sociological concepts to explore specific aspects of the translation phenomenon. The sociological concept of 'narrative' as developed by Goffman (1968) and as used by Baker in

translation studies (2006) proved to be useful in problematising translators' agency. Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production will provide analytical tools to understand the translations of Islamic political discourse into English as a socially situated activity. These tools will also be used to examine the way in which these translations and their translators function as a 'field' in Bourdieusian terms. In this dissertation, Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus will be used along with the sociological concept of 'narrative' as used in translation studies.

The following section will examine the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu and the viability of its use in the context of translation studies.

2. Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production: reconceptualising the subject-object relation

Bourdieu was critical of the sociological contributions of his contemporary sociologists and his sociology is based on an elaborate critique of the sociological reason at his time. The significance of Bourdieu's enterprise could be fully appreciated when examined in relation to, and in contrast with, the other sociological theories dominant during the 1950s and 1960s in France. During the middle decades of the twentieth century, the French intellectual scene in general, and the study of sociology in particular, was dominated by two opposing modes of thought: the existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre, and the structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss.

On one side of the intellectual spectrum, "The refusal to belong to any school of thought, the repudiation of the adequacy of any body of beliefs whatever, and especially of systems, and a marked dissatisfaction with traditional philosophy as superficial, academic, and remote from

life" were at the heart of Sartre's conceptualisation of 'Existentialism' (Kaufmann 1975: 12). Sartre's existentialism perceives the world of action as "entirely dependent on the decrees of the consciousness that creates it, and therefore entirely devoid of objectivity" (Bourdieu 1990: 42). In other words, existentialism denies that the universe has any intrinsic meaning or purpose, and it requires people to take responsibility for their own actions and shape their own destiny. Sartre's view that people are 'condemned to be free', means that they are responsible for what they make of themselves. That is to say, for Sartre "the human subject's immediate experience of, and direct involvement with, the world should be the main and only concern of both epistemology and sociology" (Hanna 2006: 28). On the opposite side of the intellectual spectrum, Lévi-Strauss' structuralism is based on the premise that society comes before individuals, and that human society is a network of interrelations that can be analysed. This network of relations is the deep structure, by which meaning is produced and reproduced within a human society or culture. Bourdieu's critical observation of the underpinning assumption of Lévi-Strauss and his advocates is that structuralism, conceives the social world as a universe of objective regularities independent from its agents and constituted from the stand point of an impartial observer, who is outside of the action, observing the world from above (Bourdieu 1993b: 56). Structuralism was 'the death of the subject' in Bourdieu's view. However, he criticised 'Existentialism' for attributing to every agent an absolute freedom dependent on his privileged status and dispositions (ibid).

Bourdieu views the disagreement between these two modes of thought as an opposition between the human subject and the objective structure. Where existentialism focuses on the creation of meanings, structuralism focuses on the structures of the meanings as pre-given.

Existentialism stresses the social construction of realities and assumes that the social actors/agents are moral beings who consciously intend their conduct, and who are not affected by any external forces or powers. Structuralism, in contrast, stresses the real structure of thought and action, and assumes that the intentions are projected by the deeper structures of the mind. It also stresses that behaviour is conditioned by structures which lie behind or beneath the agent's conscious awareness (Brown 1979).

Confronting the French intellectual debate about social phenomenology, Bourdieu interprets the opposition between existentialism and structuralism as an opposition between subjectivism and objectivism, which in his view are two modes of relating to the social world. Bourdieu (1990: 34) sees this dichotomy as fictitious, or in his terms 'false opposition', which he seeks to overcome through the conceptualisation of his sociology. Although Bourdieu concedes that these oppositions represent real divisions in the sociological field, he argues that "they have social foundation, but they have no scientific foundation" (ibid: 34). What Bourdieu is saying here is that existentialists and structuralists, or subjectivists and objectivists, do exist in the social world as a structure (in fields, associations, and scientific departments, as experts, or scientists who make use of these modes of thinking about the social world) but what they theorise and advocate has no scientific empirical evidence or foundation. This exclusivist approach inherent in these two modes of thinking about social reality became the primary reason that underpins Bourdieu's attempts to transcend this opposition.

Wacquant (1992: 19) describes Bourdieu's sociology, or what he calls "Bourdieu's philosophy of the social", as 'monist' or 'anti-dualistic', in the way that it refuses to subscribe to this

existentialism/structuralism dichotomy. Monist in this context means that Bourdieu's sociology understands reality as a unified whole, grounded in a basic substance or principle. That is to say, Bourdieu's work aims at disassembling the subjectivism/objectivism dichotomy and all the sub-dichotomies that feed into it such as external vs. internal, conscious vs. unconscious, material vs. symbolic, ideology vs. epistemology, practice vs. theory, etc., (Wacquant 1992: 19; Hanna 2006: 30). Bourdieu's idea is that 'subjectivism' and 'objectivism' should be treated as complementary rather than exclusivist approaches, and they are equally necessary to guarantee adequate understanding of the social world. However, for Bourdieu, subjectivism and objectivism had their limitations in understanding the social world, if either was applied exclusively, because subjectivism foregrounds the agent and objectivism forsakes the agent.

Bourdieu's critical view of sociology is targeted at these two modes of understanding social reality. On the one hand, he contends that subjectivism, which he sometimes calls the "phenomenological approach", insists that all of our actions are the result of our conscious mental states. This in turn means that the social world is explained exclusively in terms of our individual intentions and beliefs. This phenomenological approach "aims at grasping what agents actually experience of interactions and social contacts, and the contribution they make to the mental and practical constructions of social realities" (Bourdieu 1990: 34). In other words, subjectivism takes these individual representations as its basis, i.e., social reality is in fact the sum total of the countless acts of interpretation, whereby people jointly construct meaningful lines of interaction (Wacquant 1992).

On the other hand, objectivism, which Bourdieu calls the 'structuralist approach', insists that our intentional mental states and actions are nothing else but the effect of certain 'objective' regularities. This in turn means that the social world is conceived as the mechanical resultant of objective forces such as structures, laws and systems of relations. This structuralist approach, explains Bourdieu (1990: 34), "aims at grasping objective relations that are independent of individual minds and wills". In other words, objectivism stipulates that social reality consists of sets of relations and forces, which impose themselves upon agents "irrespective of their consciousness and will" (Wacquant 2006: 6).

In order to transcend this dichotomy, Bourdieu's conceptual model developed "a double reading" of social reality (Wacquant 1992: 7). The task of sociology, argues Bourdieu, is to "uncover the most profoundly buried structures of the various social worlds which constitutes the social universe, as well as the mechanisms which tend to ensure their reproduction or their transformation" (Bourdieu 1989a: 7; Wacquant 1992: 7). This application of a "double reading" would enable him to "recapture the intrinsically double reality of the social world" as he sees it (Wacquant 1992: 11). This dualistic reading is Bourdieu's way of bringing together subjectivism and objectivism. In other words, it is his way of "effecting this synthesis of objectivism and subjectivism, social physics, and social phenomenology" (ibid). The dichotomy between these two modes of thinking exists in the field of translation. On the one hand, there is the systemic approach to translation which focuses on the object and structure, with little or no attention to the subject/agent, e.g., polysystem theory, and the norms theory. On the other hand, there is the cultural turn in translation, which focuses on the agent, and marginalises the structure, e.g., Venuti's agency, the postcolonial approach, and the feminist approach to translation.

The objectivist reading, which Bourdieu terms as 'social physics' (1990: 27) allows social scientists to investigate the social world from the stand point of an outside observer, describing actual behaviour as the result of following rules. Through this objectivist reading the observer can analyse the implicit ideals which lie behind the actions of the agents, who think they are acting out of their own accord, when in reality, they are acting out a system of established rules (1993b: 56). In contrast, the subjectivist reading, which he terms as 'social phenomenology', will enable social scientists to understand the social world as the outcome of the decision, action, and cognition of the conscious, alert individuals to whom the world is given as recognizable and meaningful (Wacquant 1992: 9).

On course to conceptualising his sociology, Bourdieu questions both the subjectivists' and objectivists' understanding of social practice. In order to reconcile these two modes of understanding social reality, he proposes his principal concept of *field*, in concert with a number of other pertinent concepts, e.g., *capital*, and *habitus* as an alternative approach towards understanding the social world. This alternative approach focuses on the relation between the agent and the social structure. The following section will elaborate on the concept of *field*.

2.1 Bourdieu's theory of the *field*: reconceptualising social reality

Bourdieu developed his concept of the 'field' in response to other concepts that attempt to explain social reality, namely existentialism and structuralism. He is opposed to abstract theories which are detached from firm grounding of practice in everyday life. Bourdieu argues that looking at what was said, or what happened, is not enough to understand the interactions

between people, or to explain the events that happened. It is necessary to account for the *social space* within which the interactions and events took place (Bourdieu 2005: 18). The social space Bourdieu refers to here is what he calls *field* (Grenfell 2008). However, it is important to note that Mahar (1990: 9-10) highlights a difference between Bourdieu's terms of 'field' and 'social space'. She argues that 'social space' is an overarching category which encompasses a number of social fields. The social space of an individual includes the fields within which the individual operates.

Bourdieu's concept of field is part of his attempt to explain human activity. In order to appropriate what the field means in the context of Bourdieu's sociological theory, we could use the example of a football field elaborated by Grenfell (2008). A football field is an area which has defined external boundaries and internal divisions, and where a game is played. To play the game it is necessary to have players set in opposition to one another. Each player knows his autonomous position, and also knows his position in relation to other players, whose positions are predetermined within the field. All participants must know the rules of the game, particularly, new players. They should also possess the necessary skills in order to participate in the game. What players can and cannot do in the game, as well as, where they can and cannot go on the field is determined by the rules of the game, their positions, their skills or dispositions and by the physical conditions of the field itself. The idea of a social field is not too different from a football field (ibid). That is to say, a social field consists of social positions occupied by social agents, who could be individuals, institutions, or organisations. What can be done in the field is shaped and informed by the rules of participation, the boundaries, and the conditions of the field.

Central to Bourdieu's idea of 'the game', which takes place in the field, is the notion of struggle or competition. In this game, various social agents employ different strategies and use different mechanisms in order to maintain or advance their positions in the field. They also compete with one another to accumulate certain stakes or capital specific to, and available within the field. Furthermore, a 'field', does not stand alone in isolation; rather it relates to, and interconnects with a network of other social fields. It is within this specified domain, which has been socially instituted, thus, having a definable but conditional history of development that people move, act, and struggle in pursuit of supremacy and valuable capital (Jenkins 2002). This continuous struggle and manoeuvre is what forms the dynamics of the field. In Bourdieu's own words

Fields are historically constituted areas of activity with its specific institutions and laws of functioning. The existence of specialised and relatively autonomous field is correlative with the existence of specific stakes and interests; via the inseparably economic and psychological investments that they arouse in agents endowed with certain habitus, the field and its stakes (themselves are produced as such by power relations and struggle in order to transform the power relations that are constitutive of the field) produce investments of time, money, work, etc. In other words, interest is at once a conditioning of the function of the field, in so far as it is what 'gets people moving', what makes them get together, compete and struggle with each other, and a product of the way the field functions. (Bourdieu 1990: 87-88)

Thus, a field is also a system of forces which exist between the different positions, and where the positions relate to each other in terms of domination, subordination or equivalence (Jenkins 2002: 84). That is to say, a field is a configuration of objective relations between positions. For Bourdieu, "to think in terms of field is to think *relationally*" (Wacquant 1989: 39; 1992: 96, emphasis in original). By that Bourdieu means that objective relations, not interactions or inter-subjective ties between individuals, groups or institutions, is what exists in

the social world, and these objective relations exist, ‘independently of individual consciousness and will’ (Wacquant 1989: 97).

The existence of a field with positions, which is characterised by the struggle between its occupants (Bourdieu 1993b: 72), presupposes and creates a conviction on the part of the participants in the authenticity and worth of the capital at stake in the field (Jenkins 2002). This *capital* is differentiated by Bourdieu (1996) into three categories: *economic capital*, *cultural capital*, and *social capital* (more on the forms of capital in the field of translating Islamic political discourse in chapter five). The field of cultural production, its boundaries, structure and properties are discussed next, particularly, the field of translating Islamic texts.

2.1.1 Understanding the dynamics of the field

Central to Bourdieu’s sociological world-view is that classification is essential for social order and organisation, and without the “arbitrary process of classification” there would be no social patterns or communal form to the human world (Jenkins 2002: xi). The core value for Bourdieu in his theorisation about cultural production is *recognition* in the social world. This recognition, according to Bourdieu, takes place in *fields*. Recognition in any field of cultural activity is premised on struggles between field members occupying different positions in it. The objective of Bourdieu’s mode of analysis is to establish the *space of positions* and the space of *position-takings* within the field in such a way that it would be possible to ‘subjectively define’ the positions, as well as the system of unique properties, which defines their relation to other positions within the field (Bourdieu 1993: 30). Bourdieu maintains that the field of literary work, for example, is a field of *forces*, but concurrently, a field of *struggles* aiming to conserve

or convert the field of forces (ibid: 30). The result of these struggles influences both the system of relations between positions, and the strategies applied by each individual occupant in order to preserve or advance their positions (ibid). Bourdieu illustrates how changes could take place in the literary field by giving the example of a new up-and-coming group of literary artists trying to make a name for themselves, or make a mark in the literary field, through their new work. This, in turn, affects the whole structure of the field, which means that some of the established positions, i.e., dominant productions, will make way for the new comers by moving into a new status of being, either passé or being a classic work (ibid: 32). The field of arts is another example, where the struggle is between the advocates of 'pure art', or art for art's sake, and the advocates of 'bourgeois art', or commercial art (Bourdieu 1996: 223). These examples demonstrate that both the literary field and the field of arts are at once, fields of positions and fields of position-takings, and that positions and position-takings are so closely linked that it is impossible to consider either of them separately.

In the field of translating Islamic political discourse, the struggle is between two groups: those who claim that there should be no intervention in the author's message to his readers, such as John Hardie and those who claim that their work is more than just a translation, but rather a critical reading, an academic and analytical research, such as William Shepard¹. This struggle could be interpreted as an attempt to demarcate and impose the boundaries of the field. In other words, the translator who claims faithfulness to the source text is covertly trying to marginalise other translators who do not adopt a similar strategy. In contrast, the translator

¹ John Hardie and William Shepard are the two translators of Sayyid Qutb's book *Social Justice in Islam*, which is the subject of analysis in chapter five.

who flags the scholarly quality of the translation attempts to disqualify other translations that do not meet the academic standards. Another struggle is between translators who address specialised audiences, using accurate and precise language where the aim is to understand and explain the relationship and interactions between the Anglo-American and Islamic cultures, and translators who address the general public using non-specialised language, which is likely to evoke animosity against Islam and Muslims. In other words, the struggle is between two groups of translators of Islam: one trying to invite dialogue through their translations, and another group trying to politicise their translations. This latter group is associated with writings about Islam that use excerpts of Arabic texts regardless of the social, spatial, and temporal context of their production².

Social fields for Bourdieu are 'self-contained' worlds, premised on exclusive principles aiming to protect those who are on the inside, where the inside activities are governed by habitual and predictable rules (Grenfell 2008). Without these regular rules, argues Bourdieu, the world inside the field will become anarchic and consequently will cease to function (ibid). The field is thus, an arena of constant struggle for stakes, which could be field-specific or generic capital, and which requires legitimising the capitals themselves by establishing the value of any given

² An example of this second group of translators/commentators on political Islam is Bernard Lewis who writes extensively about political Islam, using excerpts translated from Arabic texts. He is friendly with several Israeli Prime Ministers (Buruma 2004). Abukhalil (2012) calls Lewis a 'classical orientalist, and a political pundit', who relishes his role, and whose work is obscured by his 'political and religious biases'. Commenting on Lewis' contributions in the field of political Islam, Abukhalil stresses that, Lewis claims that he is frequently attacked for antagonism towards Islam and Muslims, and that he is also attacked by people who accuse him of being apologetic about Islam and Muslims. But he fails to give one example of him being attacked for being an apologist for Muslims or Islam (ibid). Abukhalil concludes his evaluation of Lewis' influence in the field of political Islam with the following statement, "Lewis has poisoned the Middle East academic field more than any other Orientalist and his influence has been both academic and political" (ibid: para. 12). Buruma (2004: 1) echoes this view by saying "Lewis, in short, is a thoroughly political don, and if anyone can be said to have provided the intellectual muscle for recent United States policy toward the Middle East it would have to be him". Buruma also stresses that "it is hard to deny that Lewis has a political agenda", "Lewis is the cheerleader for the war in Iraq" (ibid: 2).

capital. The form and direction of any changes that may happen in any field, literary, art, or otherwise, depend on two dynamics: first, the “state of the system” , i.e., on the range of actual and potential possibilities on offer at any given time (Bourdieu 1996: 110). Second, the “relations of symbolic forces between agents” who have vested interests in the possibilities on offer within the field, be it individuals, institutions, or organizations (ibid). Accordingly, the dynamics of the field arise from the positions and the position-takings of the agents of the field in question. That is to say, the dynamics of the field are a direct result of the competition between the agents to access these assets, and where the agents’ positions are decided by their dispositions, or *habitus*, in Bourdieu’s terms (ibid). In these struggles, the strategies of a ‘player’ (agent /translator) and everything that defines his ‘game’ are a function of, not only the volume and structure of his capital, but also of his social trajectory and his dispositions , i.e., his *habitus* (ibid: 99). Bourdieu evinces that, defining any field as ‘inseparably’ a field of positions and a field of position-takings, allows the social scientist to break away from the dichotomy of internal reading, i.e., to be only considered within the system of work to which it belongs, and external analysis, i.e., to take into account just the social conditions of the production, the producer, and the consumer, of the field in question (ibid: 34).

Bourdieu draws support for his concept of field, as a means of reconciling the internal and external readings of a literary work, from the work of Becker, who sees artistic work as a collective action. For Becker “works of art can be understood by viewing them as the result of the co-ordinated activities of all the people whose co-ordination is necessary in order that the work should occur as it does” (Becker 1976: 703, cited by Bourdieu 1993: 34-35). Becker’s notion, which is affirmed by Bourdieu, means that a work of art exists as such because of the

collective efforts of the people who create it, writers or composers, the people who execute it, musicians or actors, and the people who consume it, art goers or critics (ibid). By the same token, translations of Islamic political discourse exist as a result of the collective efforts of many agents, e.g., translation sponsors, publishers, translators, editors, reviewers, as well as consumers. Initially, the decision to translate certain texts and not others is in itself an act of agency, which could be made by an individual, academic institution, governmental or non-governmental organization, or a commercial operation. The text selection process could be motivated by political, religious, intellectual, or commercial considerations. For example, the decision to translate Qutb's book *Social Justice in Islam* in 1954 was made by a sub-governmental organization, namely, The American Council of Learned Societies, while the same book was later commissioned for retranslation in 1996 by Brill, an established publisher of academic research. The selection of the translator himself is another form of agency, where certain criteria are set in line with the aims and objectives of the translation project, which require the appointment of a particular type of translator, who possesses the appropriate type of skills and background knowledge corresponding to the set criteria. A case in point is William Shepard's knowledge of, and extensive research on, Sayyid Qutb. Shepard's knowledge influenced Brill's decision to appoint him to translate *Social Justice in Islam* as part of their social, economic, and political studies of the Middle East and Asia translation project in the 1990s. The target reader too, is a factor to be considered in Bourdieu's concept of the social field. For example, Bernard Lewis and Gilles Kepel address the public, mainly, while Hardie and Shepard address academics and policy makers (for detailed discussion on the target readers of Hardie's and Shepard's translations see chapter five, sections 5.4, and 5.5).

Bourdieu's concept of field engages with the idea of recognition in the social world, which manifests in fields as mentioned earlier. He argues that the recognition of social products or cultural goods as symbolic objects is conditional on them being identified as such by those who are qualified to receive and acknowledge them as cultural goods. This, in turn, necessitates that the evaluation of these goods should take into account "not only the material production, but also the symbolic production of the work, i.e., the production of the value of the work" (Bourdieu 1993: 37). In other words, what actually sets the value of the work is: first, the contribution of the direct producer of the work, e.g., authors and translators; second, the contribution of the producers of the meaning and value of the work, e.g., reviewers, critics, and publishers; third, the contributions of all agents, whose collective efforts combine to produce consumers able to recognise the work as a social product or cultural goods (ibid). Thus, the evaluation process should account for both "the social conditions" of the agents involved in the production and the "conditions of production of the field of social agents" (Bourdieu 1993: 37). In short, it is a question of understanding social products "as *manifestation* of the field as a whole, in which all the powers of the field, and all the determinisms inherent in its structure and functioning, are concentrated" (ibid: 37, emphasis in the original).

In other words, Bourdieu's concept of the field could be summarised as a zone of social activity in which there are 'creators' who are keen to create a certain kind of cultural product. The product is defined not only by the creator, but also by the expectations and values of the audience. The audience is multiple, from specialist experts to the general public. And the product is supported and categorised by a range of overlapping social institutions, e.g.,

galleries, academic institutions, journals, reviews, newspapers, universities, patrons, sponsors, and the market for works of culture. It is also important to state that the creator does not define the field any more than the critic, the audience, or the marketplace (Little 2011). The field is the context which mediates external factors, i.e., changing circumstances, with internal processes, i.e., practices of the individuals and institutions, and where the logic, politics, and structure of the field inform the manner of change within it (Jenkins 2002). So, if “in every field we shall find a struggle, the specific forms of which have to be looked for each time, between the newcomer who tries to break through the entry barrier and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out competition” (Bourdieu 1993b: 72). The questions that follow are: what are the boundaries of a field? And what are the field’s properties?

2.2 The field boundaries

The boundaries of a field are not rigid, but flexible and shifting, according to Bourdieu. They are not “static limits drawn once and for all” (Hanna 2006:43) and can only be determined by an empirical investigation (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Jenkins 2002). Boundaries of the field are changeable due to two main reasons: one internal and another external. The internal has to do with the struggle between occupants, and the external has to do with the relation with the field of power. Bourdieu argues that the limits of any given field, i.e., its points of entry, which are institutionally established, are “situated at the points where the effects of the field cease” to have any influence on practice (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 100). In other words, the field’s boundaries will ultimately be about who gets into, and who stays out of the field (ibid). This means that the boundaries of a field can only be assessed by studying the field’s structure,

i.e., the objective relations between the field and its occupants, and between the field in question and other fields (Jenkins 2002). That is to say, the field's boundaries are the outcome of the continuous struggle between two particular positions. First, is the position of those who believe in the autonomy of the field, and that cultural products are not meant to obey any rules other than the rules of the field itself, i.e., art for art's sake. Second, is the position of those who believe that these cultural products serve economic, political and social aims, i.e., bourgeois art (Bourdieu 1996: 223).

In order to construct a field using Bourdieu's concept, it is important to recognise three elements: first, the relationship between the field in question and the field of power, i.e., the field of politics, which is considered to be a dominant field in any society. For it is the source of "the hierarchical power relations which structure all other fields" (Jenkins 2002: 86). Second, the 'objective structure of positions' that makes up the field, and the relationships between them in terms of the struggle over the capital characteristic to the field in question. Third, the habitus and trajectory of the agents within the field of activity. Bourdieu uses the literary field as an example to illustrate the interrelation between those three elements. Bourdieu's paradigm will be analysed next and then applied to the field of translating Islamic political discourse.

2.2.1 The interaction between the field of cultural production and the field of power

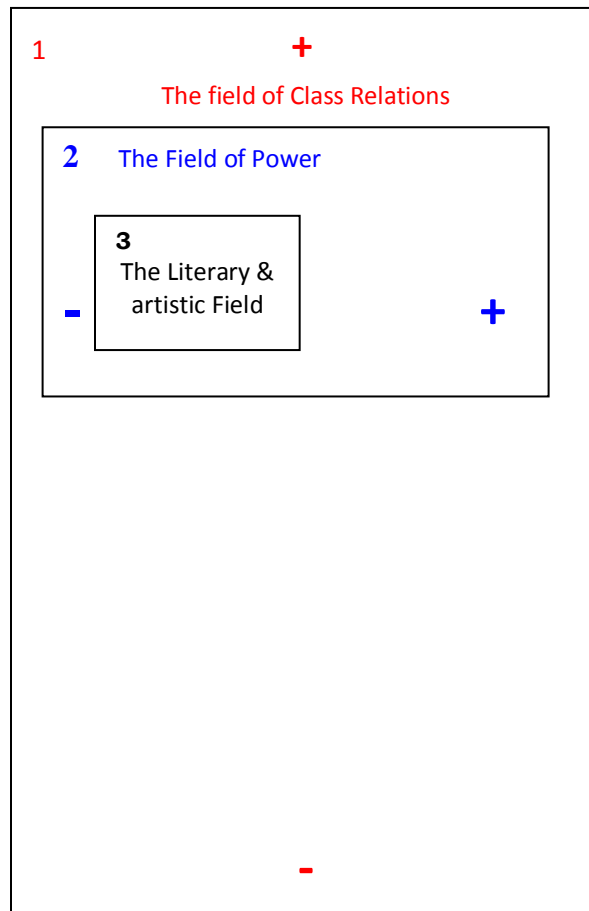


Figure 1

The concept of field is central to Bourdieu's *relational* sociology, and the idea of field 'autonomy'³ is at its foundation. As explained earlier, a field is a formation of positions held by agents (persons, groups, or institutions) struggling to maximize their position. As a result, agents are distinguished by their relational position within the field's system of capital distribution. Capital here means the resources granting power or status in the field.

³ The issue of autonomy requires understanding of two important conditions about the structuring rules of a field. First, each field has its own structure and logic, but at the same time, exhibits features similar to the wider social structure. Second, the field's autonomy is manifest by the way it generates its own values and achievement criterion. However, economic and political power, also, play an organizing role in each specific field.

Bourdieu, as means of illustration, explains the interrelations between the field of power, the literary field, and the field of class relations in terms of dominant and dominated positions, where the dominant position is marked by a (+) sign, and the dominated position is marked by a (-) sign, as shown in Figure 1. The principle of hierarchization is that, the more autonomous the field is, the closer it is to the dominant position, the more it is capable of fulfilling its own logic, and the more it “tends to suspend or reverse the dominant principle of hierarchization” (Bourdieu 1993: 39). However, regardless of how autonomous the field is, it will continue to be influenced by the rules of the field within which it is located (ibid).

Figure 1 shows that the literary and artistic field, although autonomous within itself, is occupying a dominated negative position within the field of power. As for the field of power, it is situated within the field of class relations but it occupies a dominant positive position within it. This arrangement means that the literary & artistic field is the site of double hierarchy, the *heteronomous* principle of hierarchization (looking beyond the field’s specific activities and towards economic and political issues) and the *autonomous* principle of hierarchization (looking inwards to the activities, norms, and sanctions of the field) (Bourdieu 1993: 38). The logic of this double hierarchy system means that the heteronomous principle of hierarchization would rule if the occupants of the literary field, e.g., writers or artistes, “became subject to the ordinary laws prevailing in the field of power, and the economic field” (ibid: 38). While the autonomous principle of hierarchization would reign, if the field of production was to gain total autonomy from market rules (ibid: 38). In this system of relations, the field of power exists 'horizontally' through all of the fields. It also controls and affects the exchanges of all forms of capital between the fields themselves (ibid).

Bourdieu observes that although there are similarities between fields with regard to the way in which they are organised and the way in which they operate, each field has its own dominant and dominated positions, its own mechanisms, and its own struggles (Jenkins 2002: 86). However, each of these field-specific characteristics takes a particular form in each field (Wacquant 1992: 41). Bourdieu argues that this homology between fields is the result of the commonalities of habitus and practice which operate within the different fields, where the closer the position of the occupants/agents is, the more likely they are to share similar habitus. Homology is also the result of the effects of the field of power, and the way in which it impinges upon any field, deciding what occurs within them (Jenkins 2002).

The field of translating Islamic political discourse is tightly connected to the field of power. Many of the authors concerned with, and/or involved in translating Islamic political discourse are, or have been, in close co-operation with policy makers in the West in general and in the United States in particular. Jackson (2007: 400) states that “identifiable orientalist Middle East scholars, such as Bernard Lewis, Noah Feldman and Raphael Patai have made frequent appearances as advisers and expert witnesses for official bodies”⁴. Lewis, for example, was an advisor to the American administration of President George W. Bush. In line with Bourdieu’s concept of the field, the occupants of the field of production, which is located within the field of power (politics), are in a position to negotiate the relationship between their field and the field of power. Lewis is a typical example of a field member, who is influenced by, and does

⁴ One can add other names to this list such as; Emmanuel Sivan, Gilles Kepel, Roxanne Euben, and Daniel Pipes of MEMRI. Jonny Burnett and Dave Whyte (2005) ‘Embedded Expertise and the New Terrorism’, *Journal for Crime, Conflict and the Media*, 1(4), pp. 1–18 offers exhaustive accounts of the networks of influence linking Islamist scholars to government agencies. other publications offering similar details are: Alexander George, ‘The Discipline of Terrorology’, in A. George (ed.) *Western State Terrorism*, Cambridge, Polity, 1991; and Edward Herman and Gerry O’Sullivan, *The ‘Terrorism’ Industry*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1990 (Jackson 2007: 399).

influence the field of power. That is to say, he epitomizes what Bourdieu means by the relationship between the field of cultural production and the field of power, and the mutual influence between them.

The relationship with, and the influence of the field of power on the field of translating Islamic political discourse can also be observed in the case of the first translation of *Social justice in Islam* (which will be analysed in detail in chapter five). This translation was commissioned by The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), which was founded in 1919 to represent the United States in the International Union of Academies. ACLS formed a subcommittee in 1946, and tasked it with major translation programmes on Near Eastern Studies, and on Arabic and Islamic Studies, where *Social justice in Islam* was amongst the selected works to be translated. The structure of ACLS shows a close link between the field of translating /researching political Islam and the field of power. On the Committee of Near Eastern studies, responsible for selecting the texts to be translated, there were three members from the American Department of State⁵, Edwin Wright, Sidney Glazer, and Harold Glidden. ACLS, through its members, has affiliations with many powerful political research institutions and think-tanks such as, The American Oriental Society, Middle East Studies Association, National Research Council, and American Society for International Law. During the 1940s, and 50s, ACLS was also associated with The Society of British Orientalists⁶. In addition to the Committee on Near Eastern Studies, ACLS has other committees: Committee on Grant-in-Aid, Committee on Far Eastern Studies,

⁵ ACLS Bulletin 1948. 41 (1) 44-54.

⁶ *ibid.*

Committee on Negro Studies, Committee on the Russian Translation Project, and Committee on Musicology.

The structure and limits of any field are determined by both; the type of capital dominant in that field, and the ways in which this capital is distributed among its occupants (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 98-9).

2.3 Forms of capital and the functioning of the field

Capital is a term used in the economic sphere, but Bourdieu expands its meaning to include “monetary and non-monetary, as well as tangible and intangible forms” (Bourdieu 1986: 243). In other words, Bourdieu’s use of the term is broader and his purpose is to extend the meaning of the term ‘capital’ by employing it in a wider system of exchanges, whereby assets of different forms are transformed and exchanged within networks inside and across different fields (Grenfell 2008: 102). Bourdieu’s use of the term is significant in his sociology, for he argues that “it is impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not only in the one form recognised by economic theory” (Bourdieu 2006: 105).

Bourdieu observes that the use of capital in its restricted economic sense reduces the ‘universe of exchanges’ to only commercial activities, which are ‘objectively’ and ‘subjectively’ directed to the ‘maximisation of profit’, i.e., economically self-interested. In other words, the restriction of capital to its economic sense is, overtly, a classification of other forms of exchange as ‘non-economic, and therefore disinterested’ (Bourdieu 1986: 242, and 2006: 105-6). Bourdieu’s

critique of this economically focused interpretation is that it neither recognises other forms of capital, nor allows for the convertibility of non-economic capital, e.g., cultural, social, and symbolic, into economic capital (ibid). In this sense, non-economic activities, such as cultural or social practices, are seen as disinterested and purposeless (Bourdieu 1986: 242). By introducing capital in all its forms, it becomes possible to delineate the practice of the social world as oriented, not only towards the achievement of economic capital, but towards all forms of capital.

For Bourdieu, capital, in its basic sense, is 'accumulated labour' (ibid). He argues that "capital is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things ... and the structure of the distribution of the different types, and sub-types of capital at any given moment in time represents the structure of the social world" (ibid: 241). That is to say, the chances of success for practice are determined by the limitations inscribed in the reality of that world. Thus, for Bourdieu, capital is a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also the principle underlying the inherent regularities of the social world. This also means that, capital is not only present in material things and immaterial practices, or possessed by individuals and institutions, but is also the underlying principle which: structures activities in any particular field, and regulates the power relations between members of that field (ibid: 242). Bourdieu argues that capital is what makes "the games of society" more than just a simple game of chances (Bourdieu 1986: 241). It is the energy that drives the development of a field through time (Grenfell 2008). Thus, in order to fully explain the socio-cultural practice, it is important to identify, not only the different forms of capital, but also the ways in which these variants of capital "change into one another" (ibid).

Capital takes time to accumulate, and has a potential to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form. However, depending on the field in which it functions and on the means of its transformation, which is the precondition for its worth in the field in question, capital can present itself in three distinguishable forms according to Bourdieu (ibid: 242)

1. Economic Capital: refers to monetary income and other financial resources and assets, “which is immediately and directly convertible into money”, and which finds its institutional expression in the form of property rights (Bourdieu 1986: 243).
2. Cultural Capital: includes long-standing dispositions accrued through socialisation, and can be converted, under certain conditions, into economic capital. It may be recognised socially in terms of educational qualifications (ibid).
3. Social Capital: which is also transferable in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of ‘title of nobility’, connections, or relationship of knowledge.

‘Symbolic capital’ is another form of capital suggested by Bourdieu. It is a manifestation of each of the other forms of capital when they are naturalised on their own terms (ibid). That is to say, symbolic capital is the resources available to a social actor on the basis of prestige or recognition, which functions as an authoritative embodiment of cultural value. A war hero, for example, may have symbolic capital in the context of running for political office (Calhoun 2002: 437).

For the benefit of the current thesis, the next section will focus on cultural and social capital, as well as capital conversion.

2.3.1 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital refers to non-financial social assets, which influence social mobility beyond economic means (Bourdieu 1986). These assets could include the family background, social class, physical appearance, or education (ibid). Cultural capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange that includes the accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status on its holder (Barker 2004: 37). In other words, cultural capital is what explains the cultural differences, which reproduce social class division. For example, education and the aptitude to speak proficiently about high culture has usually been a form of cultural capital associated with the middle class (ibid). According to Bourdieu, cultural capital could manifest in three different forms or sub-types, which operate at three different levels of our social reality, *embodied state*, *objectified state*, and *Institutionalised state* (1986: 243).

The Embodied state, as implied by its name is “linked to the body and presupposes embodiment” (ibid: 243) where embodiment is a process of “inculcation and assimilation” (ibid: 244). It also comprises two sets of dispositions that influence the agent, one is consciously acquired and the other is received over time, usually from the family through socialization, culture, traditions and social class. Embodied cultural capital can be acquired, albeit within the capacity of the agent. The acquisition of embodied cultural capital is not instantaneous; rather, it impresses itself upon the agent’s habitus over a period of time consequently shaping his character and his way of thinking. Cultural capital has both inherited properties and acquired properties. However, as a result of the disguise of its “transmission and acquisition”, it is “predisposed to function as a symbolic capital” (ibid: 245). Embodied

cultural capital is the long lasting dispositions of the body and mind, e.g., competences, skills, cultural or political preferences, which cannot be separated from its bearer. As such, the attainment of embodied cultural capital, by necessity, assumes the investment of time dedicated to learning and/or training. This investment requires the agent's awareness of both: his field and his social world. Bourdieu stresses that the amount of cultural capital held by an individual is emergent from: his capabilities, the period, the society and the sanctions of his social class. The structure of the field is the source of the appropriation of profits (ibid: 245). That is to say, the positions and profits in the field are function of the field's history.

The objectified state: cultural capital in its objectified state has "a number of properties which are defined only in the relationship with cultural capital in its embodied form" (Bourdieu 1986: 247). The cultural capital objectified in material objects such as: writings, paintings, monuments, or instruments, is transmissible in its materiality, in that it is convertible into economic capital. However, it is the ownership of the paintings, and not the means of its consumption that is transferable. That is to say, cultural goods can be assigned both materially, which "presupposes economic capital", and symbolically, which "presupposes cultural capital" (ibid: 247). Bourdieu explains the relationship between the objectified and embodied states of cultural capital by giving the example of owning a machine, which requires access to objectified/economic capital, but to operate it, requires access to embodied cultural capital "either in person or by proxy" (ibid: 247). Objectified cultural capital exists 'materially' and 'symbolically' as long as it is "implemented and invested as a weapon and a stake in the struggles which go on in the fields of cultural production" (ibid: 248). An example is the value, symbolic and economical, of dictionaries, reference books, translation software, and other

translation tools owned by a translator. The value of these assets is dependent on the way in which the translator uses them to maximise his share of the economic and symbolic profit available in the field of translation by drawing on his embodied capital (Hanna 2006: 59).

The Institutionalised state: cultural capital in its institutionalised state consists of institutional recognition in the form of academic qualifications and degrees. These qualifications, “confer on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture” (Bourdieu 1986: 248). This objectification of cultural capital is seen by Bourdieu as one way of neutralising some of the properties it derives from. It has the same limits as its bearer as a result of being embodied (ibid). Bourdieu argues that by awarding institutional recognition to the cultural capital possessed by the agent(s) it becomes possible to compare qualification holders, and exchange them regardless of the holder’s limitations and his cultural dispositions. It becomes possible to put a fiscal value on the qualification, and consequently on its holder, in the labour market or in a particular field (ibid: 248). Hanna (2006: 59) asserts that “the certification of cultural competence through academic degrees allows for establishing conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital”.

The institutional recognition process thereby facilitates the conversion of cultural capital to economic capital by serving as a heuristic that sellers can use to express their capital and buyers can use to represent their needs for that capital. Bourdieu’s idea of institutionalised cultural capital, and the role it plays in deciding the position of agents within cultural fields could perhaps justify and explain why some translators of Islamic political discourse tend to

highlight their certified academic degree and cultural expertise in the paratextual zone. The blurb of Gilles Kepel's book, *Jihad: The Trial of Political Islam* states the following:

Gilles Kepel, one of the world's foremost experts on the current Middle East, is director of research at CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) in Paris, and Professor at the Institute for Political Studies in Paris.

Through the use of this paratextual tool, the publisher highlights the institutionalised culture capital possessed by Kepel 'professor'. It also emphasises his position in the field of activity 'one of the world's foremost experts on the current Middle East'. Moreover the reference to him being 'the director of research at CNRS' indicates his vast expertise on the subject. A similar strategy is deployed on the dustcover of Shepard's translation of *Social Justice in Islam* where the blurb states the following:

William E. Shepard, PhD (1973) in the Comprehensive Study of Religion, Harvard University, is Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies in the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand. He has published several articles and books on modern Islamic thought. (Shepard 1996)

The institutionalised cultural capital, expressed here by displaying the PhD title, is accentuated by highlighting Shepard's cultural competence as a publisher of several 'subject specific' books. It is also emphasised in the introduction of his translation, where he gave a detailed biography of Sayyid Qutb, which would highlight his background knowledge of the subject of inquiry. Cultural capital is invested here to give Shepard an advantage in relation to other translations of the same text, i.e., advancing his competitive edge, and strengthening his position within the field of translation.

2.3.2 Social Capital

Social capital according to Bourdieu is “The aggregate of the actual or potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of institutionalised relationships, which provides each of its members with the backing of collectively-owned capital, i.e., membership in a group” (Bourdieu 1986: 249). In other words, the measure of the social capital possessed by an agent depends on the scope of the network of connections that he can successfully deploy. It also depends on the size of the capital, in all its forms, economic, cultural or symbolic, held by each of those to whom he is connected. This means that social capital is never totally autonomous of the economic and cultural capital possessed by a given agent, which explains why the same amount of economic and cultural capital can provide different degrees of profit and different levels of authority to different agents or different groups (ibid). Bourdieu’s notion of social capital places great emphasis on the social relations, which increase the chances of an agent to promote his interests. This network of relationships is the outcome of investment strategies, individually or collectively, intentionally or unintentionally, aimed at initiating or replicating social relationships which are usable in the short or long term (Bourdieu 1986: 249). These strategies manifest in the form of gifts, compliments, material or symbolic benefits, or some form of recognition, which strengthens the bonds between the agents, and reaffirms the constitution of the group to which they belong (ibid). To explain social capital in practical terms, it could be understood as a resource produced by association, and shared by its members. The formation of an association could create a sense of solidarity among its members and, at the same time, formalize the capital being accumulated. The economic, social and symbolic ‘profit’ that follows from belonging to the association, establishes a solid base for

the growth of solidarity. Also, the development of social networks depends on individual subjective feeling, e.g., recognition, respect, communality, and on the institutional guarantees provided/made available by the association (Siisiäinen 2000: 9-14). A case in point is Bernard Lewis who possesses a matured network of social connections. He is a Fellow of The British Academy, a Member of both the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the American Philosophical Society. He is also a Foreign Correspondent of the Institut de France, and Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Lewis holds 15 Honorary Doctorates. The profit of Lewis' social network is manifest in him becoming advisor to the Bush administration and to Netanyahu the Israeli Prime Minister on Middle East politics.

Bourdieu views each member of an association, a club, a clan, or a particular group as "a custodian of the limits of the group" (Bourdieu 1986: 251). As a result, the admission of any new member would expose "the whole definition of the group" to 'redefinition', and/or 'alteration' (ibid). This in turn, may lead these individuals or groups to try and control the production of the circumstances, "which bring together individuals as homogeneous as possible, in terms of existence and persistence of the group", in order to maintain the reproduction of social capital (ibid: 251). This involves a continual process of exchanges which implies investment of "time and energy, and so, of economic capital" (ibid). However, the profitability of this investment, or lack of it, is dependent on the outlay made by the agent or the group member in "specific competence, and in an acquired disposition to attain and maintain this competence" (ibid: 251). Each group, whether it is a family, a union, a party, or an association has its "institutionalised forms of delegation" which allows it to concentrate its collective social capital in the hands of a representative, who could be "a single agent or a

small group of agents” with the aim of preserving and promoting its social capital, which is the basis of the existence of the group. Deans of universities, heads of workers' unions, and presidents of translators' associations are all examples of collective social capital concentrated in the hands of delegates (Hanna 2006: 61). By speaking on behalf of the whole group, the representative can exercise influence greater than that of the individual agents (Bourdieu 1996: 252). The groups are usually self-regulating with regard to the ‘conditions of access’ to the group’s membership, and to the right of representation of the group, which would ultimately mean pledging the social capital of the whole group (ibid).

Basically Bourdieu argues that “everything combines to cause the signifier to take the place of the signified”, the spokesman to take the place of those whom he speaks for, and the benefits of that are clear in the example of ‘nobility’, where a Noble is representing a group. His nobleness, *outstandingness*, and his social visibility are essentially ‘a symbolic power’. According to Bourdieu, it is “by him, his name [...] that the members of his group [...] are known and recognised” (ibid: 252). Also because he is the ‘group personified’, it is “the representative, the sign ... the whole reality of the group, which receive social existence only in and through representation” (ibid: 252).

2.3.3 Capital Conversion

The fundamental argument in Bourdieu's analysis of the three forms of capital is that both cultural and social forms of capital are “induced by and conducive to economic capital” (Hanna 2006: 64). In any field, all forms of capital are convertible to economic capital through a process of transformation, which grants the type of power effective in the field in question

(Bourdieu 1986: 253). Some of these capital conversions are instantaneous, while others operate under a time-lag as is the case with social capital, in the form of social relationships, where it has to be established and affirmed over a period of time before it yields its benefit. Cultural capital in the form of academic degrees, as an example, can be transformed to economic capital in the form of salaried academic jobs (ibid). Equally, the social resources held by the translators of Islamic political discourse, in the form of translation association memberships or close relations with publishers and editors of translation series, can be engaged to exploit their profits in the field of translation. A case in point is Hardie's association with ACLS, and his being part of their Near Eastern translation project. Another example is Shepard's connection to Brill, and his being part of their Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia series. Shepard's translation of Qutb's *Social Justice in Islam* was the reason for his academic promotion later on in his career (for details on capital conversion in Shepard's case see chapter five, section 5.5).

Bourdieu's central argument is that "the convertibility of the different types of capital is the basis of the strategies aimed at ensuring the reproduction of capital (and the position occupied in the social space)" (Bourdieu 1986: 254). According to Bourdieu, the principle of conversion presupposes that "Profits in one area are necessarily paid for by costs in another" (ibid: 253). For example, wealthy parents use their economic capital to purchase cultural capital / social capital in independent schools. The principle of conversion also presupposes that the other three forms of capital are not entirely reducible to economic capital, but they have their own specificity. Nevertheless, economic capital is at their root (ibid). This approach challenges the commonly held views that cultural activities are rooted in *disinterestedness*, and the claims

that 'value-free research' or 'art for art's sake' are applicable to all intellectual endeavours (Collins 1998: 725). The presence of all forms of capital in the field of translating Islamic political discourse will be fully examined in chapter five.

Capital in its three forms cannot be fully understood in isolation from Bourdieu's conceptualisation of 'human agency'. The negotiation of the different forms of capital is made possible by what Bourdieu terms the 'habitus' of the players in any specific field of cultural activity.

2.4 Habitus: conceptualising agency

Bourdieu's concern, as afore mentioned, is to transcend the false dichotomy between internal and external readings, i.e., the agency and structure dichotomy. In other words, one could say that he conceptualises sociology as a science of social practices. Habitus is a science concerned with structured regularities, which are neither completely universal nor entirely random. Bourdieu, thus, aims at correcting the dual errors of subjectivism and objectivism, the two analytical approaches of the social world. His objective is to create a theoretical model for social analysis that would enable him to break away from the idea of the subject, without doing away with the subject (agent/agency) and at the same time break away from the idea of the structure without forgetting to take into account the effects it exerts on, and through the agent (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 121). Thus, Bourdieu argues that due to the inherent limitations, both approaches have failed to account for the "objectivity of the subjective" (Bourdieu 1990: 135). By introducing the concept of habitus Bourdieu is able to reconcile subjectivism, which assumes that all knowledge, including knowledge about our social world, is

restricted to the conscious self and its sensory states, based on the perceptions and experiences of the individual: with objectivism, which focuses on external realities, and on the objective conditions which structure practice rather than beliefs, feelings, or human consciousness (ibid). Habitus, as understood by Bourdieu, is the system of:

durable, transposable, dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practises and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes. (Bourdieu 1990: 53)

That is to say, habitus is a structure of dispositions, which is 'durable', in the sense that it stays with the agent throughout his entire life. It is 'transposable', in that it could generate effects across time and in more than one field. These dispositions are also responsible for generating practices suitable for different situations (ibid: 5). The idea of durability and transposability of dispositions is applicable and valid when looking at the transposition of assumptions from the field of translating Islam to the field of translating political Islam. Some of the initial original assumptions upon which the field was based in the Middle Ages and the Orientalists era have survived the passage of time, and their resonance can still be read today. Alam (2003: para. 2) describes Lewis as "the Orientalist tiger", and stresses that Lewis is "the monarch of Orientalism" during the twentieth century. Said (1987: 337) describes Lewis as the "recent orientalist authority" and his work as the "culmination of orientalism" (ibid: 319). The use of 'Orientalist' in reference to Lewis, brings to the equation all the historical Orientalists' views of Islam and Muslims, and demonstrates the durability and transposability of habitus, over time and across disciplines.

On the individual level, the concept of 'habitus' means a system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of readings and opinions, as well as being the organising principles of action. According to Bourdieu, habitus is accrued through socialising and institutionalising, i.e., upbringing and education. In other words, habitus refers to:

the system of durable and transposable *dispositions* through which we perceive, judge, and act in the world. These unconscious representations are acquired through lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditionings, via the internalization of external constraints and possibilities. (Wacquant 2006: 7)

These dispositions, despite the fact that each person is unique, are shared by people who are subjected to similar experiences (ibid). In different terms, one could define habitus as an internal structure or set of structures, originating from pre-existing external structures, which inform how an individual acts in, and reacts to the world. Habitus serves to "generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are regular without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any rule" Thompson (1991: 12).

Since agents do not act in vacuum but act according to a set of established social structures controlled by a network of objective social relations, the concept of habitus helps to suspend the binary opposition between thought and habit. That is achieved by taking into account the role of the agent, which frees the agent from the limitations of objectivism, and at the same time, compensates for the shortcomings of subjectivism by accounting for the social backdrop which forms the world around the agent. To put it differently, habitus is produced through, and informed by the objective conditions individuals are exposed to, and which result in the embodiment of tendencies towards certain courses of action. These tendencies reflect a degree of agency, in which individuals do have some freedom to improvise in any particular

situation. As a result of these predispositions and improvisations agents, when encountering situations, react in regulated, though not determined, ways (Jenkins 2002). Thus habitus is the mediating link between individuals' subjective worlds, and the cultural world into which they are born and which they share with others (ibid: 75).

Another characteristic of habitus, in Bourdieu's definition mentioned earlier, is that it is concurrently '*structured*' and '*structuring*': since it is an intercession between past influences and present stimuli (Wacquant 2006: 7). Habitus is *structured* by the patterned social forces that produce it, and *structuring* in the way it gives form and coherence to the various activities of an individual across the separate fields of life (ibid). For example, a child raised in a family of musicians is more likely to develop musical aptitudes, and acquire the dispositions and knowledge necessary to appreciate good musical performances, than if he was brought up in a family of athletes. Similarly, a child brought up in an artistic family is likely to acquire the know-how to interpret, criticize, and appreciate works of art. By internalising the dispositions of their families, habitus is seen as "structured structures" (Swartz 2002). Habitus is formed through historical social experiences, e.g., repetition, imitation, and participation in social activities. Thus, children raised in sports families are likely to go on in later life to become athletes themselves, or at least sports enthusiasts. A child raised in an artistic family is more likely to become an artist, or an arts expert. That is to say, they will go on to 'constitute' and 'reproduce' the world of sports and art incorporated in them. In this sense, habitus is "structuring structures" (ibid).

Wacquant observes that habitus is also “a principle of both social *continuity* and *discontinuity*” (Wacquant 2006, emphasis in original). It is a principle of *continuity* because it accumulates social forces into the individual agent and transmits them over time and space. Habitus is also a principle of *discontinuity* because it can be customised through the attainment of new dispositions, and because it can prompt innovation whenever it meets a social setting contradictory to the setting from which it issues (ibid: 7). Furthermore, from the same Bourdieusian definition of habitus as a category that “generates and organises practises and representations”, one can safely assume that habitus “generates ‘dispositions’ or strategies for action, rather than rules for implementation” (Hanna 2006: 66). Habitus is the means through which the 'social game' is inscribed into the individual. Since the possibilities and limitations of social action are incorporated by the individual agents, their ‘feel for the game’ or ‘practical sense’ becomes, somewhat, a second nature (Johnson 1993: 5). Habitus, in this way, refers to the manner in which an individual's intrinsic sense of what might be achieved is structured into a pattern of behaviour, forming, in Bourdieu's own words, “an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted” (Bourdieu 1977: 95). As a result of being an internalized collection of durable dispositions, and structured natural tendency to think, feel, and act, habitus is characterized by Bourdieu as a “conductorless orchestration” that serves to give “systematicity, coherence, and consistency to an individual's practices” (Bourdieu, 1990: 59). The forms of behaviour, which Bourdieu calls dispositions, and which are produced by the habitus are passed on through the generations, which explains Bourdieu's term of ‘historical action’ (Bourdieu 1990: 190). These dispositions are also infused from an early age and are socially reinforced through education and culture.

However, this repository with all its values performs beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny or control by the will. That is to say, below the level of realization or consciousness, and therefore, they are hidden and unformulated in language (Bourdieu 1977: 93-94). One of the advantages of the concept of habitus is that it allows the social scientist to understand the unstructured behaviours, beliefs, or opinions which shape the individuals' view of the world around them, on the basis of a shared and mutual relationship between the dispositions of individuals and the structures within which they operate (Wolfreys 2000). Bourdieu explains that:

The principle of historical action - that of the artist, of the scientist, *agent* is not found in a subject who would confront society in the manner of an object constituted in externality. It resides neither in consciousness nor in things but in the relationship between two stages of the social, that is, between the history objectified in things, in the form of institutions, and in the history incarnate in the body, in the form of that system of durable dispositions I call habitus. (Bourdieu 1990: 190, emphasis added)

This relationship between the individual and the society, or if you like between the habitus and the field, is eloquently expressed by Bourdieu as “the body is in the social world but the social world is within the body” (ibid: 190). In this sense, the body becomes the memory in which the social values are rooted and preserved, and consequently, manifest themselves in the way people converse, feel, think and act. It is through the habitus that agents come to know the world as they know it, though not consciously but in a “taken for granted sense” (Inghilleri 2005: 135).

Bourdieu argues that the acquisition of dispositions by the individuals/agents depends on the position they occupy within the social sphere in which they live, i.e., the society. That is to say, it depends on their particular endowment in capital, and on the individuals' trajectory in the

social space (Bourdieu 1993, cited by Wacquant 2006: 7). By trajectory Bourdieu means to highlight the cumulative nature of habitus where the dispositions acquired at an earlier period, along the trajectory of an agent, is subject to reformation by the habitus acquired at later stages (Bourdieu, 1977: 86-7). The dispositions acquired through schooling, for instance, is the product of the habitus acquired in the family, and the basis for the dispositions acquired in professional practice (Hanna 2006: 67). Speaking of the accumulated professional habitus, Shepard's habitus as an academic and a researcher found expression in his translation of *Social Justice in Islam*. The translation is presented as 'a translation and critical analysis' rather than just a translation. It was also a consequential production to an earlier research he conducted about the development of the thought of Sayyid Quṭb.

As a result of viewing habitus as a historical scheme, it is safe to suggest that the habitus of the translator is not only formed and informed by the professional field of translation, but is also susceptible to change and restructuring by other historical experiences realised outside the territory of his professional field. In other words, the decisions made by a translator in the field of translating Islamic political discourse, for instance, may not be made autonomously, i.e., under the dominant codes of practice within that field. These decisions may be subjected to, and influenced by a variety of circumstances including: changes in the field of power, i.e., political field, changes in the hierarchy of the social structure in any way that may affect the translator's position within it, or changes in the translator's personal circumstances.

2.5 Understanding the change of beliefs/ideas/discourse in the field: Bourdieu's *doxa*, orthodoxy and heterodoxy

The genesis of the concept of *doxa*, as commonly shared knowledge and opinions, lies in Ancient Greek philosophy. Generally, things which are considered true, or at least probable, by a majority of people endowed with rational thinking, or by a specific social group, can be called doxic, according to Amossy (2002: 369). A brief history of the origins and meaning of the Greek terms *doxa* and *endoxa* may help us understand Bourdieu's concept of *doxa*.

It is claimed that it was Aristotle who defined *endoxa* as "what appears manifest and true to everybody, or to most of the people, or to the wise" (ibid: 370). In other words, the Greeks used the word *endoxa* to refer to the opinions that have authority insofar as they are part of the general consensus (ibid: 371). Important to emphasize, for the Greeks, '*everybody*' meant the social elites, that is the "the citizens of Athens capable of seeking an agreement in the polis", but excluded other groups of the society such as "slaves, barbarians, and women" (ibid). Accordingly, *endoxa* means not only what is acceptable, but also, what is authoritative. However, *endoxa* does not mean that the values, which are perceived as acceptable or probable, are true. Amossy (2006: 371) argues that "as such *doxa* has nothing to do with the truth", i.e., what is true or false. Since *doxa* means what is acceptable or legitimate at any moment in time, it is thus, subject to change over time. That is to say, what is a *doxa* today may be replaced by another *doxa* tomorrow (Hanna 2006: 69).

Doxic practice, or what Bourdieu calls the 'collective rhythm', is the outcome of a cordial relation between the individual's *habitus*, and the *field* within which he operates, i.e., between

the objective structure of the field and the individual's subjective categorization of that structure (Bourdieu 1977: 162). Bourdieu argues that, because doxic beliefs operate beyond the level of realization, they are covert, and not devised in language. As a consequence, they '*go without saying*', and without questioning (ibid: 166). When individuals become aware of *doxa*, these covert beliefs emerge in the language domain and become subjected to two dialectic discourses: *orthodoxy* and *heterodoxy*, where orthodoxy is the oration generated by the dominant agents of the field, and heterodoxy is the oration generated by the dominated agents of the field (Bourdieu 1993: 73; Hanna 2006: 69).

Bourdieu stresses that challenging the unquestionable go without saying beliefs and habitual practices of a particular field, i.e., its *doxa*, pushes this *doxa* into the language domain and consciousness. In other words, the inquiring of *doxa* brings "the un-discussed into discussion, and the unformulated into formulation" (Bourdieu 1977: 168). This, in effect, "disrupts the immediate fit between the subjective structures and the objective structures" (ibid: 168). This means that "what previously went without saying, and used to be conventional and taken for granted becomes, instead, questionable and controversial" (Hanna 2006: 70). What Bourdieu is saying here is that each field, as a result, encompasses a dividing line between the realm of *doxa*, the un-questionable, and the realm of *opinion*, the questionable. This dividing line is itself the point of struggle between the dominant and dominated agents in the field (ibid).

Bourdieu's presumption of the two spaces of *doxa* and *opinion*, are identifiable in the case of translating Islam in general, and Islamic political discourse in particular. Since the first translation of the *Qur'an* into Latin in 1143, Islam was translated as a theology. The objectives

of translation at that time were to refute the doctrines of the *Qur'an*, and to disqualify Mohammad as a Prophet. Translations produced certain assumptions and values, which became the *doxa* of its time. These doxic values, orthodoxy, were later questioned during the Enlightenment era, and a new heterodoxy started to appear when scholars began to question inherited knowledge about the religious 'other'. In other words, what was taken for granted and accepted without question at a particular moment in time has become questionable at another moment in time. The dominant *doxa*, inherited from the mediaeval literature about Islam, was further contested by a group of Muslim scholars writing in English, i.e., what was doxic has become discursive, if we use Bourdieu's terms. During the 1940s and 50s, the acceptability of translating Islam as a theology changed into translating Islam as a political system. This came as a result of the emergence of a new discourse negotiating a new territory between Islam the religion, and the state. Hence, many of the orthodox values about Islam, previously taken for granted, became subjected to questioning, and a new body of heterodoxic values started to emerge (Elmarsafy 2009). The introduction of a new Islamic political narrative in Arabic is mirrored in English with the materialization of a new Islamic narrative in the Anglo-American culture.

2.6 Understanding agency in the field of translating political Islam: narrativising translation

The idea of tension, conflict, or struggle is the underpinning function of Bourdieu's concept of field. It is also the fundamental operative scheme in the concept of narrative, because every narrative attempts to displace or relocate other narratives by implicitly claiming to "better describe and interpret that which it claims to represent" (Baker 2006: 1). In other words, the

existence of different narratives necessarily presupposes tension, conflict and struggle. The idea of conflict, Baker argues, draws on the notion of power and vice versa. In this context, power means exerting one's influence to change another's desires and wishes, in order to avert a certain course of action (ibid). Baker also argues that the tension between the fields may be the result of power relations, i.e., the result of power imbalance between peoples, organisations, governments and even nations. Consequently, conflict becomes "a natural part of everyday life rather than an exceptional circumstance" (ibid: 1). Language plays an important role in shaping and informing our understanding of the social world. It is the cultural resource that translators draw on to create reality. The Narrative approach to translation sheds light on the competing ideologies of the translators. The translator in this way becomes a re-teller of narrative or a re-narrator. As a text is 'renarrated' in a new target culture, it is recontextualised as a result of being placed within new frameworks of meaning. Narrative features such as the selective appropriation, i.e., inclusion or exclusion of passages, or the 'framing' of the translation can also add to the formation of textual meaning (Somers & Gibson 1994: 60; Baker 2006: 105; & Somers 2011: 2). Therefore, the concept of narrative will be helpful in shedding light on the procedures used by translators to intervene with the source text, and to relate to other competitors in the field.

2.6.1 The principles and structure of the narrative

Narrative is the essential function of the human mind. It is a basic human strategy for coming to terms with fundamental elements of our experience. It determines our view of others, forms the way we express our hopes and aspirations, and gives us insight into the past, the

present, and the future. It is “the central function or instance of the human mind” (Jameson 1981: 13). It is also “part of the way we apprehend the world”, stresses Abbott (2008: 6). For Baker (2006: 9) narrative is “the principal and inescapable mode by which we experience the world”. Narrative here is treated as a meta-code that cuts across, and underpins all forms of communications (ibid). Narrative is the tool used by social agents in their understanding of the social world, and their means of classifying this social world into categories of character and categories of events. It is also their mechanism of organising events in relation to each other in terms of time, place, and social setting (ibid).

Baker (2006: 11), argues that Narrative helps to “normalize the accounts it projects” to the extent that they become regarded as acceptable, incontestable, and non-controversial, in other words, they become *doxa*. Social agents are being socialised into different types of narrative on the bases of their narrative positions. For example, at the present time, we are being “socialized into a barbarous narrative” stemming from the narratives associated with ‘security’, ‘terrorism’, ‘Islamic fundamentalism’ and ‘clash of civilisations’ (ibid: 12-13). The effect of this process of socialisation is that these narratives start to infuse our conscious and become part of our daily life as a result of being repeated over and over for a period of time by the dominant forces of the social world. The ‘dominant forces’ means the social elite, those who are situated in, or connected to the field of power. However, despite this continuous process of socialization into certain categories we have the choice of what to categorise and what not to categorise on the basis of our narrative location. Perhaps that explains why different people would have different narratives having witnessed the same event (Baker

2006: 16). This may also explain why Hardie and Shepard had different narratives having read and translated the same source text, as will be demonstrated in chapter five.

This socialisation process is also resonant in Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Where social agents are socialised or professionalised with certain values which overtime become doxic, taking for granted structured dispositions. In this way, habitus may seem mechanistic or deterministic. Nevertheless, social agents still have the capacity to innovate, and to respond to new situations that they have not encountered before. This view is argued by Ganz (2008: 9) who stresses that, as humans, we make choices in the present, based on our historical memory, i.e., the past, while visualizing the future. But when we act out of habit (habitus effect) we don't choose, we just follow the norm/routine. It is only when the routine breaks down, when no one can tell us what to do, or when we have no point of reference that we make real choices and become the creators of, and the agents for change.

The narrative's effect depends on its setting, which includes: the *agent*, who is telling the story, the audience, who are listening to the story, where they are located, and why they are there, and the time and place of the events. The message, which is the moral of the story, is where agents make a point to evoke a response (ibid). Each narrative has a political significance, according to Bennett and Edelman (1985: 160). That is because "The acceptance of a narrative involves a rejection of others", which, "makes the issue politically and personally vital", since it is "the differences among competing narratives that give all of them their meanings" (ibid).

Narratives of the present are shaped and determined by drawing on narratives of the past. Narratives of the future will be formed and informed by drawing on the narratives of the past

and the present. As a consequence, the competition between different versions of narratives may run for centuries (Baker 2006). This is the case with the Islamic narrative in the Anglo-American culture, where the narratives of the mediaeval era travelled unopposed for centuries until they were challenged and questioned during the Enlightenment era. An example of translators' strategy of linking past and present narratives can be observed in Shepard's translation of *Social Justice in Islam*. Shepard starts the introduction to his 1996 translation by referring to the resurgence of Islam since the 1970s. However, he relates its causes to an earlier resurgence which peaked in the late 1940s or early 1950s, and connects both events to the ideology of Sayyid Qutb. Although the two events are not temporally related, Shepard has linked them. This allows him to guide and orient the readers reading of the current events on the bases of historic events that may have affected the narrative-teller, but not necessarily the narrative-reader. Telling and retelling of narratives of the past gives rise to the significant features linking the past and the present. It also works to affirm the social link of yesterday's, today's, and possibly tomorrow's social world. In this way, narrative becomes a means of controlling the masses and the individual by socialising them into established social and political orders, and attuning them into the way in which they should interpret present narratives if they want to be seen as legitimate.

Translation plays an important part in the retelling process. For every time the narrative is retold or translated into a different language it is infused with constituents of a wider, present and/or past narrative of the re-teller. As a result of this process of agency/mediation, much of which is carried out through translation, more than one version of the narrative will appear. This means that, different elements from another narrative will be infused, and certain aspects

of the event will be highlighted, marginalised, or even omitted altogether (Baker 2006: 21-23). The potential for silencing or vocalizing another narrative is ever present in each translational act (ibid).

2.7 Forms of Narrative

Baker agrees with Somers and Gibson (1994) and Somers (1997) that there are four types of narrative: ontological/personal, public, conceptual, and meta-narratives (ibid: 29). The narratives as understood by Baker (2006: 19) are those “public and personal ‘stories’ that we subscribe to, and that guide our behaviour. They are the stories we tell ourselves, not just those we explicitly tell other people, about the world(s) in which we live”.

Ontological Narratives, the Story of oneself, are self-focused. They are concerned with one’s experience and interpretation of his position in, and his perception of the world around him. They are, “the stories that we tell ourselves about our place in the world and our own personal history” (ibid: 28). Shepard uses this ontological narrative in the preface to his translation of social justice. He tells the reader about the time, place, and events before and during the translation project. He also tells the names of others who helped him complete the project. Shepard refers to other research he conducted in relation to the object of inquiry, which would enhance his image as a cultured researcher in the mind of the reader. Consequently, the reader is more inclined to be persuaded by his argument. Although personal narratives are, primarily, related to the agent and his immediate world, they are social and inter-relational events, i.e., they are shared narratives. The continued process of telling and retelling these ‘shared narratives’ would lead to them becoming part of the social space which agents occupy

and inhabit (ibid) meaning, they become part of their habitus. It is important to recognise that our personal narratives “guide the way we act and not just the way we think” (ibid: 31). As a result of the interdependency of narratives, any action we take affects those around us, and any narratives those around us construct of us will unavoidably shape and guide our behaviour (ibid). In Bourdieu’s terms this means that the possibilities of positions and position-takings in any field of cultural production are dependent on, and affected by the narrative position of the agent, and the way in which he communicates with, or reacts to other agents in the field.

Public Narratives are the discursive process through which individuals, communities, and nations make choices, construct identities, and inspire actions (Ganz 2008: 1). Baker’s conceptual view of public narratives draws, as she explains, on the views of Somers (1992, 1997) and Somers and Gibson (1994). For Baker (2006: 33), public narratives are defined as “stories elaborated by, and circulating among social and institutional formations larger than the individual such as, the family, religious or educational institutions, the media and the nation”. Baker argues that in any society literature, and subsequently translated texts, play a major role in the propagation of public narratives. Baker claims that the manipulation of literature may lead to, or result in the formation and creation of a false history or a distorted view of events (ibid). Bernard Lewis and Gilles Kepel are the champions of the ‘Islamic fundamentalism’ narrative in America and France respectively. Their many books, which rely to a considerable measure on excerpt of Arabic translations, circulate and re-circulate the narrative of Islamic activism, fundamentalism, and Jihadism. These public narratives assume the status of *doxa* with the passage of time. It is clear to see the central role that translators play in the process of generating public narratives, even though, they may have been

generated in a different culture and different language. Baker (2006: 38) stresses that, although public narratives may instigate within one community, they expand into other “dialects and languages”. Baker’s understanding of the effects of narrative coincides with what Bourdieu (1998: 30) calls ‘symbolic dripfeed’, which means the repetition of, and continuous exposure to certain public narratives, mainly promoted by powerful institutions or states. These dripfeeds, not only give prominence to selective elements of the narrative, but also infuse these elements into our own consciousness (Baker 2006: 102).

Conceptual Narrative is defined as the “concepts and explanations that (we) construct as social researchers”. This definition is constituted by Somers and Gibson (1994: 62) where (we) refers to social researchers. However, Baker (2005: 4) extends this definition to say “conceptual narratives may be more broadly defined as the stories and explanations that scholars in any field elaborate for themselves and others about their object of inquiry”. An example of the influence of conceptual narrative can be found in Mill’s (1817) *History of British India*, explains Niranjana (1990). Mill repeatedly used terms such as ‘wild’, ‘barbaric’, ‘savage’, and ‘rude’ in relation to Indians: Hindus or Muslims. The consequence is that an image of the Indians as “insincere and untrustworthy is created” argues Niranjana (ibid: 776, cited by Baker 2006: 39). Similarly, Shepard frequently uses terms such as: ‘Islamic activist’, ‘Islamic fundamentalist’, and ‘Islamist’ in relation to Sayyid Qutb. The consequence is that an image of Qutb as a Muslim extremist is created in the reader’s mind.

The fourth and final type of narrative is the Meta-Narratives, i.e., master-narratives or narrative at macro-level. Baker agrees with Somers and Gibson (1994: 61) on the definition of

meta-narratives as “narratives in which we are embedded as contemporary actors in history” (Baker 2006: 44). However, for postmodernists, meta-narrative is a story above the everyday local or confined accounts of social life. In other words, meta-narrative is an abstract idea that is thought to be an inclusive account of historical experience or knowledge. Postmodernists claim that the majority of the writings of Marx, Durkheim and Weber are offered as meta-narratives. Their ideas are presented as capturing universal properties of social life, which instruct and explain knowledge and experience. Thus, they are superior to local or more grounded stories (Stephens 1998). The prefix ‘Meta’ means ‘beyond’ and is here used to mean ‘about’. Since a narrative is a story, meta-narrative is a story about a story, encircling and elucidating other ‘little stories’ within summative schemes (ibid). Baker argues that meta-narrative reaches farther into our social life, it could be today’s scenario of “individual vs. society, or capitalism vs. communism” (Baker 2006: 44). One could add some other narratives such as: ‘true democracy vs. technocracy’, ‘archaism vs. modernism’, ‘Islam vs. the West’, or ‘Islam vs. democracy’. For Bourdieu, however, meta-narrative is the narrative in which the whole contemporary world is embedded, and which he terms as the ‘myth’ of globalization or, in other words, the narrative of economic rationality (Grenfell 2004).

Narratives are not static, they progress with time and travel beyond their boundaries. As they do so, they continue to have an impact on our lives and influence our relation with the social world. For example, the narratives of: the Cold War, the Holocaust, and Islam is a violent religion, travelled through the decades and beyond their immediate settings. They still impinge on our personal perceptions, and manipulate international relations (Baker 2006). This continuous revival and renewed lease of life is achieved through the media in its various forms,

whether it is films, documentaries, radio and television broadcasts, books, and inevitably translated books. Baker (2006: 45), maintains that the political and economic dominance “may indeed be the prime factor” determining the survival and circulation of meta-narratives, particularly in the case of political meta-narrative. One might ask what about religious meta-narratives, especially the Muslim narrative? It is evident that Islamic narratives have always occupied a central position in the history of humanity and the scheme of circulating narratives, particularly so, since the ‘War on Terror’ campaign got underway. According to Baker (2006: 45-48), many factors have contributed to giving the meta-narrative of Islam a ‘wider currency’ or higher profile than other religious narratives. One of these factors is the huge number of its followers worldwide. Another is the rise of certain political ideologies such as the neo-conservatives in the American administration, which led to the institutionalization of the Islamic narrative, on one hand, and evoked historical religious narratives on the other, in order to provide credence to current narratives, e.g., ‘War on Terror’.

In relation to evoking religious narratives, Baker (2006: 47) cites what Boykin⁷ reiterated in 2003 before a religious congregation in Oregon, that “Muslim extremists hate Americans because we are a Christian nation, because our foundation and our roots are judeo-Christian”⁸. Such statements, argues Baker, not only evoke the established historical religious meta-narratives with their particular history, but also portray the so-called ‘war on terror’ as a war between the Judeo-Christian and Muslim nations (ibid). The repeated use of the term ‘Crusade’ by the former American president George W. Bush and the various media outlets

⁷ Lt. Gen. William G. Boykin, US Deputy Undersecretary of Defence in Bush administration.

⁸ CBS News 2004

presents a clear demonstration of the institutionalization of the Islamic narrative (ibid). It is fair to conclude that for narratives to cross linguistic and cultural boundaries, thus, become meta-narratives, some sort of translation has to be involved, and with it, comes the direct and unavoidable interference of the translator/agent (ibid: 48). Spivak (2000) comments on the biased role played by the translation and the translator by saying:

In the act of the wholesale translation into English there can be a betrayal of the democratic ideal into the law of the strongest. This when all the literature of the Third World gets translated into a sort of with-it translatese, so that literature by a woman in Palestine begins to resemble, in the feel of its prose, something by a man in Taiwan. (Spivak 2000: 371)

It is safe to argue that dominant institutions in the receiving culture, e.g., the West, are inclined to preserve their own popular public narratives about other cultures by selecting and promoting translations which support these narratives. Enani (2003) for example, argues that *One Thousand and One Nights* continues to be (re)translated into different languages, particularly European, because it agrees with, and strengthens the dominant public narratives about Arabs that circulate in the West. Similarly, the selection of writings by Sayyid Qutb, and Hassan al-Banna for translation and retranslation could be seen as an example in the context of political Islam, or could we say the meta-narrative of Islamic fundamentalism.

The survival and promotion of meta-narratives are contingent on the contributions of translators, for narratives could not cross the language barrier except through them. At this point *framing* plays a major role.

2.8 Narrative framing: An observation of the re-organization/re-construction Process

The moral question most translators face with every assignment is whether to subscribe to, or challenge the narrative encoded in the source text. Séguinot (1988: 105) argues that a translator can decide not to provide a translation, and accepting the work means collusion. Baker (2006) however, argues that translators have a third position between accepting and declining the work. They can, overtly or covertly through different strategies and mechanisms, undermine or re-enforce some aspects of the narrative they arbitrate. It is through these strategies that translators unveil their position in relation to the narrative of the source text. The translators' decisions, in Bourdieu's terms, are informed by their dispositions, i.e., *habitus*.

Features of the narrative, which are encoded in the source text, could be "accentuated, undermined, or modified", i.e., 'framed', in many different ways. This process is the result of the combined input of not only translators, but also publishers, editors, associations, governmental bodies, etc. (ibid). In general, translators/agents are not just passive participants or mere linguistic mediums converting one language to another, rather they are active contributors. They are also, to some extent, responsible for "creating, negotiating and contesting social reality" (ibid: 105). The contribution of these agents does not "begin and end with the delivery of a linguistic product" (ibid: 105). It is possible to analyse the translator's intervention through the understanding of some of the means and ways in which this process of framing is carried-out.

Framing is defined as "an active strategy that implies agency and by means of which we consciously participate in the construction of reality" (ibid: 106). Framing involves two

processes; one is *selection*, and the other is *salience* (Entman 1993: 52). Selection means that some aspects of the anticipated reality will be foregrounded, i.e., made salient, in the text in such a way that it would achieve one, or all the following functions: identify a problem, understand the cause, make a judgement and/or recommend a solution (ibid). Gamson (1992) gave an example of the cold war frame in the US media to illustrate how frames identify, evaluate, and prescribe a solution. The cold war frame highlighted certain foreign events -civil wars- as a problem, identified their cause 'communist rebels', offered an ethical evaluation 'atheistic aggression', and suggested solution 'US support for the rebels'. Likewise, the frame of Islamic fundamentalism highlights certain events -Islamic resurgence- as a problem, identifies its cause 'Muslim fundamentalists', offers a moral judgement 'Islamic aggression', and recommends a solution 'government crackdown'. Framing also involves the transmission of events of the source narrative into other events of a wider narrative, or sometimes a different narrative all together (Baker 2006). In addition, it opens the door for infusing any moral or political connotations the translator assumes desirable or effective (ibid). Such is the American transmission of any type of undesired violence "the type of violence America don't agree with or support" into a narrative of 'terrorism' since the September 11th events (ibid: 107). Similarly, in the case of Islamic political discourse, any call for applying Shari'a is transmitted into a narrative of fundamentalism. According to Baker, framing as a translation strategy has great implications on the interpretation of the narrative, because it affects our understanding of, and reaction to its specific events. However, framing is constrained by the context of the narrative as well as the role, capacity, and position of each active participant in the framing process (ibid: 109-110). That is to say, framing helps us to establish what is being

done, who is doing it, why it is being done, and in what context. Framing is also restricted by the schemata⁹ of the receiving culture (Entman 1993). Translators/agents deploy various strategies to allow themselves the opportunity to inject the discourse with their own voice, in other words, “to actively frame its narrative” (Baker 2006: 110).

In relation to the research objectives of this thesis, the focus will be on two devices elaborated by Baker (2006) which lend themselves to the data analysis: selective appropriation, and labelling.

2.9 Selective Appropriation: The Multi-level Manipulation of Translation

Selective Appropriation is to do with the ‘reconfiguration’ of the narrative in terms of what to leave in and what to leave out, what to foreground and what to backdrop, out of the great number of interrelated elements that form the experience (Baker 2006: 67). This process is “realized in patterns of omission and addition designed to suppress, accentuate or elaborate particular aspects of a narrative encoded in the source text, or aspects of the larger narrative(s) in which it is embedded” (ibid: 114). Reconfiguration of the narrative could be exercised at different levels. It could take place at a macro-level by selecting or deselecting an entire language, religion, or author(s). It could also take place at a micro-level by manipulating the text within a single translation (ibid). (Details of macro and micro-level reconfiguration processes are discussed in chapter five).

⁹ Schemata is closely related to concepts such as categories, and stereotypes, which indicate mentally stored clusters of ideas that inform individuals’ processing of information (Entman 1993:53) e.g., expectations about people, events and things. In this sense schemata is equal to Bourdieu’s concept of habitus

White (1980) explains that, this selective appropriation process is guided and informed by cultural specific values, i.e., *habitus*. This textual modification reflects the moral and behavioural values of the translator/agent. It also gives the modified text/narrative a new lease of life in a different setting. Consequently, it plays a part in the formation of what the narrative means to the target audience. Single text manipulation would normally involve the intervention of the translator in the form of 'selective' omission and addition in order to highlight or downplay certain values of the narrative. Selective appropriation at micro-level is evident in Shepard's translation of *Social Justice in Islam*. He frequently uses footnotes to highlight certain aspects of what he calls Qutb's radical trajectory. A radical Islamic narrative is what Shepard is offering to the target reader. Selective appropriation at a macro-level is manifest in the activity of Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI).¹⁰

MEMRI selectively translates articles from Arabic newspapers and sends them free of charge to high profile media outlets such as the *Guardian* in the UK, and the *Times* in the US. The stories it selects for translation seem to "follow a familiar pattern: either they reflect badly on the character of Arabs or they in some way further the political agenda of Israel" (Whitaker 2002: para. 11). Similar strategies are used by Kepel and Sivan in their handling of the so called 'Islamic fundamentalism narrative'. They selectively translate excerpts of Arabic texts, regardless of the temporal and spatial relevance of the source text, and plant these translated excerpts in the new narrative they are generating about the phenomenon (detailed examples of Sivan's work in chapter four). The significance of MEMRI's translations, i.e., their selective

¹⁰ MEMRI is a "research institute" specialises in translating portions of the Arabic media into English. It was set up by Col. Yigal Carmon, a former member of the Israeli intelligence service. El Oifi (2005: 12) suggests that MEMRI was set up because the growth of Arab satellite television channels meant that Israel no longer had a monopoly on the news, more specifically, MEMRI was established as a response to the launch of Al-Jazeera, which publicises the Palestinian suffering under occupation.

appropriation, is manifest in the case of al-Qaradawi in 2004. These translations formed the main body of evidence in the Metropolitan Police's report, which they submitted to the Home Office requesting the barring of Dr al-Qaradawi. He was the President of the Muslim Association of Britain at the time. Dr al-Qaradawi is considered among "the most authoritative Muslim scholars in the world" (Livingstone 2005: 2). MEMRI's selection of what Whitaker (2002) calls 'extreme examples' means two things. First, any target reader who does not read Arabic, and reads only MEMRI's translated texts, may "get the idea that these extreme examples are not only truly representative, but also reflect the policies of Arab governments". Second, by promoting and foregrounding extreme views, they are at the same time muting other voices and narratives from the Muslim camp. This, consequently, means that the receiving culture and public 'remain immune' to the influences of any other narratives (Baker 2006: 114).

2.10 Framing, Labelling, naming: Visualisation of the Narrative

Labelling is a process of forming a visual image of a certain aspect, a particular element, or a specific participant of the narrative in the mind of the reader (ibid: 122). This would engage the use of lexis to describe a person, a place, a group of people, or an event. This would, subsequently, carry an interpretive value that guides and restrains the reader's response to the narrative in question (ibid). Kepel in his book *Muslim extremism in Egypt: the prophet and pharaoh*, adopts this device of drawing an image of the other. He describes the crowd on their way to the Friday sermon as, "groups of bearded youths ... arrive on foot, some of them are

dressed in white gallabiah¹¹, but most in Western clothes of mediocre cut and quality, [...] judging by their style of dress, however, most listeners belong to the poor urban masses” (Kepel 1985: 177). Kepel through his description of the outfit and class of the people attending the Friday sermon is subtly placing his narrative within a wider established narrative circulating in the west. This wider narrative promotes the view that Islamic extremism and fundamentalism spreads through the poor disillusioned and disadvantaged communities. Kepel also reinforces the ‘stereotype’ image of a Muslim fundamentalist as a bearded young man dressed in white garment.

Framing by labelling is ‘powerful’, argues Baker (2006: 122-23), because the use of one name in a context where there are rival identities and conflicting legitimacies would make a claim for a certain idea and, simultaneously, deny the rival claim of the rival idea. In other words, to use one name is to deny the legitimacy of the other (ibid). Baker further argues, that names are used as identification, and naming a person or a place “is not only naming as; it is also naming for” (ibid). Bernard Lewis, who wrote the preface to Kepel’s book, indirectly labels the Islamic political system as ‘antiquated’, or not belonging to the present at best. He claims that “to the modern Western observer, the political role of Islam in the world today appears to be an anomaly” (Lewis 1985: 9). By calling the role of Islam an ‘anomaly’ in the eyes of the ‘modern’ observer, Lewis is denying it any claim for modernity. It could also open the door for some like-minded people to argue that if something does not belong to the present, it should be gotten rid off.

¹¹ Gallabiah is the traditional long gown-like garment worn by men. The media associates white gallabiah and grown beard with Muslim fundamentalists

Titles in contrast, do not operate according to rules of competition as names do. Nevertheless, they are used in the field of translation as a tool for reframing narratives. An example of how titles of texts, books, novels, or films are used for re-framing a narrative is Gilles Kepel's translation of the Arabic book (سيبقى الغلو مابقى التغريب) as '*Extremism will last as long as Westernization*'. The transliteration of the Arabic title looks like this Sayabqa al-Ghalu ma Baqiya al-Taghrib. The two key words in the source title are: al-Ghalu and al-Taghrib. According to the Word-reference dictionary, al-Ghalu – الغلو, could mean: excessiveness, extravagance, exaggeration, going too far, lavishness, hyperbole, or overstatement. However, none of these lexical possibilities carries the same ideological weight as the word 'extremism' used by Kepel. Similarly the word 'al-Taghrib' could mean estrangement, or alienation; however, neither have the same currency among the target audience as the term 'Westernization', which was preferred by Kepel. The consequence of the translator's intervention would probably be to foreground and highlight a particular narrative in the mind of the target reader.

One thing remains to be considered, that we are all embedded within different narratives, and our narrative location will shape our response to the narratives in question.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, particularly, his concepts of *field*, *capital*, and *habitus*. His concept of the field proved to be useful in understanding the translations of Islamic political discourse as a social activity, situated in a social space occupied by agents struggling to maintain their positions within the field. Bourdieu's concept of capital,

with its different forms, explained the dynamics of the field of cultural production and gave value to the struggle, i.e., made the game worth playing. His concept of habitus explained the determinations affecting the decision making process of the translators/agents within the field. Bourdieu's sociology has also proved useful in exploring the relationship between the field of translating Islamic political discourse and the field of power, where the latter has a considerable influence when it comes to selecting texts for translation. Bourdieu's sociology was complemented by Baker's concept of narrative. Baker's explanation of how narratives are framed, and the effect this process of framing has on the target reader, enabled us to examine and understand some of the strategies used by the various agents in this context. The chapter has also demonstrated the homology between Bourdieu's sociology and Baker's narrative, and together they provided a solid theoretical framework for analysing and understanding the translation of Islamic political discourse into English.

The sociological theory of Bourdieu has been applied as an analytical apparatus in many intellectual fields. However, no attempts have been made to apply Bourdieu's ideas in the field of translating Islamic political discourse into English. In the following chapters, Bourdieu's conceptual tools will be utilised to examine the genesis and development of the field of translating Islamic political discourse in the Anglo-American culture.

Chapter Three

Genesis of the early field of translating Islam in the West

Introduction

Translations of various Islamic source texts and books have been the subject of research for many years. There is a considerable body of research about the English translations of Islamic sources in general and the translations of the *Qur'an* in particular. While some of these studies focused on the religious and legislative aspects of the translatability of the *Qur'an*, others were concerned with the linguistic features of translation and the translators' approaches in handling the lexical and syntactic issues of translation, see for example, Ilyas (1981) Al-Mulla (1989) Lamarti (2002) Al-Azzam (2005) El-Hadary (2008). Further studies were carried out on comparative renderings of the *Qur'an* and on *Qur'an* and science, such as, Yusoff (2000) Akhir (2000) Abu-Milha (2003) Al-Jabari (2008) and Locate (2008) to name but a few. In all cases, the research focus has been predominantly on the linguistics of translation.

In contrast with the linguistics-based approach, the aim of this thesis is to study these translations as socially situated activities by placing them within their socio-cultural settings. By using the sociological model of Pierre Bourdieu as an analytical lens, the socio-cultural implications of the translations of Islam and its foundational texts will be explored. Thus, this chapter has two aims: first, to explore the way(s) in which Islam and Muslims have been represented in Western culture, and the role of translation in the construction of these representation(s). Second, to explore the motivations of these translations and the interests they have been made to serve, as well as the agency of those involved in the translation, e.g., translators, editors, publishers, reviewers. A new understanding of the production and

dissemination of these translations will be suggested in the light of the conceptual tools developed in Bourdieu's sociological model (1977, 1984, 1990, 1991, 1993, and 1996).

This new understanding is premised on the assumption that translations of Islam, i.e., the *Qur'an*, Hadith¹² and other secondary sources, are a *socially situated* activity. Finally, the chapter will lay the foundation for the following chapter of the thesis which will aim to examine the translation(s) of Islamic political discourse in the Anglo-American culture.

The assumption that translation is a *socially situated activity* raises a number of research questions. However, this chapter is motivated primarily by the following questions:

1. How could Bourdieu's sociology help us explore the genesis of a field of representations of Islam and Muslims in Western culture, the role of translation in the construction of these representation(s), the motivations of these translations, and the interests they have been made to serve?
2. What is the effect of agency and mediation, in translation, on the representation and production of knowledge about Islam and Muslims?

¹² The Hadith is second only to the *Qur'an* in importance and authority. They are a collection of Islamic traditions and laws (Sunna). This includes traditional sayings of Prophet Mohammed and later Islamic sages. By the ninth century over 600,000 Hadith had been recorded, these were later edited down to about 25,000.

3. Representations of Islam in the West: Contending Approaches and the Role of Translation

At the heart of the different representations and translations of Islam in the west is the range of meanings and connotations associated with the word 'Islam' itself. Massad (2010) argues that it is somewhat difficult to establish an exact meaning for the word 'Islam'. It is suggested that the meaning of the word has proliferated to such an extent that there is no consensus, even amongst Arabs and Muslims, on what it means. The term has been used in different contexts to refer to different significations (ibid). The use of the word 'Islam' has changed from meaning 'dīn' (literally 'religion' in Arabic) to mean Islam as a culture, a civilization, a code of social conduct, and sometimes it is used to refer to a political system (Goodin 2010). These arguments suggest that the definition of Islam in modern languages, including Arabic, is not fixed, but rather something that has been created, developed and influenced by historical actors and events over time (ibid).

For the purpose of this chapter, I will adopt the definition of Islam found in *The Oxford English Dictionary for Definitions* and *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, which state that: Islam is the religion of the Muslims. A monotheistic faith, revealed through Mohammed as the Prophet of Allah, in the Arabian Peninsula in the 7th century¹³.

However, in Arabic and according to the Arabic dictionary *Lisan Al-Arab* (The Arabs' Tongue) Islam means:

¹³ "Islam." *Oxfordreference.com*. 2008. Retrieved 25 January, 2012 from <http://www.oxfordreference.com/>

الإسلام : إظهار الخضوع لله ، وإظهار الشريعة والتزام ما أتى به النبي ، بمعنى أن الإسلام باللسان والإيمان بالقلب¹⁴ .

Islam means submission to God. To show and demonstrate the commitment to His law, and what has been revealed through the Prophet. Islam is professing by the tongue and believing by the heart (my translation).

And in the *Dictionary of Meanings* قاموس المعاني the term 'Islam' means:

الإسلام 'الجذر: سلم' : إسلام : إنقياد , خُضُوع

Root meaning of the term: submission, submissiveness, submitting (my translation)

Knowledge about Islam and Muslims has been circulating in the West since the establishment of the religion. Western Europeans in general had some knowledge about Islam since its advent in the 7th century. This knowledge emerged mainly from pilgrimage to Jerusalem, contact with Muslim Spain and as a result of the Muslim incursions into Europe, which brought Arab Muslims as close to England as Poitiers in France in 732C.E. Arabic is the tongue of Islam, and hence translation was a primary means of communicating this early knowledge about it. However, knowledge about Islam and Muslims is generally contested amongst western scholars.

Contemporary Anglo-American Scholars who study Islam often debate and disagree over the ways in which Islam has been studied and represented. They also debate the outcome of these studies and the consequences of the emerging knowledge. At the heart of these disputes are

¹⁴ " الإسلام " Baheth.ifo. 2009. Retrieved 25 January, 2012 from <http://www.baheth.info/>

the different interpretations of what is being studied, and how it should be studied. Translation, nevertheless, played a key role in the production of knowledge about Islam and Muslims, and the development of discourse about Islam, as a religion, a system of thought and a political system.

While attempting to understand and make sense of the events and histories relating to Islam, researchers and scholars frequently draw, overtly or covertly, on one interpretive context or another (Berger & Luckmann 1967) i.e., “one way of constructing reality” or another (Ansari 2011: 1). These contexts are often rooted in a wider narrative of how the world interacts or ought to interact (Lockman 2004). Thus, scholars studying Islam seem to adopt different approaches, where each approach has its own ‘politics’. That is to say, its own perceptions, ways of interpreting events, procedures for setting priorities of which texts to translate and which to disregard, deciding which voices to transmit and which voices to mute, analysing data, and extracting knowledge. The argument then is that, in terms of the production of knowledge, the reasons for the disagreements are to do with the approaches, sources, and interpretive formulas (Ansari 2011). Some scholars adopt the view that knowledge is socially constructed, and hence influenced and informed by our understanding of the world (Berger & Luckmann 1967). Others disagree and claim that they “tell it like it is; they allow facts to speak for themselves” (Irwin 2007: 302). While some scholars produce knowledge shaped and informed by social events and/or personal and political interests, others claim to produce knowledge for knowledge’s sake, driven only by their “intellectual curiosity and lust for

knowing” (ibid). Arberry¹⁵ (1960: 239), for instance, proclaims “I have to the best of my abilities served pure scholarship”. However, although he denies having any personal political ambitions, he concedes that politics, nonetheless, intruded academic scholarship (ibid). This claim of ‘disinterested research’ is echoed by Bernard Lewis who defended Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) by describing it as ‘pure scholarship’ (Ansari 2011).

Arberry’s statement deserves a greater degree of analysis, for Arberry does not seem to be aware of the effect of his *habitus* and *doxic*¹⁶ values in his evaluation. Translation as a socially situated activity involves a degree of mediation and interpretation, and the resulting product, knowingly or unknowingly is likely to be affected by Arberry’s historical experiences and dispositions, as well as his position in the social space in which he operates.

The role of translation in the representation(s) of Islam and Muslims, and the purpose of the production of these representations could be understood by exploring the genesis of the representation of Islam through translation.

3.1 Early Translations of Islam: the genesis of a field of representation and the boundaries of the field

The view that translation is a social practice, or as Hermans (1999: 142) puts it, a “socially regulated activity” means that it is affected by the role of translators and other persons/

¹⁵ Arthur John Arberry (1909-1969) was a British orientalist, and a scholar of Arabic and Islamic studies. He was for a period of time the Head of the Department of Classics at Cairo University in Egypt. His translation of the *Qur'an* is considered “as one of the most authoritative, faithful, fluid, and readable interpretations of the *Qur'an*, and recommended by academics” (Oxford University Press. Retrieved from : http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/Public/book_tki.html).

¹⁶ Bourdieu’s two conceptual tools of ‘habitus’ and ‘doxa’ have been elaborated in chapter two and their implications for the translation of Islam will be addressed in this chapter.

organisations who might be involved in the translation process as social agents. It also means that translations always reflect the historical and cultural conditions under which they were produced (Wolf 2007). In this context, the analysis of the social dimensions of translation helps us to understand that “the viability of a translation is established by its relationship to the cultural and social conditions under which it is produced and read” (Venuti 1995: 18).

There has always been a field of intellectual activity around Islam and its translation. The concept of a ‘field’ was developed by Pierre Bourdieu to refer to a socially organised, quasi-autonomous space which has definable boundaries. Any ‘field’ is occupied by agents who recognise and refer to its history and structure (Bourdieu 1985, 1996a). Translation as a social activity is practiced in a field where agents (translators, publishers, academic institutions, and other organisations) are constantly engaged in a struggle for ‘stakes’ and ‘capital’ (ibid). The effect of this competition between the agents legitimises the stakes themselves, and determines which stakes hold what value (Warde 2004). The field of translation is not a rigid structure. On the contrary, it is dynamic as a result of the competition between the agents within it. This competition between the different agents demarcates the boundaries of the field and reconfigures its overall structure (ibid). The boundaries of the field of translation are determined not only by the struggle between the various agents, but also by the text type and discourse being translated. In our case, the boundaries of the field of translation into Latin during early medieval time, when Greek philosophy was the main genre, are considerably different from the boundaries of the field of translation into Latin in the eleventh century when translation of Islamic religious texts started to emerge. Similarly, the boundaries of the field of translation were further redefined and rearranged when translation of Islamic sources

into English began to emerge. The emergence of this new activity was accompanied by the emergence of new agents, i.e., translators acquainted with the new language. Consequently, the new comers' trajectory within the field would force further rearrangement of the field's structure. Membership of the field, as far as the new comers are concerned, is regulated by the field's code of conduct and system of organisation. This membership in turn implies a recognition and acceptance of the field's values and rules.

Determination of the boundaries of the field also involves the 'agents' who have the power of consecration to the translation production, such as cultural or academic institutions. In the case of translation of Islamic texts, a field of activity around the translation and dissemination of Islamic sources started to take shape during the Middle Ages. The activities in this field were mainly controlled by the Church. This was due to the fact that mainly those who had sufficient resources to fund any type of research, including translations of Arabic and Islamic texts, were either churchmen or wealthy Christian devotees concerned with the salvation of the deviant Middle Eastern Christians and Muslims (Toomer 1996). The rules governing the functioning of this field were thus shaped and informed by the values and interests of the Church. It is safe to argue that the institution of the Church played a key role in terms of selecting certain Islamic texts for translation. This selection was mainly in line with the interests of the Church and what representations it wanted to promote about Islam. This meant that the newcomers, i.e., the translators of Islamic texts, in order to gain membership to the field, would need to comply with, and adhere to the translation guidelines set by the Church and in line with the overall objectives of translation.

Boundaries of the field are also demarcated by the agents' claims to authenticity, certain titles, and/or by positioning themselves in relation to other agents in the field. William Muir¹⁷ (1819-1905) asserted in the preface to *The Life of Mahomet* (1861, Volume I) that:

The work was undertaken [...] at the instance of the Rev. C. G. PFANDER, D.D., [...] who urged that a biography of the Prophet of Islam, suitable for the perusal of his followers, should be compiled, [...] from the early sources acknowledged by themselves to be authentic and authoritative. I had at first hoped that some one of the existing biographies, [...] would answer for this purpose, but as my study of the original sources advanced, and the field of enquiry expanded, I found that there was no treatise, either in English or in any of the continental languages, entirely adapted for the end in view. The authorities to which I had access, were more complete and authentic, than any available in Europe. (Muir 1861: 5)

By accepting the work, Muir implicitly accepted the rules and limits set by the authority which commissioned the work, in this case the Church (at the instance of the Rev. C. G. PFANDER, D.D), and made a personal claim for authenticity, which in turn would confer authority on his work (the authorities to which I had access, were more complete and authentic). Also, he placed himself in a favourable position in relation to other agents in the field (I found that there was no treatise, either in English or in any of the continental languages, entirely adapted for the end in view).

In the field of translation of Islamic texts, two early translation projects stand worthy of examination, *Corpus toledanum 'The Toledo Collection'*, which was undertaken by Peter the

¹⁷ William Muir was a Scottish historian, educated in Glasgow and Edinburgh universities. He rose to become Secretary to the Governor of the North-West Provinces in India (1852). Muir translated many Islamic books and wrote on Islam and Islamic culture. His works included a four-volume *Biography of Mohammed* (1861) *The Coran: Its Composition and Teaching* (1878) *The Apology of al-Kindi* (1887) *The Caliphate - Its Rise, Decline and Fall* (1891) and a collection of critical articles published as *The Mohammedan Controversy* (1897). "Sir William Muir." *The Gazetteer for Scotland*. 2011. Retrieved 25 January, 2012, from <http://www.scottish-places.info/>

Venerable¹⁸ (1092-1156) and the translation collection of William Muir, both were carried out in line with the values and interests of the Church.

Peter the Venerable was one of the pioneers who took interest in the translation of Islamic texts and invested time and energy in this intellectual activity. He undertook a translation programme in order to make Islamic material accessible to the Church. His translated works on Islam included five books, two of which enjoyed prominence at the time: *The Summary of the Entire Heresy of the Saracens*, and *The Refutation of the Sect or Heresy of the Saracens* (Constable 1967). Nonetheless, the translation of the *Qur'an* is considered 'by far' the most important amongst his collection (Goddard 2000: 93) and was completed in July 1143 (ibid).

There is evidence of five translators associated with Peter the Venerable's translation project. According to Kritzeck (1964) and Goddard (2000) they all had knowledge of the Arabic language. The named translators associated with Peter the Venerable's project are Peter of Toledo, Peter of Poitiers, Robert of Ketton, who played a major role in the translation of the *Qur'an*, Herman of Dalmatia, and a Muslim Arab called Mohammed who was entrusted by Peter the Venerable to make sure that the translations do not lack trustworthiness, and that the integrity of the translation should be maintained (Kritzeck 1964). This perhaps highlights Peter the Venerable's dedication for accuracy, despite the potential problems that could arise from having a 'Saracen' involved in such a project (ibid).

Besides the *Qur'an*, Peter the Venerable commissioned the translations of

¹⁸ Peter the Venerable (1092–1156) was dedicated to God at birth and given to a monastery. He became the Abbot of Cluny at the age of twenty eight, and was honoured as a saint (Kritzeck 1964).

رسالات عبد الله بن اسماعيل الهاشمي إلى عبد المسيح بن إسحاق الكندي ورسالات الكندي إلى الهاشمي

(*The Epistle of Abdillah ibn-Isma'il al-Hashimi* to '*Abd al-Masih Ibn-Ishaq al-Kindi*' and '*the Epistle of al-Kindi*' to '*al-Hashimi*').

These epistles were a debate, in Arabic, between a Christian and a Muslim Arabs, known as *The Apology of al-Kindi* (Van Koningsveld 2004). *The Apology of al-Kindi* became available in English in December 1881 as part of William Muir's translation project (Goddard 2000). Peter the Venerable referred to four translations in his correspondence with Bernard of Clairvaux¹⁹. If we include all the translations known to be part of Peter the Venerable's collection the number of translated works would rise to five.

In order of translation, according to Kesselman (2008: 3) Peter the Venerable's translation collection included:

1. *The life – Fabulae Sarracenorum*
2. *The origin - The Liber generationis Mahumet*
3. *The Saracens doctrine - The Doctrina Mahumet*
4. *The apology of al-Kindi – The Epistola Saraceni et Rescriptum Christiani*
5. *The law – the Koran*

These different strands of foundational translations played a major role in establishing a certain image and representation of Islam, its Prophet, and its culture, which was "polemic in purpose and scurrilous in tone" (Lewis 1993: 85). These translations remained the source of

¹⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, a French abbot, born in 1090, at Fontaines, near Dijon, France; died at Clairvaux, on 21 August, 1153. He was the primary builder of the reforming Cistercian order, and a close friend of Peter the Venerable (Smith 2010: 32).

information as well as the foundation for more translations about Islam for many centuries. They were often “quoted and epitomised thereafter, and served as the basis for a number of translations during the following century [...] the fruits of a single scholarly enterprise of the twelfth century exerted a dominant influence upon European Christian understanding of Islam for more than half a millennium” (Blachère 1947, cited by Kritzeck 1964:ix).

William Muir’s project was a translation of the *Qur’an* as well as other Islamic texts. Unlike *Corpus toledanum* of Peter the Venerable, which was translations from Arabic into Latin, Muir’s collection was a translation from Arabic into English. However, Muir himself admits to benefiting from Peter the Venerable’s Latin translation of the *Qur’an*.

Muir’s collection included the following:

1. *The Apology of al-Kindi*
2. *The Life of Mahomet*: [Vol. 1], [Vol. 2], [Vol. 3], [Vol. 4] — a detailed biography of Muhammad
3. *The Caliphate - Its Rise, Decline and Fall* — a history of the Islamic Empire
4. *The Mohammedan Controversy*
5. *The Corân*: Its Composition and Teaching; And the Testimony It Bears to the Holy Scriptures

The effect of William Muir’s project on the field of translating Islam was twofold; first it introduced a new possibility/position in the field, that of a translator who produces translation through the use of various language combinations, i.e., Arabic/English as well as Latin/English. Second, Muir’s translation of *The Apology of al-Kindi* from Latin into English means the consecration of the values, images, and representations residing in the Latin texts. Moreover,

Muir's reliance, in some parts, on the Latin translations of Peter the Venerable highlights the role of these early translations in the (re)production of the established values associated with Islam in a way similar to what Bourdieu (1977) would call 'cultural reproduction'.

The field of translation of Islamic texts remained under the auspices of the Church during the early modern era, and was enforced and invigorated by the contributions of two people in particular, who were advocates of the Church's aim of protecting the faith. In 1632 the chair of Arabic at Cambridge was created by Thomas Adams²⁰ (1586-1668) with the aim of translating texts that would be suitable for the perusal of Muslims (Toomer 1996: 91). Four years later, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, William Laud²¹ (1573-1645), established the University's first Professorship in Arabic.

The structure and boundaries of any field of cultural activity, as explained by Bourdieu (1993) are not set once and for all; rather they are always in a dynamic flux. The shifting of the boundaries of the field of 'translating Islam' in the West has been mainly due to the rise of new institutions or individuals who had different stakes in translating Islam than the ones promoted by the already established institutions and individuals. Also the rise of 'academia' in the West and the interest it showed in translating Islamic sources created a tension between two different agents with different objectives in the field, although some degree of collaboration could be identified at times between the two.

²⁰ Sir Thomas Adams was a textile businessman, elected as mayor of London in 1643 and Member of Parliament in 1650. He was first interested and then became influential in the patronage of translations of Arabic Islamic texts. He also financed the printing of the Gospels in Persian (Toomer 1996).

²¹ William Laud was born in 1573 and was appointed bishop of St David's in 1621 and became chaplain to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham the following year. He was the Archbishop of Canterbury between 1633 and 1645, and was executed in 1645 during the English civil war (Russell 1991).

A new type of reasoning associated with the rising academic institution started to emerge, where rational and empirical evidence were increasingly being accepted as the final authority for deciding what was historically credible (Ansari 2011: 74). This ultimately had an impact on the criteria for selecting Islamic texts for translation and the strategies followed in translating them. The rise of the academic institution was coupled with the rise of a new generation of scholars and translators, which would inevitably lead to change in the field's structure and the type of knowledge and representations produced about Islam.

The year 1600 marked the beginning of the 'modern' era in British historical writing (Hale 1964: 9). During this new era "the confident authority of the Christian worldview began to crumble as secularised interpretations of history, centred on human rather than divine activity, gained ground" (Ansari 2011: 76). This meant that a new generation of scholars and translators began to question the accepted, previously undisputable norms, which Bourdieu terms as *doxa*²². This questioning of the prevailing *doxa* about Islam resulted in a rethinking of the body of available translations of Islamic sources. Old translations of Islamic sources, which represented Islam as the "great terror of the world" and projected Islam as being "the work of Satan" were being gradually challenged and sometimes replaced (ibid).

Bourdieu's sociological model of a social field or a field of cultural production (1993), allows for analysing the field of translation of Islam in terms of the options or possibilities available for translators, what Bourdieu calls 'positions', which are as follows :

²² Doxa will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, also see chapter two.

- **Positions in relation to the text type.** Here we can identify two opposing positions: sacred (The *Qur'an*) vs. Polemic (*al-Kindi*). These positions expanded through the historical development in the field.
- **Positions in relation to the target reader.** Here we can identify a few possibilities: in the early stages there was the Latin speaking audience vs. the English speaking audience (Peter the Venerable's collection was translation into Latin, aimed at Latin speaking Europeans, while Muir's collection was into English aimed at an English speaking audience) and men of religion vs. laymen readers. Later, after the field developed, two new positions emerged, i.e., academic/expert readers vs. common readers.
- **Positions in relation to the source text.** The opposing positions in this category are Arabic source texts vs. Latin translations from Arabic being used as source text. All translations commissioned by Peter the Venerable relied on an Arabic source text, but in the case of William Muir, his sources were a mixture of Arabic texts and some older Latin translations of Arabic text (those of the *Corpus toledanum*).
- **Positions in relation to the time of production of the translation.** Here we can divide the production of translations about Islam into three time frames: old (eleventh to sixteenth century, Peter the Venerable collection), modern (sixteenth to late nineteenth century, William Muir collection) and contemporary (translations of political Islam, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter section 4.1).
- **Positions in relation to power and influence.** Here we can identify few opposing positions resulting from conflicting influences: the Church vs. academia, the field of politics vs. the Church, and the field of politics vs. academia.
- **Positions in relation to translation motives.** Refutation of Islam under the Church's auspices vs. re-thinking the history under the patronage of academia.
- **Positions in relation to translation approach.** Christian worldview vs. secularised worldview, i.e., a non-theological interpretation of Islamic history.

- **Positions in relation to the political inclination of the translation agent.** Here we can identify two opposing possibilities, the academic researcher who is trying to read, analyse and question the 'facts' before him vs. the political analyst who uses translation excerpts to serve a certain narrative (more on this opposing positions in chapter four).

The struggle between agents and the tension between these possibilities, or positions as Bourdieu calls them, within the field of translation is what causes the dynamics of the field, and the continuous rearrangement of its internal structure and hierarchical system. Thus the rise or decline of a certain position in relation to another is not permanent. For example, at one historical moment in time, the authority and the power of consecration within the field of translating Islam was in the hands of the Church, but it was replaced by the authority of academia. Furthermore, the positions occupied by scholars and translators who were approving and defending certain representations of Islam and Muslims, are being challenged by a new generation of scholars and translators who are questioning these established representations. More recently, the translation of Islam as a theological doctrine is being replaced by translating Islam as a political system.

3.2 Structure and limits of the field: forms of capital

The limits of any social field of activity are determined by the capital available for participants in that field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). This means that the awarding of positions to contenders in the field of translating Islam is conditioned by the type of capital available to them in the field. It is important here to indicate that Bourdieu's concept of 'capital' is broader than the monetary concept of capital in economics. It is a generalised 'resource' that can assume monetary and nonmonetary, as well as tangible and intangible forms (Anheier,

Gerhards & Romo 1995). Depending on the field in which it functions and on the form of transformations, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: 1) *economic capital*, instantly and directly convertible into money and may be established in the forms of property rights; 2) *cultural capital*, convertible, under certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; 3) *social capital*, which consists of social 'connections', or memberships to certain organizations. It is also convertible, under certain conditions, into economic capital and may be realized in the forms of social titles. Bourdieu also elaborates a generic type of capital that he calls *symbolic capital*, which is a manifestation of each of the other forms of capital when they are considered on their own terms (Bourdieu 1986: 243-248).

Whatever the form in which capital may be manifested, it is the value of capital that makes participation in the field meaningful. It is what gives the game a subjective sense and makes it worth playing (ibid). It is *social* and *symbolic* capital that are particularly relevant to our examination of the field of translating Islam.

Social capital is about the value of social networks and the ensuing influence within the field.

Peter the Venerable explicitly stated the intentions of his project, in a letter to Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) as:

My intention in this work was to follow that custom of the Fathers *of the Church* by which they never silently passed by any heresy of their times, not even the slightest, without resisting it with all the strength of faith. (Kritzeck 1996: 37, emphasis added)

In this letter there is a perceptible amount of investment from Peter the Venerable in his own capital and in the significance of his work, through the utilisation of the established values of

the past Fathers of the Church. He projects himself as the devout adherent to the values of the Church which have been upheld by the Fathers before him. He further emphasises the credence of his work in the prologue to his *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum* (*The Refutation of the Sect or Heresy of the Saracens*). He states that “the reason for my writing these things was precisely which the many great Fathers had”, and “the Church of God always did and does this” (ibid: 38). In so doing, Peter the Venerable was amassing his capital in the field and, at the same time, reproducing the value of this capital by preserving its status. Peter’s claim to follow the footsteps of the “Fathers” before him offers him a form of *social capital* in the shape of a membership to that elite group of churchmen who upheld the principles of the faith and defended its values. This, in turn, would strengthen his ties with the Church’s diocese, as well as confirm his connections with the social network where he operates.

Another example of Peter the Venerable’s claim to the credibility of his work, and thus its capital value, can be observed in another letter he wrote to Bernard with regard to the translators he chose for the translation project, in which he says, “they are men skilled in both languages [...] I found them in Spain [...] and brought them to do this” (Kritzeck 1996: 38). Peter’s comment, ‘skilled translators’ implies quality product, and consequently worthy of possible accolades with all the symbolic value attached to them. In line with preserving, accumulating and reproducing one’s social capital, which is exercised through social connections, Peter the Venerable wrote to Bernard of Clairvaux to inspire and encourage him to carry the fight against Islam and save Christianity:

I have made all these things known to you specially [...] that I may animate that magnificent learning of yours [...] to write against so pernicious an error [...] this task is yours to combat, destroy, and crush by every study, through word and writing [...] through your mouth, filled with praise of Him, the benign Spirit may reply to the spirit of iniquity, and fill up the treasures of His Church with the wealth of your wisdom. (ibid)

This *social* capital claimed by Peter the Venerable would consequently be converted to *symbolic* capital in the form of recognition and prestige. *Symbolic* capital is about the resources available to an individual on the basis of reputation, prestige or recognition. It functions as an authoritative incarnation of cultural value. Possessors of symbolic capital are not only able to justify their possession of other forms of capital, but also are able to change the structure of the field in which they apply their trade, and the rules by which the field operates (Bourdieu 1990).

Peter the Venerable's numerous assertions of his endeavours may have been unintentional in terms of amassing capital and consecrating his position in the field. Nevertheless, it is safe to argue that his claims have had that effect. If we appropriate Bourdieu's idea of *Illusio* (which, according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 98), is the object of the translator's task. It is the agent's commitment to participating in the game and its stakes, and granting these stakes a recognition that escapes questioning), if we appropriate *illusio* to the case in hand, it must have been very clear to Peter the Venerable that the game was worth playing, first and foremost in the eyes of his Lord.

3.3 Translators' Agency: *habitus* and forms of mediation

Agency is the individual's autonomous aptitude to act free from external influence. This ability is artificial for it is shaped by the individual's historical experience, cognitive knowledge, the

perceptions held by the society and the social structure within which the individual is situated (Barker 2005: 8). In other words, agency is shaped and informed by the agent's *habitus*.

Habitus, which is seen as the emergent property of a social system, is more than just a behaviour acquired through socialization and professionalization. It is constructed through experience and is constantly produced and/or re-produced on the basis of the agent's activities (Wolf 1977: 86-87). *Habitus* is also the product of the history of the individual. However, one important feature of *habitus* is that it inaugurates 'dispositions' or schemes for action, rather than codes for operation (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Hanna 2006). Another important feature of *habitus* is its cumulative effect, i.e., the *habitus* acquired during a certain moment in time along the course of an agent's life informs and reforms the *habitus* acquired later in life (Bourdieu 1977: 86-7).

The concept of *habitus* offers us the opportunity to examine and analyse the effect of the agents' historical experiences (i.e., their perceptions, expressions and actions based on the historically and socially situated conditions of their production) on the translation process and product, and thus on the representations of Islam and Muslims as a consequence. The process of socialisation and culturalisation played an important part in shaping and informing Peter the Venerable's views of Islam. These views played a major role in his agency and mediation in the translations, and were frequently manifested in the prefaces of his translation collection.

Pierre Maurice de Montbossier, better known as Peter the Venerable, was the grandnephew of Hugh I, Abbot of Cluny²³. Born in Auvergne, France in 1092, he was offered to God at birth by his mother in the monastery of Sauxillanges of the Congregation of Cluny, where he entered the Cluniac order at the age of sixteen (Kritzeck 1964). He was appointed as a professor and prior of the monastery of Vézelay at the age of twenty and was later elected as the Abbot of Cluny at the age of twenty eight. At the age of thirty, Peter the Venerable was General of the Order in the monastery of Domene (Richards 1979). Peter was a devout Christian, “his life and work involved almost every aspect of ecclesiastical history in the first half of the twelfth century [...] he was formed by Cluny at the height of its magnificence [...] and any attempt to explain him must make ample use of that fact ” (Krtizeck 1964: 5). As a result of religious upbringing, in terms of education and socialisation, what was reasonable and what was unreasonable for Peter the Venerable was a product of his *habitus*. This in turn would shape and inform his agency in the translation and consequently the knowledge emerging from it.

Agency in translation is not restricted to the translators, i.e., the actual performers of translation. It could be actualised in different forms of mediation such as choosing specific texts for translation and deciding which texts to include and which texts to exclude in a translation project. It may take the form of writing commentaries, reviews, prefaces, and/or editing. Agency may also take the form of commissioning, funding the translation project and setting the boundaries within which translations are to be conducted, as well as publishing and disseminating the final product.

²³ Cluny, France was founded by William I, Duke of Aquitaine in 910 CE. It housed the monastery of Cluny. The height of Cluniac influence was from the second half of the 10th century through the early 12th. During that time Cluny was building the largest Church in Christendom (Kritzeck 1996).

Peter the Venerable established a network of agents involved in the translation and consequently, the representation of Islam. He was the financier, commissioner, promoter, and preface writer. His agency, which went beyond the administration expense, had social and political implications towards his immediate social world, and towards Muslims. It has also influenced the translation product and subsequently the emerging knowledge about Islam and Muslims. He first chose the translators during his visit to Spain in 1142. Taking into account the aims for which these translations were produced, the narrative they were made to serve and the interests of the Church, Peter was likely to select translators who would fulfil certain criteria in line with the Church's values and objectives. Thus, he chose Robert of Ketton²⁴ who was the archdeacon of the Church of Pamplona, and put him in charge of translating the *Qur'an*. It is safe to argue that the choice of Robert of Ketton would uphold and secure the reproduction of Christian values.

Producing knowledge about Islam and Muslims that could be used by the Church to ridicule Islam was one of Peter the Venerable's objectives (Kesselman 2008). Another was to awaken the Christian society to what he perceived as a danger to his faith, by presenting those dangers in a language they could understand. In the prologue to the *Contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum* (The Refutation of the sect or heresy of the Saracens) he wrote:

Because the Latin-speaking peoples [...] have not known the various languages of the former wonderful Apostles, but only their own language into which they were born [...] they could not know what such an error [as Islam] was. For this reason my heart glowed within me and a flame was enkindled in my mediation. (cited by Kritzeck 1996: 30)

²⁴ Robert of Ketton, also known as Robert of Chester, was an English medieval priest, a translator and Arabist, probable dates (1110-1156) (Kritzeck 1964).

Social and political implications of agency in translation are identifiable here. Socially, by mediating the translation Peter was provoking a social reaction against the theological threat posed by Islam. Politically, he was aware that Muslims are likely to react to his writings, so, in a letter to Bernard he wrote “although I think this might not be of much use to the lost ones, nevertheless it would be proper to have a really suitable reply as a Christian armoury” (ibid: 44).

Agency is also exercised in the process of selecting texts to be translated. Having realised that the weakness of the Latin-speaking people was their apparent lack of knowledge about Islam, Peter the Venerable set out to rectify this situation by selecting certain texts for translation that would: First provide the necessary information about ‘Islam’ that would make it easy to motivate his fellow Christians to put up a resistance. Second, he selected texts that would portray Islam as a heresy and Muhammad as an impostor, and by doing so he would, indirectly, consecrate the authenticity of the Christian faith. With this aim in mind, Peter the Venerable selected the *Qur’an* and other Arabic texts about the life of Muhammad, the Islamic doctrine, and medieval debates between Muslims and Christians as his subject matters.

Peter the Venerable’s desire to motivate a stand against Islam was not only directed towards the Christian public but also directed to his peers. In his letter to Bernard of Clairvaux (referred to earlier), hoping to animate him into action, Peter the Venerable wrote of his desire for Bernard to use his wisdom and the power of his words and knowledge to fight, combat, destroy, and crush the pernicious Muslims.

Peter the Venerable's agency took another form also. He financed the project and remunerated the translators. This in turn would give him the authority to set the rules and define the boundaries within which translation was to be conducted. In another letter to Bernard, Peter mentioned the translators and said "I found them in Spain [...] and brought them to do this by means of large remuneration" (ibid: 32).

Translated texts were later utilised by Peter the Venerable to write his own refutation of Islam. This represents yet another form of his mediation in the production of knowledge about, and the representations of Islam and Muslims. He wrote *The Summa Totius Haeresis Saracenorum* (The Summary of the Heresy of the Saracens) as an introduction to his Toledo collection. It included a summary of the Islamic doctrine and his refutation of it. It was intended for the use of Bernard of Clairvaux (ibid: 116). *The Summa* is written in Latin, to which I have no access. However, in its evaluation in terms of my research I will cautiously refer to Kritzeck's *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (1964). In the *Summa*, Peter wrote the following:

It seems necessary to speak about [Mohammed] who he is, and what he taught, for the benefit of those who will read this book, so they may know how detestable both his life and his doctrine appear [...] Mohammed was, and it is true, an Arab of humble birth [...] because he was very active in worldly affairs he advanced from low birth and poverty to wealth and renown. Having raised himself up little by little, and frequently attacking all those who were near him [...] with wiles, robberies, and invasions [...] he was able to increase the terror of his name, [...] and when he came on top in contests he began to aspire to the kingship of his people [...] and when he perceived that he could not attain for himself his desire in this way, he tried to become king under the cloak of religion and by the name of 'divine prophet'. (Kritzeck 1964: 125-126)

Peter's agency is exhibited here in his manipulation of information in order to pursue a certain narrative and portray a particular image. Kritzeck's observation is that "Peter went wrong by following al-Kindi, and his essential error consisted in regarding Mohammed's prophet-hood as

postdating his first battle and merely as an outcome of his desire for political authority over his people” (Kritzeck 1964: 127). There are many such examples that demonstrate Peter’s agency and his construction of reality rather than representing reality. This, in turn, serves to represent Islam, its doctrine and its Prophet in a way which serves a pre-conceived objective.

The agency of the actual operators of translation, i.e., the translators themselves could be identified in the translations undertaken by William Muir. His agency is demonstrated first and foremost in his selection of *The Apology of al-kindī* for translation, as the polemic nature of *The Apology* serves his ambition in representing Islam as an inferior religion. Furthermore, Muir uses the preface of the apology to influence the readers’ reception of the translated text. In the preface to the first edition of the apology, Muir clearly highlights the authenticity of his sources and its merits for publication, which would in turn raise the value of his translation and invites the audience to trust the translation product in hand. He also emphasizes that his work is for the Christian faith, and thus, merits the support of Christian believers. He wrote:

I may say at once that my primary object, in the present undertaking, is to place the "Apology of al-kindī" in the hands of those who will use it in the interests of the Christian faith. At the same time, apart altogether from a religious aspect, the Apology possesses a very peculiar interest of its own. A cursory perusal convinced me of its high dialectic merit, and also of its presumable authenticity, as belonging to the age—the third century of the Hegira (about 830 A.D.)—in which it purports to have been written. (Muir 1881: 5)²⁵

Furthermore, at another section of the preface, Muir’s agency is apparent in his manipulation of the source text in the form of ‘selective appropriation’. He admitted to omitting some parts, and expressed his readiness to further editing necessitated by local considerations. This is demonstrated in the following comment:

²⁵ <http://www.answering-islam.org/Books/Al-Kindi/index.htm>

With the view, therefore, of facilitating the use and translation of the Apology, or of selections from it, I have compiled a very full analysis of its contents, with a copious translation of the more interesting portions. In doing this, I have indicated a few passages which, for reasons specified, should be omitted. Whether there should be any further curtailment must depend on local considerations. (Muir 1881: 8)

The reception of the translation product and the narrative it serves could be, thus, manipulated as the result of this agency. This process of selective appropriation of what to translate and what to omit would reconfigure the source narrative or ‘reframe the narrative’ as Baker (2006) puts it. This, in turn, generates a new narrative that may be different in form and effect from the original (ibid). The selection of the apology for translation was also underpinned by another *extra-textual* factor. Muir states that he was interested in this text because it was written by an Arab Christian. Unlike other missionaries who were rejected by the Arabs on the basis of their foreign background, this was an Arab writer which in itself would afford more legitimacy to the argument:

The Christian advocate there [*in the Arab world*] has it often thrown in his teeth that he is introducing a Christ whose features and teaching have been moulded after a European type. This, at any rate, cannot be said of our Apologist. An Arab of the Arabs. (Muir 1881: 8, emphasis added)

William Muir’s agency in the translation of the *Qur’an* and the subtle manner in which he infuses the translation with comments aimed at the readers in order to influence their reception and perception is demonstrated in the following example:

CXXXI.—SURA IX., v. 113[111].

سورة التوبة

إِنَّ اللَّهَ اشْتَرَى مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بِأَنْ لَهُمُ الْجَنَّةَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَيَقْتُلُونَ وَيُقْتَلُونَ
وَعَدًا عَلَيْهِ حَقًّا فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَالْإِنْجِيلِ وَالْقُرْآنِ

Verily, God hath bought from the believers their selves and their wealth, on the condition of paradise for them, if they fight in the ways of God:—and whether they slay or be slain, the promise of God thereupon is true in the Tourât, and in the Gospel, and in the Corân.

This verse occurs in the last Sura given forth by Mahomet, and at a time when Islâm had by the aid of the sword spread itself over the greater part of Arabia. Possibly allusion may be made to passages in the Bible where a spiritual conflict, e.g., "the good fight of faith," is spoken of. For the inculcations of the Gospel will be observed by the serious Mussulman. (Muir 1878: 214)

Muir follows the above translation and comments with a testimony to the Holy Scripture in order to compare, contrast and highlight the values of both religions from his standpoint:

Materially to differ in this respect from those of the Corân. The weapons of Christianity are spiritual. Force is not to be used in its propagation. When Jesus stood at the judgment seat of Pilate, he said:—MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD: IF MY KINGDOM WERE OF THIS WORLD, THEN WOULD MY SERVANTS FIGHT THAT I SHOULD NOT BE DELIVERED TO THE JEWS, BUT NOW IS MY KINGDOM NOT FROM HENCE. This remark is added only to guard the Mussulman reader against the possibility of believing that the Gospel in any way countenance fighting or compulsion for the furtherance of religion. (Muir 1878: 215, [sic])

Bennett (1992) argues that Muir did not translate the whole *Qur'an*. He only translated the words and phrases which mention, Christians, Jews, old and new testaments, Mary mother of Jesus, and the book, i.e., the *Qur'anic* verses that he could employ to support the truthfulness and authenticity of the Bible and the Christian faith (ibid). Bennett also stresses that Muir refers to the idea that Islam spread by the power of the sword, a view which has been long held in the Christian imagination (ibid). In Muir's comments on the *Qur'anic* verse above, the word 'sword' does not exist in the Arabic text. Bennett (1992) states that, Muir frequently belittled Muhammad and the *Qur'an*, misrepresented Muslims, and undervalued Islam through a deliberate manipulation of questionable sources. Bennett's analysis further illustrates the role Muir's translations played in the formation of the image of Islam and Muslims.

These instances of intervention by the agents at different points of the translation process support the supposition of this chapter that translation is mediated and thus the emerging knowledge is arguably subjective and conditioned by the agents' *habitus*, i.e., their socialisation and professionalization, as well as their dispositions and objectives.

The representations of Islam and Muslims which emerged from these early translations were later challenged by a new generation of scholars and translators who began to question the history rather than accept it.

3.4 Changing assumptions about the translation of Islam: orthodoxy and heterodoxy

Bourdieu's concept of *doxa* would further help us understand the field of translating Islam and follow the historical development of thought which took place in the field over the years. It would further afford us the opportunity to explore the stages and forms of progress and the various roles played by the various agents. *Doxa* is a reformulated old Greek philosophical concept. The term *doxa* means the common belief or popular opinion, and it originates from the Greek word *dokeo* which means 'assume or believe'. *Doxa* refers to taken for granted assumptions. There is, however, a minute distinction between 'doxa' and 'orthodoxy'. *Doxa* is an unconscious belief that we assume and we never question; while 'orthodoxy' is defending 'doxic' beliefs 'consciously'. *Doxa* is the "reasonable and acceptable [...] the general consensus" (Hanna 2006: 68). *Doxa*, however, is not once and for all held values; rather it is subject to change over time as a result of what is considered to be legitimate at a particular moment in time. What is currently considered as prevailing *doxa* may be replaced later by something else (Amossy 2002). The agents' *doxic* beliefs, which mean they are adjusted to the shared

regularities, do not necessarily require their conscious awareness of these regularities (Hanna 2006: 69). This unawareness means that *doxa* operates in the subconscious realm, beyond the control of the will. However, when the agent becomes aware of *doxa*, these unquestionable, unspoken values become the object of two converse discourses: *orthodoxy* and *heterodoxy* (Bourdieu 1990; Hanna 2006). Away from the Christian connotations, orthodoxy means adherence to accepted norms. Heterodoxy on the other hand, is opposed to orthodoxy, i.e., it challenges the taken for granted values via the formation of a new field of opinion (Bourdieu 1988a: 159-93).

In terms of the relation between positions within the field of translation, the language of heterodoxy is usually used by aspiring newcomers into the field aiming to disrupt the field's hierarchical structure and create new positions for themselves (Bourdieu 1993). Thus, the challenge to the dominant *doxa*, consequently, interrupts the relationships between positions in the field resulting in the dismantling of the apparent structure of the field (Bourdieu 1977: 168-9). What was, until that time, conventional, unquestionable, taken for granted, has become questionable and opinionated. That means that the agents who were holding leading positions in the field would probably move into a subordinate position as a result. This contest between the indisputable and the disputed, the assumed and the unassumed, between agents protecting and legitimising the status quo and the new up and coming agents, i.e., between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, offers us the opportunity to understand the relationship between the reality and the representation of reality (Hanna 2006: 69-71).

The affirmation and preservation of established *doxa* could be the strategy of agents in the field in order to maintain their positions, especially those occupying dominant positions. Peter the Venerable affirmed and supported the established *doxa* in order to confer authority to his work, and thus, maintain his position in the field. He cited the works of the past “Fathers”, which would bring with it all the taken-for-granted, consecrated values which have been established for generations. He explicitly stated the intentions of his project in his letter (op. cit.) to Bernard as “my intention in this work was to follow that custom of the *Fathers of the Church*” (Kritzeck 1996: 37, emphasis added). Peter the Venerable saw the ‘Fathers of the Church’ as the guardians of the Christian faith. They stood fast in the face of all heresies, and sacrificed their all for the Lord. He thought his translation of the *Qur’an* and other Islamic texts, which could be used to fight this battle on this new frontier, as another milestone on the road of preserving the purity of his faith.

The translation project of Peter the Venerable, as much as it was supported by the prevalent *doxa*, was at the same time a challenge to it. The doxic value at the time was not to translate or publish any works about Islam in order to protect Christians from alien theology. However, the translation project questioned this *doxa*, and presented an argument for a new approach (*heterodoxy*) justified by the benefit of using the new knowledge emerging from the translations to refute Islam. The translation project of Peter the Venerable was also a challenge to other established *doxa* at the time at another level. The church’s view was that salvation of Muslims is not important or indeed commendable. This view was challenged with Peter’s translation project. In the preface of the translation of the *Qur’an*, Peter describes the prevailing *doxa* about Muslims’ salvation, and the priests’ views over the issue as “there are

Christian priests so overcome with hatred that they declare that the conversion of Muslims is not desirable” (Peter the Venerable, cited by Kritzeck 1996: 64). This statement is interesting not only because it criticises and challenges the clerical attitudes towards Islam, meaning, challenging the *doxa*. It also highlights the spirit in which the translation was executed, i.e., the *heterodoxy* argument which has another end in sight, that is the possible salvation of Muslims. This tension between *orthodoxy* and *heterodoxy* would inevitably restructure the field and the awarding of positions within it.

The tension between the two different positions with regard to *doxa* is also clear in the case of Theodore Buchmann²⁶ (1509-1564). Buchmann had an issue with the city council of Basil in 1542 regarding the publication of a collection of translations from Arabic, including the *Qur'an*, which he had completed (Kritzeck 1964). The city council of Basel confiscated the work and explained that the reason for its reluctance to publish the work was that “it could not assume the responsibility for permitting such a collection of ‘fables and heresies’ to be placed on the market”. In the city council’s view, the publication of this work would disturb the Christian mind and conscience (ibid: 66). However, this translation collection was later published following a recommendation letter from Martin Luther²⁷ (1483-1546) to the city council, in which he said that “nothing more vexing to the Moslems could possibly be done than to publish translations of their Koran and their other books” (ibid: 67). For the city council of Basil, in this case operating from a dominant position, the established *doxa* was ‘no publication of

²⁶ Theodore Buchmann (also known as Theodore Bibliander) was a Theologian, Orientalist and a Reformer of the Church-political Reformation in Switzerland. He was successor to the chair of Professor of Old Testament at the theological school in Zurich. He was also the first to edit a Latin translation of the Koran, which was first published as printed edition on January 11th, 1543 in Basel, and was based on the medieval translation of Robert of Ketton. He studied Latin, Greek, and Hebrew and was also familiar with the Arabic language. [<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/64478/Theodor-Bibliander>]

²⁷ A German Protestant Reformer priest and a professor of theology. He published a German translation of the Bible in 1522 (Plass 1959: 964).

Islamic material', for the publication of any literature about Islam would confuse Christian hearts and minds with heresies professed by Islam. This *doxa* led to the confiscation of Theodor Bibliander's translation collection. However, as a result of a change in the social world, as Islam surged into European Christian lands, the need to refute Islam has become a necessity. Subsequently, these doxic values were challenged by some agents who began to question the taken-for-granted beliefs and habitual practices of the field. The challenge to this *doxa* came in the form of Martin Luther's support of the publication of the translated *Qur'an*, with the justification that 'nothing is more vexing to Islam that could be done than to publish'. This challenge to the established *doxa* created a new set of values, i.e., new *doxa*, which aimed to replace the prevailing *doxa*. The emergence of heterodoxic ideas that later became doxic means that translation practice would feed on new ideas rather than draw on old perceptions. This in turn, offers new positions in the field, which in turn would cause a reconfiguration of the field's structure.

The beginning of the seventeenth century marked a new era in the field of translating Islam. Up until then all representations of Islam and Muslims were produced and reproduced in accordance with the interests of the Church and were accepted as representing incontestable values. With the demise of the Church's authority and the coming of the Enlightenment era, a secular rather than religious approach, and a questioning of the orthodox values of the field, started to emerge. Furthermore the dominant position began to shift in the direction of academia, as a result of the introduction of new research methodologies and the reliance on empirical evidence to re-examine the taking for granted values.

3.5 The Enlightenment and Translating Islam

The Enlightenment is the period in the history of western thought and culture, stretching roughly from 1650 to the beginning of Romanticism in 1780. It is characterized by major transformations in science, philosophy, society and politics. These new intellectual ideas challenged the medieval world-view and ushered in the modern western world. The Enlightenment ideals of freedom and equality were championed by many philosophers and scientists such as Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), John Locke (1632–1704), Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), Isaac Newton (1643–1727) and Voltaire (1694–1778), according to Sootin (1955). The Enlightenment was based on the belief that right reason, or rationalism, could find true knowledge and lead mankind to progress and happiness. Its purpose was to reform society and advance knowledge. The period also enjoyed a privileged status in the creation and formation of modernity at all levels, and it is safe to argue that “the modern world is the product of the Enlightenment” (Elmarsafy 2009: ix). It was during the Enlightenment era that the values of institutions and the projects of rationalisation combined to revolutionise every area of human inquiry (ibid). Also, fields of knowledge such as psychology, sociology, anthropology and political science, became established disciplines organising “culture exchange” into the modern social sciences. In other words, the constitution of these disciplines guided and informed the transformation of social ideas and perceptions, inherited from the mediaeval and renaissance periods, to the modern era. According to Porter (2000: 66), this was “the liberation of human mind from the dogmatic state of ignorance”, which was prevalent at the time.

The focus of these disciplines was to question the dominant *doxa* at the time, and to examine the European understanding of other cultures (Elmarsafy 2009). One of the issues being examined was the European interpretation and understanding of Islam and Muslims. The accepted values and representations stated in expressions such as ‘the primitive world’, ‘the backwardness of non-European societies’, and the ‘differences of systems of beliefs’ were being tested, contested and rationalised (Gunny 1996, Elmarsafy 2009). The boundaries of differences between Europe and Islam were redrawn, and a new image of Islam and its Prophet began to emerge (Dimmock 2005). These changes were manifested in writings about Islam, such as the *Lettres Persanes* (*Persian Letters*) by Montesquieu (1689 – 1755) and Voltaire’s *Mahomet*, as well as other writings (Elmarsafy 2009). Despite the development in the rationalisation and the shift in conceptualisation of Islam during early Enlightenment, translation of the *Qur’an* remained centre stage, and new translations of the *Qur’an* appeared (Malcom 2012).

Breaking away from the old traditions, André Du Ryer’s²⁸ 1647 was the first published translation of the *Qur’an* direct from the Arabic into a vernacular French language since the Middle Ages (ibid). Other translations followed later by Louis (Ludovico) Marracci (1612 – 1700)²⁹ into Latin, Alexander Ross³⁰ (1590-1654) and George Sale (1669 – 1736)³¹ into English,

²⁸ André Du Ryer (1580–1660) studied Arabic and Turkish in Egypt in the early 1620s. In fear of a hostile reception of his work “he included anti-Islamic invective in his preface” (Hamilton & Richard 2004).

²⁹ Ludovico Maracci was an Italian Oriental scholar and professor of Arabic in the College of Wisdom at Rome. He is well-known for translating the Quran into Latin and for publishing *the Quran of Mahomet* (Aikin, Morgan, and Johnston 1807).

³⁰ Alexander Ross (1590–1654) was a Scottish writer. He was Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Charles I. The title of his translation of the Qur’an was ‘*The Alcoran of Mahomet: Translated out of Arabique into French by the Sieur Du Ryer, Lord of Malezair, and Resident for the King of France at Alexandria, and Newly Englished for the Satisfaction of All That Desire to Look into Turkish Vanities*. Although he knew no Arabic and only poorly translated L’Alcoran de Mahomet, the 1647 French translation of Du Ryer, his translation was the first in English (Westfall 1973).

and Claude Savary³² (1750 – 1788) into French. These new translations added “scholarly apparatus to the text: an introduction to Islam, cross-references to the available commentaries, and a very real effort to come to terms with Islam” (Elmarsafy 2009: xi).

Du Ryer’s (1580–1660) translation into French was particularly significant because it was “the first printed modern translation” of the *Qur’an* (Malcolm 2012). Moreover, according to Hamilton and Richard (2004: 200), Du Ryer’s fame as a translator and the subsequent “unexpected popularity” of his translation of the *Qur’an* “rests on his daring rendering of the *Qur’an* into French”. Du Ryer was more interested in making his text accessible to French readers than in its linguistic or structural accuracy (ibid). Matar (2006: 520) argues that the reason behind the popularity of Du Ryer’s translation was that “for the first time in the history of Oriental studies in Europe, the *Qur’an* was interpreted with reference to the writings of Muslim exegetes”. Matar further argues that Du Ryer’s achievement was “so original and unexpectedly popular that many of the later translations of the *Qur’an* into European languages relied on his text” (ibid). Du Ryer’s translation of the *Qur’an* was later translated into English in 1649, Dutch in 1658, Spanish in 1672, German in 1688, and into Russian in 1716 (Hamilton & Richard 2004). Alexander Ross was a chaplain to Charles I, and the first to embark on the translation of the *Qur’an* into English. His 1649 translation was titled *The Alcoran of Mahomet, translated out of Arabique into French; by the sieur Du Ryer*, and subtitled *newly Englished for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities* (Kidwai 1987).

According to Gilchrist (1986), Ross’s translation was not a direct translation from the original

³¹ George Sale (1697–1736) was an Orientalist educated at the King's School, Canterbury - England. He was a practising solicitor and an early member of the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge, and best known for his 1734 translation of the *Qur’an* into English (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

³² Claude-Étienne Savary was an orientalist, Egyptologist and translator of the *Qur’an* (Elmarsafy 2009).

Arabic language, but was done from Du Ryer's French translation of the *Qur'an*. Gilchrest also argues that Ross had no knowledge of Arabic and "his proficiency in French left much to be desired so that the translation itself is extremely defective and at times misses the sense of the original altogether" (ibid: 215). Ross's translation, however, served to introduce the Scripture of Islam to the English-speaking world and remained the only English translation available for almost one hundred years (ibid). Ross's preface to his translation of the *Qur'an* epitomizes the European perception of Islam at the time, which the intellectual enquiry of the Enlightenment era was trying to challenge and interrogate. Ross, addressing the "Christian Reader" in the introduction, says of the *Qur'an*:

Thou shalt find it of so rude, and incongruous a composure so farced with contradictions, blasphemies, obscene speeches, and ridiculous fables, that some modest, and more rational Mahometans have thus excused it [...] such as it is, I present to thee, having taken the pains only to translate it out of French, not doubting, though it hath been a poyson, that hath infected a very great, but most unsound part of the universe, it may prove an Antidote, to confirm in thee the health of Christianity. (Ross, *The AlCoran of Mahomet* 1649, p. A2, A3, cited by Gilchrist 1986: 215)

It was only in 1734 that the first "genuine" translation of the *Qur'an* into English appeared, when George Sale published his translation titled *The Koran* with a subtitle "*commonly called The Alcoran of Mohammed*" (Gilchrist 1986). Unlike the translators of the pre-Enlightenment era who were mainly churchmen, Sale was not a man of the Church; neither did he take holy orders. He was influenced by the growing Cartesianism³³ of early eighteenth century Utrecht, which made a case for reading inherited knowledge about Islam with scepticism and turning to Muslim sources for information about Islam and Muslims (Elmarsafy 2009: 14).

³³ Cartesianism is the philosophy of René Descartes (1596-1650) which places emphasis on logical analysis, and distinction between thought (mind) and extension (matter) (Hamilton 2005).

Sale states on the title page that his translation was “indeed a direct rendering from the original Arabic”, but his interpretation was ‘considerably influenced’ by the Latin version done by Marracci (Gilchrist 1986: 215). Sale’s embrace of the new scholarly approach was in itself a heterodoxy challenging the orthodox values prevalent in the field of translation at his time. He prefixed his work with a fairly lengthy introduction to Islam entitled ‘The Preliminary Discourse’. He also invested in his capital by complementing the work and describing his notes as ‘Explanatory Notes taken from the most approved commentators’. The 1955 translation of Arthur Arberry (1905-69) was the first English translation by a “bona fide scholar of Arabic and Islam” (Mohammad 2005: 62). Arberry graduated from Cambridge University and spent a number of years in the Middle East perfecting his Arabic and Persian language skills. For a short while, he served as professor of classics at Cairo University. In 1946 he was professor of Persian at University of London, and the next year transferred to Cambridge to become professor of Arabic until he passed away in 1969. His title, *The Koran Interpreted*, acknowledged the orthodox Muslim view that the *Qur’an* cannot be translated, but only interpreted. He rendered the *Qur’an* into ‘understandable English’ and separated text from tradition (ibid). Mohammad (2005: 61-2) describes Arberry’s translation as being “without prejudice and is probably the best around”. He also stresses that Arberry’s translation of the *Qur’an* “earned the admiration of intellectuals worldwide, and having been reprinted several times, remains the reference of choice for most academics”. Mohammad’s view is that “Arberry’s translation seems destined to maintain that position for the foreseeable future” (ibid: 63). Arberry’s version was chosen by William Shepard as the source for all the Qur’anic verses when he translated Sayyid Qutb’s *Social Justice in Islam* (which will be analysed in chapter five).

3.6 Translation and the construction of perceptions

The significant role of translation in shaping the knowledge and informing the perceptions of the target reader becomes apparent when it emerges that Ross, for example, did not speak Arabic and relied on secondary sources, translating from the French, a language in which he was not well-schooled (Gilchrist 1986). Ross based his translation on the translation or interpretation of the *Qur'an* by Andrew Du Ryer; but according to George Sale "Du Ryer's performance is far from being a just translation; there being mistakes in every page, besides frequent transpositions, omissions and additions faults" (Sale 1734: X). This in turn means that all the mistakes, transpositions and faults contained in the original translation would have, unavoidably, been transmitted to the subsequent translations, and eventually transpired in the emerging knowledge, thus, influencing the representation of Islam, and the perceptions of the unsuspecting target reader. Although Sale claims that he based his translation on the Arabic text, Thomas Irving (1985) suggests that Sale relied on an earlier Latin translation.

Bourdieu's sociological model helps us situate Sale's translation in its socio-cultural environment and understand it as a socially situated activity. Sale's translation of the *Qur'an* signifies a departure from the dominant *doxa* about Islam, for it offered the English reader a new perception of the religion and its Prophet. In the 'Preliminary Discourse' to his translation, prefixed to the Right Hon. John Lord Carteret³⁴ (1690-1763), Sale presented Islam as a religion "founded on the acknowledgment of one true God", and Mohammad as a man who has given his people "a new system of religion, which has had still greater success than the arms of his

³⁴ John Carteret (1690-1763) was the second Earl Granville better known by the title Lord Carteret. He was a British statesman and Lord President of the Council and acted as leader of the country between 1751 and 1763 during the prime ministry of Spencer Compton (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

followers” (Sale 1734: 1). It could be argued here that Sale’s use of the term ‘his followers’ is a subtle attempt to advise the western reader that the antagonistic behaviours were not actually Muhammad’s but his followers (Elmarsafy 2009).

Sale studied Law: one of the topics that Sale covered while studying law was the Roman Empire. Sale’s legal background is evident in the epistle to the reader when he says:

if the religious and civil institutions of foreign nations are worthy of our knowledge, those of Mohammed, the lawgiver of the Arabians, and founder of an empire which in less than a century spread itself over a greater part of the world than the Romans were ever masters of, must needs be so. (Sale 1734: iii, cited by Elmarsafy 2009: 43)

This demonstrates Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* and the accumulated history of the individual. Sale’s historical experience provided him with the necessary tools to compare the two empires. In Sale’s view an empire greater than the Roman’s must be, in its own right, worthy of study (ibid).

Sale also had vested interest. According to Elmarsafy (2009: 44) what was at stake for Sale was “the enemy was not Islam but the Catholic Church”, for he described Louis Maracci’s ‘Catholic polemic against Islam’ as a ‘failure’. Sale’s translation was an attempt to make an English translation of the *Qur’an* available to a wider audience. At the same time, it was “a veiled attack on Maracci’s choice of Latin for his translation”. This could be understood against a background of the Protestant opposition to the Catholic use of Latin in Church services, which at the time was interpreted as a policy adopted by the Catholic Church to empower the clergy while keeping the public in a state of ignorance (ibid).

Moreover, Sale was aware of his own social capital as he addressed the Right Hon. John Lord Carteret in the translation's Preliminary Discourse. He sought Lord Carteret's approval of the translation and apologised for any unforeseen controversy the translation may cause. In addition, Sale stated on the cover page of his translation that it was "translated into English immediately from the Original Arabic, with explanatory NOTES, taken from the most approved COMMENTARIES" (Sale: 1734: ii, emphasis in original). This statement by Sale highlights two issues: first, the originality of his work, which adds credibility and authority to the work itself. This is achieved by highlighting that it was translated from 'the original Arabic'. Credibility is further enhanced by his claim that the translation is supported by NOTES taken from the most approved COMMENTARIES, where the words 'notes', and 'commentaries' are capitalised for emphasis. Second, the statement endorses Sales' own knowledge of the source language, and culture through the use of 'immediately', which enhances Sale's cultural capital.

Sale, on the bases of his Cartesian scholarly approach, questioned the Western understanding of the 'other' when he said: "Mohammed gave his Arabs the best religion he could, as well as the best laws, preferable. At least, to those of the ancient pagan lawgivers, I confess I cannot see why he deserves not equal respect" (Sale 1734: ii; Elmarsafy 2009: 42). Translation, however, is not free from external influences exerted by the authority, and it is affected by the relationship between the field of translation and the field of power. In the 'Preliminary Discourse', Sale sounded apologetic about his translation of the *Qur'an*. Conscious of the possible consequences, were the translation to cause offence to the authority, Sale wrote to Lord John saying "I should think myself under a necessity of making an apology for presenting

the following translation” (Sale: 1734: ii). These influences, it could be argued, may cause the translator to assume a certain approach to translation and not another.

As much as translation was the medium and means for projecting a polemic antagonistic perceptions and representations of Islam during the medieval period, it was again the medium and means for challenging these perceptions and representations during the Enlightenment period and into the contemporary history.

During the late Nineteenth, early Twentieth Century, representations of Islam to the English speaking world shifted as a result of the emergence of translations of the *Qur'an* by Muslims. This new mode of translating Islam in general and translating the *Qur'an* in particular, was the result of two major factors. First, the Muslims’ need for translating the *Qur'an* into English to deal with Christian missionary efforts after they started their “offensive against a politically humiliated Islam” in the Eighteenth Century by advancing “their own translations of the *Qur'an*” (Kidwai 1987: 66). These European translations were seen by Muslims as an incorrect and disconcerting European version of the Muslim scripture (ibid). The second factor was that a large number of non-Arabic speaking people were embracing Islam (ibid).

Translations of the *Qur'an* by Muslims were underpinned by the Muslims’ ‘pious enthusiasm’ to refute the allegations levelled by the Christian missionaries against Islam in general, and the *Qur'an* in particular (ibid). Also, they were meant to serve two aims: one, to present an ‘accurate’ translation of the Qur’anic text from an Islamic standpoint, as well as an ‘authentic’ summary of its teaching to the European world. The other, is to serve those Muslims whose

only access to the Qur'anic revelation was through the medium of European languages, particularly English, since it was deemed as the most important language at the time (ibid).

Sale's translation led to the emergence of a new position / possibility in the field of translating Islam. Hourani (1980), states that the history of the discipline focuses on a conflict between Islam as a text, and Islam as a living entity. In other words, early translations of Islam in general and of the *Qur'an* in particular, interpreted Islam as a text that can be read. In contrast, translations of Islam during the Enlightenment era, such as Sale's, saw Islam as a living reality relating to real people living within the same socio-cultural world as the *Qur'an* (ibid). Thus, the consequential restructuring meant that there are new oppositional positions in the field. One position occupied by the advocates of the old *doxa*, and who represent Islam and Muslims as textual inscriptions, e.g., Marracci, and the other, occupied by the avant-garde translators who represent Islam and Muslims as living beings, e.g., Sale. Elmarsafy (2009: 47) emphasises Hourani's claims and argues that "Marracci treats the *Qur'an* as a text in relation to other texts; Sale treats the *Qur'an* as a text in relation to other texts and in relation to other people". Elmarsafy also comments on the stylistic difference between the two translational approaches by saying "Marracci cannot keep himself from disowning the text", but regards Sale as being "faithful to the *Qur'an*". Elmarsafy further stresses that it is "Sale's willingness to subsume his own voice to that of the text" which demonstrates his faithfulness to the source text (ibid: 48).

It is safe to argue that at the present time Islam has become synonymous with a political system. It is also safe to argue that current knowledge and values about Islam and Muslims are not what they used to be in the Anglo-American culture. The representation of Islam as a

political system and the role of translation in these 'heterodoxic' representations, as well as the relation between the field of translating Islam and other fields, such as the field of power, is the subject of the next chapter.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that since Arabic is the language of the *Qur'an* (the founding text of Islam) it is inevitable that any knowledge, old and/or new, emerging in English, or in any other language for that matter, about Islam with all its facets must have crossed the language barrier through some form of translation. Furthermore, as much as translation was employed to argue against Islam, it was deployed to argue for Islam during the Enlightenment period. This places translation right at the heart of any formed images or consecrated perceptions about Islam and Muslims, and illustrates that translation is an indispensable element of the historical process of the construction of the images of Islam and Muslims in the English readers' imagination.

Bourdieu's sociological model helped us to understand the translation of Islam as a *socially situated activity*, and offered us the opportunity to explore the genesis of the field of translation of Islam and the tensions within it, the capital on offer and the competition for it, as well as the role of the various agents in the production and dissemination of the representations of Islam and Muslims. Translation is a process of mediation and is produced by agents who are situated in a social world. This in turn implies that our access to, and understanding of Islam is mediated.

Chapter four

Translating Political Islam: Agency in the translation of Hassan al-Banna's *Towards the Light* نحو النور

Introduction

Chapter three examined the genesis of the field of translating Islam, and identified the positions within, and the boundaries of, that field in the Bourdieusian sense. Towards the 1940s and 1950s a new Islamic discourse emerged in Arabic, particularly in Egypt, negotiating the ideological space between 'state' and 'religion'. As a consequence, the field developed from translating Islam, to translating political Islam, i.e., from translating Islam as a religion to translating Islam as a political system. One of the two aims of this chapter is to investigate the development of the field and the emergence of new positions and position takings within it. The other aim of this chapter is to analyse the agency of the translator, the relationship between the field of translating political Islam and the field of power, and the possible effects agents' contributions may have had on the imminent narrative as a consequence. The chapter will engage with the translation of Hassan al-Banna's *Towards the Light* نحو النور as a case in point.

This chapter is motivated by the following research question; how could Bourdieu's sociology, particularly his understanding of agency, help us to explain the activities in the field of translating political Islam?

4. Islamic political discourse, Political Islam, Islamism: in search for a meaning

The representations of Islam as a political system are diverse, and communicate a wide range of issues such as family, gender, education, economy, social welfare, and the state, to name but a few. They also relate to different nations and regions whether it is the Middle East, Far

East, Africa, or Central Asia. Moreover, they involve different languages such as Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Malay, as well as many others. However, this research is restricted to analysing the representations of Islam as a political system in the Anglo-American culture through translated texts from Arabic into English. The focus will also favour written texts over speeches and other practices. This chapter seeks to situate these translations in the social and cultural contexts in which they are embedded, and to explore the particular partisans and audiences they seek to address.

Over the last few decades, Islam has become central to a wide range of political activities, arguments and opposition movements. Calvert (2008: 1) argues that the term ‘political Islam’, ‘الإسلام السياسي’, has been adopted by many scholars and analysts in order to frame this “seemingly unprecedented rapid and invasive” increase of Islamic religion into the “secular domain of politics”. This is mainly to distinguish these practices from the “subsumed in Western scholarship under the unmarked category Islam” (ibid). Jackson (2007: 401) suggests that the discourse in the first place is based on the exploitation of a series of core labels, terms, and discursive formations, including: ‘the Islamic world’, ‘the West’, ‘the Islamic revival’, ‘Islamism’, ‘extremism’, ‘radicalism’, ‘fundamentalism’, ‘religious terrorism’, ‘jihadists’, ‘Wahhabis’, and ‘Salafis’. Significantly, in their textual usage, he adds, “these terms are often vaguely defined (if at all) yet culturally loaded and highly flexible in the way they are deployed” (ibid: 401).

Translation has played an important role in the representation of Islam as a political system, and the terminology used to deal with, and describe the phenomenon has crossed the

language divide over the years. Terms such as: political Islam الإسلامي السياسي, Islamism الإسلامية, radical Islam الراديكالي, Islamic activism النشاط السياسي الإسلامي, Islamic revivalism الإحياء الإسلامي, Islamic fundamentalism الأصولية الإسلامية, and 'more controversially' Islamo-fascism الفاشية الإسلامية are perhaps the more popular references used by observers, researchers, political analysts, and the media in the Anglo-American culture at present, to express the contemporary phenomenon of Islamic resurgence (Calvert 2008). However, some of these terms originated not in Arabic but in other languages, mostly French and English, to refer to issues that had no relation to the modern phenomenon of Islamic political activism.

For example, the term *Islamism*, according to Kramer (2003), first appeared in French in the mid-eighteenth century when the French philosopher Voltaire³⁵ (1694 – 1778) coined the term *Islamismè*. It did not then refer to the modern ideological mix of Islam and politics, which had not yet come into being. Rather, it was a synonym for the religion of the Muslims, which was at that time known in French as 'Mahomatisme', the religion professed and taught by the Prophet Mohammad. Since its introduction by Voltaire, the term *Islamismè*, its use, and what it refers to has been subject to change, as well as being a matter for debate amongst scholars and analysts studying Islam. Kramer also argues that in 1838, Alexis de Tocqueville³⁶ (1805 – 1859) wrote an article claiming that he found the root of *Islamismè* in Judaism.

³⁵ Voltaire (1694-1778) was a French historian, philosopher, and writer during the Enlightenment era. He is known for his advocacy for freedom of religion, freedom of expression, free trade and separation of church and state (Holmes 2000: 345).

³⁶ Alexis-Charles-Henri de Tocqueville was a French historian, political analyst and an advocate of the classical liberal political tradition. He was concerned with social conditions and the State in Western societies, and his *Democracy in America* is considered an early work of sociology and political science (Hansen 2009).

Voltaire used the term *Islamisme* to refer to the religion without the present-day sense of political utilization (ibid). However, during the nineteenth century the use of the term expanded in Europe and was used to refer to the followers of Islam. It is in this sense too, argues Kramer, that the term *Islamism* appeared in 1900 in *The New English Dictionary*³⁷. The dictionary's entry defined *Islamism* as "the religious system of the Moslems", and defined *Islamist* as "an orthodox Mohammedan" (ibid). Thus, the French term *Islamisme*, and its English counterpart *Islamism* and later the emergence of the term *Islamist* were originally used to denote Islam the religion, and its followers respectively. The use of these terms, nevertheless, expired towards the middle of the nineteenth century because Western writers realized that they had a Muslim audience, who resented their use (Gibb 1949: 1). The use of *Islamism* in particular began to fade from the lexicon at the beginning of the twentieth century because enlightened scholars favoured the shorter Arabic term 'Islam'. Both terms, *Islamist* and *Islamism*, were replaced with the terms Muslim to refer to the believer, and Islam to refer to the religion (Kramer 2003).

The rise of an ideological and political reading of Islam in the Anglo-American culture challenged scholars and commentators to find an alternative to differentiate Islam as a contemporary ideology from Islam as a 'faith', and the word 'fundamentalism' was the answer (Lewis 1988). The term fundamentalism originated in America in the 1920s when it was initially used by Protestant Christians who wanted to reaffirm their trust in the exact text of the Bible and the "fundamentals" of Christian belief, thus, calling themselves fundamentalists. The term was later used in relation to Islam and the expression '*Islamic fundamentalists*' was used by

³⁷ The New English Dictionary is now known as *The Oxford English Dictionary*

the British historian Toynbee in 1929. However, Calvert (2008) argues that from the context, it is evident that Toynbee used the term fundamentalists to denote Muslim traditionalists, and not the activists who founded the Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt in the same year.

It was almost fifty years later that '*Islamic fundamentalism*' was used extensively in the Anglo-American media covering the Islamic revolution in Iran, and in 1990, the term entered *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (ibid). Despite the unrestrained use and the high profile the term enjoyed in the media, scholars retreated from using it according to Lewis (1988: 117). This was because, in their view, "Fundamentalist is a Christian term" and that the label of fundamentalist unfairly stigmatizes forward-thinking Muslims. Furthermore, the use of the term in an Islamic context is questioned by other scholars such as Halliday and Esposito (1992: 7) who argue that;

'Fundamentalist' is pejorative or derogatory, being applied rather indiscriminately to all those who advocate a literalist biblical position and thus are regarded as static, retrogressive, and extremist. As a result, fundamentalism often has been regarded popularly as referring to those who are literalists and wish to return to and replicate the past. In fact, few individuals or organizations in the Middle East fit such a stereotype. Indeed, many fundamentalist leaders have had the best education, enjoy responsible positions in society, and are adept at harnessing the latest technology to propagate their views and create viable modern institutions such as schools, hospitals, and social service agencies.

Esposito stresses that, although 'fundamentalism' is often associated with political activism, extremism, fanaticism, terrorism, and anti-Americanism, which is "a prejudgment by label", the term 'fundamentalism' has some academic advocates (ibid). Marty and Appleby (1994: 3) claim that in 1988 the University of Chicago, backed by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, launched 'The Fundamentalism Project' as an effort to legitimize the term. In the

project 'fundamentalism' was defined as "a strategy, or set of strategies, by which beleaguered believers attempt to preserve their distinctive identity as a people or group [...] by a selective retrieval of doctrines, beliefs, and practices from a sacred past" (ibid: 3). Further support to the use of the term came from the Dutch 'expert' on Islamic movements, Johannes Jansen, in his 1997 book *The Dual Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism*, where he reinforced this argument by claiming that "the term was convenient" (Jansen 1997: ix).

Translation from French into English played a major role in establishing another term used to frame the Islamic movements. In 1984, the French sociologist of Islam, Gilles Kepel, published a book with the title *Les mouvements islamistes dans l'Egypte contemporaine* which was translated to English a year later as *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*. The English translator seems to have difficulty with Kepel's extensive use of 'islamiste' and translated it as "Islamicist". He added a footnote in the translation making this apology: "The term 'Islamicist' is used throughout to render the French 'islamiste' (Kramer 2003: 65-77).

The debate over the use of one term or another, in the West, and the shift in its preference could be measured by running terms against one another on internet search engines. *The Middle East Quarterly* conducted a Google search in 2003 which resulted the following:

- The exact phrases 'Muslim fundamentalists' and 'Islamic fundamentalists' together returned 45,300 results.
- 'Islamists' returned 82,100 results.
- The exact phrases 'Muslim fundamentalism' and 'Islamic fundamentalism' together returned 58,280 results.

- 'Islamism' returned 23,900 results.

The search concluded that the clear preference is for 'Islamists', but also described the return on 'Islamism' as strong. However, the report noted that the major print media outlet in the United States, *The New York Times*, uses neither Islamism nor Islamists. It bears pointing out that the report did not mention which terms are favoured by *The New York Times*. This could be the subject of future research.

Political Islam, Islamism, Islamic fundamentalism, and all the other terms used in this context remain ambiguous to some extent, not least because all represent Western attempts to concisely characterize a complex phenomenon for which there is no single agreed-upon term in the Arabic language, according to Du Pasquire (1992) and Massad (2010). Although some, or perhaps all of these terms may succeed in depicting an aspect of the phenomenon, none, exclusively, covers its entire meaning (Du Pasquire 1992). One can argue that the definition of the term 'Political Islam', which is the term I intend to use in reference to the phenomenon, infrequently varies. What 'political Islam' actually means is uncertain and continues to be a debated issue between scholars, think-tanks, political analysts, and politicians. This is demonstrated by the wide range of definitions offered by different people who are involved with, or interested in the study of political Islam. For example, Berman (2003: 258) offers a broad definition of political Islam as "the belief that Islam should guide social and political as well as personal life". Berman's definition conforms to Shepard's (1996) definition of Political Islam as "the [Islamic] ideology that guides society as a whole and that [teaches] law must be in conformity with the Islamic *Shari'a*" (Shepard 1996: 40, emphasis in original). Eikmeier

(2007), however, argues that Political Islam is a set of ideologies proclaiming that Islam is not only a religion but also a political system which stresses the enforcement of Islamic law *Shari'a*. It calls for the omission of non-Muslim Western military, economic, political, social, and cultural influences in the Muslim world, which they believe to be 'irreconcilable with Islam's way of life' (ibid). Graham (2003) on the contrary argues that political Islam's doctrine is less strict, and can be defined as a form of 'identity politics' supporting Muslim identity and aiming for the renaissance of the Muslim community. Osman (2010: 111) offers another definition arguing that political Islam is "an alternative social provider to the poor masses; an angry platform for the disillusioned young; a loud trumpet-call announcing a return to the pure religion to those seeking an identity; a progressive, moderate religious platform for the affluent and liberal, [...] and at the extremes, a violent vehicle for rejectionists and radicals". Robert Pelletreau, Jr.³⁸ (1996: para. 9) defines political Islam, which he prefers to call Islamism, as a "movement of Muslims who draw upon the belief, symbols, and language of Islam to inspire, shape, and animate political activity, which may contain moderate, tolerant, peaceful activists, and/or those who preach intolerance and espouse violence". Another definition is suggested by Halliday (2006) that Political Islam is the organised political tendency, owing its modern origin to the establishing of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928, which seeks to solve modern political problems by reference to Muslim texts. Halliday further elaborates his definition to say that political Islam is the whole body of thought which seeks to invest society with Islam. This process, in his view, may be used as means for integration, but may also be a call for traditionalism, or could be used by reform-minded people as a path to revolutionism

³⁸ Robert H. Pelletreau, Jr was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in the U.S. Department of State in 1996

(ibid). A counter definition is offered by Ayatollah Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah, the spiritual mentor of Hezbollah. Fadlallah states that political Islam is “a term used by outsiders to denote a strand of activity which they think justifies their misconception of Islam as something rigid and immobile, a mere tribal affiliation” (Kramer 2003: 72).

This array of definitions demonstrates that there is no consensus on what ‘political Islam’ means. However, it is clear that they all refer to, and deal with, Muslims engaged in a dialogue about the tenets of Islam and the role of religion in the public sphere, and who draw on Islamic principles and teaching as the foundation for their thoughts. Nevertheless, I am inclined to agree with the view that the definition offered by Halliday is more pertinent to this phenomenon than the other definitions because Sayyid Qutb, like Hassan Al-Banna before him, is considered by Middle Eastern Scholars and analysts to be the pioneer of political Islam in the modern era. Qutb was a leading member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood movement in the 1950s and '60s, and was vocal about what he thought was the social and political role of Islam. He denounced the Western lifestyle on many occasions, and opposed what he saw as a Westernisation process in the Muslim world. Qutb wrote extensively about the form and function of an Islamic state, particularly in his books *العدالة الاجتماعية في الإسلام* *Social Justice in Islam* (1949) which is the subject of analysis in chapter five, *في ظلال القرآن* *In the Shade of the Qur'an* (1954) and *معالم في الطريق* *Milestones* (1964). These three publications, in particular, and their translations are referenced, quoted and re-quoted by most, if not all, of those who study or write about the modern day phenomenon known as ‘political Islam’.

4.1 The field of translation and political Islam: shifting boundaries

The emergence and rise of the mode of thinking, reading, and interpreting Islam as a political system posed a challenge to the English language and particularly to translators. Hanafi (2009) argues that the debate about Islamism, which I prefer to call political Islam, is in essence, a debate among Western Orientalists seeking to find a suitable term to represent and portray contemporary Islamic movements using violence as means to achieve their goals. The problem from the translators' point of view is how to use their own language, which is embedded in their own culture to describe events from another language and culture. This is problematic because although each term in one language may have 'equivalents' in the other language, that does not necessarily guarantee that these equivalents correspond absolutely to each other (ibid). In order to resolve this dilemma, Western writers, scholars, and researchers, writing about Islam in English, resorted to coining new terms rather than using equivalents to the available Arabic words. Thus, a whole new range of words such as those ending with -ist and -ism- were invented and infiltrated the context of political Islam. Indigenous Arabic words such as حركات movements, توجهات inclinations, جماعات groups, and تيارات currents, were overlooked and replaced with the culturally bounded and ideologically loaded -ist and -ism- words, which deal with the "means of expression and communication rather than things themselves" (Hanafi 2009: 65). Moreover, Volpi (2011) observes that other words such as *Jihad*, *Jihadist*, *Fatwa*, and *Shari'a* were preserved in their indigenous form and transliterated into English which seem to add certain connotations to the context of Islamic politics and load it with ideological presuppositions.

This linguistic debate about political Islam came about as a result of the emergence of the Muslim Brothers movement in Egypt in 1928, when Hassan al-Banna founded an organization called *Al-Ikhwan Al-Musilmun* الإخوان المسلمون, known in English as the Society of Muslim Brothers, or, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB). Al-Banna understood Islam not only as a religion, but also as a complete system that goes beyond worshipping, a system which encompasses the entire way of life for Muslims, including political life. The new ideology stemming from this understanding gave rise to a new Islamic discourse. This in turn, led to the emergence of a new mode of translation and new type of translators. The boundaries and internal structure of the field of translating Islam and the possibilities/positions within it were altered as a consequence.

- **First, in terms of text type.** Here we can identify two new contrasting positions: religious text vs. religio-political discourse. Writings by Hassan al-Banna such as *قضيبتنا our cause*, الرسائل *Epistles*, السلام في الإسلام *peace in Islam*, بيان المنهج *the manifesto*, and مذكرات *Memoirs*, introduced Islam in a new political surrounding, rhetoric and lexicon. Al-Banna developed a new ideological concept, which could be described as Pan-Islamic Nationalism, insisting that Islam and Nationalism are complementary, particularly if the latter operates within the parameter of the Islamic faith and teaching. For al-Banna, Islam was naturally both a 'religion' and a 'state'. This new discourse discussed Islam not as a theology but as a social and political programme for implementation. This new concept was accompanied by a new type of discourse. Translations of this discourse are handled by a new generation of translators, who are

not churchmen or clerics; rather they are academics, social scientists, and political analysts.

- **Second, in terms of the mode of translation.** Here we can identify two positions: translating whole Arabic source texts vs. translating excerpts. Political Islam became a matter for debate and a phenomenon for analysis by various parties. Consequently, translating political Islam took the new form of excerpts embedded in writings about the subject matter. Also a new type of specialists/experts emerged and engaged in the study of the phenomenon, some of whom had direct access to the Arabic language such as Charles Wendell³⁹, Bernard Lewis, and Emmanuel Sivan, others did not, and relied on the available translations related to the topic, such as Luke Loboda.
- **Third, in terms of orientation of the translation.** Here we can identify two new possibilities, politically oriented translation conducted for policy making aims vs. socially oriented translation most likely conducted for understanding the trajectory of historical change.
- **Fourth, in terms of the translators themselves.** Here we can identify some new positions:
 - The academic researcher, mostly autonomous seeking an unbiased explanation of the phenomenon from an academic point of view vs. the political analyst most likely motivated by political ambitions.

³⁹ Charles Wendell (1919-1982) was born in New York City. In 1953, he received his B.A. from the New School for Social Research in New York. In 1961 he enrolled in UCLA where he was also an instructor of Arabic, and he received his PhD from UCLA in 1967. Wendell was a linguist and was fluent in French, German, Italian, Spanish, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Turkish, Latin, and Greek. In 1967 Wendell joined the faculty at Santa Barbara as an Assistant Professor of Arabic. He contributed to several books on Middle Eastern culture and civilization. His later books included *The Evolution of the Egyptian National Image: from its Origins to Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid*, and *Five Tracts of Hasán al-Banná* both by UC Press. *In Memoriam*. Retrieved 08 February, 2013, from http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/~ucalhist/archives_exhibits/in_memoriam/losangeles1.html

- Free-lance translators motivated by economic capital gains vs. government translators producing translation for policy makers.
- **Fifth, in terms of identity.** Here we find:
 - Positions occupied by non-Muslim translators vs. positions occupied by Muslim translators.
 - Positions occupied by non-Arab translators vs. positions occupied by Arab translators.
- **Sixth, in terms of publishers.** Here we find:
 - Commercial press motivated by financial profit vs. academic press mostly motivated by the curiosity of knowing.
- **Seventh, in terms of readership.** Here we find:
 - Politicians vs. laypersons
 - Academics vs. non-academics
 - Sociologists vs. non-sociologists
 - English speaking western readers vs. English speaking non-western readers
- **Eighth, in terms of the source text.** Here we can identify two positions: one occupied by translators of the sacred text, *Qur'an* and/or Hadith vs. positions occupied by translators of non-sacred text, e.g., writings by Islamic theorists such as al-Banna and Qutb.
- **Ninth, in terms of projection.** Here we can notice that two new positions have emerged through the deployment of excerpts in reporting Islam. One position representing political Islam as a rigid and violent movement, which is mainly presented

by Western security minded approaches vs. another position presenting political Islam as a mode of thought which represents those who believe that Islam is a body of faith that has something to say about how society should be organised, usually presented by social analysts (Volpi 2011).

- **Tenth, in terms of modes of representation.** Here we can identify two new poles of representation of Islam. Gibb (1949) argues that the two dichotomist positions representing Islam are correspondent to two groups of writings. One is mainly professing Muslims who are anxious to defend their faith and its associated culture from the variety of indictments which have been laid against it. This group aims to counterattack their opponents. The other group of writings emanate from those whose view is coloured by the belief that Islam is an Inferior religion. In other words, the dichotomy is between those who sympathise with the new Muslim movements, and protest that the labels used to describe the Islamic movements unfairly stigmatise forward-thinking Muslims, on the one hand, and those who did not sympathise with the new Muslim movements, on the other. In the former group there are well-known actors like John Esposito, Edward Said, Tarek Ramadan⁴⁰, and Sadik al-Azm⁴¹, while in the latter, there are Bernard Lewis, Emmanuel Sivan, Gilles Kepel, and the Dutch Islamicist J. J. G. Jansen, to name but a few.

⁴⁰ Tariq Ramadan (1962 -) is the grandson of Hassan al-Banna. He is a Swiss academic, writer, and a Professor of Contemporary Islamic Studies in the Faculty of Oriental Studies at Oxford University. (tariqramadan.com)

⁴¹ Sadiq Jalal al-Azm (1934-) is a religious critic from Syria. He is a professor of Modern European Philosophy and currently teaches in Antwerp, Belgium. He is a human right activist, strong supporter of the separation of church and state, and a main contributor to the Orientalism discourse. (Eurozine.com)

These positions in the field of translating political Islam are not static, and their location within the structure of the field is not fixed, but depends on the translators' trajectory within the field, and on the influences exerted from outside the field. The materialization of the new positions and the possibilities for position-taking, prompted a struggle within the field over the right of naming the phenomenon and its people, and consequently, influenced the boundaries of the field.

4.2 The interface between the field of translation and the field of power

Translation as an activity does not take place in an ideal disinterested world. Rather, it eventuates in a social and political environment, with agents who have vested interests in the production and consumption of texts across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Translation is not a mere process of faithful linguistic reproduction, but it, invariably, involves conscious deliberate acts of selection, construction, and omission (Tymoczko & Gentzler 2002: xxi). The translation of Islam in general and political Islam in particular is subjected to the same prejudices. Gibb (1949: VI) argues that "most writers approach the subject of Mohammedanism [*Islam*] from one or another of two opposed points of view, neither of which is free from conscious prejudgement" (emphasis added). Gunning (2000: 2) understands political Islam as "the ideology advocating the creation of a society and state based on Islamic principles". She stresses that the representation of political Islam as a violent, anti-pluralistic, and anti-democratic monolith, is a representation based on the view that Muslim activists 'habitually' engage in hostility against ideological 'others', deprecate Western style democracy, and insist on the unconditional sovereignty of God (ibid). Gunning continues this depiction;

fails to explain, beyond dismissing them as insincere, such non-violent, pluralistic and democratic-like instances as Islamists conducting elections to select their leaders, cooperating with ideological 'others' and advocating contractarian⁴² theories of government, which grant non-Muslims near-equal political rights to Muslims. (Gunning 2000: 3)

The various interests of the actors in this field are inextricably linked to issues of tension, conflict, cultural dominance, assertion, and resistance, in other words, to power (Gibb 1949). Although the Church, governments, publishers, political establishments, and other influential institutions could influence the translation process, the translation product, similarly, could persuade governments' policies, and, consequently, influence the social world. This implies that translation has an inherent power. It also implies that translation is recurrently the site of a variety of power plays between the field's agents, for a variety of reasons ranging from monetary gain to cultural hegemony (Fawcett 1995: 177). It also means that translators possess a considerable amount of influence which they could exert through their translations by introducing new ideas and modes of expression. Thus, contributing to ideological negotiations and/or cultural struggles (Tymoczko & Gentzler 2002: xxi). Stafsudd (2005: 5) argues that the power of persuasion is a function of the legitimacy an agent possesses in the eyes of others, and the issue of whether an agent is believable or not, depends on what resources this agent is drawing upon. In Bourdieu's terms, this means it becomes a manifestation of cultural, social and symbolic capitals.

The field of translation, its structure, and boundaries are influenced by its relationship with the field of power, publishers, think tanks, government bodies, academic establishments, as well

⁴² Contractarian tradition is about ethical and political thought. The Contractarian arguments use a procedure of collective choice, i.e., social contract, to show how legitimate political institutions might arise, and the social contract is used to justify principles of social justice (Mapel 2006: 181-82).

as other forms of formal power in the social world in which translation is produced. Although the existence of resistance is implied, the translation product, nonetheless, is the result of multiple processes of agency (Baker 2006: 106). Translation is also dependant on the actors' position in the social world (Inghilleri 2005: 126). That is to say, translation is dependent on external factors, i.e., institutions, or what Bourdieu calls other fields, as well as internal factors, i.e., the procedure, and the translators' *habitus* (Gouanvic 2005). Consequently, the representations of political Islam in the field of translation are prejudiced by the field of power. For example, Hamilton Gibb (1895–1971), Bernard Lewis (1916–), Gilles Kepel (1955–), and Emmanuel Sivan⁴³ (1935–) are well known figures in the field of research on political Islam and the study of Islamic movements. All are associated with, and influenced by their affiliation with the field of power. Ansari (2011) argues that their interest in Islam and the current affairs of Muslims 'undoubtedly' stems from their desire to influence policy-makers and policy-making. Gibb's own conviction that a careful study of the Muslim peoples' detailed past and beliefs was essential for effective policy-making, underpinned his involvement and contributions in the field (ibid). Equally, Lewis's advice on Islam and Islamic movements has been frequently sought by policymakers, including the George W. Bush administration and the Israeli government. Elliott (2004: 85) argues that "it is only in the past few years that the depth of Lewis' influence on key U.S. policymakers has become clear". He also stresses that "no scholar has had more influence than Lewis on the decision to wage war in Iraq" (ibid). Bostom (2013) highlights the

⁴³ Emmanuel Sivan was born in the Kibbutz Kfar Ha-Koresh and educated at the Hebrew University (BA, MA) and at the Sorbonne (PhD). Currently he is Professor of Islamic Studies at the Hebrew University and Visiting Professor at Columbia University, Rutgers, Princeton. He served in Israel's Prime Minister's Office as advisor on Middle Eastern Affairs under Shimon Peres (1984-1986) Yitzhak Rabin (1992-1995) and Ehud Barak (2000-2001). Sivan is a regular commentator on Islamic movements for Israeli television and writes for the Israeli press. Since 1996 he is editorial page writer for the daily Haaretz. (<http://cosmos.ucc.ie/cs1064/jabowen/IPSC/php/authors.php?aid=2089>).

influence of Lewis in the context of political Islam, and highlights his connection to the field of power by stressing that;

Lewis's legacy of intellectual and moral confusion has greatly hindered the ability of sincere American policymakers to think clearly about Islam's living imperial legacy. Ongoing highly selective and celebratory presentations of Lewis's understandings are pathognomonic of the dangerous influence Lewis continues to wield over his uncritical acolytes and supporters. (Bostom (2013: para. 3)

Bernard Lewis is not a translator per se; rather he is a historian, a thinker, and writer. He uses his access to Arabic to source information and material, which he uses in support of his arguments in the form of excerpts embedded within his writings about Islamic culture and politics.

Emmanuel Sivan is another example of the reciprocal influence between the field of power, and the field of translating political Islam. He is a regular commentator on political Islam and Islamic movements for Israeli newspapers and television. Sivan's advice is often sought by the Israeli government. Sivan's power of persuasion is a function of his cultural and social capital. In terms of cultural capital, he is a well-grounded scholar and a lecturer in Tel Aviv University. He has a mature social capital in the form of connections to a network of influential organizations, such as, The Rockefeller Foundation⁴⁴, and the American based think tank and publisher, The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). This network of social relations, combined with his cultural capital, perform two functions. First, they increase his power of persuasion, which in turn intensifies the effect of his translations on the target reader. They also act to

⁴⁴ The Rockefeller foundation was founded by the Rockefeller family which is considered the most influential family in the United States. For more information about the Rockefeller Foundation see <http://www.infowars.com/documents-reveal-rockefeller-foundation-actively-engaged-in-mass-mind-control/>. Also see: http://www.theforbiddenknowledge.com/hardtruth/the_rockefeller_bloodline.htm

consecrate, and reproduce his accumulated capital according to Bourdieu. Sivan's contributions in the representations of political Islam deserve a greater degree of analysis, particularly, his book *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (1985). Similar to Lewis, Sivan uses his knowledge of, and access to Arabic, to source his subject's material. Campbell⁴⁵ (1985), wrote a review of the book in which he highlights Sivan's access to, and use of Arabic sources;

He shows how the movement against secularism, Westernization, and materialism has developed as a result of disillusion with other ideologies (liberalism, Nasserism, Marxism). Drawing mainly on the writings of Sayyid Qutb and his followers, the book highlights the potential political role of the radical wing of the movement, strongly based in the universities, which has embraced terror and violent revolution. (Campbell 1985: para. 1)

In the preface to *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* Sivan states that:

for reasons that had to do with access to, and availability of, source material [...] as field surveys of the radical phenomenon are unfortunately impossible, the psychosocial makeup of the movement cannot be fathomed satisfactorily [...] for much the same reasons it was also very difficult to trace the modes of oral transmission of ideas. (Sivan 1990: xi)

This statement raises two important issues in relation to the representations of Islamic political movements: credibility of the knowledge and access to facts. The credibility of the knowledge emerging from the study is questionable, bearing in mind his admission to the lack of access, and consequently the probability of reaching unsatisfactory conclusions about the group(s) under study. With regard to access, if all the necessary facts were not available to Sivan, how much did his agency, i.e., his dispositions and preconceptions, affect the emerging narrative? And what is the effect of this narrative on the target audience?

⁴⁵ John Campbell is a member of the *Council on Foreign Relations* (CFR) in Washington.

The functions of the translator's preface are explanatory, normative, and/or informative (Dimitriu 2009). In line with these functions, Sivan's preface, though short, is used to explain his end-product to his readers. In so doing, Sivan seeks to justify his selection of authors and texts by offering personal reasons, which Steiner (1975: 362) calls 'elective affinities', and which according to Dimitriu (2009: 197) are 'highly subjective'. Sivan's choice of his topic, i.e., radical Islam, was in principle, a reaction to a conversation he engaged-in with members of the public in a bookshop in Cairo who were buying books of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Kathir, two Muslim scholars from the Middle Ages whom Sivan calls "master theoreticians of Jihad" (Sivan 1990: xi). In a subtle manner, consciously or otherwise, Sivan tries to moderate the subjectivity issue, and at the same time, add some credibility to his work. This is interpreted as accruing of capital in the light of Bourdieu's sociology. Sivan achieves that by claiming that he "embarked upon a scholarly inquiry into this phenomenon" (Sivan 1985). That brings into the equation all the integrity and authority of unbiased scholarly research. Credit and authority of scholarly research are what Bourdieu calls 'disinterestedness', discussed in chapter two. Sivan's claim for 'scholarly inquiry', and the reliability and authority of the knowledge emerging from this enquiry are thrown into doubt on the basis of another statement that he made in relation to his subject of enquiry. Relative to his examination of political Islam, Sivan (2010: para. 1) states that "due to the lack of reliable public opinion polls, authoritarian rule, and media outlets which are trained what to say, it is not surprising that the assessments of the man on the street are so incomprehensible and based merely on impressions and gut feelings". This statement calls into question whether 'scholarly enquiry' could be based 'merely' on 'impressions and gut feelings'.

The weight of other social influences on translation is also evident in Sivan's preface. He was encouraged to write this work by the Rockefeller Foundation. He states clearly at the end of his preface that, "this expanded and updated edition was written in the idyllic setting provided by the Rockefeller Foundation's Study and Conference Centre at Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy. My thanks to the foundation, the centre, and their staff" (Sivan 2009: xi). The Rockefeller Foundation was established in 1913 to promote the well-being of humanity around the world, they claim. However, the organization is well acquainted with the American administration since its establishment. Isaacson (2005: 72) asserts that, one of the well-known trustees of the institution was C. Douglas Dillon, the United States Secretary of the Treasury under both Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. The foundation also supported some of the early initiatives of Henry Kissinger, such as his directorship of Harvard's International Seminars and the early foreign policy magazine *Confluence*.

The credibility of Sivan's argument, and thus, the narrative he suggests are questionable at another level. Throughout his book, Sivan frequently refers to two Arabic magazines *Al-Da'wa* and *Al-I'tisam*, which are currently out of print, and available only in the Egyptian national archive. Having consulted the Egyptian national archive in Cairo in June 2011, close examination of Sivan's book reveals some interesting observations. Sivan (1990) discusses the fury towards the mass media of Muslim activists in some Arab countries: Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon in particular. In support of his argument, Sivan provides the following passage in the form of an excerpt translated from Arabic:

the fundamentalists litanies is "Islam is isolate from life" ... the electronic media carry out a destructive campaign that overwhelms the efforts of religious militants by "broadcasting

indecent and vulgar songs, belly-dancing, melodramas on women kidnapped in order to serve in the palaces of rulers, and similar trash". (Sivan 1990: 3)

Sivan (1990: 209), in relation to the above quote, provides the following reference in his endnotes: A. Jarisha, *Shari'at Allah Hakima* (Cairo 1977) chapter 2; *al-Da'wa*, February 1978. This translates as 'God's Law Rules, by A. Jarisha'. An examination of the list of contributors in the February 1978 edition of *al-Da'wa* does not reveal any contribution from A. Jarisha (see Figures 2 & 3)

الله أكبر ولله الحمد



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ وَمَنْ وَالَاهُ

في هذا العدد

٢	عمر التلمساني	افتتاحية العدد
٤	سيد قطب	في ظلال القرآن
٥	ع . ت	في رياض التوحيد
٦	مصطفى مشهور	فقه الدعوة
٨	د . عبد العظيم الطلعتي	اليهود والتعصب والحقد
		كلمة شجاعة موجهة للسلطات الثلاث
١٠	صلاح ابو اسماعيل	الاسلام في امريكا الشمالية
١٢	جابر رزق	١٤٠ قصة في الحديث النبوي
١٤	محمد عبد القدوس	في ذكرى مولدك يا ضياء العالمين
١٦	محمد المطراوى	الد الاسلامي
١٨		أهم الضمانات لمنح استبداد الحاكم
٢٠	د . عباس حسنى	حسن البناء .. مرحلة في تاريخ الكفاح الاسلامي
٢٢	صالح عشموى	الاقتناء
٢٤	.....	ثقافة الداعية
٢٥	د . يوسف القرضاوى	أضواء على الفكر الاقتصادي الاسلامي المعاصر
٢٦	يوسف كمال	الشريعة الاسلامية
٢٨	.....	ماذا يعنى انتمائى للحركة الاسلامية ؟
٢٩	فتحى يكن	شريعة الله وقوانين البشر
٣٠	على طنطاوى	الاخوان المسلمون من صفحات الامس
٣٢	.....	الصحف الاسلامية تقول
٣٥	.....	حضارتنا تبدأ من حيث تنتهى الحضارات
٣٦	د . ابراهيم هلال	الدم الاسلامي أرخص الدماء فى الارض
٣٨	د . عبد الحليم عويس	وطننا الاسلامي
٤٠	.....	الشخصية الاسلامية
٤٢	محمد سيد الاقرع	هذا العبث متى يكون عنه ؟
٤٤	كاظم الظواهري	اليهود والصالح والعرب
٤٦	صلاح شادى	تحو بيت مسلم
٤٨	.....	التياب والجامعات
٥٠	.....	من اعلام الاسلام
٥٣	محمد عبد الله الخطيب	طبيبك المسلم
٥٤	د . سالم نجم	يا مسلمون
٥٦	د . احمد الملقط	خطاب مفتوح الى وزير التعليم
٥٧	مسعود حامد البابل	المجتمع الاسلامي ومخططات الهمم
٥٨	د . عمارة نجيب	مشروع الجمعية الدولية الاسلامية
٦٠	احمد مدنى	يريد الدعوة
٦٢	.....

● العدد ٢١ ● السنة السابعة والعشرون (٣٩٥)

● غرة ربيع الاول ١٣٩٨ - فبراير ١٩٧٨

صحيفة أسبوعية إسلامية جامعة
تصدر شهرياً مؤقتاً
يديرها ويشرف عليها

عمر التلمساني
رئيس التحرير
صالح عشموى

الإدارة: ١ شارع سويز التوفيقية، القاهرة
ت: ٩٧٥٢٩٦٦ ص.ب ١٦٣٦
التوزيع: ٨ ميدان السيدة زينب - القاهرة
ت: ٩٣١٩٦١
مكتبات وكافة: ٦٦ شارع صغير زغلول ت: ٣٩٠٠١
٩ شارع منشا بحرم بك ت: ٢٤١٢٦

الإعلانات

يتفق عليها مع الإدارة

الإشتراكات

- للإشتراكات براهيل جمهورية مصر العربية
- أوروبا وأمريكا وبقية بلاد العالم دولار ونصف للعدد
- وثمانية عشر دولاراً للسنة هالتر العبري الجوى
- الدول العربية والأفريقية :

قيمة الاشتراك	شهر	شهر	شهر
٥,٠٠	سوريا	١٧٥	سوريا
٦,٠٠	لبنان	١٧٥	لبنان
٦,٠٠	الأردن	١٧٥	الأردن
٧,٠٠	العراق	٢٢٥	العراق
٩,٠٠	الكويت	٢٢٥	الكويت
١٠,٠٠	السعودية	٣	السعودية
١٠,٠٠	السودان	١٣٠	السودان
١٠,٠٠	ليبيا	١٦٠	ليبيا
١٠,٠٠	تونس	٢٤٠	تونس
١٠,٠٠	الجزائر	٢٦٠	الجزائر
١٠,٠٠	المغرب	٢٦٠	المغرب
١٠,٠٠	اليمن الجنوبي	٣٣٠	اليمن الجنوبي
١٠,٠٠	اليمن الشمالي	٣٣٠	اليمن الشمالي
١٠,٠٠	البحرين	٢٥٠	البحرين
١٠,٠٠	قطر	٢٥٠	قطر
١٠,٠٠	عمان	٢٥٠	عمان
١٠,٠٠	الإمارات	٢٥٠	الإمارات
١٠,٠٠	أثيوبيا	١٥٠	أثيوبيا
١٠,٠٠	الصومال	١٨	الصومال
١٠,٠٠	هزيتاون	٤٠	هزيتاون

ترسل قيمة الاشتراكات بتحويل باسم
الأستاذ عمر عبد الفتاح التلمساني
بحساب رقم ٤٦٦٨٩ ببنك مصر

Figure 3: Table of content al-Da'wa February 1978.

Inappropriate references could undermine scholarship and its credibility, and mis-citation could, probably, promote narratives that are unsubstantiated by any verifiable evidence (Harzing 1995). From Harzing's statement it is clear that the absence of source would cast a shadow on Sivan's research, and would critically distress the integrity of the emerging knowledge, due to the lack of evidence to substantiate the claims and support the arguments.

In another point of contention (1990: P. 12) Sivan presented the following excerpt arguing that it is a direct translation of part of a reader's letter sent to the magazine in relation to the government policy for birth control.

They try to convince you that the only way out is this operation, but do not breathe a word about the failure of their economic and social reforms or about the egotism of the rich who refuse to help the poor. They just rehash the theme that our land cannot feed new mouths. (Sivan 1990: 12)

Endnote number 22 on page 211 gave the following reference: '*Al-Da'wa*, May 1977, p. 30. Neither the photocopies of the *Al-Da'wa's* front-page, content page and pages 30, and 31 of May 1977 edition (Figs. 4, 5 & 6), nor the content of chapter two of Jarisha's book support the claim made by Sivan.

These added elements form a frame for the main text, and can shape the reception of a text, or its interpretation by the public (Genette 1997). Furthermore, inaccurate referencing can lead to selfperpetuating myths (Dimitriu 2009).



Figure 4: Front cover *al-Da'wa* May 1977.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ وَمَنْ وَاوَاهُ،

فَهْذَا الْعَدَدُ

صفحة	
٢	● وجوب تطبيق الشرع
٤	● فضايا التعذيب
٦	● نظرات في كتاب الله
٧	● في رياض التوحيد
٨	● أبو الحسن الندوي .. يتحدث إلى الدعوة
١٠	● ميادين الجهاد في الإسلام
١٠	● يوسف القرضاوي
١٢	● متى يستجاب لمطالب الأمة
١٤	● فقه الدعوة
١٦	● مصطفى مشهور
١٦	● الإخوان المسلمون وحصار الفالوجا
٢٠	● محمد عبد القدوس
٢٠	● للدعوة كلمة
٢٢	● ١٢ علما مع الامام البنا
٢٢	● عبد البديع صقر
٢٤	● مؤتمر مكة
٢٧	● الافتتاح
٢٨	● الدعوة أم الناعية
٢٨	● محمد سلامة جبر
٣٠	● الاجتهاد بين الطب والشرع
٣٠	● د. عل شهبان
٣٢	● الاخوان المسلمون من صفحات الاسب
٣٥	● ماذا يعني ان اكون مسلما
٣٨	● اسرائيل الحاضر والمستقبل
٣٨	● فتحى يكن
٤٠	● الشباب والجامعات
٤٠	● عبد المنعم سليم
٤٢	● الشباب والجامعات
٤٢	● عل حامش الحوادث والاخبار
٤٢	● صالح عشاوي
٤٥	● كتابة العلوم من وجهة نظر اسلامية
٤٥	● د. زغلول التجار
٤٨	● نحو بيت مسلم
٥٠	● الامام حسن البنا والحقيقة القرآنية
٥٠	● محمد عبد الحكيم خيال
٥٤	● وطننا الاسلامي
٥٦	● سر بداع لأول مرة
٥٨	● وفلسات

الله أكبر والله الحمد

الدعوة

صحيفة اسلامية جامعة
 تصدر شهريا مؤقثا

يديرها ويشرف عليها
عمر التلمساني
 رئيس التحرير
صالح عشاوي

٨ ميدان السيدة زينب
 ص.ب. ١٦٢٦ تلفون ٩٢١٩٦١
 مكب الاسكندرية
 ٦٦ شارع صفية زغلول ت. ٣٩٠٠١

الإعلانات

يتفق عليها مع الإدارة

الاشتراكات

● لا اشتراكات بفعل جمهورية مصر العربية .	
● أوروبا وأمريكا وبالي بلاد العالم دولار ونصف للمد ولعانية عشر دولارا للسنة	
● خالصة البريد الجوي المسجل .	
● الدول العربية والافريقية لمن النسخة	
● خالصة البريد كالاتي :	
سوديا ولبنان ١٧٥ ق.د	
الاذن ١٧٥ فلس	
العراق والكويت ٢٢٥ فلس	
السعودية ٣ ريال	
البحرين ١٣٠ مليم	
ليبيا ١٦٠ درهم	
تونس ٢٤٠ مليم	
الجزائر ٣٦٠ سنتيم	
المغرب ٣٦٠ فرنك	
عن وصفا ٣٣٠ فلس	
الخليج العربي ٣٥٠ فلس	
اليويا واسرة ١٥٠ سنت	
الصومال ١٨ بنى	
فرنكلون ٤٠ سنت	

ترسل قسمة الاشتراكات
 (بشيك مصرفي) فقط على
 أحد بنوك ج.م.ع

مع رجة علم اوسال كويون بريد
 ● المراسلات والشيكات باسم :
 الأستاذ عمر عبد الفتاح التلمساني

Figure 5: Table of content *al-Da'wa* May 1977.

بين الطب والشرع

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

« implantations » / الزرع
 « Embryo » / البويضة
 « John New Son » / جون نيو سون
 « a straight forward point about
 velopment is that in resettling it
 recognized organs

١- من عند الأستاذ في العلم والفلسفة :
 أ- ألكون عند عبادة قلعة وعلى عند
 ب- ألكون عند عبادة قلعة وعلى عند

من غير الجنين كالنساء

[illegible]

عن نفس الامم انما تعني في اختصاصها
(human person)

فی الزم

من وجهة نظر منع الحمل فإن
 منع الحمل في وقت مبكر
 Prevented
 implantation
 الجنين من الالتصاق
 بهامش الرحم
 من التكوين
 في الرحم
 من الجنين
 Etienne Rossi
 من الطب

In Switzerland we consider
moment of implantation into

uterus as beginning of Human
الحمل في سويسرا غير مسموح الا
في حالة حياة الانسان ، وبمطابق
القانون في سويسرا علم الاجتهاد - الذي يعرف
الاجتهاد القانوني في التوليد وبمطابق
القانون الذي من هذا القانون
من التوليد الاجتهاد

أرجو أن يكون هذا هو الحال في كل مرة.

- أن الله خلق الإنسان القوي .
 - إلهذا ، خلق الله من الرجل - وهو
 - الأول في الدنيا القوي - سبع وثمانين
 - للرجل عليه الأثر الشكر - ولا يمكن
 - لها شأنا أن تكون في الدنيا إلا
 - هذا القوي من الإنسان .

بلاستوسیت (Blastocyst) - جنین در مرحلهٔ اولیهٔ رشد که در یک حفرهٔ مملو از مایع قرار دارد.

[illegible]

ويزي الى ذلك ان على الامم
عنه الثالث - ان يري حجة حاد الجدل
المنطق التي يستلزمها في جدار الحق .
ان حجة حاد في الحق التي في ذلك
والا فلا يوجب بها وجود الله .
ان ذلك . ان عليه التكوين حليسا
وهو متعلق . الا ان على حاد في حق - حق
الحق .

وخرجت هذه الاعمال طويلا نورا بجمود،
تدريج في التناول في نفس واحد يحد
الكتاب الا انه يخلو على الاساسية جدا
اجل ذلك كتاب في بنو اسرائيل انه
لما بان نفس او شبه في الوجود

الكلية يجتمعون على تحريم المصون
على حياة الجنين

$$\frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} e^{-\frac{1}{2}x^2} dx = 1$$
[illegible][illegible]

في قلب الحياة في الجنين

وَأَمَّا قَوْمٌ فَهُمُ يُعْلَمُونَ عَلَى أَنْ يَسْتَعِذَّ سُبْحِي
الْقَوْمِ بِهِ ۖ وَنَحْنُ عَنْهُمْ حَصِيدٌ ۚ
وَأَمَّا أَنْ يُلَاقُوا يَوْمَهُمُ الَّذِي فِيهِ يُصْعَقُونَ
وَيُؤْمَرُونَ أَنْ سَبِّحُوا فِي هَبْطِهِمْ عَلَى رُءُوسِهِمْ
سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَمْ يَحْصُرُوا فِي الْحُسْبَىٰ ۚ وَهُمْ
كَأَنَّهُمْ يُؤْمَرُونَ ۖ
وَأَمَّا أَنْ يُلَاقُوا يَوْمَهُمُ الَّذِي فِيهِ يُصْعَقُونَ
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سَبْعِينَ مَرَّةً فَلَمْ يَحْصُرُوا فِي الْحُسْبَىٰ ۚ وَهُمْ
كَأَنَّهُمْ يُؤْمَرُونَ ۖ

والله اعلم ان هذا القسم لم يأت من الصدق
الشرير وانما اخذ من مستوى تأليفه القبيح
في ذلك الزمان . والصدوق مخلص بالانقلاب
من الظلم الى ايمان بها بطريق الصدق - وام
بذلك الصدوق ان العبد كتب في الانسان بعد
١٦٠ يوما . ولكنه ذكر الخ الروح . (فتح الروح)
الروح ليس الاثر كنه .

وَمَا أَتَىٰ السَّيِّئَ فَنُفِثَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ
 فَاتَّخَذُوا لِلْبَيْتِ الْأَحْمَقِ
 ۝ وَلَقَدْ أَخَذَ اللَّهُ مِيثَاقَ بَنِي إِسْرَءِيلَ
 أَن يَخْلُقُوا غُلَامًا فَلَمَّا خَلَقُوا

[illegible]

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البريد - كي ام لسبح الى اسفل جده
واكل اب ياتي في ذلك - وكل يرب يسفر
والله وكل صاحب رايح - ولعلنا
الاسفل في هذا الجده قبل ان يول
الاسفل في هذا الجده قبل ان يول
الاسفل في هذا الجده قبل ان يول

The reception of Sivan's *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* supports the views of Dimitriu and Genette. Campbell's (1985: para. 1) review of Sivan's book demonstrates the reader's understanding of the narrative Sivan is proposing. Campbell states that, "by drawing mainly on the writings of Sayyid Qutb, *Sivan* illustrated how the movement against secularism has developed as a result of disillusion with other ideologies". This statement foregrounds Sivan's view of Sayyid Qutb as the root of political Islam. It also reaffirms the view commonly accepted in the West that the cause of the phenomenon is the disillusionment of Muslims.

Translation as a socially situated activity is also affected by the translator's *habitus*, i.e., the historically acquired dispositions and accumulated experiences (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Bourdieu's sociological model raises a question relevant to Sivan's works on political Islam, and the way in which he deploys the excerpts in support of his arguments: what effect did his *habitus*, i.e., his socialisation, and professionalisation, have on his views on political Islam?. One could expand and divide this question into sub-questions: What is the effect of Sivan's formative experiences of early life on his translational practices? How did his relation to the field of power mature? Did it influence his practice and how? To what extent does his habitus as an academic correspond with or differ from his habitus as political commentator? These questions could be the subject of future study.

4.3 Hassan al-Banna's *Towards the Light* : نحو النور : A narrative assault

Certain texts in the discourse of political Islam have been [re]referenced in the Anglo-American culture. Similarly, certain authors have been [re]quoted in the same field. One of those authors is Hassan al-Banna, whose writings enjoy a central position in the field of political Islam. *Towards the Light* نحو النور, which is considered as al-Banna's *Manifesto* is among the texts that has been frequently used as a reference in the context. Al-Banna wrote *Towards the Light* in June 1945, in the form of an open letter containing proposals for reform. Copies were sent to King Faruq I, King of Egypt and Sudan, and other politicians in Egypt. Other copies were sent to leaders and politicians of many Muslim countries (MAC)⁴⁶. The manifesto is seventeen pages long, and there are two available English translations of it. One is available on the MB website at www.lkhanweb.com. The other is presented by Charles Wendell in a book titled *Five tracts of Hasan al-Banna: a selection from the Majmu at Rasà'il al-Imàm al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna* published in 1978, by the University of California publications. Above and beyond word selection that varies from one translation to the other, which is understandable, there are other differences that are more significant. These differences impact on the possible interpretation of the text. The following section addresses some of these differences, and examines their implications for the narrative presented to the target reader.

The Manifesto opens as follows:

⁴⁶ Muslim Association of Canada. Retrieved 29 September, 2011 from <http://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/About%20MAC.aspx>

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

رَبَّنَا آتِنَا مِنْ لَدُنْكَ رَحْمَةً وَهَيِّئْ لَنَا مِنْ أَمْرِنَا رَشَدًا

القاهرة عاصمة الديار المصرية في رجب 1366هـ

حضرة صاحب الرفعة

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

وبعد , فإنما حملنا على التقديم بهذه الرسالة إلى مقامكم الرفيع رغبة أكيدة في توجيه الأمة التي استرعاكم الله أمرها , ووكل إليكم شأنها في عهدها الجديد , توجيهها صالحا يقيمها على أفضل المسالك , ويرسم لها خير المناهج , ويقيمها التزلزل والاضطراب , ويجنبها التجارب المؤلمة الطويلة.

ولسنا نبغي من وراء ذلك شيئا إلا أن نكون قد أدينا الواجب وتقدمنا بالنصيحة [...] وثواب الله خير وأبقى

The translation suggested by MB of this preface, dated 13th of June 2007, reads as follows:

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

‘Our Lord, Bestow on us mercy from yourself, and facilitate for us our affair in the right way.’

Cairo, Egypt, Rajab 1366

Your Excellency,

May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon you.

What has urged me to submit this letter to Your Excellency is a keen desire to guide the nation, whose leadership Allah has placed in your care and whose affairs He has delegated to you in this new age. Such that it is done in a righteous way, established on the most excellent of paths, drawing out for it the best of programmes, protecting it from shocks and disturbances, and sparing it from long and painful experiences.

We do not desire from this anything, except to have fulfilled our duty and submitted our advice [...] for Allah’s reward is better and more lasting.

Wendell’s translation is similar to that offered by MB in this part of the text, except that he translated the Arabic proper name الله as God. The general view of the MB in relation to this

manifesto is that al-Banna's aim, as stated, was to propose to the authority of the country a vision for reform. By presenting the manifesto to the authority, al-Banna acknowledges that it is the country's ruler who is in a position to implement these proposals, if accepted. Charles Wendell's translation seems to depart from this view, and pursues a relatively different representation of al-Banna and his proposals. Wendell seems to paint a different picture of al-Banna, as well as Islam in the mind of the target reader. This is reflected in a review of Wendell's translation by Salim Mansur of the Canadian Point de Bascule⁴⁷ (The Tipping Point) who concluded the following;

This document of the Muslim Brotherhood promotes an application of *Shari'a* that leads to a one-party State, the prohibition of dancing, the censorship of books and movies, the implementation of specific curricula for boys and girls and even a dress code for all citizens enforced by a religious police. (Point de Bascule 2011: para. 3)

Wendell's agency starts with the choice of the title and continues throughout the introduction and the translation. As expressed in the title, the book is a collection from the *Majmuat rasail al-Imam al-shahid Hasan al-Banna*, which translates as, a collection of epistles of the martyred leader Hassan al-Banna. The Arabic word رسائل which translates into English as 'messages', 'letters', or 'epistles' was translated by Wendell as 'tracts' which is, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, an abbreviation of the Latin word 'tractatus'. The dictionary defines 'tracts' as a leaflet or a pamphlet dealing with a political or religious issue, thus, Wendell is framing the text and situating the reader in a political surrounding from the outset.

⁴⁷ Point de bascule, or the tipping point, is a Montreal-based French language web-magazine. It is dedicated to exploring Islamist activities in Canada, particularly in Quebec (Mansur 2010).

Wendell's agency and interpretation of al-Banna's text gains more significance if we consider his dedication of the translation to the orientalist Gustave von Grunebaum⁴⁸ (1909-1972). Grunebaum's personal conviction was that, it was his intellectual obligation to interpret Islam from the point of view of a Westerner profoundly steeped in his own civilization at its best (Rosenthal⁴⁹ 2003). Wendell's own perception of al-Banna's thoughts, which is likely to influence the narrative emerging from his translation, was expressed in his following comments;

Hasan al-Banna's fundamental conviction that Islam does not accept, or even tolerate, a separation of "church" and state, or of either from society, is as thoroughly Islamic as it can be. Any attempt to translate his movement into terms reducible to social, political, or religious factors exclusively, simply misses the boat. (Wendell 1978: 6)

Wendell labels al-Banna as a fundamentalist; this perception of al-Banna informs and guides his lexical choices, and consequently impacts on the resulting narrative. One could argue that Wendell's lexical choices, particularly in his introduction, set the reader on the path to a narrative, which depicts al-Banna as a totalitarian fundamentalist, and Islam as a rigid autocratic system. Wendell explains that al-Banna's rigid fundamentalist position is a result of his upbringing; "Hasan's father ... was the primary influence in giving his son's life the rather rigid, fundamentalist religious orientation it never lost" (Wendell 1978: 1). The manipulative effect of the translator's introduction is that it guides the readers' reception of the translated text, and consequently the narrative emerging from it (Bhabha 1994; Derrida 1976; Foucault

⁴⁸ Gustave Edmund von Grunebaum (1909-1972) was an Austrian historian and Arabist, He had his PhD in Oriental Studies from the University of Vienna, and later became professor of Arabic in the University of California. Among his positions, he was the president of the American Research Centre in Egypt. (Archive for the History of Sociology in Austria. Available at: http://agso.uni-graz.at/soz/oes/oes_g.htm#gustavegrunebaum).

⁴⁹ Franz Rosenthal (1914 – 2003) was a professor of Semitic languages at Yale from 1956 to 1967. He later became a Professor of Arabic literature and Islam from 1967 to 1985 at the same university (American Oriental Society. Available at: <http://www.umich.edu/~aos/RosenthalPrize.html>).

1972). Frequently, Wendell uses terms of assertion for conviction. For example, “it seems beyond dispute that he, *al-Banna*, envisioned as his final goal a return to the world-state of the four orthodox Caliphs” (Wendell 1987: 3, emphasis added). Translation is ‘potentially influential’, for it will be read as unmediated work, and text alterations will pass ‘un-noticed’ (Munday 2007). Blommaert (2005: 219-236) argues that translation involves an element of framing, thus, the reader will enter the translation site from a “particular socio-historical condition” suggested by the translator. He further argues that the translator himself enters the translation process from “a socio-historical condition” informed by his own *habitus*, i.e., his situation, experience, and dispositions. Therefore, there is “no way” in which the target reader “could not be influenced” by the effects of the translator’s experience. It is safe to assume that the target reader is naturally inclined to accept the presentations put to him through the translation, given that he is uninformed about the source text and language. Wendell’s use of the term ‘fundamentalist’ is inevitably going to bring into the reader’s mind all the stigmatic connotations associated with it. Also the use of terms as ‘beyond dispute’ makes it difficult for the reader to think beyond the ideas embedded in the narrative presented to him. Wendell’s critical views extend beyond al-Banna and include Islam as a whole. His treatment of Islam re-invokes the old stereotypical images ubiquitous during the mediaeval times, and attests to his reductionist preconception of Islam. Wendell voices these views clearly arguing that “the religion [*Islam*] of the masses had for centuries been little more than ancient, Pre-Islamic folk beliefs legitimated by a thinnish layer of Islamic monotheism” (Wendell 1978: 6, emphasis added).

The works of Bourdieu (1991, 1993) Spivak (1992, 1993, 2000) and Venuti (1995, 1998) amongst others, suggest that language is not neutral. This in turn, means that translation as a socially situated activity is an act that creates a world which is presented from the author's position within it. Since the translator is an author in his own right, according to Bassnett and Bush (2006: 1), the target reader is likely to see the world created by, and presented through Wendell's translation, whatever that world may turn out to be.

In the two available translations of *towards the light* نحو النور, there are differences worthy of examination.

Example 1:

In the introduction of this open letter, al-Banna wrote;

والآن وقد وضع النضال السياسي أوزاره إلى حين ,وأصبحتم تستقبلون بالأمة عهدا جديدا , فإنكم سترون أمامكم طريقين، كل منهما يهيب بكم أن توجهوا الأمة وجهتها وتسلکوا بها سبيله، ولكل منهما خواصه ومميزاته وآثاره ونتائجه ودعائه ومروجوه . فأما الأول فطريق الإسلام وأصوله وقواعده وحضارته ومدنيته، وأما الثاني فطريق الغرب ومظاهر حياته ونظمها ومناهجها . وعقيدتنا :أن الطريق الأول طريق الإسلام وقواعده وأصوله هو الطريق الوحيد الذي يجب أن يسلك وأن توجه إليه الأمة الحاضرة والمستقبله

MB offers the following translation:

For the time being, the political struggle has come to a halt, and you, along with the nation, are facing a new period. You will now see two ways before you, each one urging you to turn the nation in its direction and to follow its path. Each has its particular characteristics, its distinguishing features, its effects, its results, its advocates and its promoters. The first is the way of Islam and its principles, its rules, its culture and its civilisation; the second is the

way of the West and the outward aspects of its life, its organisation and its methods. It is our belief that the first way, the way of Islam, its principles and rules, is the only way which ought to be followed, and towards which the present and future nation should direct itself.

While Wendell offers the following translation:

For the time being, the political struggle has come to a halt, and you have begun, along with the nation, to face a new period. Now you will see two ways before you, each one urging you to orient the nation in its direction and proceed with it along its path. Each way has its particular characteristics, its advantages, its results, its propagandists, and its promoters. The first path is the way of Islam, its fundamental assumptions, its principles, its culture, and its civilization; the second is the way of the West, the external features of its life, its organization, and its procedures.

In this example there are two issues of varying significance. First, in the translation offered by the MB the Arabic word 'أصوله' is translated as 'its principles' while Wendell translated it as 'its fundamental assumptions'. The English term 'fundamental' has associative potential to politically loaded undertones and its use, here and in other similar instances, is likely to infuse the translation with all the historical connotations associated with Islamic fundamentalism and give it a more confrontational tone. It also confirms the salient narrative Wendell is presenting to the target audience, that of a strict view doctrine.

Second, and of more significance is Wendell's choice of the term 'propagandists' in relation to the Arabic term مروجوه. The term propaganda, according to the *Oxford Dictionary* originates from modern Latin. Diggs-Brown (2011: 48), explains that originally, the term had a neutral connotation, and related to the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (Congregation for Propagating the Faith), the name of a new administrative body of the Catholic Church, which

was created in 1622. The activity of this administrative body of the Catholic Church aimed at propagating the catholic faith in non-catholic countries (ibid: 48). Diggs-Brown also stresses that the term started to take a derogatory connotation in the mid-19th century, when it was appropriated from religion to the political sphere (ibid: 49). Jowett and O'Donnell (2010: 7), define propaganda as "the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist". It is argued that propaganda frequently presents facts selectively to encourage a particular synthesis, or uses loaded messages to produce an emotional rather than rational response to the information presented. The desired result is a change of the attitude toward the subject in the target audience to further a political, religious or commercial agenda (Diggs-Brown 2011: 49-52). Wendell's use of the term 'propagandists' in this religious context may suggest falsehood and is likely to make this religious movement and its advocates look bad without sufficient reasons.

Example 2:

In the section sub-titled;

Political, judicial and administrative sectors

الناحية السياسية والقضائية والإدارية

Item number one; the Arabic source text reads as follows;

القضاء على الحزبية وتوجيه قوى الأمة السياسية في وجهة واحدة وصف واحد

The translation offered by the MB reads as follows:

An end to party rivalry, and directing the political forces of the nation into a unified front.

While Wendell's translation reads as follows;

An end to party rivalry, and a channelling of the political forces of the nation into a common front and a single phalanx

There is a considerable difference between the two translations as a result of Wendell's use of the term 'phalanx'. Wendell's term 'phalanx' does not seem to be a possible equivalent to the arabic text 'وَجْهَةٌ واحدة وصف واحد'. Phalanx according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *The Encarta English Encyclopedia* is defined as:

- A body of troops or police officers in close formation
- A group of people, animals, or objects that are moving or standing closely together
- An ancient Greek battle formation especially in ancient Greece
- A group of soldiers that attacked in close formation, protected by their overlapping shields and projecting spears

The term "phalanx" was frequently used in the 1930s by fascists, notably by Spain's fascists led by Franco to designate their own organization. It is safe to argue that none of the above possibilities aptly provides a meaning befitting the context offered by the Arabic text. Wendell's use of 'phalanx' infuses both the reader's mind and the context with the idea of militancy or fascism, which is, according to the MB's translation, neither implied nor intended in the Arabic source text.

Example 3:

Item number six; the Arabic source text reads as follows:

مراقبة سلوك الموظفين الشخصي وعدم الفصل بين الناحية الشخصية والناحية العملية

The translation offered by the MB reads as follows:

Keeping a close eye on the personal conduct of all its employees, there should not be any dichotomy between ones private and professional life.

The translation offered by Wendell reads as follows;

The surveillance of the personal conduct of all its employees, and an end to the dichotomy between the private and professional spheres.

The use of ‘surveillance’ by Wendell, lends the sentence a more belligerent tone, and creates an atmosphere of inherent suspicion, and potentially hostility. In contrast the phrase ‘Keeping a close eye’ strikes the reader as being more supervisory. Wendell’s use of ‘surveillance’ suits the image of al-Banna as a totalitarian, rigid, fundamentalist, which he is portraying.

Example 4:

Second section; Social and educational goals

في الناحية الاجتماعية والعلمية

Point number two; The Arabic source text reads as follows:

علاج قضية المرأة علجا يجمع بين الرقي بها والمحافظة عليها وفق تعاليم الإسلام ، حتى لا تترك هذه القضية التي هي أهم قضايا الاجتماع تحت رحمة الأقلام والآراء الشاذة من المفرطين والمفرطين

The translation suggested by MB reads as follows;

To deal with the 'woman issue' in a way which will both elevate her position and provide her protection, in accordance with the Islamic teachings. So that this issue (socially the most important) is not left at the mercy of the biased pens and unorthodox notions of those who are either deficient or excessive, (in their opinions).

While Wendell's translation renders the text as follows:

Treatment of the problem of women in a way which combines the progressive and the protective, in accordance with Islamic teachings, so that this problem, one of the most important social problems, will not be abandoned to the biased pens and deviant notions of those who err in the directions of deficiency or excess.

In this paragraph there are three issues worthy of examination. First, Wendell's rendering of the Arabic word 'قضية' as 'problem'. *The Oxford English/Arabic/English Dictionary* offers three alternatives to the Arabic term قضية: case, matter, and cause. *Al-Mawrid* Arabic English dictionary offers two more possibilities, issue, and affair. The Arabic dictionary of meaning لسان العرب provides the meaning of the term in a context of ruling or governance not in a context of a problem or a dilemma

القضاء: الحُكْم، والقَضِيَّةُ مثله، والجمع القَضَايا

Which roughly translates as: 'judiciary is governance. The word قضية is from the same root and its plural is *Qadhaya* قضايا 'cases'. Wendell's use of 'problem' reflects his unenthusiastic perceptions of al-Banna and serves to provoke a negative image about the MB movement, in line with the suggested narrative. Second; Wendell's translation is somewhat ambiguous and does not reflect al-Banna's enthusiasm to deal with the issue of women in the community by

providing a solution that would elevate their position in the society, and lead to their protection and progress. Third; Wendell's translation of the sentence 'one of the most important social problems' reduces the importance of the issue of women and the urgency with which a solution is sought, while the alternative rendering offered by MB as 'socially the most important' is closer to the Arabic text.

Example 5:

Point number twenty six: The Arabic source text reads as follows:

التفكير في الوسائل المناسبة لتوحيد الأزياء في الأمة تدريجيا

The translation suggested by MB reads as follows:

A consideration into the means of gradually forming a national uniform

While Wendell's translation renders the text as follows:

Consideration of ways to arrive gradually at a uniform mode of dress for the nation

This proposal follows many others that deal with the education system as envisaged by al-Banna. By examining the context of the Arabic source text one could conclude that this proposal is limited to a dress code for students. However, Wendell's translation of the same proposal gives the impression that al-Banna envisions a dress code not only for students, but also for every member in the society, 'a uniform mode of dress for the nation'. This in turn, accentuates Wendell's proposed narrative of despotism and comprehensive control.

Wendell's representation of political Islam through his translation of *Towards the Light* has presented the audience with a reading of a certain persuasion. This reading is illustrated in *Point de Bascule's* following comments:

Al-Banna was a man who dedicated his entire life to controlling the life of his fellow citizens in the smallest details [...] How did al-Banna's supporters manage to fool so many people in the last sixty years in order to be invited by so many world leaders, government authorities and Western universities to implement their agenda?

By alerting to the Muslim Brotherhood's objectives, *Point de Bascule* hopes to reinforce growing public resistance to the Brotherhood's extended agenda, and the direct threat that this agenda represents for security and civil liberties. (Mansur 2011: para. 6-8)

Similar views about Wendell's representations were expressed by Andrew Bostom (2011: para.

3) who said that Wendell:

Published a magisterial 1978 translation of Hasan al-Banna's five pathognomonic treatises, or "tracts" as Wendell translated the Arabic word "risala" ... What Charles Wendell knew and was unafraid to proclaim, in the noble tradition of von Grunebaum, is that al-Banna represented a continuum-not just from the so-called "Muslim modernists" al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida, most directly-but from foundational, mainstream Islam itself-the Islam that still appeals most to the Muslim masses wherever they reside.

Since individuals in any society either accept a narrative or oppose it (Baker 2009: 4) it is reasonably safe to argue that, on the basis of the aforementioned reviews, the target audience have been influenced by Wendell's narrative. It is also safe to argue that translators, and consequently translations, play a major role in normalising and naturalising the narratives they propose (ibid). Translators' mediation and intervention in the translation process result in steering the emerging knowledge about the object of enquiry in one direction or another, thus, shaping and informing our understanding of the reality. The effect of narrative, according to Bennett and Edelman (1985) is that it percolates our consciousness and becomes part of our

daily life. Furthermore, Jodelet (1991) argues that, meanings are condensed in representations and help people to construe the experiences. This in turn, reproduces existing power structures and participates not only in informing our perception of reality, but also in constituting the reality (Bruner 1991).

Citing Larkosh (2004), Moira Inghilleri (2008) argues that, our 'right to be' is called into question by the prior existence of an 'other', it is therefore, reasonable to argue that the target audience's reception and interpretation of the narrative is disrupted and obstructed by the amount of noise produced by the translator. In other words, the translator is reducing the reader's comprehension of the reality to his own (*the translator's*) representation of reality (ibid).

Representations in their entirety, according to Howarth (2002: 8), are "particular presentations of experiences and voices", which are reinterpreted, and represented in such a way that they "constitute our realities". This means that ideology is a primary component of representations, and that an exercise of power is always present in any representation (Duncan 2003).

The subjectivity of translation in general, and in the context of political Islam in particular, is not only exhibit in the accentuation of the translator's voice and narrative, it is also manifest in the silencing of the translator's voice. Bassnett and Lefevere (1995: vii) argue that, "Translation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text". This process of re-writing, regardless of the intention, reflects "a certain ideology", because it is "undertaken in the service of power" (ibid: 4). Re-writing, according to Bassnett and Lefevere, can introduce "new concepts and new devices" to the translated text (ibid: 4). Thus, muting the translator's voice would give the

narrative a contestable credibility because it presents the narrative as if it was the original author's own voice. That is to say, it eliminates the added value of the re-writing process, or to put it differently, it eliminates the translator's manipulation of the source text.

A case in point is the translation of Sayyid Qutb's *Milestones* معالم في الطريق. This book has been hailed as the blueprint for Islamic violence by many researchers and analysts in the field of study of political Islam. *Milestones* is widely available, published, and circulated by many publishers such as: American Trust Publications, Dar al-Ilm, Maktabah Booksellers and Publishers, Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, and many others. Notably, none of these publications mention, or refer to the translator. The removal of the translator conceals his imprint from the emerging narrative. Since the translator is a rewriter/co-author (Lefevere 1992) his absence means the absence of "a secure path for commenting on the text", which would have been possible by deciphering the translator's history, i.e., his habitus (Barthes 2000). Thus, it undermines our ability to fully understand the translation as a socially situated activity. It also warrants the translator an unlimited opportunity to infuse the original narrative with new elements, devices, and concepts without being detected.

4.2 Conclusion

This chapter made use of Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus to decipher the developments which took place in the field of translating Islam. Bourdieu's model of the fields of cultural production showed the viability of his methodology and theoretical framework for studying the translations of Islamic political discourse as a socially situated activity. This chapter exhibited that a new field of translating Islam as a political system emerged as a result of the

advent of a new intellectual discourse engaging the socio-economic tenets of Islam with the management of the state. The appearance of the so-called Islamic political discourse has caused a shift in the structure and boundaries of the field. Thus, new positions and position-takings, new type of translators, new stakes, and new set of audience started to emerge. The field of translating Islamic political discourse is related to, and affected by other fields of cultural production. As a result of the close relation between this emergent field and the field of politics, i.e., field of power, new forces began to influence the activities and subjectivities of the field and its occupants. The occupants' subjectivity reflected on the narratives of Islam and Muslims. The chapter also benefited from the development of Narrative Theory in the field of translation. The work of Baker (2006) and others helped to compensate for the possible criticism of Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus in relation to his conceived idea of habitus as being deterministic. The translators' subtle manipulation of the source narrative is demonstrated in the case of the translation of al-Banna's *Towards the Light*.

The following chapter will explore Bourdieu's concept of capital in the field of translating Islamic political discourse.

Chapter five

The Struggle over Capital: The (Re)Translation of Sayyid Qutb's *Social Justice in Islam* العدالة الاجتماعية في الإسلام

Introduction

Chapter four examined the development of the field of translating Islam into a field of translating political Islam. It also delineated the ways in which agents intervene to achieve certain goals and construct subjective narratives by investigating the concept of 'agency' as understood by Bourdieu. This chapter focuses on the capital at stake in the field of translating political Islam, by analysing the (re)translation phenomenon and the factors that warrant or motivate the production of new translation of the same source text; the translations of Sayyid Qutb's *Social Justice in Islam* is our case in point.

By examining the paratextual material, e.g., covers, prefaces, blurbs, as well as analysing the translations themselves at a micro textual level, the chapter aims to highlight the types of capital in the field. It also intends to underline the translators' struggles over capital, and the ways in which they attempt to establish themselves as an authority in the field by evaluating, criticising and/or overruling earlier translations. The commonly accepted opinion that 'text ageing'⁵⁰ is the motive for retranslation will be questioned, and an alternative interpretation of the phenomenon premised on Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production will be suggested. In other words, this chapter will attempt to answer the following research question: How can we read/interpret the (re)translation of *Social Justice in Islam* in terms of Bourdieu's sociology?

In order to answer this question I intend to examine the traditional views surrounding the retranslation phenomenon in contrast to a Bourdieusian sociological reading.

⁵⁰by text aging, I am referring to Gideon Toury's argument that "languages undergo constant changes, thus, the need for modification would become all the more urgent as the intervals between the translations grew longer, or as the pace of the changes grew more rapid". (Toury 1995: 73)

5. Retranslation: questioning the 'ageing' hypothesis

In this section the term retranslation means successive translations of the same source text into the 'same target language'⁵¹ by more than one translator.

One commonly accepted view about the recurring translation of a particular text into the same target language is that the initial translation is "necessarily blind and hesitant" (Berman 1990: 5, translated and cited by Deane 2011: i) hence, the need for a retranslation. Susam-Sarajeva (2003) Hanna (2006) and Robinson (2009) rightly observe that the general assumption about retranslation is that it is undertaken when an existing translation "becomes outdated", i.e., it becomes widely perceived by critics and/or the public as outdated. This process is usually referred to as 'text-aging'. The idea that translations age but the original source text in the original language does not, seems to be based on the assumption that the source text in the original language possess, what Lévi-Strauss called, a "surplus of signifiers" (Robinson 2009). In other words, the original text must always suggest "more than is needed by any one interpreter or any one generation of interpreters" (ibid: 1). This in turn means that in order to make the original source text relevant for a specific target culture and audience in a specific period of time, the translator must reduce the original's "significational surplus" to only that narrow set that will ensure its "uptake" by its intended audience (ibid). This reduction of significations causes the translation to age more quickly than the original text (ibid).

⁵¹ It is important here to highlight that the use of the term 'same target language' may be problematic, if we recognise and account for Gideon Toury's (1995) argument that any language evolves and is subjected to changes with the passage of time. This in turn may raise questions about the appropriateness of the use of the term 'same target language' and whether it is actually accurate.

Although retranslations may appear as a result of text aging, original texts may be retranslated for a variety of reasons, only some of which are related to the passage of time. In some instances it may be perceived by publishers, critics, editors, translators, and/or readers, that an earlier translation imposes an exceptionally “narrow construction” on the original, so that the “retranslation comes to be conceived and/or presented as, quantitatively”, capturing more of the original’s properties than the preceding translation (Robinson 2009: 1). In other words, the new translation claims to meet more of the current critics, editors, and/or reader’s expectations (Susam-Sarajeva 2003). In other instances, an established translation may become perceived as accurate but pedantic, missing the stylistic vigour of the original, and the retranslation is offered as a qualitative supplement, as intellectually stimulating or more alluring than its predecessor. Consequently, retranslations may be conceptualized as a restorative operation, one which corrects the deficiencies inherent in initial translations. That is to say, ‘retranslation’ in general is trying to “restore something back to the original”, which has been missed or lost in the previous translation(s) (Susam-Sarajeva 2003). To put it differently, “the retranslator is generally seen as 'rectifying' the textual deficiencies of the first translation, identifying what these earlier translations failed to identify in the source text” (Hanna 2006: 193). Jianzhon (2003: 194), addressing the issue, argues that “The significance of retranslation lies in surpassing. If the retranslation is not [better] than the former one(s) the retranslation will not be worth a penny”. This notion of ‘betterment’ is also echoed by Venuti (2003: 29) who argues that retranslations try to “make an appreciable difference” in relation to previous translations, i.e., retranslation is somewhat better than its predecessors (Susam-Sarajeva 2003: 3; Hanna 2006: 193).

Retranslation as an act of 'betterment', conceived as a result of 'text ageing' with the passage of time, is the traditional commonly accepted view of retranslation. In contrast to this understanding, there have been other debates to explain the phenomenon from a different position. This new position places the reasons for retranslation closer to the translator and to the social world within which it is produced. Explaining retranslation as the outcome of linguistic changes in the target culture, or as a consequence of "outdatedness" is 'passive', according to Pym (1998: 83). This is because change in the use of language is inherent and inevitable (Pym 1998; Hanna 2006). In other words, linguistic changes or 'text ageing' alone are not satisfactory in explaining the reasons underlying retranslations of the same source text, nor are they sufficient in elucidating the phenomenon itself (Pym 1998: 82). Thus Pym argues for what he terms as "active-retranslation" where the inspiration for enterprising a new translation tends to be closely related to the translator, which consequently generates "active rivalry between [*the*] different versions" (ibid: 83, emphasis added). Nonetheless, the criticism that could be levelled at Pym's concept of 'active retranslation' is that he does not detail the nature or the devices that inform this 'active retranslation', or how it relates to the translator himself. Hanna (2006: 196) comments on this possible limitation of Pym's idea by saying:

Pym does not elaborate on the category of 'active retranslation' and does not delineate the motivations for retranslation that are 'closer to the translator'. Apart from suggesting that in 'active retranslation' there exists "active rivalry between different versions" there is no detailed discussion of the nature and mechanisms of this 'rivalry', the ways in which producers of the different versions are involved in this dynamic and the ways in which the different versions fare in the translation market [...] Even the examples provided are not particularly revealing of the nature of 'active retranslation'.

Venuti (2003) also discusses the issue of retranslation, and like Pym, he stresses the competitive nature between the different translations of the same source text. However,

unlike Pym, he elaborates the intricacies of this active rivalry. Venuti's conceptualisation of active rivalry rests on the assumption that retranslations establish themselves by flagging/highlighting their differences from the preceding translations (ibid: 25). These differences, argues Venuti, could be introduced, initially, by the decision to commission 'retranslation' of a text which has been translated previously (ibid). Subsequently, these differences "proliferate with the development of discursive strategies to retranslate it [...] *where* [...] both the choice and the strategies are shaped by the translator's appeal to the domestic constituencies who would put the retranslation to various uses" (Venuti 2003: 25, emphasis added). To put it differently, the selection of a text for retranslation is resting on a perception, which differs from that "inscribed" in an earlier version, a perception which becomes perceived as "insufficient" and conceivably "erroneous" (ibid: 25). In other words, Venuti's argument means that retranslations are based on a repudiation of, and/or a contestation to the reading(s) on which previous translations are premised (ibid: 26). This in turn means that, the new reading suggested by the retranslation is associated with and connected to the social setting in which it functions (Hanna 2006: 197). Pym's and Venuti's interpretation of retranslation as a process based on 'difference' and 'competition', which places one translation in contrast to, or in competition with another, echoes Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production. Bourdieu's sociology, which treats retranslation as a socially situated activity, takes into account the social actors and the social space within which retranslations are produced and consumed. Rather than using his concept of field as a substitute for the traditional concept of class, Bourdieu sees everyday life as consisting of, not one, but a conglomeration of fields, including leisure, family patterns, consumption, work,

artistic practices, and others (Sulkunen 1982: 106-7). The dominant class in each of these fields may vary in its composition, but the process of struggle for capital, and through the amassing of capital for dominance, is consistent in each. Bourdieu's sociology thus, offers a new platform which explains the retranslation phenomenon as the outcome of a 'struggle' among agents and institutions over time, and also as struggle over 'capital'. The following section will examine the (re)translation of Sayyid Qutb's *Social Justice in Islam* as a contest and a struggle in line with Bourdieu's sociology. I will profile the source text, the author, the translators, the publishers, and the target text before I revisit the retranslation debate.

5.1 The source text

Social Justice in Islam - *Al-Adalah al-Ijtima'iyah fi al-Islam* - العدالة الإجتماعية في الإسلام

The decision to choose Sayyid Qutb's book *Social justice in Islam* is motivated by the symbolic position of Sayyid Qutb, the weight and complexity of his thought, and the way in which he is viewed by political analysts, specialists on Islamic movements, and academics, in the Anglo-American culture, as the embodiment of the Islamic movement. It is also motivated by the significance of this book in the context of political Islam. The magnitude of this book is highlighted in the blurb of John B. Hardie's translation, edited by Hamid Algar in 2002:

Social Justice in Islam is perhaps the best known work of Sayyid Qutb [...] this book in particular retains its relevance in many respects: the persistence of gross socio-economic inequality in most Muslim societies; the need for viewing Islam as a totality, imperatively demanding comprehensive implementation; and the depiction of the West as a neo-Crusading force.

The Encyclopaedia of World Biography echoes this testimony by describing the book as Qutb's first major theoretical work of religious social criticism. It also reflects his critical attitude to the West⁵².

The first Arabic edition of *Social Justice in Islam* was published in Cairo, Egypt, by Maktabat Misr, in 1949. The first edition was followed by six more editions between 1949 and 1964. Younis (1995) maintains that the available confirmed dates for these editions are: the second edition in 1950, the third edition in 1952, the fourth edition in 1954, the fifth edition in 1958, the sixth edition, which is claimed to be the last edition edited by Qutb himself in 1964, and the seventh edition in 1981, which is a reprint of the sixth edition. The sixteenth and most recent reprint was published in 2006 by *Dar-Ashrouk* who acquired all copyrights in 1972 (ibid).

Musallam (1993) claims that *Social Justice in Islam* was judged as 'significant' in the Western world, and was hailed as a "landmark" by Islamic groups in Egypt and the Arab world. He also argues that Qutb's agitation for social justice, and the deteriorating social conditions of the country were the reasons that led him to write his book. Musallam, also, stresses that the book appeared after a period of disillusionment with the failings of the nationalist parties of Egypt, and the way in which they have succumbed to Western influences and ideals (Calvert 2010). The book is seen by Algar (2000) as Qutb's attack on "feudalism". It was also a manifestation of Qutb's vision of social justice as an Islamic imperative (ibid: 3) and it established Qutb as an "Islamist of originality and power" (Calvert 2010: ix).

⁵² http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Sayyid_Qutb.aspx, [accessed 23 Dec 2012].

One could argue that Qutb wrote *Social Justice in Islam* in order to correct what he saw as Muslims' misconceptions about the role of Islam. These misconceptions occurred in the daily social life, and in the face of the two materialistic camps during his time: capitalism and communism.

أن العالم بعد حربين متواليتين ينقسم اليوم إلى كتلتين كبيرتين : كتلة الشيوعية في الشرق ، وكتلة الرأسمالية في الغرب [...] أمّا الصراع الحقيقي فهو بين الإسلام وبين الكتلتين الغربية والشرقية جميعاً [...] الإسلام هو الذي يقدم للبشرية تصوراً كاملاً شاملاً عن الوجود والحياة ، ونظماً عملياً واقعياً للمجتمع ، وشريعة مفصلة [تقابل] حاجات المجتمع المتجددة [...] وبقي أن يعرف أصحاب الإسلام هذه الحقيقة وأن يقيموا خطتهم على هذا الأساس (Qutb 1949: 214-216).

The world today, after two wars in close succession, is divided into two main blocs: that of communism in the East, and that of capitalism in the West [...] the real struggle is between Islam on the one hand and the combined camps of East and West on the other [...] it is Islam that offers to mankind a perfectly comprehensive vision of the universe, life, and mankind. It offers to society a practical and realistic system, and a detailed religious Law that meets its renewable needs [...] and what remains for the followers of Islam is to know this and to base their plans on it. (my translation)

It is also possible that Qutb's book was inspired by Al-Ghazali's books *Islam and Economic Conditions* الإسلام والأوضاع الاقتصادية published in 1947, and *Islam and socialist Systems* الإسلام والمناهج الاشتراكية published in 1948. According to Ali (2012), Qutb expressed his pleasure with Ghazali's first book by saying:

لأول مرة يعاد عرض الأوضاع الاقتصادية في العصر الحديث في ضوء الإسلام، وأن يحكم الإسلام في شجاعة ومنطق.. في النظم الاقتصادية السائدة⁵³

For the first time in the modern era, economic conditions are considered in the light of Islam, and that Islam governs with courage and logic [...] in the prevailing economic systems. (my translation)

⁵³ Ali, A (2012). Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Fundamentalism. *Aljazeera*. Retrieved 01 February, 2012, from <http://www.aljazeera.net/books/pages/d884f598-3806-4559-8586-33fd0b6bc81b>

In further support of this probability, Al-āmeem (2012) asserts that:

وفي الطبعة الأولى من كتاب سيد قطب (العدالة الاجتماعية في الإسلام) نجد أن هذين الكتابين من بين قائمة مراجعه. وهي القائمة التي أسقطها في طبعات لاحقة

In the first edition of Sayyid Qutb's book (*Social Justice in Islam*) we find that these two books form part of a list of references. This list was dropped in later editions (my translation).

As indicated earlier, the book was perceived by political analysts and Islamic movements' specialists as groundbreaking, in terms of stipulating the "eternal" interrelation between religion and politics. That is because, according to Qutb, it is the *Qur'an* that could provide impartial guidance to mankind (Haddad 1983: 93). Haddad further states that "He [Qutb] maintained that society would only be moral and whole when it operated as a unique Islamic civilization, grounded in Quranic ideology and adhering to Allah's design for humanity" (ibid). Qutb also believed that the collapse of both Eastern and Western ideologies is inevitable because they were "founded on misconceptions, errors, and considerations of self-interest" (ibid). In other words, in this book Qutb argued that the separation of politics and religion, which is favoured by the West, is not possible in a Muslim society.

Due to the severe restrictions imposed by Nasser's regime on the Muslim Brothers, and the banning of all their materials, it has not been possible to obtain the original reviews on *Social Justice in Islam*. However, the views and sentiments of yesteryears still echo around the Islamic world today. For example, the Saudi scholar Almohyessin (2005) praised Qutb's book for reviving the Islamic concept of social justice. It is worth noting that praise was not the only reaction to the book. Some Islamic scholars such as Mahmoud Shaker (1952) and Madkhali

(1994) refuted parts of its contents, particularly, Qutb's views on the Prophet's companions. According to the *Index Translationum: UNESCO*, the book has been translated to many other languages besides English, including Turkish, Malay, Indonesian, Albanian, and Spanish, to name but a few.

5.2 The author: Sayyid Qutb

Sayyid Ibrahim Qutb was born on the 9th of October 1906 in the small village of Musha in Upper Egypt. Qutb grew up in the village, educated in the traditional way, and completed memorising the *Qur'an* at the age of ten (Al-Mehri 2010). He moved with his family to Cairo in 1919. There he received a Western-style education between 1929 and 1933 at Dar al-Ulum collage, and was appointed as a teacher in the same collage after his graduation⁵⁴. During this period he was apparently a secular reformist, but was mostly concerned with literature rather than politics (Al-Mehri 2010). 1933 also saw the beginning of Sayyid Qutb's "extraordinary varied and prolific literary career" with the publication of his first book *The Task of the Poet in Life* (Algar 2000: 3). In 1939, Qutb became an administrator in the Egyptian Ministry of Education. At the same time he was an active member of the opposition Wafd party, and became a stern critic of the Egyptian monarchy (ibid). In 1948 the ministry of education sent him to the United States to study the American curricula and pedagogical methods, where he joined the Colorado State Teachers College. His visit to America coincided with the first Palestine war, and he noticed the American public's acceptance of Zionists and Zionism, as well

⁵⁴ *Encyclopaedia of the Middle East*. Retrieved 23 December, 2012 from http://www.mideastweb.org/Middle-East-Encyclopedia/sayyid_qutb.ht

as the ubiquity of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim prejudice (ibid). Siegel (2003) states that Qutb wrote of his disappointment in the college's literary magazine:

When we came here to appeal to England for our rights, the world helped England against the justice. When we came here to appeal against Jews, the world helped the Jews against the justice. During the war between Arab and Jews, the world helped the Jews, too. (Siegel 2003: para. 7)

Khalidi (2002) states that Qutb's stay in America had no time limit, and the timing of his return to Egypt was his own decision. Having completed his objectives in America he returned to Egypt on August 20th 1950 (ibid). Qutb's impressions of America were largely negative because of what he saw as heavy emphasis on materialism, racism, and sexual liberalism, which may have been decisive in turning him to Islam (Al-Mehri 2010). Qutb (1951: 4) said that America is;

The case of a people who have reached the peak of growth and elevation in the world of science and productivity, while remaining abysmally primitive in the world of the senses, feelings, and behaviour. A people who have not exceeded the most primordial levels of existence, and indeed, remain far below them in certain areas of feelings and behaviour.

And on sexual liberalism he said in his book *In the Shades of the Qur'an*:

نعم شاهدت في البلاد التي ليس فيها قيد واحد على الكشف الجسدي والاختلاط الجنسي بكل صوره وأشكاله. إن هذا كله لم ينته بتهذيب الدوافع الجنسية وترويضها. إنما انتهى إلى سعار مجنون لا يرتوي ولا يهدأ [...] شاهدتها بوفرة، ومعها الشذوذ الجنسي بكل أنواعه.. ثمرة مباشرة للاختلاط الكامل الذي لا يقيد قيدا، ولا يقف عند حد. وللصداقات بين الجنسين، تلك التي يباح معها كل شيء، وللأجسام العارية في الطريق، وللحركات المثيرة، والنظرات الجاهرة، واللفتات الموقظة (Qutb 2010: (2), 637).

Yes, I saw in the country [America] which has not a single restriction on physical and sexual promiscuity in all its forms and manifestations. Yet all this did not lead to curbing sexual drives and taming it, but it led to a craze of unquenchable and restless lust [...] I have seen plenty, and with it sexual perversion of all kinds, as a direct result of the unconstrained, full and free mixing of men and women, which has no end. As for friendships between the sexes, which permits all, [...] naked bodies on the road, sexually provocative movements, daring looks, and arousing gestures. (my translation)

Al-Mehri (2010), claims that the publication of his book *Social Justice in Islam* in 1949 during his time abroad earned him the praise of the leading members of the Muslim Brothers. He also suggests that Qutb's awareness of, and co-operation with the Muslim Brothers may have increased after his return to Egypt when the British official James Heyworth-Dunne told him that the Muslim Brothers represented the only barrier to the establishment of 'Western civilization' in the Middle East. In 1951 Qutb started writing for periodicals, and in 1952 the monarchy was overthrown in a coup d'état⁵⁵. In hope of implementing the Islamic Law (*Shari'ah*) the Brothers, as well as Qutb collaborated with the free officers, the coup leaders, according to Khalidi (1981: 37-39). It became increasingly evident that the revolutionary council's idea of ruling Egypt was different from that of the Muslim Brothers. The differences became grave and deepened when the revolutionary council concluded a treaty with the British to retain the British garrison in the Suez Canal region. The action of the revolutionary council shocked Qutb and the Brothers and indicated that the nationalistic credentials of the council were not as strong as originally thought (ibid). On January 12th, 1954 as a result of the Muslim Brothers' criticism of the treaty and a conjectured assassination attempt on Nasser's life, the revolutionary council issued a decree dissolving the Muslim Brothers, and Qutb was put in Jail. Imprisonment and torture turned him into an "impassioned and embittered revolutionary" (Calvert 2010). It is important here to highlight that Qutb's ideology was shaped by the events which took place in the 1940s and 1950s in Egypt. It is also important to locate this ideology in its socio-historical context, if it is to be understood fully. Qutb's ideology

⁵⁵ The term coup d'état may be problematic because some Egyptian political analysts interpret the events of 1952 in Egypt as a revolution. From my stand point, I see the events as a coup d'état, for it did not have the support of popular mass needed for it to be identified as a revolution, neither did it fulfil the aspirations of the Egyptian people.

according to Siddiqui (2009) was to marshal a vanguard to replace the system of *Jahiliyyah*⁵⁶, encompassing the Muslim world, with the eternal religion of Islam. Qutb was sentenced to death by a military court and was executed on the 29th of August 1966.

Many of Qutb's writings have been translated into English either as a complete work or used as excerpts. However, the importance of his writings, in the context of political Islam could be realised from what has been said by political analysts, commentators, and Middle East experts, e.g., Bernard Lewis, Emmanuelle Sivan, Roxanne Euben, Gilles Kepel, and John Calvert, amongst many others. For example, Sivan (1990: 25) states that Qutb was "one of the most important figures in the development of *Jihadi Salafi* ideology⁵⁷". Others, such as Roxanne Euben (1999) argues that Qutb promoted the idea of Pan-Islamic state, governed exclusively through *Shari'ah*, as an idea whose time had come, in an age of extra-national ideologies. *The Economist* in 2010 labelled Qutb "the father of Islamic fundamentalism", also "Sayyid Qutb wrote a book that has inspired succeeding generations of radical Islamists" (ibid). Qutb's writings about Islam, especially his call for a revolution to establish an Islamic society, greatly influenced the Islamic resurgence movements of the 20th century according to many analysts. Costa (1999:1) emphasises this perception of Qutb, and his influence on the field of political Islam, by stressing that "Sayyid Qutb has been one of the most notarized writers of Islamic fundamentalism in the twentieth century". Irwin (2001, para. 12) also supports the idea that Qutb seems to advocate a kind of "anarcho-Islam". The legacy of Sayyid Qutb in the Arab world

⁵⁶ Roughly translated as ignorance and immorality.

⁵⁷ A Salafi (سلفي) is a Muslim who emphasises the Salaf (predecessors, the earliest Muslims) as model examples of Islamic practice. Salafist jihadism (السلفية الجهادية) is a jihadist movement among Salafi Muslims. The term was coined by the scholar Gilles Kepel to describe Salafists who became interested in violent jihad during the mid-1990s. Advocates of this doctrine are often referred to as Salafi jihadis or Salafi jihadists (Frontline. available at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/front/special/sala.html>).

and in the discourse of political Islam, as supported by the statements and reviews of scholars and field-specialists, is what motivated the selection of *Social Justice in Islam* for analysis.

5.3 The Translations and Translators

Social justice in Islam was translated into English twice. The first translation by John B. Hardie was published in 1953. It was commissioned by The American Council of Learned Societies, and published by Edward brothers Inc, Ann Arbor, Michigan. This translation was later edited in 2000 by Hamid Algar and published by Islamic Publications International (iPi) in New York. The numbers of printed copies are not available. The second translation by William E. Shepard was published in 1996 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, the Netherlands, also known as Brill Academic Publishers. Only 515 copies were printed⁵⁸.

Unfortunately, there is no available information about John B. Hardie. A correspondence with the American Council of Learned Societies in October 2012 produced no information on Mr. Hardie. Although it is clear that Hardie had direct access to the Arabic language, it is not possible to determine the level of his competence with, or knowledge of Arabic, without having any evidence. All we know about Hardie is that, he was a lecturer at Halifax University in Canada (Al-ameem 2012). Nevertheless, Hardie's was the first translation of *Social Justice in Islam*. Published in 1953, it was commissioned in 1950 by The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) as part of their Near Eastern Translation Programme in the fields of humanities and social sciences. The aim of this translation programme was to provide an

⁵⁸ Shepard, W. (w.shepard@ext.canterbury.ac.nz), 2012. Query. 18 Jun. email to: Ahmed Elgindy (a.elgindy@edu.salford.ac.uk).

“insight into local life and thought” (Hardie 1953: iii). The programme came formally to an end on December 31st 1953. The target readers of the translation, according to the Society’s documented statements, were scholars and researchers involved in the fields of Humanities and Social Sciences⁵⁹, as well as the American general public. The intention of The American Council’s selection of *Social Justice in Islam* was to “create a better understanding among American readers of the thinking and problems of the Near Eastern Peoples” (Hardie 1953: iv). This objective is also stated in the Council’s bulletin number 45 of March 1952. (See Figure 7).


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Figure: 7. ⁶⁰

Hardie’s preface offers another view of what would be a target reader by suggesting that his translation would “appeal not merely to the Middle East Specialist, but also to the thoughtful man or woman to whom social conditions throughout the world are of living concern” (Hardie 1953: vi).

William E. Shepard was born on June 30th 1933, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. He obtained a PhD degree in comparative study of religion in 1973 from Harvard University. His last held academic post was an associate professor of religious studies, University of Canterbury,

⁵⁹ On our history (2012, 25 December). ACLS. Retrieved from <http://www.acls.org/about/history/>

⁶⁰ ACLS Bulletin Vol. 45, Mar 1952, p. 40. (infosystems [infosystems@ACLS.org]) 2012. Query. 2 Nov. email to: Ahmed Elgindy (a.elgindy@edu.salford.ac.uk).

Christchurch, New Zealand. Shepard took part in summer Arabic language programmes at Princeton University in 1967, and at The American University of Cairo, Egypt in 1968.

Although Shepard appears to be well acquainted with the Arabic Language, he is not a fluent speaker of Arabic, by his own admission. In a personal correspondence, Shepard admits: “I studied Arabic in graduate school at Harvard, beginning 1966. I also did a summer course in Cairo in 1968. I read Arabic but do not speak it fluently”.⁶¹

There are three publishers associated with the publication of *Social Justice in Islam* as discussed previously. Edward Brothers Inc, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, was the publisher of the first translation of *Social Justice in Islam*. Established in 1893, they were a print house providing printing services to a wide range of clients. The translation was commissioned, as mentioned earlier, by The American council of Learned Societies. The second publisher was E. J. Brill, also known as Brill Academic Publishers, established in Leiden, Holland in 1683. According to their official website⁶², they publish in a variety of subject areas and fields of knowledge. Brill’s publications catalogue shows two hundred and sixty titles related to Islam, out of which, eight titles directly related to political Islam, and one title related to Sayyid Qutb. The third publishers are Islamic Publications International (iPi) New York.

Having profiled the author, the source and target texts, the translators, and the publishers, the following section will revisit the retranslation phenomenon.

⁶¹ Shepard, W., (w.shepard@ext.canterbury.ac.nz) 2012. Query. 18 Jun. email to: Ahmed Elgindy (a.elgindy@edu.salford.ac.uk).

⁶² <http://www.brill.com/>

5.4 Re-visiting Re-translation

Pym's 'active retranslation' (1998: 10) suggests that a retranslation aims to accomplish one or more of three different objectives: a) retranslation of different versions of a source text for different readers. b) Retranslation commissioned to correct linguistic mistakes in a previous version. c) Retranslation intended to offset restricted access. However, St. André (2004) argues that retranslation as a contest or a challenge to previous translations is a result of many inter-related factors. It could be the desire to establish oneself as an authority. This is achieved by superseding earlier translations, through changing the interpretation of the source text. It could also be the result of professional factionalism within the field, canon creation, fashion, changing perceptions in the receiving culture, or, probably, international rivalry between publishers, to name but a few (ibid). The work of Venuti (2003) is also underpinned by the assumption that 'challenge' is a catalyst for retranslation as explained earlier in section 5.0 of this chapter.

Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1993a, and 1996) sees this competition between cultural products, as a struggle between agents for 'distinction', and a struggle over 'capital'. The significance or value of these cultural products is decided on the bases of their relation to "other products within the same field of cultural products" (Hanna 2006: 207). Establishing and marking differences ensures recognition according to Bourdieu (1984). This in turn means that producers of cultural products, e.g., retranslation, aspire to attain distinction by criticizing and/or highlighting the deficiencies and limitations of previous products. Bourdieu argues that "participants to a field [...] constantly work to differentiate themselves from their closest rivals in order to reduce

competition and to establish monopoly over a particular sub-sector of the field” (Wacquant 1989: 39). These attempts to distinguish one’s work from others, involve a degree of divergence from the commonly accepted norms, at the time of production, within the specific field of production (Bourdieu 1991). However, this divergence is regulated by “a minimum compliance with the conventions that make up the structure of the field” (Hanna 2006: 208). In the case of the translations of Qutb’s *Social Justice in Islam*⁶³, both Hardie and Shepard set out to distinguish their translations through different means. For example, by claiming direct access to the source language, claiming that different editions of the source text had different interpretations worthy of retranslation, or claiming that earlier translation had misunderstood the source text. The following section will discuss the various strategies deployed by the (re)translation producers to distinguish their work.

5.4.1 Retranslation, paratexts and the dynamics of the struggle

This struggle among agents and the challenge between the various translations of the same source text is played out first and foremost in the ‘paratextual’ zone, which surrounds the text. Paratexts are those elements in a published work that accompany the text, such as the author's name, title, preface, introduction, blurb, title page, visual media, font style, and

⁶³ Sayyid Qutb’s book *Social Justice in Islam* received only two translations. This raises the issue of ‘rarity of retranslation’ i.e. foreign texts not receiving more than one translation which was observed by Susam-Sarajeva (2003). Susam-Sarajeva argues that “factors of dominance, elasticity, tolerance, and power of the source and receiving systems involved, determine whether [a text] will be granted a retranslation” (ibid: 1, emphasis added). Susam-Sarajeva’s conceptualization of the factors motivating a retranslation echoes some of Bourdieu’s views on the same issue. In Bourdieu’s sociology, the rationalization of the issue of foreign texts not receiving more than one translation, or in some cases having ‘zero retranslation’ could be one of two reasons. One reason is the target culture viewing the foreign text as minor, or not worthy of retranslation as a consequence of the first translation’s failure to achieve commercial success or recognition. The other is the lack or non-availability of the necessary ‘instruments of production’ (Bourdieu 1991). In the situation of translation, ‘instruments of production’ can be interpreted as “the translator’s specialised knowledge of the ... specificities of the source text”, knowledge of “the target culture”, and the availability of “institutions which are ready to disseminate and market the translation”. (Hanna 2006: 199)

layout, according to Genette (1997). In other words, paratext is “a fringe of the printed text, which in reality controls one’s whole reading of the text” (Lejeune 1975, cited by Genette 1997: 2). That zone between text and off-text is:

a zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that [...] is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it [...] the occurrence of a paratextual element is part of the publicization of the work. (Genette 1997: 2)

According to Genette (1997), it is usually the paratextual features that present the text to the target reader, and aim to ensure the text's presence in the world, i.e., its 'reception' and consumption in the target culture. A point of interest is the relationship between the translation and the reader, and the way in which interventions by translators and publishers may mediate or stand between the reader and the translated texts. Producers and co-producers of translations, e.g., translators, publishers, covers’ designers, and blurb writers, intervene at different points and through different mechanisms to position themselves and their works in a dominant position within the field of activity, in order to accrue certain capital. This process of positioning oneself and one’s work within the field of activity is what Bourdieu sees as ‘struggle’ or ‘challenge’. The how and where of these interventions and struggles is what will be investigated next.

The front cover is the central component that establishes connection between the text and the outside world. A book sleeve has three main parts: the front cover, the back cover and the spine. The front cover usually features some or all of the following elements: the title, the subtitle, the names of the author, the editor and/or the translator, as well as the publisher. However, the names of the editor and the translator may be located on the title page, which is

the first page after the front cover. The front cover may also display some artwork and/or a visual image, which is designed to evoke certain response from the target reader, or to highlight some of the most important themes of the book in some way. The back cover, more often than not, contains the blurb, and sometimes features a photo or an image, in addition to the publisher's logo, and other editorial information (Genette 1997: 24). The spine usually carries the title of the work, the name of the author, and the publisher's name and logo. The choice of colour for the cover can be significant, for example, yellow covers were strongly associated with immoral French books at the beginning of the twentieth century (ibid).

The Arabic source text العدالة الاجتماعية في الإسلام *Social Justice in Islam* is published by Dar Al-Shorouk دار الشروق in paperback (Figure 8). At the top centre, the front cover has the words; بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ "in the Name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful" written in an Arabic font known as Tuluṭ (تُلُث), which was used during the 14th -15th centuries and was transformed and refined by Ottoman calligraphers. The position and font-style may have two significations; first the positioning of 'Basmala'⁶⁴ at the top centre could mean that God is the highest authority and anything that follows in this book is in His path. Second, the choice of the Tuluṭ font, used during the height of the Ottoman Islamic Caliphate, may communicate to the reader the days of Islamic glory before the hegemony of the West on Muslim land. This could be interpreted as an intervention by the publisher in support of Sayyid Qutb's rebellion against

⁶⁴ Basmala (Arabic: بِسْمَلَة) is an Arabic noun used as a collective name for the whole of the recurring Islamic phrase بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ "in the Name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful". It is sometimes translated as "In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful".

the regime in Egypt at the time. Qutb was in opposition to the treaty signed between the free officers and the British authority to keep the British troops in the Suez Canal zone.

Shepard's English translation has removed the term *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* from its front cover, which could be interpreted either as denouncement of the original's religious connotations, or simply as omission of a textual element, which is alien to the beliefs of the target reader. It is important here to indicate that it has not been possible to collect any information about the original cover of Hardie's translation. The consulted copy was the one in the Egyptian national archives in Cairo, which had a plain hardcover in brown leather-like material that did not give the impression of being the original. The figures below (Figure 9 & Figure 10) are of Hardie's 1954 and 2000 title pages respectively.

Hardie's (1954) original title page has the name of the organization which commissioned the work, The American Council of Learned Societies, at the top centre of the page. There follows, in the centre of the page, in a bold larger font, the main title *Social Justice in Islam*. This is followed by the author's name 'Sayed Kotb' [sic]. The choice of title, font size, and layout serve two aims, first, it foregrounds the American Council without encroaching on the main title. Second, it represents the book to the target reader as a gateway to understanding the meaning of 'social justice' from an Islamic perspective. Hardie's edited work (2000), in comparison, foregrounds the title in a large font followed by the author in much smaller font size. The names of the translator, John Hardie, and editor, Hamid Algar, are displayed in the same font size and style, but smaller than the font of the author's name. This could be interpreted as putting them both at the same platform, which indicates that both Hardie and

Algar, probably, have the same level of contribution to the final product. Significant to Hardie's edited translation published in 2000 by iPi is that the Islamic connotations of the Arabic book's cover were maintained in a different mode. The background's art-design is an Islamic interlace pattern, which is part of Islamic art known as Arabesque, showing the words 'الله' (God), and 'محمد' (Mohammad) in an Arabic calligraphy style commonly used during the period known as the Islamic Golden Age.

The cover's layout is significantly different in Shepard's translation, and one could argue that the original layout of the Arabic book is violated. The cover marketed by Brill shows the name of the author in bold, large font in the middle top of the cover. It is widely accepted that bold font makes text stand out from the rest. It is used to seize attention, and to highlight certain keywords that are important to the subject of the text, in this case these words are 'Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism', which presents Shepard's translation as being about Sayyid Qutb the man, and his radical ideology, rather than the concept of social justice highlighted by Hardie.

My concern is to identify the constituent elements of paratext and to realise their functions. I here argue that the title and the bold-font chosen for Shepard's translation are ideologically motivated, for he states that:

through his writings and example as martyr, the Egyptian *activist* and author Sayyid Qutb has become one of the better known representatives of the more *radical* tendencies in the contemporary "resurgence" of Islam ... little attention has been given to his earlier writings and activities or to the *transition* from his earlier to his *later* views. I believe that an effort to understand how and why he moved from one position to another, and precisely what

changes in his thinking were involved, would be very worthwhile⁶⁵. (Shepard 1992: 196-7, emphasis added)

It is apparent that the focus of Shepard's translation is Sayyid Qutb himself, not how Sayyid Qutb understands or explains the concept of social justice in Islam. This, in turn, has implications regarding the emerging narrative, which I will revisit later. Shepard's sub-title is '*A Translation and Critical Analysis of Social Justice in Islam*', one could argue that this subtitle positions him not only as a translator but also as a scholar/researcher who enjoys an assured 'cultural capital' if we use Bourdieu's terms. This positioning enables Shepard to outline his own hypothesis about the main message of the book and how it relates to the world outside the text. In other words, the title chosen for Shepard's translation represents what Lefevere (1992) interprets as rewriting for new readers in the target culture.

⁶⁵ Shepard, W., 1992. The Development of the Thought of Sayyid Qutb as Reflected in Earlier and Later Editions of 'Social Justice in Islam'. *Die Welt des Islams*, 32 (2). Retrieved 04 Jan 2013 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1570834.pdf?acceptTC=true>

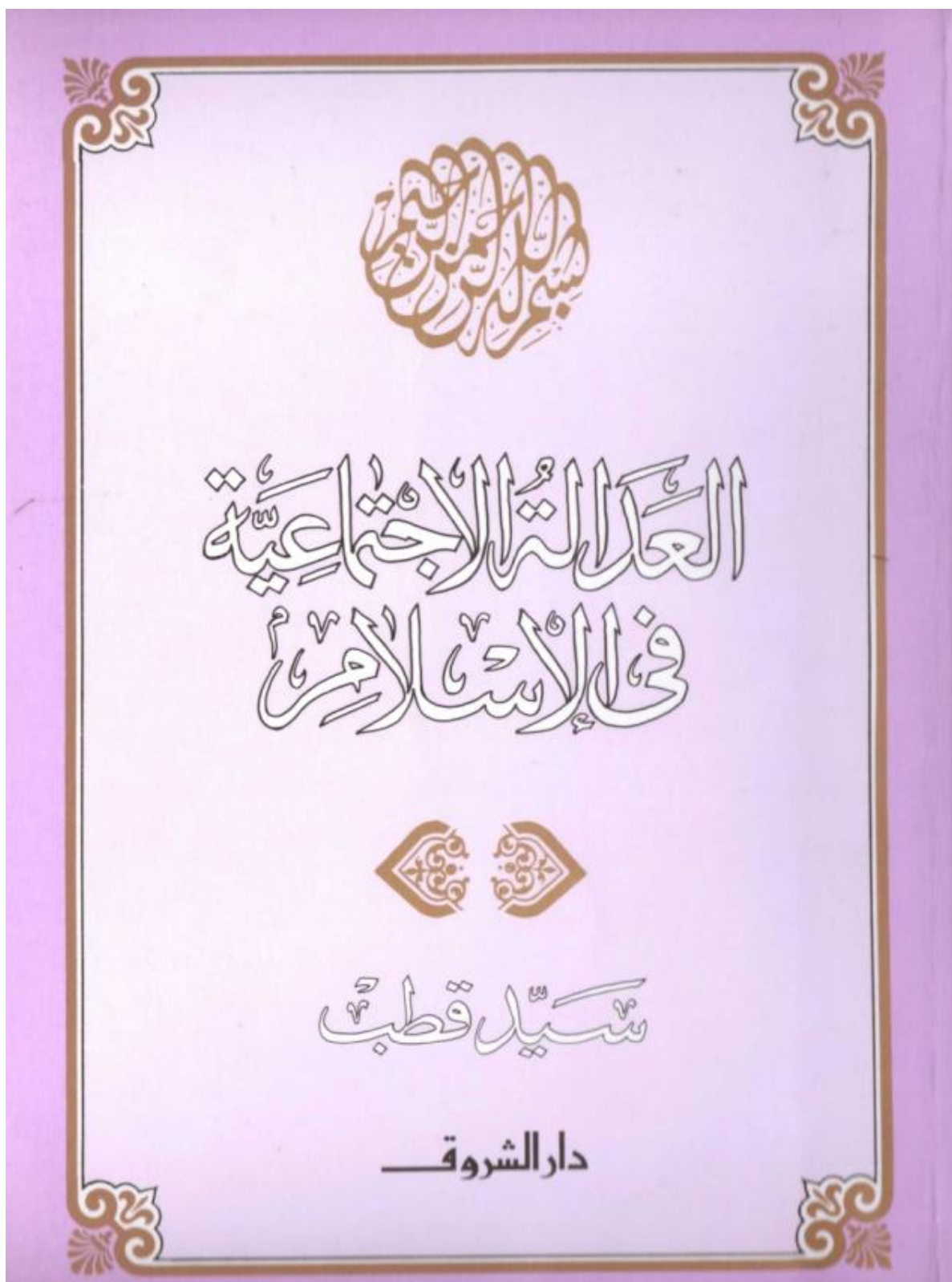


Figure 8: The front cover of Sayyid Qutb's Arabic version of *Social Justice in Islam*.

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES
Near Eastern Translation Program
Number One

SOCIAL JUSTICE IN ISLAM

Sayed Kotb

Translated from the Arabic by
John B. Hardie

211
1954 / 658
H 15148

American Council of Learned Societies
Washington, D.C.
1953

Figure 9: Title page of Hardie's original translation of *Social Justice in Islam* (1954).

SOCIAL JUSTICE IN ISLAM

by
Sayyid Qutb

Translated from the Arabic
by **John B. Hardie**

Translation Revised and Introduction
by **Hamid Algar**



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Figure 10: Title page of Hardie's edited translation of *Social Justice in Islam* (2000).

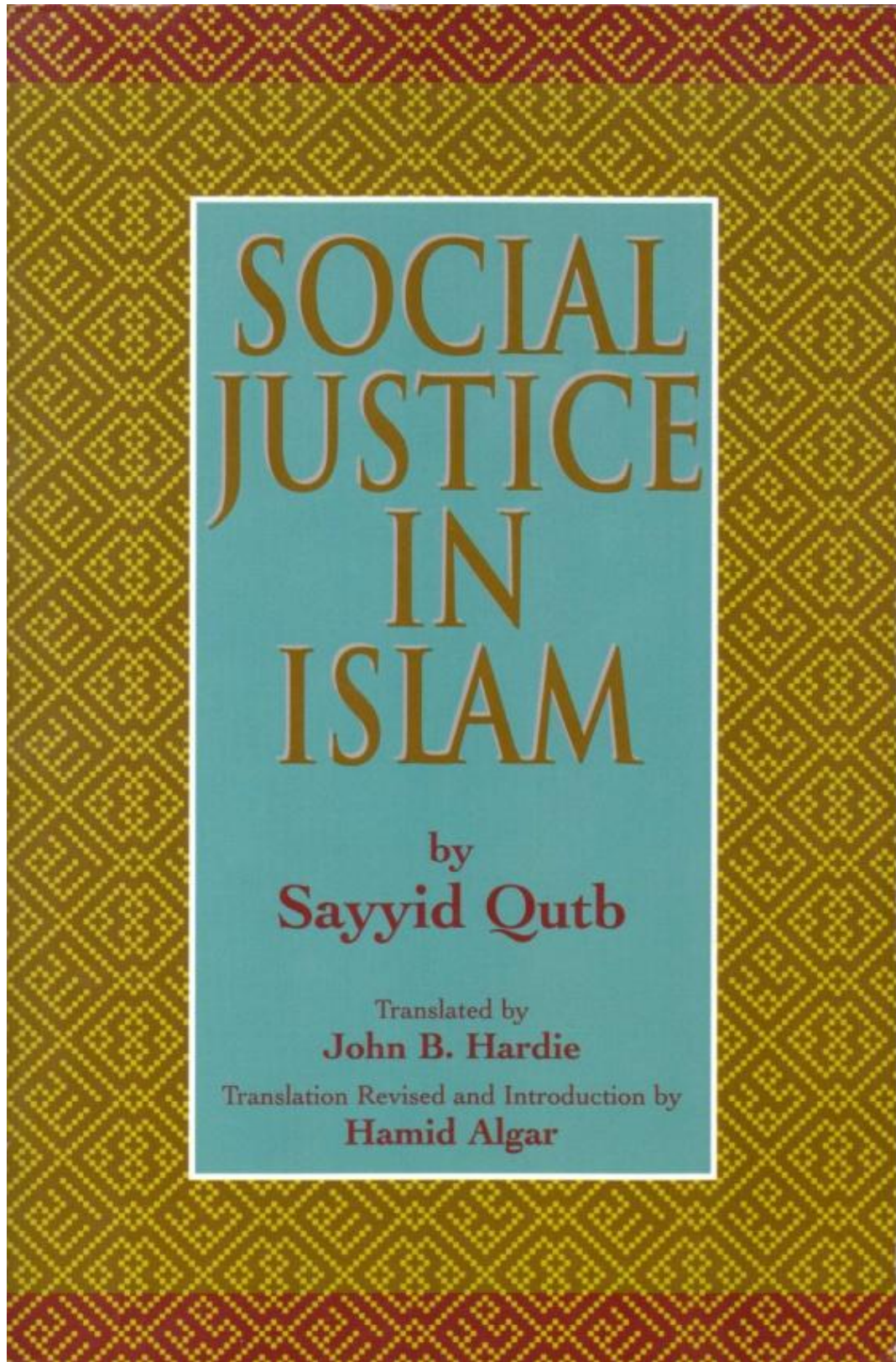


Figure 11: Front cover of Hardie's edited translation of *Social Justice in Islam* (2000).

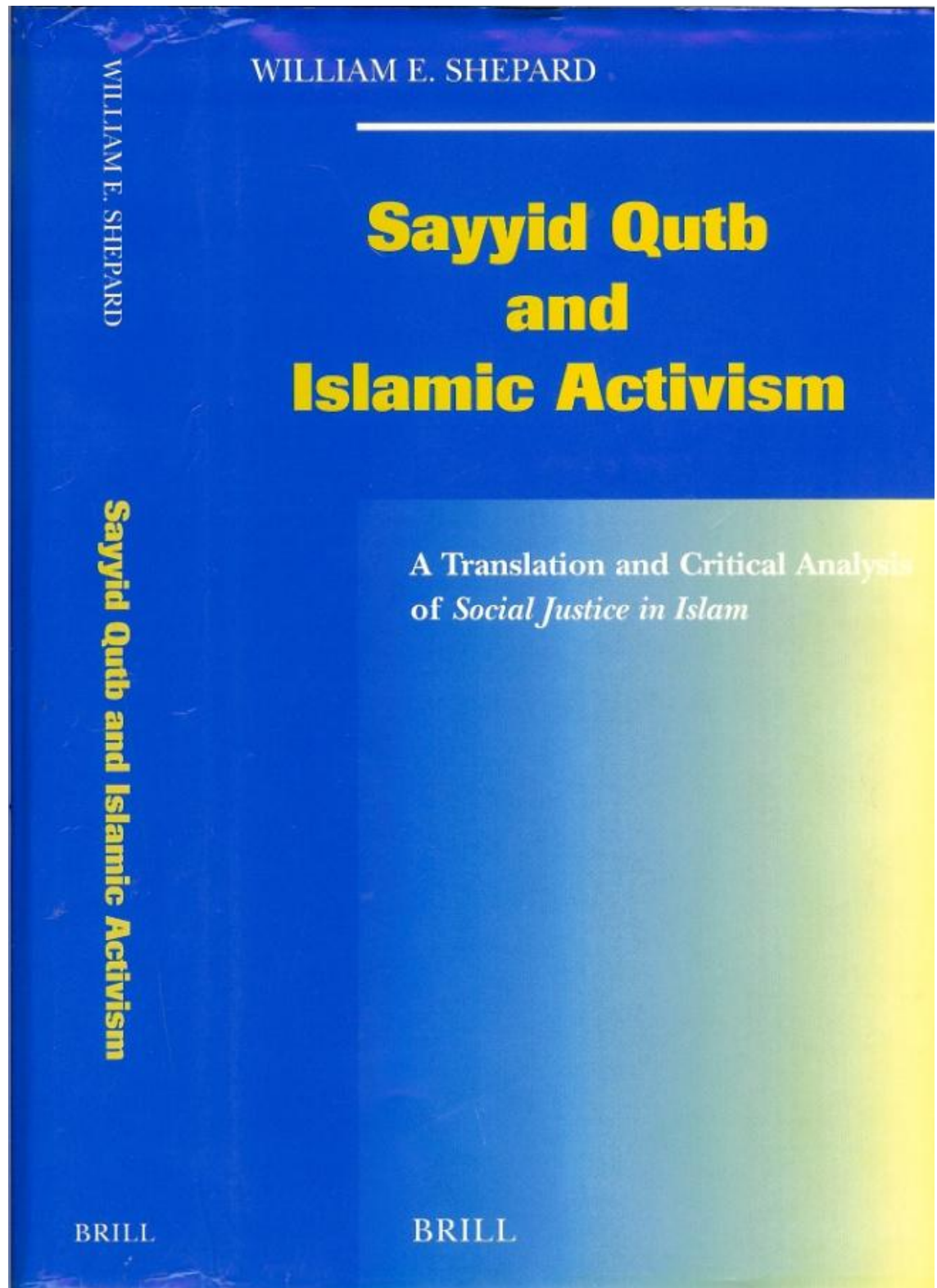


Figure 12: Front cover of Shepard's translation of *Social Justice in Islam* (1996).



Figure 13: Back cover of Qutb's Arabic version of *Social Justice in Islam*.

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Figure 14: Back cover of Shepard's translation of *Social Justice in Islam* (1996).

SOCIAL JUSTICE IN ISLAM is perhaps the best known work of Sayyid Qutb, a leading figure in the Muslim Brethren of Egypt who was executed by the regime of 'Abd al-Nasir in 1966. Despite the years that have passed since Sayyid Qutb's death, the imprint of his thought on the contemporary Islamic movements of the Arab world remains profound. The Arabic original of "*Social Justice in Islam*" was first published in 1949, but this book in particular retains its relevance in many respects: the persistence of gross socio-economic inequality in most Muslim societies; the need for viewing Islam as a totality, imperatively demanding comprehensive implementation; and the depiction of the West as a neo-Crusading force.

John B. Hardie's English translation, first published in 1953 and reprinted several times without modification, has been thoroughly revised and corrected for the present edition by **Hamid Algar**, Professor of Islamic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, who has also contributed an introduction analyzing the work and the life of its author.

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Figure 15: Back cover of Hardie's edited translation of *Social Justice in Islam* (2000).

The back cover of Qutb's Arabic version displays a list of nineteen publications by Sayyid Qutb under the sub-title 'Sayyid Qutb Library'. This could be interpreted as an investment in Qutb's cultural capital, if we use Bourdieu's terms (more on this later). The list not only alerts readers to the availability of other titles by the same author, but also promotes the author and reflects the amount of attention and interest he enjoys and receives.

A similar strategy is applied to the back cover of Shepard's 1996 translation, which was published by Brill. The back cover of Shepard's translation displays a promotional list of translated texts which shows Shepard's translation as part of a series related to the social, economic, and political study of the Middle East and Asia. Since the target readers of Shepard's translation are scholars, as stated by him in a personal correspondence⁶⁶, this list on the back cover is likely to appeal to the erudite curiosity of the target reader.

In contrast, Hardie's translation edited by Algar (2000) displays a two paragraph publisher's blurb employed to promote the book, the author, the translator, and the editor. In as much as the book's title, placed on the front cover, can tell the reader a great deal about the text it contains, it is the back cover's blurb that is often browsed by potential readers before they buy a book. By comparing the back cover of Shepard's (1996), and Hardie's (2000), one could argue that Hardie's translation, edited by Algar, appealed to a new and different readership from that of the previous translation.

⁶⁶ Shepard, W., (w.shepard@ext.canterbury.ac.nz) 2012. Query. 18 June. Email to: Ahmed Elgindy (a.elgindy@edu.salford.ac.uk).

5.5 Capitalizing on paratextual Elements

If we analyse the above argument about the dynamics of the struggle between translation agents under a Bourdieusian lens, and in line with his notion of capital, we could have a different reading of the agents' actions, and of the processes of translation and retranslation.

Bourdieu's conception of capital and its various forms, elaborated in chapter two, could help us interpret the values attached to the Paratextual elements. Bourdieu (1986) explains capital as "accumulated labour (in its materialised form or its "incorporated", embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour" (Bourdieu 1986: 241-242). In other words, capital is an accumulated labour inscribed in both objective and subjective structures that can potentially produce forms of profit. Necessarily, capital must have an agreed upon value that makes the game worth playing, which Bourdieu calls *Illusio* (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). As a result capital becomes the object of interest (ibid). Capital, therefore, involves some kind of investment in the game. This investment is actualised through, and exhausted within the paratextual zone.

According to Bourdieu (1977), capital can manifest itself in either material form, i.e., physical economic form; or immaterial form, i.e., cultural, social, and symbolic form. This capital could be converted to economic capital with variable degrees of ease. It may be difficult to argue the case for economic capital in the case of William Shepard's translation since only 515 copies

were printed, as confirmed by him in a personal correspondence⁶⁷. However, other forms of capital, e.g., cultural, social, and symbolic are at stake here. Primary to Bourdieu's argument about the different forms of capital is that economic capital is central to all other forms of capital (Bourdieu 1998: 243). Cultural capital, argues Bourdieu, could materialize in an objectified state in the form of humanly created products, e.g., pictures or books. It could materialise in an institutionalised state in the form of educational qualifications and academic degrees. It could also materialise in an embodied form, i.e., as dispositions personified within the human agent (Bourdieu 1986:243; Jenkins 1992:79). In other words, embodied cultural capital is "concentrated in the range of knowledge, skills, cultural, artistic and political preferences, which the individual agent possesses" (Hanna 2006: 58). Bourdieu (1986: 245) maintains that cultural capital is meant to be seen as symbolic capital as a result of the social conditions of its acquisition. To put it differently, cultural capital is "conditioned by both the capacities of the individual agents and the dictates of their social classes" (Hanna 2006: 58), and hence, "it yields profits of distinction for its owner" (Bourdieu 1986: 245). Shepard's yield for his translation is manifested in the form of peer recognition, and could be appreciated from the reviews produced about his translation. In a personal correspondence with Brill (the publishers of Shepard's translation) when asked about any reviews relating to the published work, they kindly provided the following review Quotes:

- "Shepard has written an insightful and invaluable book, one that will no doubt become a standard source for research on the Islamist movement in Egypt and modern Islam in

⁶⁷ Shepard, W., (w.shepard@ext.canterbury.ac.nz) 2012. Query. 18 Jun. email to: Ahmed Elgindy (a.elgindy@edu.salford.ac.uk).

general [...] his rendering of the Arabic is more fluid and attentive to essential concepts of Qutb's evolving Islamist world view " (Jeffrey T. Kenney 1997).⁶⁸

- "a very worthwhile addition to the publications available in English on Modern Islamic Thought [...] its critical analysis make it much more than a translation" (Hugh Goddard).⁶⁹
- "Shepard has done an exemplary job of supplying readers with this lucid translation of *Social Justice in Islam* [...] His edition of Qutb's book is well worth the time to read in detail" (Jeffrey C. Burke).⁷⁰

Bourdieu argues against the commonly assumed idea that cultural activities are entrenched in *disinterestedness*, which means that cultural products are 'value free research' (Collins 1998; Hanna 2006). In other words, Bourdieu's view is that both cultural and social forms of capital are "induced by and conducive to economic capital" (Hanna 2006: 64). The title of Shepard's translation of *Social Justice in Islam* presents the work as an academic and scholarly research, rather than a pure act of translation. This could be interpreted as 'value free research' supported by the fact that only 515 copies were produced of the book. However, Bourdieu's argument refutes and undermines this idea of 'disinterestedness' on the basis of the convertibility of any cultural capital, accumulated in this case from peer acknowledgement and recognition, into economic capital. This in turn, places economic

⁶⁸ Kenney, J. 1997. Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism. A translation and Critical Analysis of Social Justice in Islam. *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 31(2), 102-103.

⁶⁹ Australian Religion Studies Review (no date provided). It is the leading peer-reviewed journal of the Pacific region dealing with all aspects of the academic study of religion. The journal is committed to presenting research from the Pacific region and elsewhere. Articles it publishes are delivered to members of its partner organisation, the Australian Association for the Study of Religion.

⁷⁰ Burke, J., 2000. Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism. *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt*, 37(1), 229-231.

capital at the root of Sheppard's cultural production, regardless of the consciousness or unconsciousness of the presence of economic capital. Further investigation of Shepard's translation project produced supportive evidence of Bourdieu's argument about the convertibility of cultural capital into economic capital. In a personal correspondence with Shepard, when asked about the economic sense of his translation project if only 515 copies were printed, he said that although his translation did not reap immediate economic reward, it was a reason for his promotion later on:

You could say that I funded the writing of the book since I provided my labour for very little financial return. It made possible a promotion but that happened only the year before I retired. For me it was mainly a matter of personal interest and doing part of my job as an academic, along with the sense of satisfaction and (hopefully) scholarly reputation that come with that.⁷¹

Despite the relatively small number of prints, Brill, the publishers, may have made some economic gain as well, according to Shepard: "I was given to understand that they could produce very small runs or even individual copies economically and, given the high price of the book, they may have made a profit on it, or at least expected to" (ibid).

Shepard's title exemplifies another form of capital investment, which was exercised in the Paratextual zone. Genette (1997: 38) argues that "On the cover the author's name may be printed in varying sizes, depending on the author's reputation". Genette further elaborates that "The principle governing this variation is simple: the better known the author, the more space his name takes up" (ibid). The title of Shepard's translation foregrounds the name of Sayyid Qutb, which draws on the cultural capital attached to Qutb. It also draws on the fame

⁷¹ Shepard, W., (w.shepard@ext.canterbury.ac.nz) 2013. Query. 03 Mar. email to: Ahmed Elgindy (a.elgindy@edu.salford.ac.uk).

his name enjoys within the field of political Islam, which is a form of symbolic capital. This in turn, one would argue, is likely to attract more attention to the translation, and subsequently, raises Shepard's profile, which in turn attaches more value to his cultural capital and enhances his reputation within the field of activity, which means increasing his symbolic capital. As a result, and in accordance with Bourdieu's dynamics of the field, I would argue that, the positions within the field would be rearranged, and consequently, the structure of the field itself would change. A higher profile and more recognition in the field, means a higher position within the field itself, i.e., a dominant position within the field.

Hardie's investment in his own cultural capital, whether it is direct or indirect⁷², is played out in the peritext⁷³ elements of his translation, specifically, in the title pages, foreword, and the translator's preface. Hanna (2006: 208) argues that "claiming direct access to the language of the source text and knowledge of the author, and his or her cultural context have generally been considered a 'mark of distinction' that sets one translation off from another". An explicit claim of direct access to the source language is placed on the title page immediately under the main title stating that the book is "Translated from the Arabic by John B. Hardie". This claim could be interpreted, in the light of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of capital, as a process of amassing cultural capital for Hardie. Hardie's translation also invested in the cultural capital attached to Sayyid Qutb, by declaring that: "this work is a complete translation of *AL-Adalah al-Ijtima'yah fi al-lalam* by Sayed Kotb" (Hardie 1953: title page three; [sic]). Further

⁷² By 'direct or indirect', I mean whether the claim to have 'direct access to the source language' was authorial or editorial, i.e., was made by Hardie himself or by the editors/publishers of the book.

⁷³ peritext is the external presentation of a book, it includes all elements that are located "around the text in the same volume of space or at a more respectful distance, as the title or preface, and sometimes elements inserted into the interstices of the text, such as chapter titles or certain notes" (Genette 1997: 5)

investment in Qutb's cultural capital, which would subsequently enhance the legitimacy and authority of the translation, and perhaps accumulate some economic capital, is deployed by the American Council, in the form of a gratitude note: "The American Council of Learned Societies acknowledges with special gratitude the cooperation of the author Mr. Sayed Kotb in this translation of his work" (Hardie 1953: iv). The American Council's investment in Qutb's cultural capital was actuated not only by listing his name, but also by highlighting the fact that the translation was conducted in cooperation with Qutb himself. This in turn, would bestow an air of authenticity and authority on the translation as well as the translator.

The foreword of Hardie's translation, which is more likely to have been produced by The American Council of Learned Societies, invests in the symbolic capital at stake by highlighting some of the translation's qualities. It promotes the faithfulness of the translation to the source text, and the original author by stating that: "the translations are unabridged English versions of the original text, made to represent the closest approximation in the English language of what the author said to his own readers" (Hardie 1953: iii). The use of terms such as 'unabridged', and 'the closest approximation', not only make claim to truthfulness and closeness to the source text, but also maximises Hardie's symbolic capital in the field. In other words, by being known as a quality translator, Hardie's reputation within the field of activity is likely to be enhanced, and his standing in the field is likely to be elevated, consequently, his symbolic capital will accrue more value. In Bourdieu's terms, this is seen as consecration, and reproduction of the agent's capital.

Besides the economic, cultural, and symbolic values resulting from these various investments in paratextual elements, there are other forms of capital to be realised. Social capital, which is the network of relations within the particular field of practice, is also at stake in the case in hand. Bourdieu argues that the size and yield of social capital held by any agent is maintained by "the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (*economic, cultural or symbolic*) possessed by each of those to whom he is connected" (Bourdieu 1986: 248-9, emphasis in original). In other words, social capital is "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 119). According to Bourdieu, social capital can be seen as one of the several resources used to obtain or maintain positions of power. With Shepard himself being an academic, and with his translation targeting "academics, mainly including sociologists" by his own admission⁷⁴, his social capital is likely to rise as a result of his relations with peers and specialists of the field, as well as publishers and editors of translation. The increase of this social capital has the potential to pay dividends in the form of "all the types of services accruing from useful relationships" (Bourdieu 1986: 249). Furthermore, Shepard's possession of social capital, in the form of social networks and connections, is likely to produce symbolic capital for him. The social exchanges between agents or members of a group in the form of gifts, compliments, material and symbolic benefits, has the capacity to "transform the things exchanged into signs of recognition, and through the mutual recognition and the recognition of group membership which it implies, reproduces the

⁷⁴ Shepard, W., (w.shepard@ext.canterbury.ac.nz) 2012. Query. 02 Oct. Email to: Ahmed Elgindy (a.elgindy@edu.salford.ac.uk).

group" (Bourdieu 1986: 250). In other words, social capital in this respect is "characteristically symbolic" (Hanna 2006: 61), because it always functions as symbolic capital, since it is "governed by the logic of knowledge and acknowledgement" (Bourdieu 1986: 257).

Shepard further invests in his own social, as well as symbolic capital by highlighting his connection with prominent figures in the field of political Islam. In the preface, Shepard expresses his gratitude to "Professor Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb's brother, ... [*who*] provided explanations and sometimes pointed criticisms which have helped me to appreciate some important matters" (Shepard 1996: vii, emphasis added). Invoking the connection to, and the cooperation with such a well-known figure like Muhammad Qutb, establishes the authenticity of the translation, and strengthens Shepard's position in the field. In addition, Genette (1997) stresses that one can attribute high value to a subject by demonstrating its importance, and a preface's statement about the importance of the subject "no doubt" constitutes the main case for valuing the text highly. Hardie's preface makes use of this function by highlighting the importance of the content of his translation. The first few sentences of his preface state that "the subject matter of the Arabic work here rendered into English is of sufficiently universal interest" (Hardie 1953: vi). He also, as mentioned earlier, claims that the subject matter of the translation appeals to both "field specialists", and "the thoughtful man or woman", which means that Hardie is addressing two sets of readers. On the one hand he is addressing the Middle East specialists, and on the other, he is addressing the general public at large. The claims as such, perform two functions: first, claim credit to the translator by portraying him as a translator of serious and intellectual work, which, in

Bourdieu's terms, mean claiming cultural capital. Second, the claims are likely to induce some economic capital by reaching out to a wider base of potential readers.

Hardie's accumulation of cultural capital did not stop there. He claims more credit for both himself and his work by highlighting his professional competence, and his translational skills. Hardie draws attention to his skills by stating, "I have sought here primarily to produce a readable piece of English" (ibid: vi). Hardie inserted many other statements supporting his claim for proficiency such as: "I have made fresh translations of the Qur'anic quotations which are such a feature of the book", and "in the interest of a readable version for the non-specialist no attempt has been made to use any of the scientific systems of transliteration" (ibid: vii). He further displays his vast background knowledge of the context by stating that "I have tried in many cases to sketch in very briefly the historical, literary, or religious background to the text" (ibid). Hardie also draws attention to his professional integrity and faithfulness to the source text and author by claiming that he:

conscientiously rendered the author's own opinion and interpretation, and those alone [...] the aim of the present work has been neither to comment nor to criticize, but simply to translate, as the author himself would have written it, had he written in English (ibid: vii).

Such statements ensure that Hardie is perceived as a conversant, talented and truthful translator. They also ensure that his translation acquires a notable position in the field. These accrued objectified and embodied forms of cultural capital are convertible into economic capital, according to Bourdieu.

In contrast, Shepard accrues his cultural capital via different means. First he projects himself as an expert critic by stating that “the primary purpose of, both this introduction and of the following translation is to present and to some extent to analyse the ideas of Sayyid Qutb” (Shepard 1995: x). He then flags his expertise by presenting the reader with an ideological classification of Qutb’s book *Social Justice in Islam* as “a radically Islamist work” (ibid: xvii). He also explicitly highlights his academic background, and scholarly credentials in the introduction of his translation in two ways. One is in the form of acknowledgement of the contributions of his “colleagues and fellow scholars”. The other, is by claiming “my system of transliteration is that of most scholars writing in English today” (Shepard 1996: ivi). Furthermore, he criticizes Hardie’s translation on few occasions and claims better understanding of Qutb’s intended meanings. He claims that some of Hardie’s treatment and lexical choices “passably reflect the author’s intentions, but suggest a somewhat broader treatment than the author intends” (ibid: 123). Shepard also communicates his dedication to quality of work by claiming that “work on this translation began more than ten years ago” (ibid). Previous, as well as many other statements and claims made by Shepard are in fact schemes working to amass cultural capital. Whether these schemes have been deployed calculatedly or inadvertently is a matter of debate.

Highlighting the deficiencies of a previous translation, and claiming to correct its linguistic mistakes is one of the retranslation aims set by Pym (1998). However, according to Bourdieu’s sociological approach this is considered a form of capital investment. This strategy is applied by Algar who claims correcting Hardie’s misunderstanding of the original text, and rectifying the

translation's linguistic mistakes. Algar accentuates the defects in Hardie's translation by stating that:

In the course of reading John Hardie's translation of Qutb's *Social Justice in Islam* [...] as a preliminary to writing this introduction, I encountered a number of passages that seemed not to ring true. On comparing them with the Arabic text, I found that Hardie had indeed misunderstood the original. So egregious were the translator's errors that a checking of the entire translation seemed in order, and as a result numerous other mistakes were discovered. (Algar 2000: 15)

On another occasion he claims that the changes he made "suffice to make Hardie's translation faithful to the ideas of the author, a fair if not perfect reflection of the Arabic original" (ibid: 16).

Another way of setting one's work off another, which is a form of investment in one's cultural capital, is by claiming to 'offset restricted access' to the source text (Pym 1998). By analysing the titles chosen for each of the two translations, we could see this scheme in action. Shepard's retranslation carries the title *Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism: a Translation and Critical Analysis of Social Justice in Islam*, while Hardie's translation, in comparison, is titled *Social Justice in Islam*. It could be argued that Shepard, through his translation, has intended to offer the reader access to some essential information relating to Sayyid Qutb, which was constrained in the earlier translation. In support of this argument, I refer to a personal correspondence with Shepard, when asked about his reasons for producing a retranslation of Qutb's book, he replied, "The development of Qutb's thinking has been the main focus of my research on him"⁷⁵. On the basis of Shepard's statement, it is safe to argue that he had

⁷⁵ Shepard, W., (w.shepard@ext.canterbury.ac.nz) 2012. Query. 02 Oct. Email to: Ahmed Elgindy (a.elgindy@edu.salford.ac.uk).

embarked on a translation, which would reflect his own interpretation of Qutb's trajectory of thought. That is to say, Shepard intended to offer the reader access to Sayyid Qutb's ideology, which, in his view, was restricted or missing in the earlier translation offered by Hardie. It is worth noting that Shepard's *habitus* as a cultured academic is manifested here. In 1992, Shepard published an essay with the title *The Development of the Thought of Sayyid Qutb as Reflected in Earlier and Later Editions of 'Social Justice in Islam'*. It later became part of his full translation of Qutb's book. Shepard's academic *habitus* has actually informed his approach to this translation project.

It is also important here to mention that, although the title of Shepard's translation was not of his choice, he was, by his own admission, complicit in the decision about the title. In a correspondence with Shepard, when asked about the rationale behind the title of his translation, he replied, "The title was chosen by the publisher. In my experience this is common and I go along with it unless I have very strong objections"⁷⁶. This statement sheds light on the role of other agents involved in the production of translation. Authors, translators, editors, publishers, distributors, illustrators, critics, and target readers are all agents in the translation process. The final structure of a translated text, and its function in the target culture are shaped and informed by the collective inputs of all agents. As such, retranslation is conditioned by a multitude of factors that normally make it difficult to determine how any one factor in isolation shapes the translation process (St. André 2004: 60), which is the idea underpinning Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production.

⁷⁶ Shepard, W., (w.shepard@ext.canterbury.ac.nz) 2012. Query. 02 Oct. Email to: Ahmed Elgindy (a.elgindy@edu.salford.ac.uk).

Shepard also adds more value to his translation by criticising Hardie's translation indirectly, by claiming that "work on this translation started ten years ago when I realised that there were significant differences between the existing English translation of Sayyid Qutb's book, *Social Justice in Islam*, and the usually available Arabic text" (Shepard 1996: i). Consequently, Shepard's translation would be either seen as making up for earlier textual deviations from the source text, or as producing a text that is more accessible to consumers of translation at a particular point in time. In either case, one could argue that an added value to his translation might be realised.

Bourdieu's concept of capital cannot be fully understood in isolation from his concept of field. Capital in all its forms, *economic*, *cultural*, and *social*, which is contested by the various agents involved in translation, is located in social fields of activity, and the volume, composition, and distribution of capital impacts on the structure of the field itself. Bourdieu (1991: 231) argues that a field is:

A multi-dimensional space of positions such that each actual position can be defined in terms of a multi-dimensional system of co-ordinates whose values correspond to the values of the first pertinent variables. Agents are thus distributed, in the first dimension, according to the overall volume of the capital they possess and, in the second dimension, according to the composition of their capital—in other words, according to the relative weight of the different kinds of capital in the total set of their assets. (Bourdieu 1991: 231)

Thus, agents who pursue their interests are in fact struggling to uphold the value, alter the distribution, or modify the conversion of the capital they possess in their particular field of activity. In other words, the positions of the actors are seen in relation to each other. They are also viewed as functions of the types and amounts of capital held by the individual, and the continuous attempts to acquire, hold on to, or to convert it (Ihlen 2005).

Finally, because economic capital is at the root of every form of capital, according to Bourdieu (1986: 252) attempts have been made to collect information about the economy of Hardie's initial translation published in 1953, and his edited translation published in 2000. Unfortunately, email communications with The American Council of Learned Societies, Edward Brothers Inc, publishers of Hardie's original translation, and iPi, publishers of Hardie's edited translation, did not return any information about sales figures, or the number of copies printed. Information about the publications of Hardie's translation could be the subject of future investigation.

Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the competition between cultural products, as struggle between agents for 'Distinction', and struggle over 'capital', means that the translator's practices exemplified in the linguistic choices, partly, determine whether the new translation achieves success or fails. The overt and covert claims made by the translators, which are expressed in the paratextual elements, could be examined further against the actual practices of the translator.

The following section will examine some examples of the translation and retranslation of Sayyid Qutb's *Social Justice in Islam*, at a textual micro-level, and will attempt to analyse the way in which lexical choices try to legitimate the narrative suggested to the target reader.

5.6 Retranslation as Renarrativization

Translators, like all social agents, may indicate their covert acceptance or rejection of the narrative encrypted in the source text through a process known in social sciences as framing (Snow & Benford 1988: 213; Fisher 1997). Goffman (1974: 21) argues that "When an individual in our Western society recognizes a particular event, he tends, in response, to employ one or more frameworks or schemata of interpretation [... which] is seen as rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful". In other words, we use frames to interpret our experience. Frames, thus, answer the question, "What is going on here?" (ibid: 46). Framing offers the translator the opportunity to promote his narrative, or to challenge those promoted by others. Manning (1992: 118) argues that a 'frame' is a decoding device which explains how individuals, groups, and societies organize, perceive, and communicate with and about reality, and without frames life might be experienced as "a chaotic abundance of facts". He also argues that the power of frames lies in their ability to manipulate others' understanding of events, by highlighting or downplaying some of their aspects (ibid). In other words, framing is a way of using language to shape meaning by choosing a set of words instead of another. Thus, it is inevitable that the individual's perception of the meanings attributed to words or phrases becomes a process of selective influence. Fairhurst (2009) explains that framing is an act of constructing reality. This in turn, means that our understanding of, and reaction to social events and contexts is shaped and informed by the way in which these events are framed (ibid). Baker (2005: 4) stresses that translators participate in "very decisive ways in promoting and circulating narratives and discourses of various types". In the translations of Qutb's *social justice in Islam* each translator

is proposing a different narrative. On the one hand, Hardie (1953: vii) claims that he had not interfered with the source text, and that he “rendered the author’s own opinion”, which suggests that the narrative offered to the target reader is not his but the author’s. On the other hand, Shepard (1996: lix) states, in the introduction to his translation, that he was “always aware of the expression; ‘the translator is a betrayer’”. He also states that, to him the expression’s truth “has been demonstrated time and time again in these pages”. It is safe to argue, on the basis of this statement, that the narrative emerging from Shepard’s translation has been subjected to betrayal and manipulation. I would further argue that Shepard himself is speaking to the target reader in this translation, rather than speaking on behalf of Qutb.

Shepard’s narrative is deployed in the very act of translating/framing Qura’nic verses, as well as non-Qura’nic text, in a way that fits into his overall argument. Examination of the source text shows that verses from the *Qur’an* are a feature of the source text. Hardie (1953: vi) accentuates that he “made fresh translations of the Qur’anic quotations”, equally, he also admits to consulting the translations of Rodwell (1861), and Bell (1937) (ibid). In contrast, Shepard gave a detailed explanation of his methodology of translation and explained in great detail the various strategies he deployed to deal with the different aspects of linguistic gaps between Arabic and English. However, he did not mention anything specific about the translation of Qur’anic verses, which are characteristic of Qutb’s book. He did not indicate whether the translations of the various verses of the *Qur’an* were his own, or he obtained them from another source. This raised a question about their source. In a personal

correspondence⁷⁷, when asked about which translation of the *Qur'an*, if any, he consulted, he replied “Arberry” (1955). However, in the same correspondence he stressed that he “sometimes corrected Arberry's translation or modified it to make the connection between the text and the quote clearer”.

The narrative pursued by Shepard, which is presented to the target reader, is that of Islamic resurgence and activism, as illustrated in the title of his translation. The title, almost, demonises Sayyid Qutb, bearing in mind what ‘Islamic Activism’ meant to the target reader in the 1990s, the period identified by Shepard as “the contemporary resurgence of Islam” (1992: 196). I would argue that Shepard’s narrative is motivated by his preconceived views of Sayyid Qutb as “one of the better known representatives of the more radical tendencies in the contemporary resurgence of Islam” (ibid: 197). He also describes Qutb as a man who assumed a position of “extreme radical Islamism during the last years of his life” (ibid). Moreover, he describes Qutb’s writings as “a charter for Islamic revolution and a major inspiration for extremist groups” (ibid). I would further argue that Shepard’s lexical choices are guided by these preconceptions, and serve to represent Qutb himself, as well as his work as such. In contrast, the narrative offered by Hardie does not foreground the idea of activism. The title of his translation and his lexical choices, in my view, support this argument.

Nevertheless, in relation to the translation of the Qur’anic verses, both translations opt for lexical choices, which are different from translations suggested by Muslim translators. The other two translations I consulted for comparison are: Translation of Almadina Islamic

⁷⁷ Shepard, W., (w.shepard@ext.canterbury.ac.nz) 2012. Query. 21 Dec. Email to: Ahmed Elgindy (a.elgindy@edu.salford.ac.uk).

research, and IFTA Council⁷⁸, and the translation of Abdullah Yusuf Ali⁷⁹, which is widely accepted in the Sunni Muslim world.

Important here to note, is the extensive use of footnotes in Shepard's translation. The source text has 403 footnotes all of which are references. Hardie's translation has 413 footnotes, 403 of which are the author's, and the rest are explanatory comments by Hardie. Shepard's translation in comparison has 1364 footnotes, of which 403 are the author's and the rest are Shepard's. Although the function of a footnote, from a scholar's perspective, is to document references, accumulate authority, and/or demonstrate scholarship; to the reader, the footnote serves another function. Kenner (1964: 39-40) argues that:

Footnote's relation to the passage from which it depends, is established wholly by visual and typographic means, and will typically defeat all efforts of the speaking voice to clarify it without visual aid. [...] The man who writes a marginal comment is conducting a dialogue with the text he is reading, but the man who composes a footnote, and sends it to the printer along with his text, has discovered among the devices of printed language something analogous with counterpoint; a way of speaking in two voices at once, or of ballasting or modifying or even bombarding with exceptions his own discourse without interrupting it. It is a step in the direction of discontinuity: of organising blocks of discourse simultaneously in space rather than consecutively in time.

Grafton (1999: viii) further argues that a footnote participates in constructing or undermining a narrative, when "woven together" with other footnotes. For Benstock (1983: 204) footnotes have two functions. On the one hand, they perform a "narratological function", since they are "referential, reflecting on the text, engaging in a dialogue with it, and often performing an interpretive and critical act on it", and on the other hand, they "address a larger extratextual world in an effort to relate this text to other texts, and this author to other authors, and

⁷⁸ *The Holy Qur-an: English translation of the meanings and Commentary* (1992).

⁷⁹ *The Holy Qur'an: Translation and Commentary* (1937).

negotiate a middle ground between the author and the reader". That is to say, footnotes function to reposition the narrative of the text in question within the wider social context/narrative within which it is embedded (ibid: 212).

In a footnote, the voice of a third person, i.e., the author, becomes the voice of a first person, i.e., the translator, and this change "is not merely stylistic; it reflects genuine ambivalence toward the text, toward the speaker in the text, and toward the audience" (ibid). Benstock also argues that footnotes are not restricted, and allow for the adoption of "new rhetoric", thus, drawing attention to "the shifting line of discourse", which in turn "admits the reader into its circumference" (ibid). Connors (1999: 222) also elaborates on the role and function of footnotes as being "to invite readers to bifurcate their intentions into separated streams: the high street of the text, which is not supposed to be soiled with specific reference, and the alleys, closes, and mews of the notes, which carry on the necessary but less genteel business of citation and analysis". It is the latter, i.e., 'analysis' which is the overwhelming characteristic of Shepard's footnotes.

Shepard's translation, he claims, is of the sixth edition of *Social Justice in Islam*, while Hardie's translation is of the second edition. According to Shepard (1992: 199-200), it is between the two editions that "Qutb's ideological development may be described as a shift from what might be called a Muslim secularist position to one that I like to call radical Islamist". Shepard uses the footnotes to justify his analogy of the trajectory of Qutb's ideological development, and to legitimise his proposed narrative. The following section is the textual comparative analysis of some examples of the two translations.

5.7 Translation examples

Example 1:

"فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّى يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا"

[Q: (4) 65]

Arberry's translation: "But no, by thy Lord! they will not believe till they make thee the judge regarding the disagreement between them, then they shall find in themselves no impediment touching thy verdict, but shall surrender in full submission" (4 – 65).

Shepard's translation: "But no, by thy Lord! They do not believe till they make thee the judge regarding the disagreement between them, and then do not find in themselves any impediment touching thy verdict, but surrender in full submission" (29 – P: 8).

Hardie's translation: "No, by the lord, they do not believe until they make thee judge in their disputes, and do not afterwards find difficulty in thy decisions, but submit to them fully" (P: 26).

Almadina Islamic research and IFTA Council's translation: "But no by thy Lord, They can have No (real) Faith. Until they make Thee judge in all disputes between them. And find in their souls No resistance against Thy decisions, but accept them with fullest conviction" (P: 230-231)

Abdullah Yusuf Ali's translation: same as Almadina

Analysis:

First, both translations of Shepard and Hardie imply that people are devoid of any faith as a result of not accepting the ruling of the Prophet. Almadina and Yusuf Ali's translations, in contrast, are more moderate and indicate that the person may have faith, though it is not (real) true or complete. Second, according to the *Oxford Dictionary*, 'surrender' as a verb means to give up or hand over (a person, right, or possession) typically on compulsion. 'Submit' means to accept or yield to a superior force or to the authority or will of another person. Thus, Shepard's use of 'surrender' implies compulsion, defeat, or doing something against one's will, which reflects the overarching idea of coercion associated with activism. In contrast Almadina's and Ali's use of accept, express willingness. It indicates replying in the affirmative to an invitation or offer. The negative implications of Shepard's lexical choice work to undermine any suggestion of moral validity found in the Arabic source text, and emphasises the narrative offered by Shepard.

Example 2:

وَلَوْلَا دَفْعُ اللَّهِ النَّاسَ بَعْضَهُمْ بِبَعْضٍ لَهْـدِمَتْ صَوَامِعُ وَبِيَعٌ وَصَلَوَاتٌ وَمَسَاجِدُ يُذْكَرُ فِيهَا اسْمُ اللَّهِ كَثِيرًا . [Q: (22) 40]

Arberry's translation: "Had God not driven back the people, some by the means of others, there had been destroyed cloisters and churches, oratories and mosques, wherein God's Name is much mentioned"

Shepard's translation: "Had God not driven back the people, some by the means of others, there had been destroyed cloisters and churches, oratories and mosques, wherein God's name is much mentioned" (39 – P: 11)

Hardie's translation: "And were it not that Allah sets some men against others, the cloisters had been destroyed, and the churches and the synagogues and mosques in which the name of Allah is often repeated" (P: 29).

Almadina Islamic research and IFTA Council's translation" Did not Allah Check one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, in which the name of Allah is commemorated" (P: 962).

Yusuf Ali's translation: same as Almadina

Analysis:

Oratory is a branch of the Roman Catholic Church. It was founded in 1575 by Saint Philip Neri. It denotes a religious society with secular priests who live in religious communities but do not take vows. By introducing a nuanced secular element, Shepard imparts on the text a greater level of contemporary political relevance, than what otherwise resembles solely religious context. Also the use of 'driven' adds the elements of force and compulsion, which are in line with the narrative of activism, extremism, and fundamentalism, which Shepard is suggesting in relation to Qutb's ideology. Lane (1863) translates وَلَوْلَا دَفَعُ اللَّهُ النَّاسَ as: "and were it not for God's repelling men", on the basis of his understanding of the term دَفَعُ as "signifies the putting

away or removing or turning back a thing before the coming or arriving” (Lane 1863: 890). In contrast ‘drive’, favoured by Shepard, if used with object means “to propel or carry along by force in a specified direction”, according to *The Oxford English Dictionary*. In comparison, Hardie and the Medina translations have distanced their translations from any secular connotations by opting for synagogues⁸⁰, which are consecrated spaces that can be used only for the purpose of prayer and practice of the Jewish faith.

Example 3:

تِلْكَ آيَاتُ الْقُرْآنِ وَكِتَابٍ مُبِينٍ ، هُدًى وَبُشْرَى لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ، الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَهُمْ بِالْآخِرَةِ هُمْ يُوقِنُونَ
[Q: (27) 1-3]

Arberry’s translation: “Those are the signs of the Koran and a Manifest Book, a guidance, and good tidings unto the believers who perform the prayer, and pay the alms, and have sure faith in the Hereafter” (27 – 1-3).

Shepard’s translation: “Those are the signs of the *Qur’an* and a Manifest Book, a guidance, and good tidings unto the believers who perform Salat, and pay Zakat, and have sure faith in the Hereafter (11 – P: 89).

Hardie’s translation: “these are signs of the *Qur’an*, which is a Book which makes clear, a guidance and a gospel for the Believers, who observe the prayer, who pay the poor-tax, and who are certain of the world to come” (P: 73).

⁸⁰ The word synagogue is from Greek meaning ‘gathering’. It has been the central institution of Jewish worship since antiquity. It is believed that they first developed during the Babylonian Captivity, a time after the first Temple had been destroyed and Jews were forced to develop beliefs and practices which would differentiate them from the local population. (Jewfaq.org)

Almadina's translation: "these are verses Of the *Qur'an*-a Book That makes (things) clear; A guide: and Glad Tidings For the Believers- Those who establish regular prayers, And give regular charity, And also have sure faith in the Hereafter" (P: 1068).

Yusuf Ali's translation: "these are verses Of the *Qur'an*-a Book That makes (things) clear; A guide: and Glad Tidings For the Believers- Those who establish regular prayers, And give regular charity, And also have (full) assurance Of the Hereafter" [sic].

Analysis:

Shepard, as indicated earlier in this chapter, relied on Arberry's translation of the *Qur'an*. However, he admits that he has 'corrected or amended' Arberry's translation to make "the connection between the text and the quote clearer". The amendment carried out by Shepard, as illustrated above in the example, serves to evoke the politically loaded connotations associated with Islamic loan words such as 'Salat', and 'Zakat', which are contextualised with 'Islamic Sharia', which is associated with Islamic fundamentalism. Salat translates to English as 'prayers', and 'Zakat' is the obligatory charity payable by all Muslims to the needy. However, these terms are often transliterated rather than translated. That in turn, impregnates the context with all the negative connotations associated with Islamic activism and fundamentalism. These linguistic representations within the context of political Islam are likely to initiate, or invite a particular response from the target reader.

If we subscribe to the argument that the language of political Islam is perceived, in the Anglo-American culture, as a language of conflict (between Western liberal and Islamic conservative ideologies) it becomes clear that "terms and expressions are strong weapons in any conflict,

and that misuse of some expressions may endow them with negative meanings or connotations. Such a practice may be dangerous to social relations” (Abdussalam: 2007). On the other hand, Hardie like Arberry, and the two Muslim sources, opts for ‘prayer’ and ‘poor-tax / charity’, which are neutral terms that could relate to any religion or faith.

Example 4:

فهذه من عمر - كتلك من نبيه محمد - فهم صحيح لحقيقة هذا الدين (P: 11).

Shepard’s translation: “In these statements from ‘Umar’ as in what his prophet Muhammad said we see the correct understanding of the essence of this religion, (39 – P: 11).

Hardie’s translation: “In such stories ‘Umar is at one with his prophet, ‘Muhammad’ and such give a reliable indication of the nature of this faith”.

Analysis:

The source text does not contain the subject pronoun we; this was added by Shepard. In this sentence ‘we’ is meant to refer to Qutb, and perhaps, the Muslim Brothers. This addition serves to strengthen Shepard’s narrative of cult or global activism. In contrast, Hardie’s translation is in line with the meaning residing in the source text, in my view.

Example: 5

التعبد في الإسلام يشمل الشعائر والشرائع والحركة والنشاط الإنساني كلة (P: 9).

Shepard's translation: "Devotion in Islam includes rituals, laws, social activism and all human activity".

Analysis:

Activism means: "the policy or action of using vigorous campaigning to bring about political or social change"⁸¹. Van Dijk (2004: para. 2) argues that "(ism) has plagued humanity for millennia and that is the cause of arms, armies, wars and repression until today". In line with the narrative of Islamic activism that Shepard proposes in the title, his lexical choice has been likewise in order to support such a narrative. He translated the Arabic word 'حركة' which means motion, commotion, or agitation (Lane 1863: 553) as 'social activism'. The application of 'activism' is likely to evoke connotations rooted in a discourse based on assumptions, and related to cultural stereotypes.

On the other hand, Hardie did not translate the footnote. This is perhaps due to the note being an addition to Shepard's sixth edition.

Example 6:

فهو [الإسلام] بطبيعته دين تنفيذ وعمل في واقع الحياة ، دين دعوة وإرشاد مجردين [P: 31].

Shepard's translation: "By its very nature it is a religion that must be put into practice in everyday life, not a religion of mere preaching and exhortation in a dream world." (1 - P: 39).

⁸¹ The Oxford English Dictionary.

Hardie's translation: "For by its own nature Islam is a faith of achievement, of work in the sphere of practical life; it is not a religion of mere words, or idle theory existing only in the world of imagination" (P: 29).

Analysis:

Shepard's preconceived idea of Sayyid Qutb as a forceful man who wants to implement Islamic governance by any means possible is reflected in the use of terms as 'must' and 'everyday life' while Hardie's translation is more conceptual, and less belligerent.

Example 7:

التحرر الوجداني [P:32]

Shepard's translation: "liberation of the inward soul" (P: 41).

Hardie's translation: "freedom of the conscience" (P: 30).

Analysis:

الوجدان في اللغة: من وجد، ووجدانا، بمعنى أدركه وحصل المطلوب ، وصار معنى الوجدان في العرف اسما للمشاعر وما ينتج عنها من انفعالات (لسان العرب).

Translation: The Arabic term 'Wojdan' is from the root word 'Wajad', which means 'he got the desired'. The term has become accepted to be a name for the feelings and the resulting emotions. Most Arabic-English dictionaries translate the term as 'conscience'. Shepard's translation as 'Liberation of the inward soul' suggests a religious or spiritual journey towards that liberation. While Hardie's translation as 'freedom of conscience' might be interpreted as moral, philosophical, or political value, regardless of whether the person has any faith or

religious beliefs or not. This represents another nuanced case which supports the narrative Shepard is offering.

Example 8:

ليس للحاكم إِذْنٌ – فيما عدا الطاعة لأمره ، والنصح له والمعونة على إقامة الشريعة – حقوق أخرى ليست لأي فرد من عامة المسلمين [P: 84].

Shepard's translation: "The ruler therefore has no rights that do not belong to an individual Muslim-except for obedience to his command, advice, and assistance in enforcing the Shari'ah" (46 – P: 117).

Hardie's translation: "A ruler, then, has no rights other than those which belong to any individual of the Muslim community- except that he can claim obedience to his command, advice, and help in the enforcement of the law" (P: 96).

Analysis:

Shepard's translation is likely to evoke all the Western cultural and political connotations associated with the term 'Shari'a'. Its use will further frame the source text as 'Islamic activism' text, since the word *Shari'a* is associated with Islamic fundamentalism in the Anglo-American culture. In contrast, Hardie used the neutral nonfigurative term 'law' which evokes a sense of civility and social refinement.

Amongst scholars, the commonly accepted meanings of this archaic Arabic word are ‘a pathway to be followed’ (Abdal-Haqq 2002), or ‘path to the water hole’ (Weiss 2011). The etymology of *Shari’a* as a ‘path’ or ‘way’ comes from the Qur’anic verse [45:18]:

" ثُمَّ جَعَلْنَاكَ عَلَىٰ شَرِيعَةٍ مِّنَ الْأَمْرِ فَاتَّبِعْهَا وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَ الَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ "

“Then we put thee on the (right) Way of religion so follow thou that (Way) and follow not the desires of those who know not” (Abdal-Haqq 2006: 4). *The Dictionary of the Holy Qur’an*, explains that the term ‘Way’ in the above quoted verse [45:18] derives from shara'a, [شَرَعَ] meaning ‘He ordained’. Other forms from the same root also appear in the *Qur’an*, such as: shara'u [شَرَعُوا] meaning ‘they decreed (a law)’ [45:13], and shir'atun (n.) [شِرْعَةٌ] meaning ‘spiritual law’ [5:48].

Edward Lane’s well-known dictionary (1863: 1530) also explains the etymology of the term in a similar fashion: شَرِيعَةٌ and مَشْرَعَةٌ and مَشْرَعٌ , and شِرَاعٌ : A watering place; a resort of drinkers [both men and beasts], a place to which men come to drink there-from and to draw water, and into which they sometimes make their beasts to enter to drink. And in like manner it is said that شَرِيعَةٌ signifies a place of descent to water or a way to water. And hence, الشَّرِيعَةُ signifies likewise الدين because it is a way to the means of eternal life. شَرِيعَةٌ signifies also a religion, or way of belief and practice in respect of religion, and a way of belief or conduct that is manifest and right in religion. However the meaning of *Shari’a* has proliferated in the West with the rise of what is known as the Islamist movement in the 1970s, when the term شَرِيعَةٌ has become associated with the revival of the religion and Islamic fundamentalism (Lapidus 1996). Tariq

Ramadan, a European Muslim scholar, argues that the concept and connotations of this term have been tarnished, because “the Western world misrepresents *Shari’a* by focusing on beheadings in Saudi Arabia and other gruesome punishments” (Casciani 2008: par. 18).

Shepard throughout his translation preferred to use the term ‘*Shari’a*’, while Hardie preferred the term ‘Islamic Law’ as an equivalent to the Arabic term *شريعة*. It is important here to highlight that since translation is a socially situated activity, according to Bourdieu, it is important to take into account the historical moment in which the translation is produced. Shepard’s translation was published in 1996. As stated in his introduction, he started work on it ten years earlier, i.e., at a time when the issue of Islamic revival was high on the international political agenda. The late seventies witnessed the Iranian revolution, and the early 1980’s witnessed the assassination of Anwar Al-Sadat the Egyptian president at the hands of Islamic fundamentalists. It is safe to argue, that the public narrative at the time was about Islamic activism and fundamentalism, which, I argue, has informed and guided the narrative presented by Shepard. Thus, as a result of the shift in meaning and use of the term, Shepard’s use of *Shari’a* is inclined to guide the target reader’s interpretation of the text in the direction of the public narrative of fundamentalism that was prevalent at the time.

Example 9:

إِنَّ الْأَمْرَ الْمُسْتَيْقِنَ فِي هَذَا الدِّينِ أَنَّهُ لَا يُمْكِنُ أَنْ يَقُومَ فِي الضَّمِيرِ ‘عَقِيدَةٌ’، وَلَا فِي وَاقِعِ الْحَيَاةِ ‘دِينًا’ إِلَّا أَنْ يَشْهَدَ النَّاسُ :
أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ [P: 182].

Shepard’s translation: “The absolutely certain fact about this religion is that it cannot exist as a creed in the heart nor as a religion in actual life unless people testify that there is no god but God” (P: 277).

Hardie's translation: This sentence is not found in the second edition translated by Hardie.

Analysis:

In this and many similar instances throughout the translation, Shepard leans towards a definitive language even if the Arabic source does not suggest the same level of certainty. The Arabic term *إِسْتَيْقَنَ* in Lane's dictionary is explained as meaning 'he knew it, or he became sure of it'. In the '*Arabs' Tongue*' it means 'to know or to remove the doubt'. The English term 'absolutely', used by Shepard, means 'certainly, without question', according to *The Oxford Thesaurus*. When added to 'certain fact' it gives a sense of a dogmatic, dictatorial, and opinionated stand. It is more of a rigid state that can never be variable or modified. The use of such expressions affirms Shepard's portrayal of Qutb's ideology, and further reinforces the narrative he is suggesting to the target reader.

Example 10:

ولم يبخل الإسلام بثقته على الضمير البشري بعد تهذيبه (P: 64).

Shepard's Translation: "Islam has not hesitated to trust the human conscience once it has been trained" (6 - P: 86).

Hardie's translation: "Islam places a great deal of reliance on the human conscience when it is educated" (P: 71).

Analysis:

The Arabic word 'تَهْدِيبَ' is derived from the root word 'هَدَّبَ' which means 'he put it in a right or proper state'. It could also mean: adjusted, repaired, mended, or trimmed. The original

signification of the term تَهْنِيب is “the clearing, or trimming of trees in order that they may increase in growth and beauty. Then it was used to signify the cleansing or purifying of anything, so that this became its proper meaning by general acceptance” (Lane 1863: 2887). The possible equivalents in most Arabic / English dictionaries are: to discipline, refine, cultivate, polish, culture, prune, retouch, edify, expurgate, or to reform. Shepard, however, decided on ‘trained’ rather than ‘educated’, which is preferred by Hardie. Wilson (2000) explains that ‘training’ is about the ‘know how’, and it is usually associated with gaining a skill. However, ‘education’ is about the ‘know why’, and it is usually undertaken in the hope of furthering one’s individual knowledge (ibid). Training, thus, has the same allusions as ‘indoctrinating’ and ‘programming’, which fits with the narrative of Islamic activism pursued by Shepard.

Example 11:

P:) فرض الإسلام الزكاة حقاً ، في أموال القادرين للمحرومين ، حقاً تتقاضاه الدولة المسلمة بحكم الشريعة وبقوة السلطان (P: 65).

Shepard’s translation: “Islam has ordained ‘Zakat’ for the deprived as a right to share in the wealth of those who are well off, a right which the Muslim state enforces by virtue of the ‘shari’ah’ and by force of its authority” (10 – P: 88).

Hardie’s translation: “Islam makes the poor-tax an obligatory claim on the property of the wealthy in favour of the poor. It is a due which the government can exact by the authority of the law and by the power of its administration” (P: 73).

Analysis:

Again Shepard uses Islamic loan words such as 'zakat', and 'Shari'ah', which are culturally and ideologically loaded, highly flexible in the way they are interpreted, and becoming almost as labels associated with a hard-line strand of Islam in the Anglo-American culture. The use of these label-type terms is likely to induce subsequent expressions of prejudicial reactions, arising from the assumptions and historical stereotype images of Islamic activism. Also the linguistic difference between Shepard's and Hardie's translations is significant. Shepard's translation, principally through use of the verbs 'ordained', and 'enforces' and the phrase 'by the force of its authority' conveys a picture of an oppressive authoritarian regime. Shepard's use of Arabic terms in favour of their English equivalents employed by Hardie, further connoted Islam a sense of self-derived authority, typical of the world view of totalitarian systems.

Example 12:

والتعاون أصل من أصول المجتمع الإسلامي ، يهدمه الربا ويوهن أساسه ، لذلك يكرهه الإسلام (P: 103)

Shepard's translation: "Cooperation is one of the bases of Islamic society; usury destroys it and weakens its foundation. Thus Islam detests it" (P: 147).

Hardie's translation: "mutual help is one of the fundamental principles of the Islamic society, but usury destroys mutual help and vitiates it at the very root. Therefore Islam is opposed to this practice" (P: 122).

Analysis:

In this example there is Shepard's 'detest' vs. Hardie's 'opposed'. According to *The Oxford Dictionary*, and the *English Reference Dictionary*, 'detest' means to feel abhorrence of, despise, abominate, hate, or dislike intensely. While 'oppose' means disagree with, and attempt to prevent (ibid). *The Oxford Thesaurus* further explains that detest means to loathe, to be hostile to, or to have aversion to. While oppose means to speak out or to act against, to take issue with, to stand in the way of, to hinder or to obstruct. It is safe to argue that detest, which is favoured by Shepard, transmits or implies an element of hostility and hate, which fits with his overall narrative, and his view of Qutb as a radical Islamist. In contrast, Hardie's choice of oppose, does not foreground any association with aggression.

These examples illustrate the different approaches of Hardie and Shepard in treating the source text's narrative. They also demonstrate the way in which their proposed narratives are enacted in the very act of translating. Shepard's proposed narrative of Islamic activism, and his interventions are particularly significant. Because his selective appropriation⁸², i.e., his 'reconfiguration' of the source narrative in terms of what to foreground and what to background, feeds off, and into the public narrative. This in turn informs and directs the readers' personal narrative and infuses these selected elements into the target reader's consciousness. The public narrative in this case is 'Islamic resurgence', and the development of contemporary Islamic movements and thought, which during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990's became a major force in Muslim societies and international affairs (Haddad, Voll, and Esposito

⁸² Selective Appropriation is to do with the 'reconfiguration' of the narrative in terms of what to leave in and what to leave out, what to infuse and what to suppress, out of the great number of interrelated elements that form the experience (Baker 2006). For elaboration on the idea, see chapter two, section 2.9.

1991, Cleveland 1994, and Esposito and Voll 1996). That narrative expanded during that era as a result of the turbulent events in the Middle East, such as the 1972 Munich massacre, the 1973 oil shocks, the 1979 Iranian revolution and embassy hostage crisis, the Rushdie affair, and the terrorist kidnappings and hijackings of the 1980s (Jackson 2007). These are the events antecedent of the publication of Shepard's translation of *Social Justice in Islam*. Another significance of Shepard's renarrativization is that it places Sayyid Qutb and his book at the heart of this wider narrative. The result of repeating this narrative over and over is that it becomes *doxa*, i.e., unquestionable, taken for granted values.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter set out to propose a new reading/interpretation of the (re)translation of *Social Justice in Islam* in the light of Bourdieu's sociology. In the process, the chapter questioned the long held assumption that retranslation is the result of text ageing. The chapter demonstrated that the linguistic aspect of a given translation was not the only factor motivating a retranslation. It also suggested an alternative understanding of retranslation as a struggle between agents, and a struggle over capital.

Close examination of the two translations showed that the labours of the various agents to accumulate capital in all its forms, economic, cultural, social, as well as symbolic, were acted at two levels: in the paratextual zone surrounding the translated text, and in the very act of translation in the form of selective lexicon. Shepard, in particular, worked the Paratextual elements to locate himself not only as a translator, but also as a scholar and researcher enriching academia with new findings. Furthermore, the lexical choices of each translator

reflected their respective narratives, as well as their narrative positions. It also acted to position these narratives in the social world in which they are consumed, i.e., in the realm of meta-narrative.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter is twofold: first, to revisit, and readdress the research questions raised in chapter one, in the light of the detailed discussion of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological hypothesis. The second aim is to elaborate the findings of the current thesis, and discuss their implications for future research.

6. Re-visiting the research questions

The fundamental question underpinning this thesis was:

How could the sociological hypothesis of Pierre Bourdieu provide us with a model for studying the translations of Islamic political discourse into English in the Anglo-American culture?

As discussed in chapter one, the justification of this research rests on three factors. First, the importance of the object of research, i.e., 'political Islam', and its potential to influence the political debate in both Arab and Anglo-American cultures, particularly following events like 9/11 and 7/7. Second, the lack of research adapting the sociological model developed by Bourdieu to study translation of Islam in general, and the translation of Islamic political discourse in particular. The third factor is the absence of research adapting Bourdieu's sociological theory to the study of translation from Arabic into English.

The above overarching question comprises four interconnected questions that structure the chapters of this dissertation:

1. How could the sociological hypotheses of Bourdieu provide us with conceptual tools for studying and understanding translation as a socially situated activity?

Chapter two addressed this question. A detailed discussion of the tenets of Bourdieu's sociology was motioned, focusing on the conceptual apparatus that could be adapted to the study of translation. Bourdieu's concept of *field*, which was discussed in chapter 2, section 2.1, proved useful for studying translation in general, and studying translations of Islamic political discourse in particular. The discussion of Bourdieu's model of *field* had some implications for the study of translation. First, it helped to transcend the dichotomy of 'subjectivism' and 'objectivism', which, for a long time, informed the research conducted in the human sciences, including translation studies. Perceiving translation as a process shaped, simultaneously but not necessarily equally, by human agency, and objective socio-cultural structures enabled this research to understand translation as a *relational* activity. Relational in the sense that it is the site of interactions between different agents and forces, which include not only the producers and co-producers of translation, but also, the structure of the field of translation. This Bourdieusian based *relational* understanding of translation, also takes into account the social space in which the field of translation is situated, and within which translation is produced. In this social space political and economic factors, along with the established hierarchy of social classes dictate and constrain the practices and processes of translation production. The aforementioned dictates and constraints particularly apply in the case of Islamic political discourse. In Bourdieu's sociology the production of cultural goods, although conditioned by the forces of the social space and particularly the 'field of power', is regulated and modified by the specific mechanisms that govern the functioning of the field of cultural production

(Bourdieu 1996: 217). In other words, cultural production is determined by the external forces of the social space on one hand, and by the internal constraints of the field itself in the form of norms and sanctions imposed on the group of producers of cultural goods on the other hand. However, the level of constraints and demands that the forces of the social space could exert on the field of cultural production depends on the field's autonomy. That is to say, it depends on the degree to which the field's own values and rules manage to impose themselves on the field's occupants (ibid). The inclusion of social, political, and economical eventualities aids the understanding of translations of Islamic political discourse as the outcome of a multifarious of factors, not simply reflections of social reality.

The concept of *habitus* was Bourdieu's vehicle to transcend the subjectivism vs. objectivism dichotomy, expanded on in chapter 2, section 2.4. Habitus as introduced by Bourdieu is the mechanism that mediates between social structures and individual practices, i.e., between individuals and society. Habitus is constituted through a process of socialisation and professionalization. Thus far, the habitus of the translators of Islamic political discourse has not been fully explored, and an investigation is called for. This requires an empirical testing of a large number of cases over a period of time, in the hope of answering some of the following questions;

- a. What are the social conditions under which translations of Islamic political discourse are produced? How do these conditions influence both, the translator and the translation?

- b. What type of social organisations and institutions are involved in the habituation of the translator of Islamic political discourse?
- c. What is the professionalization process of the translator? i.e., what are the roles played by the social institutions in general, and the translation institutions in particular, in shaping the translator's dispositions?

Bourdieu's conception of cultural production as *relational* activity presupposes the idea of tension and domination. In our case study, this means the tension between the field of translating Islamic political discourse, and other fields of cultural production, particularly, the field of power, detailed discussion in chapter 2, section 2.2, and Figure 1. This research showed the influence exerted by the field of power, i.e., the political field, on the field of translating political Islam, and the way in which the agents of the field are closely linked to the political field. Furthermore, translators who are closely linked to the field of politics, i.e., the field of power, seem to occupy a dominant position in the field. However, the translator's position in the field is also influenced by his dispositions, and conditioned by the struggles over the capital available in the field.

The second implication of the concept of *field* for the study of translation in general, and translation of Islamic political discourse in particular is concerned with the rationale upon which Bourdieu formulated the concept. The fact that the field is a network of positions, and possibilities premised on the idea of struggle over capital, means that its structure and boundaries are subject to continuous change as a consequence. The concept of field helped in identifying the positions in the field of translating Islam during, both, its early stages, and its

contemporary history. It also helped identify the struggle between the various agents, and the strategies they apply to accumulate capital.

The third implication of Bourdieu's *relational* understanding of the field of cultural production is his questioning of the sociological traditional manner of explaining the motives of production. Traditional sociologies explained any socio-cultural phenomenon along a uni-axial cause. Bourdieu's sociology explains these socio-cultural occurrences by placing them in a complex network of socio-cultural factors. In other words, the translations of political Islam are the result of many socio-cultural factors including: the agents' habitus, the position of the field in relation to other fields of cultural production, the relationship between the field and the field of power, the struggles within the field, and the autonomy of the field itself.

Translations of Islamic texts did not exist as a field of activity until 1143 when the first translation of the *Qur'an* was completed as part of Peter the Venerable's translation project. The search for the genesis of a field that we could call 'the field of translating Islam' motivated the second research question.

2. How could Bourdieu's sociology help us explore the genesis of the way(s) in which Islam and Muslims have been represented in Western culture, the role of translation in the construction of these representation(s), the motivations of these translations, and the interests they have been made to serve?

In providing an answer to this question it was necessary to divide it into two sub-questions:

- a. *How can Bourdieu's sociological model help us understand the representations of Islam and Muslims in the Western imagination and what role does translation play in the construction of these representations?*
- b. *What is the effect of agency and mediation, in translation, on the representation and production of knowledge about Islam and Muslims?*

Chapter three attempted to explore the genesis of the field, and identify the positions in it by analysing the mode of production and the mode of consumption of the translations of Islamic texts. The third ramification of Bourdieu's *relational* understanding of the concept of field, discussed above, offered the opportunity to understand the network of agents who produced these translations and why they were produced. It also allowed the opportunity to examine the influence of other social forces, e.g., the Church as the field of power in the twelfth century, on the production of these early translations, and what purpose they served. The motives for these early translations and the way in which they were used, influenced and shaped the image of Islam that was presented to the target reader.

Bourdieu's sociology and the way in which it intertwines all social factors and forces to explain the production of cultural goods helped us to understand that translations of Islamic texts were the end product of the contributions of many agents across many interrelated fields. The collective agency of these contributors mediated an Image of Islam in the West since the birth of the field. Bourdieu's concepts of *doxa*, orthodoxy, and heterodoxy, were adapted to analyse the constructed image of Islam, which travelled unquestioned through time and became a *doxa*. These doxic inherited images of Islam and Muslims were challenged during the

Enlightenment era by a new generation of scholars breaking away from the old traditions. As a result the structure of the field of translating Islam was altered offering new positions, new possibilities, new capital, new agents, and forming a new image of Islam (see chapter three, sections 3.2.1, 3.3, and 3.4). Chapter three also established the fact that since Arabic is the language of the *Qur'an*, the founding text of Islam, it is inevitable that the early knowledge about Islam in the West, must have crossed the language barrier through some form of translation. The emergence of heterodoxic values in the face of the orthodoxy ideas could be the site of future research. The habitus of the producers of each image could be examined and the socio-cultural factors effecting these changes could be uncovered.

The shift in the Islamic discourse during the early twentieth century motivated the third research question;

3. How could Bourdieu's sociology, particularly his understanding of agency, help us explain the activities in the field of translating political Islam?

The structural changes in the field of translating Islam in the Anglo-American culture, as well as the rise of a new mode of translation, and new generation of translators were addressed using Bourdieu's conceptual tools in chapter four. The emergence of new discourse and new register triggered the need to explore the provenance of some primary terms associated with political Islam, such as Islamism and fundamentalism. The research showed that the initial use of these two terms lies in France and America respectively, where they were used long before the commencement of what is called political Islam. The emergence of this new Islamic discourse caused a shift in the internal structure and boundaries of the field. A new mode of translation

also emerged, accompanied by a new orientation of the translation, where some translations were politically oriented and others were socially oriented (see chapter four, 4.1). This period witnessed the appearance of new translators in the field who tended to use Arabic source texts, to varying degrees, as translated excerpts embedded in a new mode of writings about Islam. Bourdieu's notion of relationality was further deployed to investigate the relationship between the field of translating political Islam and the field of power. The reciprocal effect of each of these two fields on the other was evident in the examples of Bernard Lewis and Emmanuel Sivan. The agents' subjectivity reflected on the narratives of Islam and Muslims. Future research could explore the habitus of both Lewis and Sivan to try and find out any coloration between their historical experiences and current dispositions.

Chapter four used the translation of Hassan al-Banna's *Towards the Light* نحو النور as the testing ground for the translator's agency, and the impact his decisions could have on the emerging narrative. The effect of Wendell's agency on the target reader was marked in the comments of Point de bascule on his translation of al-Banna's work. Narrative theory as developed by Baker and others helped to fill the few gaps in Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus in relation to his conceived idea of habitus, which is criticized for being over deterministic and circular. Narrative theory helped to overcome this circularity because it allows for the voice of the translator, i.e., his conscious agency.

The process of selecting a particular text for translation is in itself an act of agency. This may involve the selection of a text that has been translated before, which triggered the discussion of the [re]translation phenomenon. The recurrence of translation of the same source text, as

chapter five tried to elucidate, is instigated by socio-cultural changes in both subjectivity of the translator, and the social space at large. Thus chapter five was motivated by the following question:

4. How can we read/interpret the (re)translation of Sayyid Qutb's *Social Justice in Islam* العدالة الاجتماعية في الإسلام in terms of Bourdieu's sociology?

Chapter five showed that retranslation implicates more than just the 'betterment' of a previous translation. It demonstrated that the linguistic aspect of a given translation was not the only factor motivating a retranslation. Bourdieu's concepts of 'social ageing' of the cultural product and 'distinction' were adapted to provide a sociological understanding of the phenomenon as an alternative to existing views of retranslation. Traditional views explain retranslation as an attempt to get closer to the source text, or to the target audience. Bourdieu's sociology helped us consider retranslation as part of the struggle over time among translators of Islamic political discourse. The struggle between agents is over *capital*, which is another primary concept of Bourdieu's sociological framework. In this chapter the different forms of capital were explored and delineated. The strategies employed by each agent to attain the capital at stake, and the site in which it is contested were also discussed. Genette's work on the paratextual features of the text proved helpful in deciphering the competition into its basic elements. The struggle between agents, i.e., retranslation, was then considered at another level, i.e., as a process of renarrativization. The chapter, through examples from the translation of Qutb's *Social Justice in Islam*, showed that it is in this process of renarrativization that the subjectivity of the agent is most influential. The forms of narrative, and the ways of framing the narrative helped to understand the process and practice of the translator. The

discussion also showed how Shepard may have succeeded in guiding the reader's expectations by labelling Qutb as a fundamentalist, activist, and radical Islamist (see chapter five, section 5.6). The case of Shepard's translation of *Social Justice* showed that the retranslation was not motivated by linguistic ageing or aesthetic issues, but it was motivated by the translator's preconceived views of Sayyid Qutb. This chapter also vindicated Bourdieu's argument that economic capital underpins the production of cultural goods; by showing that Shepard's translation was the reason for an academic promotion he was awarded following its publication.

6.1 Main contribution

The primary contribution of this thesis has been to understand the translations of Islamic political discourse as a socially situated activity. Bourdieu's sociology enabled us to understand that translation in general, and translation of political Islam in particular, was no longer thought of as a linguistic activity carried out in isolation, but as the product of a broader cultural context that encompassed plural social factors and forces. Translation was thus no longer seen as just a linguistic transference of texts, but as a strategy that links up two cultures that might have unequal power relationship. It also showed that translation is produced in a field amongst fields that interact and influence one another.

The thesis also highlighted the fact that the Anglo-American culture's knowledge about Islam and Muslims is mediated, and translation is at the heart of the representations of the religious other.

6.2 Areas for future research

This dissertation is one of many in the field of translation studies that have attempted to introduce the sociological model developed by Pierre Bourdieu to the study of translation. It set out to test Bourdieu's sociology on new material in an under-researched context. Whereas this aim has been accomplished, some issues relating to Bourdieu's concepts and their viability for translation studies remain subject for inquiry. Apart from the issues raised above in the conclusion, the following could be considered as a blueprint for future research in translation studies based on Bourdieu's sociology:

- Case studies could be conducted to further investigate the dynamics of power relations between the field of translating political Islam and surrounding fields of cultural production, and to examine both; the influence of the field of power in detail, and the influence of publishers and the constraints they may apply on translators in this context.
- Explore the *habitus* and trajectory of translation agents, both individuals and organisations, and explore their different political allegiances.
- Drawing on the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, Political Islam as a phenomenon merits a much more expansive and sustained investigation which would bring to light further complexities. Bourdieu's sociology can also be very useful in exploring the dynamics of political translation in general from Arabic to English and vice versa.
- To examine the mobilizing potentials of translations of Islamic political discourse in political decision making in the Anglo-American culture.

6.3 Self-reflexive note

I have tried to the best of my ability to be impartial in conducting my research. However, taking into account Bourdieu's emphasis on the importance of the relation between the observer and the observed, or the researcher and the researched, it could be argued that this research and what it concluded is informed by my dispositions, and shaped by my *habitus*.

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