A STUDY OF WESTERN SCHOLARSHIP ON THE COMPATIBILITY AND INCOMPATIBILITY OF ISLAM AND MODERNIZATION

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Introduction

Contemporary scholars seem to be in a fix: Publish or Perish. This phrase seems to be more relevant in the Western scholarship on the compatibility and incompatibility of Islam with modernization and development. Western scholars have manifested an overwhelming interest on this issue while specifically focusing the contemporary Islamic resurgence.

In this paper, an attempt has been made to present and analyze the views of a few Western scholars on Islam and modernization as well as development. Along with this, a few relevant observations and reflections of a few Muslim scholars on modernization and development are also presented wherever necessary. It is argued that contemporary Islamic resurgence is not anti-modernization and development but its concepts of modernization and development are diametrically opposite to the Western concepts. It is also asserted that secularization which forms an indispensable part of Western model of development and modernization has shattered the moral and spiritual dimensions of the societies wherever it has penetrated. Hence it is pointed out that 'religion' has emerged as a vital force in many societies across the world. It is therefore suggested that the West should not perceive the contemporary Islamic resurgence as a

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threat! It should rather appreciate and respect other cultures so that the West and the rest should live in peaceful co-existence through mutual respect and understanding.

Debate on Compatibility and Incompatibility and Western Bias

Myron Weiner has observed that in the past, little attention was paid to the socio-cultural and psychological determinants of political behavior and more emphasis was given on the political outcomes of the economic changes. Consequently, the importance and significance of Islamic resurgence have been under–estimated which have rejected secularism and modernization. He also points out that Islam is the only religion which has rejected 'much of what is generally regarded as modern in the twentieth century; secularism, democracy and even nationalism'. He further contends that the way Islamic resurgence has rejected many of the concepts related to modernization is striking because other religions have already accepted most of them. He writes:

In this respect Islam has come to play quite a different role from that of the religions of modernization-Christianity, Judaism, Confucianism, Shintoism even Buddhism and Hinduism. Each of these religions, in its own way, has been interpreted or reinterpreted so as to induce people to behave in ways conducive to modernization....²

John L. Esposito has also pointed out that although Islamic resurgence was growing since early seventies, not much attention was paid to it. His question and observations on this phenomenon are illuminating:

Myron Weiner, "Political Change: Asia, Africa and Middle East", in Samuel P. Huntington and Myron Weiner (ed.) Understanding Political Development, pg.60

Ibid.

Why is it that with remarkable consistency the resurgence of Islam in many countries and its political implications has often been acknowledged only at the eleventh hour? While revivalism was growing in Egypt, Libya, Pakistan, and Malaysia in the early seventies, few noticed or gave it any attention. ³

He further points out that during the 70s any discussion on the role of Islam, in socio-political development attracted hardly six to nine people. Whereas, today the same number of participants are found on the panel alone at many professional meetings. 4

For Esposito, unlike Myron Weiner, Islamic revival has not rejected modernization but Westernization. He delineated six important points which he described as an ideological framework of Islamic revivalism. One of the fifth points is related to modernization:

Although the Westernization of society is condemned, modernization as such is not. Science and technology are accepted, but they are to be subordinated to Islamic belief and values in order to guard against the Westernization and secularization of Muslim society.⁵

It implies that according to Esposito, Islamic revivalism makes a clear distinction between Westernization, secularization and modernization. This reminds us a statement of Khurshid Ahmad, an ideologue of Islamic movement, who pointed out the following:

The movement clearly differentiates between development and modernization on the one hand and Westernization and secularization on the other. It says 'yes' to modernization but

^{3.} John L. Esposito, The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?, pg. 203

Ibid.

^{5.} John L. Esposito, Islam The Straight Path, pg. 170

'no' to blind Westernization. The Islamic movement seeks to provide a new leadership to the society, a leadership which, although called from the modern and the traditional hinterland of the society is not identified with any one of these two extreme groups but nonetheless preserves the best in both.⁶

Important Features of Western Model of Modernization

In the Western tradition, Westernization and secularization are considered integral to modernization. The reason is quite obvious. Theories of modernization and development not only originated from the West but also owe their origin to the conflict between religion and reason of the so-called Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. For this reason, all the pioneering thinkers on modernization and development such as Gabriel A. Almond, David E. Apter, Lucian W. Pye, C.E. Black and others have built their theories absolutely on secular ideas and notions. For instance, Almond and Powell Jr. in one of their earliest works on development observe:

The concept, the idea of development has been utilized throughout this study. In our treatment of political structure, role differentiation and subsystem independence are being used as measures of development, while in our treatment of political culture and socialization, it is the concept of secularization which becomes the measures.⁷

As is seen by some scholars that Islam presents an all encompassing and internally cohesive set of rules for the organization of collective and individual life. It is, therefore, argued that Islam and modernization are not compatible because secularization is inevitable for modernization. In

Khurshid Ahmad, "The Nature of the Islamic Resurgence", in John L. Esposito, Voices of Resurgent Islam (ed.), pg. 224.

Gabriel A. Almond and Powell Jr. (ed.), Comparative Politics: A Development Approach, pg. 196.

fact, it is increasingly realised by a few Western scholars that even those Muslim states which were modernized on the Western model did not fully accept secularization. Daniel Crecelius writes:

Egypt has gone as far as any Islamic state but Turkey towards Westernization, but does not reject the theoritical supremacy of one Shariah nor the fundamental political unity of *din wa dawlah*.⁸

Crecelius further points out that since the Islamic revival is gaining momentum in most of the Muslim world, the modernists have lost confidence in the progress of secularism. He writes:

One must wonder therefore, whether the new Islamic revival is only a temporary phenomenon that will dictate only a momentary pause in the evolution of Islamic states and societies towards modernism and secularism or whether the religious movements will develop the strength to completely reverse the modernist-secularist trends. Certainly modernists are not as confident about the amount of further progress towards secularism their societies will achieve as they were only a few years ago.⁹

It clearly implies that Islamic revivalism has resisted secularization so cautiously and forcefully that despite its acceptance by the secular political leaders and elites, it could not penetrate wholly inside the Muslim societies. Crecelius contends that secularism demands the ability to know and to differentiate between religion and politics "to know what to render unto Casesar and what to render unto God. But this is a concept indigenous to Western Christian civilization and cannot be transferred to

Daniel Crecelius, "The Course of Secularization in Modern Egypt", in John L. Esposito.(ed.)
Islam and Development: Religion and Socio-political Change, pg. 70.

^{9.} Ibid.

Islamic civilization until completely transforming the spirit of the entire civilization¹⁰". This reminds us one of the important remarks of Ernest Gellner:

.....no secularization has taken place in the world of Islam Islam is secularization – resistant, and the striking thing is that this remains true under a whole range of political regimes.¹¹

Commenting on the above remark of Gellner, J.O. Voll observes:

This whole range includes relatively modernized as well as more traditional societies. Modernization clearly has not meant an end of religion as a major force. On the contrary, by the beginning of the 1990s, the renewed vitality of Islam was one of the most important forces even in the most modernized areas.¹²

In fact, Voll argues that the contemporary Islamic resurgence has challenged the relationship between secularization and modernization. He writes:

The Islamic resurgence is part of a global experience of religious revival which surprised many analysts in the 1980s. In the past, an established part of the theories of modernization was that modern development involves "the secularization of the polity" as a "prerequisite for significant social change. The contemporary experience in Muslim societies shows clearly that the old assumption of a direct correlation between modernization and secularization must at least be re-examined, if not rejected.¹³

^{10.} Ibid. pg. 69.

Ernest Gellner, "Islam and Marxism: Some Comparisons", in <u>International Affairs</u>, no.1; (January 1991), pg. 2.

^{12.} John Obert Voll, Islam Continuity and Change in the Modern World, pg. 290.

^{13.} Ibid. pg. 3.

Hence, he further argues that the assumption that religion is totally removed from the socio-political life in a modernized society is an invalid assumption. Instead, an assumption that religion is less important in a modernized society is a valid assumption. He contends that Islamic 'resurgence is a product of both developments within global modern society and within the global Islamic experience'.¹⁴

Similarly, Samuel P. Huntington has also asserted the need for the re-examination of the relationship between 'Westernization' and modernization. He writes:

The partnership between modernization and Westernization has been broken while continuing to pursue modernization, the 'third world' is also, in some measures deeply involved in, and committed to, a process of deWesternization.¹⁵

According to Huntington the important reason behind the de-Westernization is the realization of the Muslim intellectuals of the failure of the Western model of modernization. He suggests that instead of changing the non-western societies on the basis of the Western model, it is crucial to develop models that are relevant to non-western cultures. He writes:

May be the time has come to stop trying to change the model to develop models of a modern Islamic, Confucian or Hindu society that would be more relevant to countries where those cultures prevail. In some measure, of course, this process has been underway for some time as third world intellectuals have spun out theories of 'African Socialism' and 'Islamic democracy'. ¹⁶

^{14.} Ibid. pg. 289.

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Goals of Development", in Samuel P. Huntington and Myron Weiner (ed.) Understanding Political Development, op.cit, pp. 26-27.

^{16.} Ibid. pg. 25

For Voll, the main reason for the breaking up of the relationship between secularization and modernization is the failure of the Western model of modernization particularly in the Muslim world. He pointed out that one of the main incentives for Muslims to turn back to the Islamic alternative is the conviction that Western ideologies and models have failed in changing the conditions of the Muslim societies for the better. 'As a result of these experiences and the experiences in the Western societies, it became possible for Muslims to conclude that the West has failed as a model for modernization and as an inspiration for reform and social revolution'.

The same is said by Khurshid Ahmad:

The whole of the Muslim Ummah has somehow passed through a trauma becoming more and more conscious that the westernizing model cannot deliver the goods. They want to make a fresh start. They do not want to cut themselves off from the rest of the world. But they also do not want to be dependent on the non-Muslim world. They want freedom with strength; friendship with honour; cooperation without dependence. If the westernizing experiment has failed to achieve this, what next? The Islamic movement represents one such alternative.¹⁷

Voll has referred to such an attempt in the Muslim world to rebuilding society utilizing Islamic traditions and modern experiences as a 'special character' of the Islamic resurgence.¹⁸

But there are many other scholars who express strong doubts on the compatibility of Islam with modernization and development. For instance, Fred R. Vonder Mehden has raised an important question: 'Why the Malay-Muslim has not been as economically successful as other

Khurshid Ahmad, "The Nature of the Islamic Resurgence", in John L. Esposito (ed.) Voices of Resurgent Islam, op.cit, pg. 224

^{18.} John O. Voll, Islam Continuity and Change in the Muslim World, op. cit, pg. 291

communities while at the same time monopolizing political power?'¹⁹ According to B. Parkinson, one of the reasons for the Malay backwardness in economy lies in Islam per se. Parkinson writes:

The Islamic belief that all things are emanations from God is another important force affecting the Malay's economic behaviour, for it tends to make them fatalistic in their approach. The Malay is very prone, after receiving a setback, to give up striving, that it is the will of God. In economic affairs this is most clearly seen in the concept of *rezeki*, a person's divinely inspired lot. Such an attitude constitutes a significant drag on economic development...²⁰

The above statement only reflects his shallow understanding of Islam. Islam is both faith and action. Its adherents no doubt keep absolute faith in God and His wisdom. However, they are not asked to remain silent and inactive leaving everything to God. They are enjoined to work hard and earn for their livelihood. Even their work for economic betterment is considered as 'ibadah' [worship] provided it is done while performing the Islamic injunctions.²¹ How can a religion which looks at even economic activities as ibadah would be an obstacle for moderniza tion and development?

Parkinson has also failed to understand that economic development by itself is not an ultimate goal of the Muslim Ummah. Hence, economic advancement at the cost of Islamic values is not acceptable to the Muslims. But, Parkinson referred to it as an old tradition of forefathers and failed to appreciate the difference between the Malays and Chinese on the concept of success. He writes:

Fred R. Von der Mehden, "Islam, Development and Politics in Malaysia", in Ismail Raji al Faruqi (ed.), Essays in Islamic and Comparative Studies, pg. 52

B. Parkinson, "Non-Economic Factors in the Economic Retardation of the Rural Malays," pp.40-41

See Khurshid Ahmad, "Economic Development in an Islamic frame work", in Khurshid Ahmad and Zafar Ishaq Ansari (ed.) Islamic Perspectives: Studies in Honour of Mawlana Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi, pp. 223-240

The Chinese seem to regard success as being the improvement of their economic position even if this requires some fundamental change or innovation. The Malays seem to regard success as doing as what their forebears have approved and practiced, but doing it as well as they can. Wealth and economic advancement are desired by the Malays, but not at the expense of removing utterly the traditions and traditional occupations of their forefathers to which they have grown accustomed, and which offer them a level of satisfaction greater than that offered by the mere pursuit of economic advancement and wealth. ²²

Besides him there are a few others who also attribute the relative economic backwardness of the Malays when compared to the Chinese to Islamic traditions and Muslim practices. J. Nagatan, ²³ W.Wilder ²⁴ and others hold the opinion that Malay Muslims are too ritualistic and spend a large sum of money on 'haj' [pilgrimage] which is merely an 'economically dysfunctional activity'. The same money can be invested in economic pursuits. Mehden points out that the questions on usury [interest], insurance, lotteries and such others have been the 'elements of contention' between traditional and fundamentalist groups and pragmatic leaders. He argues that the 'refusal in Kelantan to collect taxes from liquor and pawn shops cost the state treasury heavily'. ²⁵ Further, he makes the following statement:

Finally, note should be made of the considerable importance given to local religious leaders and the perception of them as obstacles to modernization. It is charged that their efforts to maintain a heavily religious orientation in education, to protect the people against the 'impurities' of the West

^{22.} B. Parkinson, op.cit, pg. 57

J. Nagata, "Ethnic Differentiation within an Urban Moslem Mercantile Community in Malaysia," Ethnicity, (1972), pp 380-400

W. Wilder, "Islam, Other factors and Malay backwardness: Comments on an Argument", pp.155-164

^{25.} See the footnote No. 14, of F. Von der Mehden, op.cit, pg. 56

emphasis on authority and tradition have made them the first line defence against modernization.²⁶

For many Western scholars, Islamic revival has already started in Malaysia since early seventies and it has rejected undesirable elements of modernization. However, there are a few Muslim scholars who assert that Malaysia has to still incorporate religious and moral elements in its planning for modernization and development. Wan Mohd. Nor Wan Daud observes:

An analysis of the spiritual –moral and ethical objectives in the Malaysian plans clearly indicate that these are instrumental, primarily for economic growth and secondarily for socio political stability. The absence of an explicit reference to the success and happiness of its citizens in the hereafter in key documents like the Sixth Malaysian Plan and The Second Outline Perspective Plan, 1991-2000 may relegate the spiritual moral considerations to a secondary position compared to economic or political ends.²⁷

Wan Daud further argues that economic growth and political stability are no doubt essential for development but not at the cost of spiritual and ethical qualities. According to him if the planning for development focus only on the economic and political needs and overlooks spiritual and ethical dimentions, it may be called a zero-sum development. He defines zero-sum development as follows:

A zero-sum development means a condition of apparent progress in which economic growth and social development are cancelled and obliterated by decreasing spiritual and ethical qualities and standards, cultural and intellectual bankruptcy, economic loses due to, for example, white and

^{26.} Ibid, pg. 56

^{27.} Wan Mohammed Nor Wan Daud, "Some Basic Issues of Development in Malaysia", pg. 864

blue color crimes, drug abuse and AIDS, the disintegration of family stability etc. all of which are unintentionally generated by the very fruits of these cherished progress.²⁸

The fact is Malaysia after its independence from colonialists, embarked on development programme like any other nations which was basically a continuation of the Western model of modernization and development to a great extent. Although, the agenda for Islamization is also articulated now and then by its leaders, it has not yet taken its roots in the society as expected by others.²⁹ However, there are ample evidences to show that Islamic revival in Malaysia is still in progress.³⁰

The same can be said for other Muslim countries including Egypt and Turkey. Although secularization and modernization on the Western model are imposed on these states by the rulers and elites, the Islamic revivalists have neither accepted secularization nor blind Westernization and blind modernization. They have never disregarded science and technologization but they had totally rejected Western ideologies and Western cultures. This has been one of the main reasons that Muslim masses even after being influenced by many Western concepts and notions for smaller or longer time, could still revert back to the Islamic concepts and notions. Better late than never! This is manifested through several studies on development and modernization in Muslim countries by Muslim and Western scholars.³¹ John Alden Williams in 'Veiling in Egypt as a Political and Social Phenomenon' writes:

^{28.} Ibid, pg. 863

See Zeenath Kausar, "National Development Planning And Policies: The case of Malaysia (1957-1997)", Islam and the Modern Age, Delhi, Vol.29, No.4, Nov. 1998, pp. 290-318

See Muhammad Abu Bakar, "Islamic Revivalism And the Political Process in Malaysia", <u>Asian Survey</u>, Vol. XXI, No.10, Oct. 1981, pp. 1049-1059

^{31.} See Mahmood M. Faraghal, The Theory of Modernization in the Quran And Some Implications For The Arab World, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1978.; See also Saeed, Javaid, Islam and Modernization: A Comparitive Analysis of Pakistan, Egypt and Turkey, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1989

The purpose of this chapter is to examine reasons that women give for returning to the institution known as *hijab*, or veiling – those as we have seen, this means veiling not the face but everything else; and not the seclusion of women, but their participation in urban life while wearing a distinct and local costume. Central to the inquiry is a conviction that the choices that women believe they are making when doing this are illuminating in terms of Islam and modernization.³²

He further points out that young university male and female students are vigorously seen involved in the Islamic movement. In every national University, there is an Islamic Association called 'al-Jamiya al-Islamiya'. Many zealous young men and women are associated with such associations who are keen for knowledge in Islam and its application in society.³³

Williams also presented the following responses of a few Egyptian women to whom he questioned about the reasons of wearing Islamic dress and veiling:

Another women said: "Once we thought that Western society had all the answers for successful, fruitful living. If we followed the lead of the West, we would have progress. Now we see that this isn't true; they (the West) are sick societies; even their material prosperity is breaking down. America is full of crime and promiscuity. Russia is worse. Who wants to be like that?³⁴

One middle-aged woman responded with a frank and significant explanation: "Really, I wonder what people expect us to do. Nasser put us under Russia's armpit. The Russians

John Alden Williams, "Veiling in Egypt as a Political and Social Phenomenon", John L. Esposito,
(ed.) Islam and Development, op.cit, pg. 79

^{33.} Ibid

^{34.} Ibid, pg. 83

did not want to help us; they wanted to dominate us. Then we were lied to and put in the 1967 war. Then Sadat comes and turns to America. The Americans did not want to help us; they exploited our longing for peace to make us give concessions to their pet, Israel, and humiliate us. And the prices went up and the thieves made fortunes and we said 'that is capitalism.' To whom shall we turn for help, if not to God? In him alone I will put my trust.³⁵

The responses are self-explanatory. Yet, one more comment of Williams worths mention here:

Nearly all the women questioned felt that industrialization, technology and education in the sciences were good, and also culturally neutral. They saw no reason at all why a change of dress should impede the appreciation of these goods, though they often spoke of "false progress" and corruption in society.³⁶

Finally Williams concluded that modernization and development in the Muslim world are not following the models of America, Europe as anywhere else but its own. Modernization is not being questioned; false models and false friends are being questioned. In such a situation, remarks Williams that 'the Muslim Brotherhood will try to win as much advantage for itself as it can'.³⁷

More or less the same result is perceived in the study on modernization in Turkey by Robert N. Bellah.³⁸ Bellah borrowed

^{35.} Ibid

^{36.} Ibid

^{37.} Ibid, pg. 85

Robert N. Bellah, "Religious Aspects of Modernization In Turkey and Japan", Jason L. Finkle and Richard W. Gable, (ed.) Political Development and Social Change, pp.128-135

Howard Becker's ³⁹ terms of 'prescriptive type' and 'principal type' and took pains, to see its application in Turkey. A 'prescriptive' is described as one which is thoroughly integrated with religious systems. Whereas a 'principal type' is one in which 'the religious system does not attempt to regulate economic, political and social life in great detail as in prescriptive societies.'

It is argued that change from 'prescriptive type' to 'principal type' can take place only through a new movement which should have a 'religious coloration in order to meet the old system on its own term'. Bellah argued that Ottoman Turkey in the eighteenth century was a prescriptive type since it followed the *Shariah*. It was only Ziya Gokalp who gave a new turn to Turkey towards 'principal type'. He amalgamated Turkish nationalism, modernization and Islamization and challenged religious systems on its grounds. Later Mustafa Kamal Ataturk and others furthered the drive for secularization and modernization on the Western model. Since then, Bellah has remarked that Islam could not be able to redefine its own self-image. It has also not been able to form the basis of the new social life. Yet, whatever spark of Islam is left in Turkey, Bellah perceives it as a threat. He writes:

It (Islam) remains, on the whole, in a conservative frame of mind in which the ideological claims are considerable, thus still posing a threat ,possibly a great one, to return the society to a less differentiated level of social organization.⁴²

Not only this, Bellah is also compelled to assert that religion does not totally disappear in the transition period and it does not necessarily become less important in the principal society.⁴³

Howard Beckers, "Current Sacred-Secular Theory and Its Development", Howard Becker and Alvin Baskoff (ed.) Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change.

^{40.} Ibid, pg. 129

^{41.} Ibid

^{42.} Ibid, pg. 131

^{43.} Ibid

The fact that all the Muslim states which embarked on modernization and development process on the Western model and also incorporated secularization became disenchanted with the West since they could hardly achieve material prosperity and political stability. Even where the economics goods are achieved to some extent, they are obliterated through spiritual and moral bankruptcy. Hence it is gradually realised that secularization and the Western model of modernization are not the keys to economic, political, social and moral success. Saeed Javaid in his study "Islam and Modernization in Pakistan, Egypt and Turkey" writes:

Scholars have made a serious mistake in linking secularization of culture, as commonly understood, with modernization, as making it a necessary condition for development and progress. This is particularly so in the case of Muslim societies. The modernizers of Turkey, as our study has shown, faulted on the score; in spite of the fact that Turkey has been secular for nearly seventy years, it has not progressed in any real sense; in fact, secularism became a powerful weapon in the hands of the Turkish rich class to exploit the masses. The same is true of Pakistan and Egypt.⁴⁴

Kurshid Ahmad has also pointed out that the two classic examples of Westernization in Muslim countries were Turkey and Iran. It is realised that in all aspects including political, economic, social, moral and psychological they have decisively failed. What does it imply? Obviously, the failure of the Western model. Hence, Islamic movements represent an alternative framework and model. Muslim masses, particularly the Muslim youth, seem to be enthusiastically turning towards the Islamic movements and actively working for Islamic resurgence. Khurshid Ahmad observes:

Muslim youths have been inspired by a new vision to rebuild their individual and social life in accordance with the ideals

^{44.} Saeed Javaid, op.cit, pp 413-414

and principles given by Islam and to strike to establish a new social order, not only within their own countries but to see that a new world order is established ensuring peace, dignity and justice to the oppressed of the world. ⁴⁵

But many Western scholars still perceive such aspirations and activities of the Islamic revivalists and of the Muslim youth as a threat. They failed to understand that the driving spirit for modernization and development for Muslims is no more the 'West' but Islam. Bernald Lewis's leading article "The Roots of Muslim Rage" which has reinforced the stereotypes of Islamic revivalism in terms of rage and violence against the West illustrates this fact. Commenting on this article, Esposito observes:

The shift in Muslim attitudes towards the West from admiration and emulation to hostility and rejection is reduced by Bernard Lewis to a clash of separate and distinct (almost mutually exclusive) civilizations: Fundamentalists leaders are not mistaken in seeing in western civilization the greatest challenge to the way of life that they wish to retain or restore for their people. Fundamentalists wage war against modernity: secularism, Western capitalism and democracy. ⁴⁷

Lewis feels too uncomfortable with Muslims rejection of secularization. He comments that Muslims have no choice between Caesar and God because in Islam 'there was no Caesar, there was only God'. Although Lewis understands quite well that the Islamic revival has rejected the Western model of modernization because of its secular worldview, yet he interprets it in a different way. He writes that

^{45.} Khurshid Ahmad, The Nature of Islamic Resurgence, op.cit, pg. 227

^{46.} Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage" Atlantic Monthly, September, 1990

^{47.} John L. Esposito, The Islamic Threat, op.cit, pg. 179

Bernard Lewis, "Politics and War", in Joseph Schaet and C.E. Basworth (ed.) The Legacy of Islam, pg. 156

anti-Westernism of the Islamists is 'due to a feeling of humiliation, a growing awareness among the heirs of an old, proud and long dominant civilization, of having been overtaken, overborne and overwhelmed by those whom they regarded as heirs inferiors...'⁴⁹

The problem with Lewis is that he very well expressed the 'Western rage' against the Muslims in "Roots of the Muslim Rage". In such a situation, it is illogical to expect anyone doing justice to any subject. Esposito has also remarked that there are hardly any references in the above-mentioned article to show which Islamic organizations are manifesting rage and violence against the West. There is so mush of generalization and stereotyping images of 'violent revolutionaries, traditional in dress at war with modernity'.⁵⁰

All this only reveals the Western bias against Islam which is also acknowledged even by the Western scholars. Michael Hudson observes:

Not only is there a long and dishonorable bias against Islam in western popular culture, but some orentalists scholars have created a mythology about the nature of the Islamic mind and culture that predisposes the uncritical student against the possibility that Islam and progress (or development) are compatible.⁵¹

According to Esposito, now 'new forms of orientalism flourish today in the hands of those who equate revivalism, fundamentalism, or the Islamic movements solely with radical revolutionaries, and who fail to focus on the vast majority of Islamically committed Muslims who belong to the moderate mainstream of society.' ⁵² Such a trend is reinforced by

^{49.} Bernard Lewis, "Roots of the Muslim Rage", op.cit, pg. 62

^{50.} John L. Esposito, The Islamic Threat, op.cit, pg. 178

Micheal C. Hudson, "Islam and Political Development", in John L. Esposito (ed.) Islam and Development, op.cit, pg. 1

^{52.} John L. Esposito, The Islamic Threat, op.cit, pg. 202

'the realities of the market place.' It is argued that the consulting firms, publishing homes, journals and media 'often confirms stereotypes and fears of extremism and terrorism.' ⁵³

In fact it has become customary for a few sociologists and political development theorists to present a distorted image of Islam and to take pains to prove that it is not conducive to modernization and development. Weber's sociological commentary on Islam can be cited as one example. In introduction to the *Protestant Ethics* and the *Spirit of Capitalism* he argues that certain institutional prerequites for rational capitalism are present in other civilization but not in Islam.⁵⁴ He delineated characteristics of Islam:

Characteristics of a distinctively feudal spirit; the obviously unquestioned acceptance of slavery, serfdom and polygamy; the disesteem for and subjection of women; the essentially ritualistic character of religious obligations; and finally, the great simplicity of religious requirements and the even greater simplicity of the modest ethical requirements.⁵⁵

Thus based on his own biased image of Islam, he asserts that warriors sensuality and *Sufi* mysticism have put off the potential in Islam and that Islam has become a religion of social accommodation. Bryan S. Turner comments on Weber's critic on Islam:

As a critique of Islam, Weber's sociology reflects all the ideological prejudices of the nineteenth century and earlier. Until the period of European supremacy, Islam represented a major military and moral threat to Christianity because Islam was a powerful and vigorous alternative to Christian faith. In order to explain the spread of Islam, Christian theory

^{53.} Ibid.

^{54.} Max Weber, (Talcott Parsons ed.) The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

^{55.} Max Weber, Economy and Society, (Gunther Both and Clans Wittich ed.), vol.3, pg. 626

developed a defensive theory which demonstrated that Islamic success was the product of Muslim violence, lasciviousness and deceit.⁵⁶

In Lewis' "The Roots of the Muslim Rage", the continuity of the same Western defensive theory seems to be unfolding. Since, Lewis and others could realise that Islam is re-emerging in the socio-political realm of the world as an alternative, they have started weaving militant and terrorist images of Islam.

Had Weber stated that Islam and Capitalism are incompatible to each other; there would not have been any objection. The reasons of incompatibility are many including the differences between Western secular worldview and the Islamic worldview. But, Weber, as what Turner points out presented a 'predominantly economic explanation of early Islam' and went as far as saying that the religious war in Islam was 'essentially an enterprise directed towards the acquisition of large holdings of real estate.'57

However, Maxine Rodinson in *Islam and Capitalism* has pointed out that Islam has not discouraged economic activities provided it is free from fraudulent practices. He writes:

There are religions whose sacred texts discourage economic activity in general, to provide them with their daily bread, or, more particularly, looking askance at any striving for profit. This is not certainly the case with the Koran, which looks with favour upon commercial activity, confirming itself to condemning fraudulent practices and requiring abstention from trade during certain religious festivals.⁵⁸

^{56.} Bryan S Turner, Weber and Islam; A Critical Study, pg. 140

^{57.} Ibid., pg. 34

^{58.} Maxime Rodinson, Islam and Capitalism, pg. 14

Though Rodinson seems to be relatively clear on few aspects of Islam he seems to be confused and vague on many. Pertaining to the same economic issues in Islam, he holds the opinion that the earliest passages of the Qur'an express more or less severe hostility towards wealth whereas the later parts of the Qur'an are moderate on the issue of wealth. Far and above, he looks at the Qur'an 'not the verbal manifestation of a Supreme Being dictating principles to be applied in every possible form of society, but the work of a man inspired by certain ideals characteristic of the age in which he lived.'59

The problem is that many Western scholars do not make a systematic study of the Qur'an but jumps into conclusions on its authenticity and on its message. C.R. Sutchiff quoting few Quranic verses concludes that some of the Islamic ideals are not conducive for development. For instance, he cited the verses enjoining the believers that they have no choice when any matter is already settled by God. Sutchiff argued that such Quranic instructions are obstacles to development. He also referred to the literal meaning of the word, Islam, 'submission' to strengthen his argument.

Ibrahim A. Ragab asserts that the divine rulings are 'intrinsically superior to any power-sensitive, man-made rulings'⁶². Since God has created man and everything of the universe and He is just and omniscent, 'His commandments could never be partial to any group or social class at the expense of another'⁶³. He further contends that submission to the will of God implies the verbal and practical acceptance of the path delineated by God which guarantees success here and in the Hereafter.

^{59.} Ibid., pg. 23

C.R. Sutchiff, "Is Islam an obstacle to development? Ideal Patterns of belief versus actual patterns of behavior", <u>The Journal of Developing Areas</u>, Vol.10, (October) 1975, pp.77-82

^{61.} Ibid.

^{62.} Ibrahim A Ragals, "Islam and Development", World Development, vol.8, 1980, pg. 514

^{63.} Ibid.

Furthermore, it is also argued that 'only matters of basic enduring nature are decided in detail in the Qur'an'.⁶⁴ Whereas the bulk is left to be devised by man through his intellectual efforts within the framework outlined in the Qur'an and Sunnah. Further Ibrahim A. Raqab observes:

Muslims do not seem to be impressed by terms like free will if it means oscillation between man-made extremes of ideological position in the absence of any known decisive empirical evidence to guide choice between values. It could be safely said that Islam is seeking an ultimate sense of free will one that frees man from the influence and power of other men in areas of basic valuation that are not amerable to empirical validation, while giving full freedom for application of human will otherwise.⁶⁵

For many Western scholars, as what Esposito has also pointed out that 'the contemporary revival of Islam challenged the received wisdom and seemed to deal a death blow to reason and common sense'. ⁶⁶ This is often overlooked by such scholars that 'the most forceful manifestations of the Islamic resurgence have occurred in the more advanced and "modernized" (seemingly secure) countries'. ⁶⁷ Islam is never anti-reason and anti-science. Iqbal states:

...the point to note is the general empirical attitude of the Qur'an which engendered in the followers a feeling of reverence for the actual and ultimately made them the founders of modern science.⁶⁸

^{64.} Ibid.

^{65.} Ibid,

^{66.} John L. Esposito, The Islamic Threat, op.cit, pg. 66

^{67.} Ibid.

^{68.} Mohammed Iqbal, Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam, pg. 18

Islam is not anti-reason or anti-science. It is pointed out by Jamal Badawi that Islamic civilization flourished as long as there was religion and science. Muslim scientists were either number one or among the top in various fields of knowledge. But when the Muslims turned away from sciences and scientific spirit, the degeneration set in. ⁶⁹

Even earlier to Badawi and Iqbal, Sayyid Jamal al-din al Afghani said the following:

...those who forbid science and knowledge in the belief that they are safeguarding the Islamic religion are really the enemies of that religion. The Islamic religion is closest of religion to science and knowledge, and there is no incompatibility between science and knowledge and the foundations of the Islamic faith. ⁷⁰

The views of Amir Shakib Arslan also deserves to be mentioned here:

The quintessence of Islamic teaching is that man should make proper use of his intellect which God has given to him as a guiding light to help him think for himself, and that having done everything in his power, he should resign himself to the will of God, for the happy fruitification of his labour....⁷¹

Besides these reformists, even the founder of the modern Islamic revivalist movement called Jamaat-e-Islami of Indo-Pak subcontinent, Sayyid Abdul A'la Mawdudi⁷² also held the same opinion that

Jamal Badawi, "Concepts of Development From Islamic Perspectives", <u>Al-Nahdah</u>, Vol.9, No.1, 1989, pg. 24

^{70.} John J. Donokue and John L. Esposito (ed.) Islam In Transition: Muslim Perspectives, pg. 19

^{71.} Ibid, pg. 64

To see the list of the books written by Sayyid Abdul Ala Mawdudi, see Khurshid Ahmad and Zafar Ishaq, Auraried., Islamic Perspectives, op.cit., pp. 3-10

intellectual creativity and search for knowledge are indispensable for the rise of any community. If the community abandons these habits, it declines. He writes:

Until the time Muslims kept their forward movement in searching and thinking, and proved themselves more creative than others, other nations of the world followed and imitated them; Islamic thinking remained the dominant paradigm of the whole humanity.....But when the Muslim community stopped producing thoughtful and industrious creative men of thinking, when the habit of thinking and probing was abandoned and the fartes of tiredness and inertia took over them, they in fact resigned themselves from their natural role of being the leader and guide of humanity.⁷³

How could then Islamic resurgence be dubbed as anti-science, anti-reason and ultimately anti-modern? However, one important points needs clarification here. The epistemology and the methodology of Knowledge in Islam differ from that of the West.⁷⁴ The primary sources of knowledge in Islam are the Qur'an and Sunnah. Intellectual faculty and the sense perception of man are given due importance in Islam but are subservient to the primary sources. Whereas in the West, reason and sense experience are the only sources of knowledge and the biblical revelation is relegated to the private sphere of life and nothing to do with the public realm. In Islam, the purpose of knowledge is to know and to submit to Allah swt. to seek his pleasure. Whereas, in the West, the purpose of acquiring and increasing knowledge is to subdue God and nature and to make man independent and sovereign. This can be gleaned on the very definition of modernization presented by C.E. Black:

Sayyid Abdul Ala Mawdudi, "The Causes of Our Mental Slavery", quoted by Muhammed Mumtaz Ali (ed.) Conceptual And Methodological Issues In Islamic Research: A Few Milestones, p.xi

^{74.} See Muhammed Mumtaz Ali, Islam and the Western Philosophy of knowledge.

Modernization may be defined as the process by which historically evolved institution are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge pertaining control over his environment that accompanied the scientific revolution.⁷⁵ 'Control over environment' includes control over nature and the 'scientific revolution' entails relegation of revelation and 'the application of science to the practical affairs of man in the form of technology'.

Whereas, knowledge is defined from Islamic perspective in a different way. Syed Mohammed Naquib Al-Atas writes:

Since all knowledge comes from God and is interpreted by the soul through its spiritual and physical faculties, it follows that one most suitable definition would be that knowledge, with reference to God as being its origin, is the arrival (*husul*) in the soul of the meaning of a thing or an object of knowledge; and that with reference to the soul as being its interpreter, knowledge is the arrival (*wusul*) of the soul at the meaning of a thing as an object of knowledge.⁷⁶

While elaborating the above definition of knowledge, al-Attas emphasizes that knowledge helps man to recognize 'the proper places of things in the order of creation, such that it leads to the recognition of the proper place of God in the order of being and existence.'⁷⁷ From the above, it is quite obvious that the concepts of knowledge in Islam and the West are diametrically opposite to each other. But, at the same time it is also clear that Islamic resurgence gives due importance to 'reason', 'science and technology' from its own perspective. Esposito seems to be

^{75.} C.E. Black, The Dynamics of Modernization, pg. 7

^{76.} Ibid, pg. 11

^{77.} Syed Muhammed Naquib Al-Attas, The Concept of Education in Islam, pg. 17

quite clear on this point. While presenting the ideological worldview of Islamic revivalism, he writes:

While Westernization and secularization of society are condemned, modernization as such is not. Science and technology are accepted, but the pace, direction, and extent of change are to be subordinated to Islamic belief and values in order to guard against the penetration of Western values and excessive dependence on them.⁷⁸

However there are many others as mentioned earlier who perpetuate the stereotypes of Islam as static, irrational restrogressive and anti-modern. Ernest Renan, for instance, describe a Muslim as "incapable of learning anything or of opening himself to a new idea." ⁷⁹

Misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Islam by Western scholars seem to have passed unprecedented scale. Bryan S.Turner states that under the influence of E. Renan and M. Guizat, 'Islamic reformers came to accept the view that traditional religion is incompatible with a scientific outlook and that the Reformation contained ideas which led the transformation of European society.'80 He failed to understand that Islam itself encourages science and it did not have to wait for Reformation to get inspired. Furthermore, it is also important for the Western scholars to differentiate between Islam and Muslim practices which are not necessarily Islamic in all cases, in all aspects and at all times. Indeed, for certain period during the middle ages, the Muslim world did not pay due attention to the advancement of science for several other reasons but not for Islam. It was Islam which earlier inspired the West for science not otherwise. 81

^{78.} Ibid, pg. 20

^{79.} See Albert Hourani, Europe and the Middle East, pg. 12

^{80.} Bryan S. Turner, op.cit., pg. 148

^{81.} See Sayyed Hossein Nasr, Science and Civilization in Islam

From the above discussion it is quite obvious that if not many at least few of the Western scholars have come to realise that Islam is compatible to modernization and development but its model of modernization and development is not necessarily Western. It is also explicit from the views of Muslim scholars that they reckon at the Western concepts and models of modernization not only antithetical to Islamic traditions and concepts, but also that they are a big failure. It seems now pertinent to know how and why few Western scholars themselves consider the Western model of modernization and development as failure.

C.E. Black observes:

Modernization must be thought of, then, as a process that is simultaneously creative and destructive, providing new opportunities and prospects at a high price in human dislocation and suffering. The modern age, more than any other, has been an age of assassination, of civil, religions, and international wars, of mass slaughters in many forms and of concentration camps. Never before has human life can disposed of so lightly as price for immediate goals.⁸²

Sederberg states:

The advance of secularization and skepticism also has eroded established religious belief systems. Not surprisingly, millions in the modern nations are pursuing a bizarre array of presumptive theodicies from fundamentalist religion through Eastern mysticism to the occult and Satanism. Modern man has lost God through secularization.⁸³

^{82.} C. E. Black, op.cit, pg. 27

Peter C. Sederberg, "The Betrayed Ascent: The Crisis and Transub stantiation of the Modern World," <u>The Journal of Developing Areas</u>, vol.13, No.2, (January) 1979, pp.145-136

It should be remembered here that secularization of culture is integral to modernization. Like Sederberg, Almond and Powell Jr. also caution us on the evil consequences of secularization if it becomes pervasive. They writes:

Secularization may also hinder performance when it becomes so pervasive that all values other than narrow self-interest break down. It may produce conflict and breakdown rather than effective development. Thus, secularization must be constrained within some larger framework of collective restraints and norms of its consequences are to be constructive.⁸⁴

John .L. Sestz questioned whether development is good or bad? And more disillusionment came when I looked at my own country and realized that it had many problems of its own which it had not solved. It was called "developed" but faced awesome problems which had accompanied its industrialization-urban sprawl and squalor, pollution, crime, materialism, and ugliness, among others. So, I asked myself, what is development? Is it good or bad? ⁸⁵

'Development' as the word as such, sounds positive and hence it should be 'good'. But if it is manifesting some evil consequences it must not be development but 'evilupment' in the garb of 'development'. Before this 'evilupment' totally destroys the concerned societies, it seems essential for the West to embark on 'de-evilupment.'

De-evilupment necessitates de-secularization which in its turn necessitates the incorporation of 'religion' in its proper place. It is already observed that the Muslim societies which emulated the secular Western model of modernization have started rejecting it as a failure. It is also realised that 'religion' has emerged as vital force even in few non-Muslim societies to a certain extent.

^{84.} Gabriel A. Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Comparitive Politics, pg. 50

^{85.} John L. Seitz, The Politics of Development, p.xi

Huntington pointed out that in the first half of the twentieth century it was assumed that 'religion' as a socio-political force has withered away. ⁸⁶ However this assumption proved wrong. He writes:

The second half of the twentieth century proved these hopes and fears unfounded. Economic and social modernization became global in scope, and at the same time a global revival of religion occurred. This revival, *la revenche de Dien*, Gilles Kepal termed it, has pervaded every continent, every civilization, and virtually every country.⁸⁷

Almost all big and popular religions, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism 'experienced new surges in commitment, relevance and practice.' People became disenchanted with secularization and the Western model of modernization. George Weigel remarked that 'unsecularization of the world is one of the dominant social facts in the late twentieth century.'88 Huntington aptly stated that those societies which are moving away from modernism attributed 'its setbacks and dead ends to separation from God.'89 Hence, he asserts that 'the aim was no longer to modernize Islam but to 'Islamize modernity.'90

William Mc Neill, ⁹¹ Gilles Kepel ⁹² and few others also note that the revivalist movements are not anti-modern, but they definitely anti-secular and anti-Western. They accept urbanization, industrialization,

^{86.} Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order, pg. 95

^{87.} Ibid, pp.95-96

George Weigel, "Religion and Peace: An Argument Complexified", Washington, <u>Quarterly</u>.
Spring 1996., pg. 27

^{89.} Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilization, op.cit, pg. 96

^{90.} Ibid

^{91.} William H. McNeill, The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community

Gilles Kepel, Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity and Judaism in the Modern World.

and mass-participation but not secularization and Westernization. They accept 'the inevitability of science and technology and the changes in the life-styles they bring', but they are 'unreceptive to the idea that they be westernized ⁹³.' Huntington observes:

In this sense, the revival of non-Western religion is the most powerful manifestation of anti-Westernism in non-Western societies that revival is not a rejection of modernity; it is a rejection of the West and of the secular, relativistic, degenerate culture associated with the west. It is a rejection of what has been termed the "Westoxification" of non-Western societies. It is a declaration of cultural independence from the West, a proud statement that: "We will be modern but we won't be you."94

However, a question may be raised here: Why is it insisted by the non-West that 'we won't be you'? The answer is not too far to seek. Huntington himself has clearly admitted the fact that the West is passionate and anxious for the continuation of its world hegemony. It has always defended 'its interest by defining those interests as the interest of the "world community." The West integrates 'the economies of non-western societies into a global economic system which it dominates. Though IMF and other international economic institutions, the West promotes its economic interests and imposes on other nations the economic policies it thinks appropriate. The gap between Western principles and Western actions, double-standards and hypocrisy are characteristics of the Western policies and strategies.

^{93.} Samuel. P. Huntington, The Clash Of Civilization, Op.cit, pg. 100

^{94.} Ibid. p.101

^{95.} Ibid, 184

^{96.} Ibid

^{97.} Ibid

^{98.} Ibid

Far and above, the West never feels happy and comfortable if other cultures and civilizations strive to flourish and maintain their ideological traditions. It always suspects Islam as deadliest enemy. Huntington remarks:

Asian and Islamic countries are looking for shortcuts to balance the West military. The universal aspirations of western civilization, the declining relative power of the West, and the increasing cultured assertiveness of other civilizations ensure generally difficult relations between the West and the rest.⁹⁹

It is quite strange that on one side the West calls humanity for human rights, freedom, and democracy but on the practical side it dislikes even the cultural assertiveness of the people of other religions. Esposito has also pointed out that the US has always objected to the implementation of Islamic law and the involvement of the Islamic activists in government. Thus United States is often seen intervening even the internal policies of other nations and manifesting double standards in its relation with the rest of the world. 100

For these above mentioned reasons and many more ideological factors the non-Western societies, particularly the Islamic societies would never like to be Western and would say: 'We will be modern but we won't be you.' Besides these, it is also crucial for the West to understand that the non-Western societies, particularly the Islamic societies would not like to be reduced to an 'aimless machine' as portrayed by Weber:

Already now, rational calculation is manifest at every stage. By it, the performance of each individual worker is mathematically measured, each man becomes a little cog in the machine and, aware of this, his one preoccupation is whether he can become a biggest cog. ¹⁰¹

^{99.} Ibid

^{100.} John L. Esposito, op.cit., pg. 209

^{101.} Quoted in J. P. Mayer, Max Weber and German Politics, pg. 127

Not surprisingly, this is the result of the process of modernization which is based on a human being is lost, a human being as s combination of matter and soul is lost and what remains is 'matter' without 'spirit'. Not only this, the Western model of modernization has transformed even children into the future instruments of the scientific machines.

Alain Touraine observes:

Educators pointed out that nationalist education, regarding the child merely as a future adult, a future worker and a future servant of the administrative authorities, adversely affected the normal mechanisms of personality development, as they exist in very different types of societies and cultures. The child was seen to be repressed, chained down, and above all the victim of a negative representation of childhood and personality development.¹⁰²

The children, women and other factory workers are made to think and trained from the very beginning that they are after all the small or big workers of the big or small industries and factories. Their survival and development depends on the machines and technology. On one side, they are reduced to the instruments of the machines and on the other side become servants to the market of the machines. Alain Touraine remarks:

Thus children and women, and at the more collective level workers and colonized people, in short most of the mankind, were transformed into instruments of modernization rather than participants in modernized society. Man's domination over nature imposed, along with a vast movement of liberation, the development of new controls and severe forms of repression.¹⁰³

Alain Toraine, Modernity and Cultural Specificities, <u>International Social Science Journal</u>, May, 1988, pg. 447

^{103.} Ibid.

A crucial question arises here: what about the promises of 'freedom' and 'liberty' which the proponents of modernization, secularization and rationalization have made to the people? For Weber himself, the rationalization of the modern society has not offered any 'freedom' to man except an 'iron cage'. The bureaucratic organizations and social institutions have liberated man from magical and traditional forces but he became the victim of the manipulation of the very same institutions he has created. 104

Weber described the condition of the modern secular society as the 'disenchantment of the world'. Man feels tired of himself, his environment, his routine and everything in the world. Life and death becomes meaningless for him. He writes:

What he [man in the modern secular society] seizes is always something provisional and not definitive, and therefore death for him is meaningless, civilized life as is meaningless; by its very 'Progressiveness' it gives death the imprint of meaninglessness.¹⁰⁵

Obviously, when 'religion' which offers 'meaning' to life is relegated, life becomes meaningless. The meaningless life becomes much more meaningless when a number of worldviews are presented by a number of human minds through rationalization and they all clash with each other. Thus this man of the modern secular society lives in so many different worlds but with no 'meaning'. As Weber puts it: 'Modern man exists instead of an infinite plain without horizons; a secular eternity devoid of ultimate meaning'. ¹⁰⁶

In other words, according to Weber, the modern secular society is devoid of the 'real spirit'. All activities including economic and social are interpreted in mundane terms. Referring to America, he remarks that

^{104.} See Artlur Mitzman, The Iron Cage: An Historical Interpretation of Max Weber

^{105.} Max Weber, Economy and Society, vol.3, pg. 625

^{106.} Ibid, pg. 624

'the creation of wealth has taken the character of sport'. He describes such a society as: "Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved". 107

The fact is that Weber was quite aware of the problems of Capitalism, Protestantism and secularization, the important pillars of Western civilization. He therefore argued that Protestant Ethics is necessary for Capitalism but developed Capitalism would continue without Protestantism. Protestantism also prepared the way for secularization demarcating the sacred and the secular. While Capitalism produced a machine-like society and reduced people to spiritless cogs. What is the net result of all this? Obviously, crisis in the meaning of life!

In such state of affairs, is it just and wise for the West and the rest to continue to follow the same secular and Western model of modernization? Alain Touraine has rightly pointed out that 'the Western model fell into error in identifying itself with reason, in believing that its own modernization was entirely indigenous'. He remarks:

It is quite impossible to accept the simple idea that Western modernization was the impersonal and almost natural outcome of the dawn of reason on the world, as implacable as the morning sunrise. Endogenous development supposes at one and the same time a crisis of the established social and cultural order, chance circumstances or stimulating factors of external origins and a capacity of accumulation. None of these three fundamental conditions of development can be reduced to the triumph of reason over tradition and sentiments. 108

Muslim scholars have already presented their own perception on the Western model of development and modernization and offered their own alternatives as discussed earlier. What is very striking about

^{107.} Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Op.cit, pg. 182

^{108.} Alain Touraine, Op.cit, pg. 447

the Islamic perspective of development and modernization is the 'meaning', which it provides to life and to the whole process of development, which however is lacking badly in the Western perspective.

Jamal Badawi defines development "as rising up to the highest levels of servitude to Allah s.w.t. The more we rise up in these levels of servitude the more we can come close to the realization of our duty and the very purpose of our creation, that is, to be the trustees of Allah on earth." With such a definition of development, Jamal Badawi renders an elevated purpose and meaning to life and development-service to Allah s.w.t. as His *Khalifah* on earth. Through this, the socio-political, economic, intellectual, recreational and all other activities of man at both individual and collective levels are connected to the sublime purpose of creation (*ibadah*) service to Allah s.w.t.

In such a process of development, neither the society tends to be a spiritless and aimless machine nor man is reduced to a cog in the machine. Behind all the activities, man finds a great meaning which neither makes man disenchanted with the world nor induces him to be lost in the world. It rather induces him to work for the best here in this world and in the Hereafter. Similarly Khurshid Ahmad observes:

The Islamic concept of development follows from its concept of *tazkiyah*, as it addresses itself to the problem of human development in all its dimensions: development is concerned with growth towards perfection through purification of attitudes and relationships. The result of *tazkiyah* is *falah*-prosperity in this world and Hereafter.¹¹⁰

Thus unlike the materialistic and one-sided Western approach of development, the Islamic approach of development is holistic, combining material and spiritual dimensions in tawhidic framework.

^{109.} Jamal Badawi, op.cit, pg. 20

^{110.} Khurshid Ahmad, Islamic Appproach to Development, 1994, pg. 20

As for modernization is concerned, it is defined "as the process of increasing technological skills and knowledge in the physical and social sciences in order to harness the bounties and resources of the natural world on the basis of an Islamic epistemology and toward the regeneration of a new Islamic civilization and its sustainable development." Similarly, Mahmoud H. Farghal defines modernization from Islamic perspective as follows:

Modernization is the mandate of God to man. It is the process of human progress wherein the technological advancement of man is accompanied simultaneously by his endeavors to identify himself with society and nature in terms of God's commands.¹¹²

All this implies that from Islamic perspective of modernization and development, even the attainment of knowledge is perceived as service to Allah swt. which ensures man's success in all aspects of life here and Hereafter.

Perhaps one of the crucial reasons of the failure of the Western model of development and modernization lies in the secularized epistemology and methodology of knowledge. Secularization of knowledge has deprived knowledge of its real content and purpose which connects man to God and also makes him conscious of the accountability in the Hereafter. It is the reason that even all techno-scientific advancement in the West could not offer the kind of happiness as is accepted. While elaborating the views of Weber, Turner writes:

Muhammad Mumtaz Ali, "The Concept of Modernization: An Analysis of Contemporary Islamic Thought", The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, Volume 14, No.1., Spring 1997, pg. 14

Mahmond H. Farehal, op.cit,p.28. See also Muhammad Mumtaz Ali, "Contemporary Islamic Thought on Modernization. Reflection on the Conceptualization", <u>Hamdard Islamicus</u>, vol.xxi, October-December. 1998, No.4, pp.19-32

Scientific knowledge cannot help us make moral decisions when faced by different courses of action; ultimately, science is irrelevant to the question of formulating the good life. 113

From Islamic perspective science is relevant to a good life. But the primary sources and inspiration for science in Islam are the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions. It is the reason that, science in Islam helps man for a 'good' and happy life, unlike the West.

Unlike the Muslims scholars, many Western scholars follow Weber, including MacIntyre seems to be pessimistic on the attainment of happiness. MacIntyre asserts: 'this is an age when no one is blessed and reasonable and most are mad and unhappy. The task is to be unhappy but reasonable.' Hence, Turner remarks: 'one important theme of post-Weberian social theory is the belief that, while we are fortunate to have turned our backs on 'the garden of magic', we cannot expect to combine freedom and happiness.' 115

According to MacIntyre, secularization is the product of urbaniza tion and industrialization. Like Weber, he also asserts that secularization has destroyed the moral foundation of society as it has shattered the 'communal morality of rural England.' About the new urban working class, he writes:

They were finally torn from a form of community in which it could be intelligibly and credibly claimed that the norms which govern social life had universal and cosmic significance, and were God-given. They were planted instead in a form of community in which the officially endorsed norms so clearly are of utility only to certain partial and partisan human

^{113.} Bryan S Turner, Op.cit, pg. 152

^{114.} Ibid, pg. 158

^{115.} Ibid

interests that it is impossible to clothe them with universal and cosmic significance. 116

Peter L. Berger also held the same opinion that secularization which has resulted from Protestantism and Capitalism has given rise to social fragmentation and 'empirical emptiness of moral beliefs.' Nevertheless, Durkheim also held the view that secularization has shattered the religious boundaries, which provided meaning and integrity to life. He writes: 'the old gods are growing already dead, and others are not yet born.' In such a transitional period, uncertainty increases which reflects in the increase of suicides and other problems.

All this clearly implies that secularization, which is integral to the process of modernization and development in the West, cannot ensure happiness even if it brings apparent material success. This is more explicitly pointed out by Alain Touraine:

On the other hand, we no longer believe that economic and social transformations solve the problems of either individual happiness as collective freedom. The ideology of progress, the idea that economic development and personal and collective happiness go hand in hand, is but a dream of the past. Between the problems of the state on one hand there is a void, filled only superficially by the mass media, putting ones either the political razzmatazz or the cult of personality.¹¹⁹

Obviously, real happiness cannot be attained merely through economic prosperity, which is built on the secularized concept of knowledge and its application. From Islamic perspective, happiness is

^{116.} Alasdair MacIntyre, Secularization and Moral Change, pg. 15

^{117.} Peter L. Berger, The Social Reality of Religion.

^{118.} Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life.

^{119.} Alain Touraine, Op.cit, pp. 450-451

knowledge of Allah s.w.t. It implies that knowledge of God is indispensable to attain happiness. Al-Attas defines happiness in the following words:

It a state of mind, it has to do with certainty of the ultimate truth and fulfillment of action in conformity with that certainty; and certainty is a permanent condition referring to what is permanent in man and perceived by his spiritual organ known as the heart (*al-qalb*). It is peace and security and tranquility of the heart; it is knowledge, and knowledge is true belief; it is knowing one's rightful, and hence proper, place in the realm of creation and one's proper relationship with the Creator; it is a condition known as '*adl* or justice'.¹²⁰

Hence it is argued by the Muslim scholars that the development planning should be based on such a conception of 'happiness'. Wan Daud observes:

Here, the connection is clear: national development, if it is to ensure real happiness, must be guided by knowledge of the highest things so that the policies planned and implemented are true and right. If this is the cause every level of society is willing to do the utmost to ensure success. Otherwise our development policies will merely produce short term gains and the inevitable numerous long-term problems and dangers, resulting in what we may call a zero-sum development.¹²¹

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is quite evident that the Western models of development and modernization are failed to provide a balanced development catering to the material, spiritual and moral needs

^{120.} Syed Muhammed Naquib Al-Attas, Islam and Secularism, pp.70-71

^{121.} Wan Mohd. Nor Wan Daud, Op.cit., pp.862-863

of the societies. One of the crucial reasons behind failure is the secularized epistemology and methodology of knowledge and the whole process of secularization.

The debate among the Western scholars on the compatibility and incompatibility of Islam with modernization and developments reflects bias and prejudice and misunderstanding of Islam by the Western scholars with few exceptions. Western scholars are also quite apprehensive of the contemporary Islamic resurgence and its alternative models of modernization and development. There seems to be an urgent need for the Western scholars to reassess the contemporary scenario of the world and to appreciate the emergence of the religious vitality in the rest of the world and within the West. Huntington himself has noted the following:

Western culture is challenged by groups within Western societies. One such challenge comes from immigrants from other civilizations who reject assimilation and continue to adhere to and propagate the values, customs, and cultures of their home societies. This phenomenon is most notable among Muslims in Europe, who are, however, a small minority.¹²²

As long as the West keeps its relationship with the rest in terms of its own interests of power domination, economic exploitation and cultural hegemony, it would perceive the rise of any civilization as a 'threat'. It is high time for the West to grow up and stop being naughty as a problem child spoiling everything and disturbing anybody for the fun of power and domination. It should stop suspecting and start respecting others. It should follow the age-old proverbs – give respect and take respect; live and live let others live.

There is nothing like pro-Western and anti-Western in contemporary Islamic resurgence. Nor Islamic resurgence is anti-modernization as discussed earlier. It only insists that its process of modernization should

be based on its own concepts and culture. Here the observations of Rashid Ghannochi seems much relevant:

Japan piously conserves its traditions and culture, its civilization and participates nevertheless in the universal development of modernity. Israel has resuscitated a dead language, given itself a history, which goes back to the beginning of time and imposed its place in the world. Europe did not need to renounce its values to grab from the Muslim East. Why should we be the only ones taste the good things of modernity through the obligatory trickery of Descartes or Marx. To tell the truth, the only way to accede to modernity is by our own path, that which has been traced for us by our religion, our history and our civilization.¹²³

Thus each community possesses rights to survive and thrive preserving its own religion and culture. Aspirations for global domination only create tensions and wars. Whereas respect and trust on each other may create a better and healthier environment for all. Hence one of the important challenges of contemporary times is a challenge of mutual understanding. This is also observed by Esposito:

Our challenge is to better understand the history and realities of the Muslim World. Recognizing the diversity and many faces of Islam counters our image of a unified Islamic threat. It lessens the risk or creating self-fulfilling prophecies about the battle of the West against a radical Islam. Guided by our stated ideals and goals of freedom and self-determination, the West has an ideal vantage point for appreciating the aspirations of many in the Muslim World as they seek to define new paths for their future.¹²⁴

Quoted from Francois Burgat and William Dowell, The Islamic Movement in North Africa, pg. 63

^{124.} John L. Esposito, The Islamic Threat, op.cit, pg. 212

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