

Islam and Hegemony of Local Culture

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Abstract

A global world is a paradoxical world, just like a "double-edged sword". On the one hand, globalization offers a variety of ease of life. On the other hand, it carries risks that threaten the existence of human life. It also imposes a universal culture which implies a general view that the presence of culture is always inseparable from humanity and the general acceptance of values, beliefs, orientations, and institutions by mankind around the world. However, the so-called universal culture is nothing but the West because the West, with all its superiority, is most likely to claim itself as the representation of universal civilization. When civilization is fully controlled by the West, there is a psychological burden for Islam. Islam as a force that had been a superpower of the world for approximately 12 centuries might feel uncomfortable to be the underdog. This situation has made Muslims aspire to get out of colonialism and Western hegemony. There are two responses that arise: a strong desire to excel in all aspects such as science, technology, politics, economy, military, etc. on the one hand, and deep hatred towards the West on the other hand. It is this latter which may have spawned terrorism that is being countered by international communities, mainly Western nations.

Keywords: globalization, modernity, universal culture, rise of Islam.

A. Introduction

"My friend studied village life in Central Africa. Several years ago, he spent his first visit to a remote area where he would conduct field studies. On the day of his arrival, he was invited to a local resident's

house to watch a night entertainment. He hoped to witness the traditional performances of the isolated community. It turns out that the true one is the opposite, the show is watching the Basic Instinct video movie. Even though, the film had not even been screened at cinemas in London at that time."¹

What Giddens told above clearly shows something about our world, the third world, of course, what is presented in the story above is not just about the video, but more than that, is that at that time humans lived in a global era, which gave impact of all aspects. Mankind wherever they are, seems to be encouraged to enter the Global vortex. It is hard to understand, but the effect is so intense.

Globalization, in the view of Giddens,² is a complex process, not a single process, and all take place in a contradictory form, which is mutually exclusive. Most people view globalization as an effect that leaves a nation and a local community out in entering the global arena, and indeed this is one of the consequences. Nations do lose some of their economic power. Nevertheless, Giddens said, globalization not only pulls up, but also pushes down, creating new pressures for local autonomy. By borrowing the opinion of the famous American sociologist, Daniel Bell, Giddens described this very well, "a nation is not only too small to deal with big problems, but also too big to deal with small problems".

The global world is a world full of paradoxes, like a "double-edged sword". On the one hand, with the ethos of modernism, the advancement of science and the super-sophisticated technology that it carries, globalization on the other offers a variety of ease of life: from trivial matters about household kitchens to all-nuclear ones. The world also seems to be getting narrower. An event in a very far distant part of the world is quickly known in just seconds. But at the same time, Globalisation also carries risks, which threaten the existence of human life: ecological damage, forest destruction, industrial waste, air pollution, global warming, to the most crucial problems, the production of destructive and nuclear weapons.

¹ Anthony Giddens, *Runaway World* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2001), 1.

² *Ibid.*, 8.

The global world continues to move faster, and humans are still the sole actors. Unfortunately, they failed to conquer it. Globalization is a world out of control: the world keeps on running. Leave traces of history and legacies that pose a threat to life in the future. But modern humans continue to move forward, without stopping, behind the pounding and veil of rationality, the advancement of science and technology. In other parts of the world, small villages close to the mountains, which are covered in green leaves, are still very natural and certainly cool, suddenly hit by panic. Remember Chernobyl nuclear explosion in Ukraine? Yes, a small village, which is very far from the city, dragged in a circle of global disaster. The events that occurred there have a direct impact on other worlds. We are no more neighbors, in a township and this is the "global village".

Many say that we are in an uncertain world. And, the only certainty we have is "destruction" itself: the impact of global ecological damage has already been pervasive, albeit it has not reached the nadir. Nuclear weapons continue to spread threats, even though still only a few countries are victims. Look at the ferocity of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, or chemical bombs in Vietnam in the 1960s. All is not one hundred percent, but the calculation is definitely predictable: a humanitarian crisis and total destruction.

The old joke, as Giddens reports it,³ would be relevant enough to illustrate our world today. There was a man jumping from a hundred-story building. As he plunged through each level, from behind the windows the people inside the building heard him shout: "so far good," but the result is predictable, that is death. Similar to this story, the global community is always shouting loudly: "modern civilization so far is good, so far so good," but the result is predictable, that if the defects of modernity are not improved, then the destruction of mankind is only a matter of time.

B. West and Cultural Vanity

There is one agreement in all circles of thought, that modernity is one of the greatest powers in history. One driving force for the

³ Ibid.,9.

development of humancivilization is that there is hardly a precedent in the past. The earth that we inhabit today is a planet that continues to fluctuate with extreme changes, creating uncertainty in a major crisis of civilization: a crisis that is said to be even greater than it had ever happened in the 5th century BC, which had produced the apostles in the Middle East and philosophers in Greece. The crisis which finally gave rise to the spirit of enlightenment was the first to demythologize. Modernization has brought most of humanity into a reality of an unreachable world, even the wildest dreams of primitive humans.

Western nations have succeeded in making brilliant achievements in the fields of science and technology. Along with the decline of medieval Islamic civilization, Western nations experienced rapid cultural growth. This new civilization continues to rise and is growing rapidly from the time of enlightenment.

Enlightenment is a period that was born from and together with the emergence of a new belief that grew out of the result of the meeting between intellectual and historical works. The belief that what was previously considered as truth, and therefore always considered universal, it is all in time to doubt. The spirit of the time that came together with the uncontrollable desire of the Church had accessed all sources of truth through rigid religious institutionalization and the churches were typical examples of the rigors of the arrogance of intellectualism at that time. Opposition efforts on the supremacy of palace authorities and churches increasingly got concrete social manifestations when there were social, economic, political and cultural applications of the three findings that succeeded in changing the world, namely gunpowder, compass, and printing techniques.⁴

The spirit of enlightenment was actualized socio-politically, among others, by the eruption of the French Revolution of 1789. Generally, people consider that the French revolution is an historical momentum which signaled the impeachment of the king's power in collusion with the church through the excitement of enlightenment.

⁴ F. Budi Hardiman, Menuju Masyarakat Komunikatif Ilmu, Masyarakat, Politik dan Postmodernisme menurut Jurgen Habermas, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1997), 3.

Many people believe that this event is a gift from God, which will renew not only the earth of France, but also the whole world and even will create a new form of humanity. Western society continues to improve and build self-identity, and ultimately produces a new civilization. This is a modern civilization, marked by advances in science and technology. It must be stressed here, as far as we speak of Western modernism, we cannot ignore the United States, Australia, Israel and of course Europe.

In another world, the Islamic world, which in the Middle Ages dominated all aspects of civilization, must now be subject to the hegemony of Western civilization. Akbar S. Ahmed⁵ writes:

"Today the West is a place to brew what emerges as a universal culture, a single culture, developed and even defined by what we call postmodernist development. We call this the "Western" civilization, because the United States and Western Europe, which are predominantly white, are the essence, which gives ideas and inventions of technology that ignites that civilization. Within this civilization, Britain consciously played a Greek role for Rome in the United States, fostering a "special" relationship with it. Thus, English plays an important role in civilization, as the lingua franca de facto."

Universal culture is a culture, which implies a general view that the presence of a culture is always inseparable from humanity and the general acceptance of values, beliefs, orientation, and institutions by mankind throughout the world. And, what is called as a universal culture is nothing, but the West, because the West with all the advantages it has is most deserved to claim to be a representation of the universal civilization.

Other civilizations, even the typical traditions, such as Arab-Islam, Asia, and Africa are happily subservient to this civilization. All who are born from Western culture, although they have no relevance to non-Western cultures, are ultimately accepted as a trend of the times. Take a look, while Indonesian academics and intellectuals argue about the negative effects of destructive western culture, their children, precisely with Western culture, they feel more

⁵ Akbar Ahmed, *Postmodernisme: Bahaya dan Harapan bagi Islam*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1993), 110.

prestigious about consuming such things as Pizza Hut, Mc. Donald, KFC, or Coca-Cola beverages, rather than rawon rice, padang dishes, chili paste and marine fish: rich in nutrients and of course healthy, or ice cendol and palm wine. Their idols are Hollywood's universal stars that are known throughout the universe. Who does not know James Bond in his prime? It is the heroic 007 secret agent from England? Who is always surrounded by sexy women in every journey? The Bond characters, from Roger Moore, Sean Connery, Pierce Brosman to Daniel Craig, are all very much in the eyes of Asian and African children. Who does not know Pamella Anderson in Baywatch? A tempting combination seems between heroism in the ocean and the power of female body sensuality.

In our television media, every menu of the show is always combined with the sensuality of the female body. Raam Punjabi, the country's senetron king, firmly says "all those present on television should be the dream of the audience."⁶ And no offense, the soap opera is the main supplier of sexy bodies and glamorous life in Western style. But other shows, from comedy, reality shows, to football presenters with no correlation whatsoever, feel uncomfortable if not insert sensuality. Thus, a figure like a plump Julia Peres was selling well on television. And, Julia herself is apparently an actress who really understands how to sell sensuality. All activities: gestures, eye glances, clothing, to sitting, never separated from the formation of the imagination of the ideal body and delicious.

What is shown by our television media is almost a presentation adopted from Western culture. Our senetron shows are difficult to be found educational values and become an irony because almost all of them take educational backgrounds, with big themes, love stories among teens: very shallow, almost meaningless. Only a few shown a quality, such as "Doomsday Is Near I", a work by Dedy Miswar that combines elements of love with spirituality: high-level Sufism: sincerity, which is packaged in easily digestible language and story concepts, as well as religious tolerance, and lead relations harmonious turning between parents and children. The rest are discordant stories. Look at how elementary school children are fighting over

⁶ Suara Merdeka, 9 Oktober 2007

boyfriends, or junior high school children who sparkle after getting the first kiss from his/her girl/boyfriend, or even the story of a high school student who is busy aborting her pregnancy because she is pregnant out of wedlock. Our children are unwittingly forced to contemplate these penny stories, as bedtime stories. Not an academic competition that are highlighted, but a struggle for instant pleasures of hedonism. How terrible!

Meanwhile in villages, dark-skinned village women, who are accustomed to working in the fields, began to desire for a delicate white skin after watching the beauty advertisement. Finally, the imagination of hope is formed in the idealization of desire; that if you want to look beautiful, smooth white skin, beautifully haired, then the solution is to use beauty cosmetics, as offered by the beauty ads. A sociologist from Gadjah Mada University, Heru Nugroho,⁷ said that a change in the cultural value system is needed to understand the consumer culture, so industrial products can be easily consumed in this joint market. The goal is to stimulate people to be consumptive of industrial products. In this context, the market is not merely an economic dimension, but also has a social, cultural and political dimension.

In capitalist society, commodification engulfs anyone. All of which tend to be the object of the market and are packaged in the form of Internationalization of Children's Culture, the image of a happy life when consuming certain products, the image of a healthy person (medicalization of life), the image of masculinity exceeds generally most men when consuming certain supplements and others. The market expansion supported by various institutions is now no longer a culture imperialism hypothesis, but it has become a real reality. This fact increasingly supports Wallerstein's thesis of the existence of the world system, which consists of central, semi-suburban, and periphery cultures.⁸

Where is the power based? The answer is media. The West is in full control. It is everywhere. Never stop and give a chance. The media

⁷ Heru Nugroho, *Negara, Pasar, dan Keadilan Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2001), 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

investigates and attacks tirelessly. What is very sad is that Muslims are not able to understand the nature and character. Because of its strength, its ability to submerge reality, simplify various issues and influence various things - media - borrow Ahmed's term⁹ "evil today", very powerful. The media can easily make caricatures about the desired image.

The West is the center of civilization, the center of knowledge, the nation of producers, who will continue to create new cultures, and then be injected into the realm of the consciousness of the world community, the position of which is the consumer country. Practically, the west is really at the top of the pyramid of civilization and is in a caste structure, borrowing the term Bassam Tibi,¹⁰ "top dogs." Meanwhile, those who are at the low level are as underdogs. Or, in another word, "superior" cultures face "inferior" ones.

Cultural contacts, relations with East-West, are often characterized by colonial penetration. The effects of European imperialism in the 18th and 19th centuries on traditional Asian-African societies are still haunting. Europe destroys what cannot be destroyed. They are arrogant. When it came, Europeans made divides and boundaries, then created nations, divided them into various pieces. The people of the United States, with an arrogant tone, claim to be a nation that does not have an imperialist past. It is the biggest democrat in the world. But, since it has held a key factor as the Western champion in the mid-20th century, America began to be characterized as an imperial force, and continued to grow until now. The vision of a new world order that it has rolled out and forced other nations to implement it, is a sign of imperialism, or neo imperialism.

The actions of the "Rambo" of America, when dealing with the natives, the non-white population, and its historical resonance was discordant, and thus unbelievable: its treatment toward American Indians in the past century created its rhythm. Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, chemical bombs in Vietnam in the 1960s, and Gulf war dramas (invasion of Iraq) since 1991, invasion of Afghanistan, and

⁹ Akbar Ahmed, *Postmodernisme...*, 229-231.

¹⁰ Bassam Tibi, *Krisis Peradaban Islam Modern* (yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 1994), 18.

even pressure and intimidation on Iran today through political-economic embargoes, are all imperialist characters the most vulgar.

The idea of a new world administration, which is packaged in the issues of democracy, human rights, gender issues, and so on, is nothing more than blank. And, most recently, the issue of terrorism is raised on the surface, to be used as the most sensible weapon to intervene in the interests and sovereignty of other countries. In the end, humanity will again fall into extreme pessimism, due to the atrocities that made the initial hope destroyed. Francis Fukuyama writes:

"World War I, after it ended, only made the beginning of a new form of crime that would soon emerge. If modern natural science allows for the destruction of weapons that have never existed before, such as machine guns and bombs, then modern politics has created a country with unprecedented power, where a new world, totalitarianism, has been created"

The experience of the 20th century, according to Fukuyama,¹¹ has made very problematic claims regarding advances based on science and technology. The technological ability to make human life better critically depends on parallel moral progress in humans. Without moral progress, Fukuyama said that the power of technology would easily fall into evil goals and humans would be worse than before. Fukuyama then took the example, that the total wars of the 20th century would never have been possible without the fundamental advances of the industrial revolution: iron, steel, internal combustion engines, and airplanes. In Fukuyama's view, since the tragedy of Hiroshima, humanity has lived in the shadow of the terrible technological advancement of all, namely the development of nuclear weapons. Fantastic economic growth is made possible by modern science, which has a dark side because it plays a role in severe environmental damage on some of the planet, and ultimately allows global environmental disasters.

¹¹ Ibid., 26.

C. Crisis and Anger

In the international eye, America was once humiliated by the attacks of 11 September 2001 that knocked out the twin towers of the WTC. The international world generally rebuked the tragedy, though not a few also cheered. This is a worthy reply to American arrogance, as some grumbled. This event was followed by an action that was not less powerful. Bali, which has been a paradise for white tourists on holiday that relieves the fatigue of the routine of life, on October 12, 2002 suddenly was shaken by bombs, crushed and smashed. Hundreds of lives have been lost.

Two of the above events which were followed by similar events later on soon became momentum and a starting point for the West to propagate the anti-terrorism movement. The world is in danger! Terrorists brutally roam everywhere! That is how the Western media framed it. Then Osamah bin Laden became the main suspect leading terrorism. All countries were then invited to unite against terrorism. Anyone who loved peace must immediately fly the flag of the war on terrorism. No less hard, the Indonesian government (the Megawati era) immediately formed a commitment and concern in participating to counter terrorism. The current eradication of terrorism is mounting with the establishment of the Jamaah Islamiyah group as a hotbed of terrorism.

The question that intrigues our minds is that why terrorism spreads out. The answer is world injustice. Globalization has threatened the codes of tradition, culture and even religion. Likewise, changes in global social, economic and political systems tend to corner it. The compliance of the Islamic regime with global rulers is nothing but a new style of imperialism. The Islamic world will forever be marginalized. Meanwhile, Asia and Africa created impromptu "beggars", who will continue to whine for the mercy of the developed countries.

Thus, terrorism is nothing but a "biological child" of globalization, and the rise of radical Islamic movements is not merely ignited by ideological views alone. There is a great power behind it. All that becomes the trigger of the trigger, all of which lead to western hegemony. There is a profound moral-spiritual crisis as Esposito

stated¹² "something is wrong between the religion that has been appointed by God and the development of world history ...". The impact of globalization on the world economy challenges the deepest beliefs of Muslims regarding identity. Osamah bin Laden saw a threat and even blow to Muslim history and identity as America and its Western allies began the Gulf war by opening bases in Saudi Arabia. American expansion and domination in the area of the holy land is an insult to Muslims.

At the same time, the West failed to understand the character of Muslims over their religion. Salman Rusdhi wrote an offensive novel. In the Western media, the man who was highly praised and exalted, Muhammad Rasulullah, became a mock caricature. Muslims, because they are too eager, respond to anger. These actions and responses are then displayed everywhere, in violent, brutal and barbaric portraits. Again, Islam is a caricature of civilization, full of stereotypes. Ahmed writes:

“There is ridicule and antipathy towards Islam ... many factors are involved. Some are rooted in history, others are contemporary. Oil crisis, atavistic memory, about crusade, anti-semitism. Western Jingoism, the collapse of the communist countries and the rise of the Christian heritage, the anger of those who disliked the attitude of the Muslims who showed them purer, and the inability of Muslims to explain themselves effectively, all helped to make Islam considered by them as a new Western enemy.”¹³

The description of nightmares and a bleak future echoed in the bosom of Muslims. When they do not move to overcome the swift domination of foreign culture, compounded by the fragmentation of Muslim countries. In fact, it has been transformed into a puppet state. Meanwhile, Israel continues to run rampant. Kill Palestinian women and children. At parliamentary sessions, Hamas and Fattah continued to fight, failed to find common ground and solutions. Some Muslims are special, while raising their hands wondering. Why do the people who have been promised by God to become noble people on

¹² John L. Esposito, *Ancaman Islam: Mitos Atau Realitas*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1994), p. 131.

¹³ Akbar S Ahmed, *Postmodernisme...*, 53

this earth must continue to be colonized? Why is a noble person, Muhammad Rasulullah, always a matter of ridicule? Why is religion that promotes kindness, tolerance, and piety, always misunderstood and reviled? In the Western media, jihad has become a dirty word, which is identified with violence and barbaric civilization. Even though the concept is good, which is to strive for the path of goodness: trying hard and not giving up easily.

Nowadays, what remains in the realm of Muslim consciousness is only religion. This is the most valuable legacy in history. Therefore, insofar as everything intersects with the matter of religion, the Muslim community has a more sensitive response. God is central to life. Center of everything that exists. The reality of nature is always closely related to the metaphysical hub and God's majesty: a point of view firmly denied by Western rationalism.

D. Criticism on Modernity

The humanitarian crisis of global civilization has long been realized by Western scholars. It was Max Horkheimer, the founder of the Frankfurt school in Germany, who paid great attention to positivism in the social sciences, namely the assumption that social sciences are value free, regardless of social practice and morality. The emancipation of society then became the subject of Horkheimer's concern, which was later supported by Adorno and Marcuse. Emancipation is a concept that can be restored in the age of Enlightenment, and Frankfurt School supports this enlightenment. In the course of the program, they turned to suspect Enlightenment as the culprit of the emergence of a positivistic way of thinking which was later called by Horkheimer as an "instrumental ratio", by Adorno as an "identity thinking", and by Marcuse as a "technological rationality".

With a total criticism of the Enlightenment, the Frankfurt School experienced program bottlenecks. Jürgen Habermas, who later appeared as a reformer in the Critical Theory, is not in line with his predecessors as having epistemological weaknesses that governed them in a deadlock, but also provided a fundamental solution for continuing the Critical Theory project. The idea of Critical Theory

is not over. Habermas nourishes it again in a new paradigm. Communication is Habermas's fundamental starting point which is closely related to efforts to overcome the predicament of his predecessors' Critical Theory.¹⁴ The development of social philosophy has been since the days of Marx preoccupied with the effort to link theory and praxis. Marx repeatedly criticized the philosophers "they only think about the world, even though the most important thing is how to change the world!"¹⁵

According to Habermas, Enlightenment is a philosophy that has the spirit of liberation from various forms of domination of power and hegemony of silence, which in fact falls into a new dogmatism. Enlightenment which intends to increase human dignity through the use of reason actually falls in a technical- oriented ideology. This ideology is incarnated in the form of pursuit of rationality aims.¹⁶ Habermas shows that from the very beginning this modernity project has got rid of and suppressed the communicative elements of the community which it called "institutional framework" and "ethical-practical rationality" for the sake of upholding the social work dimension. Habermas does not leave modernity but shows that capitalist modernity is a distorted form of the modernity project, because it reduces communication in social work.

The impact of this reduction is the pathology of modernity, among others in the form of meaning erosion. Alternatively, Habermas offers a balanced model for community development.¹⁷ Although Habermas makes a harsh critique of modernity, but his position is clear, he fully supports the programs of modernity. For him, modernity is an "unfinished project". Habermas is optimistic and holds the hope that the ideals of modernity to create a better future society order can be realized, as long as the defects of the body of modernity can be improved, i.e., by enlightening further in a fixed negation of subject-centered ratios, in the sense of communicative action.

¹⁴ F. Budi Hardiman, Menuju..., xix

¹⁵ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Pemikiran karl marx*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2009). 63-65

¹⁶ Heru Nugroho, *kritik sosial dalam wacana pembangunan*, (Yogyakarta: UIIPres, 1997), 93-94

¹⁷ F. Budi Hardiman, Menuju..., 73-118

The calmness of the supporters of modernity pioneered by Habermas has been disturbed. They immediately got the most alarming challenge. This group does not believe in the emancipation and enlightenment of modernity. Jean-Francois Lyotard, the French philosopher who drew much inspiration from the Nietzsche philosophy, then represented a new trend in this heated debate. The theme of postmodernism is that modernism is considered to have failed to carry out humanitarian tasks. And, just the opposite, the future of humanity is being brought to the brink of destruction. Therefore, by raising the banner of "negative dialectics", the postmodernists raise the flag of war against modernism. For them, modernism, with all the programs offered, is nothing more than superstitious grand narratives.

From the theoretical and harsh critical debates of western scientists over modernity, then where does the position of Islam lie? The Islamic criticism of modernity is that modern knowledge is only methodologically valid but poor in morals and ethics. The view of modern society which tends to rely on the advancement of science and technology has caused them to ignore the transcendental dimension. Consequently, they lose a very valuable aspect, namely the spiritual one. In this context, Islam, which means "surrender, surrender to God", wants to remind modern humans that the progress achieved by humans in various fields of life should be returned to the Knower, because He is the source of all knowledge and all-round authority absolute. Therefore, all the achievements of modern society progress, basically is just relative.

In the modern world, where society is hit by spiritual emptiness, moral crises, and the swift wave of secularization, Islam is the hope of many people who provide a set of social norms and divine values. Modernism is like the one in the West. It is an almost uncontrolled anthropocentrism. Arnold Toynbee said that "modernity had begun since the 15th century, when westerners were thankful not to God, but to themselves, because they had succeeded in overcoming the medieval Christian confines." And at the same time, at different poles, Islam, as Hodgson wrote, actually provides the most valuable inheritance, namely religion and religious awareness. He adds that in

whatever form he appears, religion is the most important thing for human life.¹⁸

E. Muslim's Response and Clash of Civilization

The teachings of Islam that promote tolerance and peace began to be drowned by those who resorted to violence. But at the same time, Muslim activists who are never tired of learning and studying began to busily re-read the pages of classical teachings and scriptures. They continue to strive for the essence of Islam, through the noble heritage of the past. Should the religion that once built civilization solve current problems using violence? This kind of question triggers Muslims to rethink the ways in which they should rightly shape the faces of Islam.

The rise of Islam, experts say, is the latest phenomenon that has swept across the Islamic world. It has actually become an actual issue since the early 1980s, along with the success of the Iranian Islamic Revolution which broke out in 1979 under the command of a charismatic figure Ayatullah Khomeini. The Iranian revolution was not only the starting point for the rise of Islam in the political and military fields, it has also restored Muslim confidence and self-esteem in many parts of the world. Mortimer notes a shared sense of pride in the strength of their culture and interest in the political elements or implications of their religion.¹⁹

The revitalization of indigenous cultures is used as a defense against the threatening dominant culture. Anthony C. Wallace²⁰ has shown how religion at the same time can be a cultural dimension, political ideology, and ritual revitalization. The political movements that are organized around the resistance against foreign cultures can be defined as revivalist movements. Thus, in the case of Iran, Shi'ism as a religious group can be used as a trigger for social transformation: from injustice to social justice.

¹⁸ Marshall Hodgson, *Islam Antara Visi, Tradisi Dan Hegemoni Bukan Muslim*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 1986), 3

¹⁹ Edward Mortimer, *Islam Dan Kekuasaan*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1984), 279.

²⁰ Bassam Tibi, *Krisis...*, 50.

In recent days, the success of Hezbollah Lebanon in storming Israeli fighter jets and forcing the Zionist forces to return home is a big win for the Islamic world from psychological perspective. Hasan Nasrullah was hailed just like Salahudin al-Ayyubi at the time of the Crusades. Today, "Islamic re-politization" by some Muslim activists is seen as the most plausible answer to offset Western political and cultural domination. The rise of political Islam, according to Bassam Tibi²¹, is a variant of Islam over the process of reflecting on the past. Religion in this context functions in the social system to transform an indeterminate world into a predetermined world. The function of religion is strong especially in societies that are experiencing transition periods. This period cannot be set because identity must be maintained throughout the change. Moreover, reflecting on religion in the past is a form of search and discovery of identity. The task of all these identity discoveries is to overcome backwardness.

The Islamic awakening index, according to Esposito,²² can be seen in the renewal of Islam's reaffirmation in the lives of the people: increasing government, organizations, laws, banks, social welfare institutions, and educational institutions with Islamic orientation. In fact, according to Esposito, both the government and the opposition movement have turned to Islam to strengthen their welfare and gain public support. Even secular-oriented countries, such as Turkey and Tunisia that realized the potential Islamic power began to show more sensitivity and anxiety on Islamic issues.

A renowned Islamic scholar, Ali Hillel Dasoki sees the rise of Islam as a manifestation of efforts to replace Western law with Islamic law, the use of language and religious symbolism, the expansion of Islamic education, the application of Islamic teachings related to social behavior, the domination of opposition to the government of secular government Muslim activists, and the growing international solidarity among Muslim communities and Islamic countries.²³

In this case, Huntington suggests the rise of Islam with the Protestant Reformation. Calvinist Protestantism is the basis of

²¹ Ibid., 65

²² John L Esposito, *Ancaman....*, 22.

²³ Samuel P. Huntington, *benturan antara peradaban dan masa depan politik dunia* (yogyakarta: qalam, 2000), 185

"Ethical Protestantism", which encourages people to always work hard, live frugally, and get used to saving. For Protestants, this view was triggered by a panic not entering heaven. God will only give opportunity to his brave, honest, and tenacious servant. The spirit of capitalism is an expression of religious doctrine that allows it to develop in everyday life.

The essence of Islamic revival is the application of sharia in social, political, economic, and cultural life. Political dimension is basically just a tool or means to achieve a goal. Hamid Enayat writes:²⁴

"There is hardly any doubt that Muslim consciousness has a certain inclination to politics that is rooted in the fullness of Islamic teachings. But this bias is often submerged under the attitude of submission, or political apathy, or both. If in other opinion, the main perpetrator of politics is the struggle for power, it is difficult to find a more political worldview from Islam. With the view that human nature has physical needs as well as spiritual needs, it is never satisfied with explaining its ideals, but continues to seek the means to apply them, and power is the principal means to achieve those goals. The Qur'an enjoins believers to follow the example of Prophet Muhammad s.a.w., whom he calls "the noble paradigm" because the ultimate achievement of Muhammad is his success in laying the foundation of a state based on the teachings of Islam, the Muslims are also obliged to follow his example. "

The Islamic awakening movement offers an alternative or Islamic solution, as the "third way", which is from communism and capitalism. They argue that secularism is very biased to the West. The dependence on Western development models is proved to be politically unsuitable and socially porous and destroys the morale and identity of Islam.

The rise of Islam and Islamist movements in turn encourages regimes in power to provide support for Islamic institutions and struggles as an integral part of their government. In a broad context, this is a reaffirmation of Islamic values. In Huntington's view, this happens as a product of the deterioration of the power and image of

²⁴ Hamid Enayat, reaksi politik sunni dan syiah: pemikiran politik islam modern menghadapi abad ke 20. (Bandung: pustaka 1988), 2.

the West, when the west has experienced a decline, both in terms of its ideals and institutions.²⁵

In the context of the rise of Islam, along with the political liberalization and the wave of democratization that engulfed the world, Esposito reminded that it should not be understood as a threat, but a challenge. For some Muslims, Islamic revivalism is more a social movement than a political movement. The aim is more directed at the formation of an Islamic-oriented society, but this also simply means the establishment of an Islamic state. For other Muslims, the understanding of an Islamic tyranny requires an Islamic state. In these two cases, Esposito sees Islam and some Islamic movements not necessarily as anti-West or anti-democracy.²⁶

F. Conclusion

Globalization is the reason for the revival of local cultural identities in various parts of the world. Islam experienced revitalization after being long confined to the hegemonic prison of Western imperialism. Globalization, by many Muslim societies, is seen as a threat to the continuity of their traditions, culture, and religious systems. However, Islam does not have to lose its broad perspective. It is precisely here that Islam faces a challenge: how to restore the phenomenon of globalization with all its implications on its reasonable proportions. Can globalization give birth to anything positive?

Islam always voices the spirit of egalitarianism, social justice, equality, and anti-discrimination in social, economic, political, and cultural issues. In the midst of the spirituality crisis that engulfed modern society, much of the world's hopes were devoted to Islam. Ernest Gellner argues that among the three monotheistic religions: Jews, Christians and Islam, Islam is for him the closest to modernity because the teachings of Islam on universalism do not recognize the clergy system or *kerahiban*.²⁷

²⁵ Samuel Hingtinton, Benturan..., 196.

²⁶ John L Esposito, Ancaman..., 59-60

²⁷ Ernest Gellner, Muslim society (Cambridge University Press, 1981), .7.

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