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**HASSAN HANAFI'S RESPONSE TO WESTERN HEGEMONY IN
MUQADDIMAH FĪ 'ILMI AL-ISTIGHRĀB THROUGH HEGEMONY THEORY
OF GRAMSCI**

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ABSTRACT

This is a literature study on Hassan Hanafi's response to the hegemony of Western civilization by using hegemony theory of Gramsci. One of the responses discussed in this research is the discussion of Occidentalism. Hanafi introduced the notion of Occidentalism as a study of the West from the eyes of the East. He acknowledges that the West is a major entrant and also a source of scientific knowledge in our consciousness. Therefore, the West occupies a very important position. Such an important position according to Hanafi received less serious response by Muslim intellectuals. Hanafi's Occidentalism was intended to confront Western civilization's hegemony of the East consciousness. With Occidentalism it is expected that the Eastern position which has been used as the object of the study may change, that is to be an observer or researcher. In addition, Hanafi's Occidentalism wants to end the Western myth as a representation and the holder of world civilization supremacy. Western studies of the East have so far led to a stereotype that the rise and fall of a civilization can be measured by the benchmarks of Western civilization. Such an attitude, eventually foster inferiority to other civilizations. The main source of this study is Hanafi's book entiteled *Muqaddimah fī 'Ilmi al-Istighrāb*. The paper found that Hanafi's Occidentalism is not as a counterpart of Orientalism, not as a tool in fighting against Western civilization, nor as anti-Western, but the Occidentalism used as a means to position the West as one of civilizations without narrow fanaticism, without blind thought, while enhancing local wisdom and Eastern tradition amid advances in technology and science.

Keywords

Hassan Hanafi;
Western hegemony;
Hegemony theory;
Gramsci

INTRODUCTION

Western tradition has become a major entrant in national consciousness, whether or not it has been a source of knowledge for national and scientific civilization. The statement raises a wide range of attitudes among scientists, some respond to the West and Westernization with total rejection as self-defense and affirmation of identity, and on the other hand accepting with the argument that not all that come from the West is bad, and the fact that every moment we enjoy Western products (Hanafi, 2000: 9).

Western establishment was not experienced simply, a point of prominence in Western tradition in the early eighteenth century where many regions of the Islamic world felt the immediate impact of the economic and military challenges of the West that continue to experience modernization. A shift in power occurs when the decline of the East affects the relationship between the West and the East; from initially offensive to defensive. East which previously had a dominant role displaced by the arrival of Western-style modernization that experienced extraordinary extensification (Azra & Al-Jauhari, 1996: 6).

As a result, in the nineteenth century various modernization programs were implemented in the (Eastern) world of Islam to counter the West. It began when the Ottoman government implemented Western modernization in the state-military bureaucracy where it was done because of external threats (expansionism) and not because of the demand for the welfare of society. The process of secularization also occurs in the Arab world and the Indian subcontinent, where secular reformers tend to support the idea of religious separation from politics, since it assumes that religion is limited to morality and personality (Berkes, 1964; Yoyo, Shri, Putra, Fadlil Munawar, & Siti Muti'ah, 2012).

Along with the development of Western modernization type and the tools it carries such as: secularization, westernization, liberalization, the world of science in the West is also growing rapidly. Western scientists, the races in understanding the East from various aspects. Thus, Orientalism was born. Literally Orientalism is defined as an understanding of issues related to the East. The terminologically defined as a science, study or a way to understand the East. The discussion of Orientalism in detail is expressed in "Orientalism and Islam" (Sou'yb, 1995) and "Orientalism" (Said, 1979: 3). In short, Orientalism as a matter of concern with the East affair has a huge role in the relationship between the West and the East. Edward Said in his book "Orientalism" reveals Western intellectual bias towards the East. According to him, the West is responsible for shaping a misperception about the East (Said, 1979: 3).

This research is based on the fact that East and West are always faced on the opposite side (paradox). This position is a continuity of history of Islamic (Eastern) and Christian (West) relations in the past which is full of conflicting roots. At least this has been confirmed by Esposito and Voll (1996: 13), that the history of this confrontation has involved various events. The conquest of the Byzantine Empire (East Rome) by Islam in the seventh century, the 11th and 12th centuries of Crusade, European colonial expansion and domination of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the reaffirmation of Islamic identity and political world further reinforces the existence of all-time opposition between Islam on the one hand and the West on the other (Esposito & Voll, 1996).

All of the above descriptions aim to understand the extent to which the role of the West in hegemony (dominates) other civilizations, and the consequences of Western-

dominated civilization. Despite the positive impacts of Western dominance on other civilizations such as technological advances, consumer attitudes and behaviors will escalate, the outbreak of Westernized trends and lead to the loss of its eastern identity (Hanafi, 2000: 24).

In the midst of the hegemony of Western civilization, when the West became the benchmark of the progress of a nation, Hasan Hanafi an Egyptian intellectual builds a paradigm of Islamic revival. However, unlike the discourse of Islamic awakening by "neo Revivalism" which puts forward the aspect of ideological apology and religious symbols, Hanafi seeks to revitalize the classical Islamic treasury with its ideas and ideas that have been collected and shaped based on deepened scholarship both from East and West to remove the dominance of Western culture and bring the West to its natural limits. Through his books, Hanafi invites Muslims to fight against Western cultural dominance and at the same time seeks to dispel the myth of the West as a representation of the world as a whole (Hanafi, 2000: xi).

The revitalization project of classical Islamic treasures is done Hanafi with 3 major projects: 1) our attitude towards the old tradition; 2) our attitude towards western tradition; and 3) our attitude towards reality. Of these three great projects, the second project will be further discussed. On the second project Hanafi explained the importance of understanding the West critically in his book *Muqaddimah fī 'ilm al-Istighrāb* (Introduction to Occidentalism) as a form of his efforts in the counter hegemony of Western civilization (Hanafi, 2000; Yoyo, 2017).

With his identification, Hanafi aims to elaborate the inferiority of East and West relations, subverting Western superiority by making it an object of study while obliterating the East's inferiority by making it a subject of the reviewer. Historically there is a distinction between Orientalism and Occidentalism, where Orientalism arose in the midst of the expansion of European imperialism in the seventeenth century which later developed carrying a paradigm of scientific research and a non-neutral political stream owing much to the dominance of the structure of European consciousness, while Occidentalism tended to be land acquisition water and have not developed any form until it is neutral because it does not hunt for power and right of control (Hanafi, 2000: 29).

Finally, Hanafi's Occidentalism is expected to become a common thread in connecting the West and the East and not as opposed to Orientalism, not as a tool in the fight against Western civilization, nor as anti-Western, but the Occidentalism used as a means to position the West as one of other civilizations, without narrow fanatics, without blind thought, while enhancing local wisdom and eastern tradition in the midst of technological and scientific advancements (Hanafi, 2000: 50).

Departing from the background of the above problems, then the formulation of the problem in this study are: What is the hegemony of Western civilization? How Hanafi's response to the hegemony of Western civilization? Can Hanafi's Occidentalism serve as a counter to Western hegemony?

The purpose of this study is to unravel the inferiority of the history of Western relations with the East and able to be critical of the themes of thought generated by the West. Moreover, with this research will provide the spirit of reform conducted by the East in reviewing the themes of Western thought invasion. It is expected to contribute positively

to the Eastern scientific tradition in the face of the development of Western hegemony in the Eastern world in particular. As for some of the expected benefits of this research, among others: developing the Theory of Response to the phenomenon that occurs, this research is expected to introduce Occidentalism as counter effort against the hegemony of Western Civilization.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Western Hegemony in Breif

West (Europe and beyond) since the very advanced Renaissance in science and technology. Beginning with the discovery of electricity, super-fast transportation, to the latest, multimedia technology and the internet. Given the mastery of science and technology is still controlled by the West, then unconsciously, the world is in control of the West, both on political activities, economic, social, cultural, and so forth. Western control and domination is what is called hegemony. This form of domination is no longer in physical form like war. It has been transformed in the form of mastery of thought, ideas, and knowledge. It is easier to do with the control of the media and information by the West (Mubah, 2011: 1).

Western hegemony in the modern era today seems difficult dammed. All aspects of life are hardly easily removed from the hegemony of Western civilization. Starting food, drink, clothing, lifestyle and thinking, all have pierced the heart of the thinking of the world community. For the Islamic world, the most dangerous is hegemony in the field of religious or thought (Hanafi, 2000: 18).

In the view of Antonio Gramsci as the pioneer of the Hegemonic theory, hegemony is an attempt by the dominant ruling elite to lead the way of thinking, acting, and judging society according to its will. Here the "hegemony" takes place smoothly, invisibly, but people voluntarily follow / live it. Gramsci further states that this "hegemony" can occur through mass media, schools, even through the *khutbah* or da'wah of the religious, who indoctrinate to create a new awareness (Harahap, 2006). More specifically, Antonio Gramsci (1971) defines hegemony as:

“Dominant groups in society, including fundamentally but not exclusively the ruling class, maintain their dominance by securing the spontaneous consent of subordinate groups, including the working class, through the negotiated construction of a political and ideological consensus which incorporates both dominant and dominated groups.”

The above definition explains that hegemony has the main characteristic of "dominating" a group of people/society. Domination can be pursued through non-physical/violent ways but effective in controlling. The dominating group succeeds in influencing the dominated group to accept the moral, political, and cultural values of the dominant group (The ruling party, the ruling group). Hegemony is accepted as something natural, so the ideology of the dominant group can spread and be practiced. These hegemonic values and ideologies are championed and defended by the dominant party in such a way that the dominated party remains silent and obedient to the leadership of the

ruling group. Thus, hegemony can be seen as a strategy to preserve power (Roger, 1982: 23).

Departing from the above facts, in today's global setting, it seems that hegemony can also be interpreted as something that has to do with imperialism with its new forms. Contemporary, Asian, Latin American and African nations are politically independent but in many ways "overwhelmed" and "dependent" with forces derived from Western civilization Edward Wadie Said (1979: 52). This means that the nations, whether or not realized, have been hegemonized by Western civilization.

Problematic Hegemony of Western civilization can be categorized into several forms, namely: First, Hegemony in the field of Social Culture; McWorld phenomenon. A jargon that is very familiar in the ears of generations that were born in the decade of the 70s and 80s. McWorld is a combination of three big icons that hold the world of MTV for music, McDonald for the stomach, and Macintosh as the information center. The phenomenon of McWorld is one of the facts that the world is experiencing globalization. The impact and influence of Western dominance since the end of the 20th century requires the people of the world to be prepared to accept the influx of Western cultural influences on all aspects of life. Culture aspect becomes an important issue of globalization because pop culture (movie, music, clothes and so on) carries the values and ideology of the West such as pleasure, entertainment, modern lifestyle (Muharrominingsih, 2006: 49).

Second, Hegemony in the Field of Economics; Economic bubble in this era of globalization is very difficult to avoid. Some of the reasons are due to the unbalanced turnover of money with the turn of goods and services. This happens because of the rampant speculative business (in the world of capital markets, the forex market and property) which is not matched by the flow of goods and services. In addition, (bubble economic) is also common because of the dependence of developing countries on foreign debt. As the debt continues to accumulate and is unable to be properly managed, the hegemon of industrialized nations to developing countries (debt recipients) is getting worse followed by worsening economic imbalances (Damanhuri, 2012: 43).

Third, Hegemony in the Field of Technology and the mass media. Through the Western mass media plays an important role in instilling feelings of fear of Islam. Giving the term "Terrorism" has given a misunderstanding in understanding the East as a whole. In addition, the West also controls the technology market that is electronic goods. Thus, the mastery of technology and mass media has a dominant role in the spread of Western civilization hegemony (Bennett, 1981).

Western Hegemony in Hanafi's Perspective

Western tradition is constantly present and gives its dominance to other civilizations (the other). This has led to a growing claim that the progress of a civilization can be measured using the benchmarks of Western civilization. The lack of criticism and study of the West from an Eastern point of view reinforces Western dominance in the social, cultural, scientific and economic fields. Although there is, the movement of criticism towards the West is done within narrow limits without any proof (Hanafi, 2000: 8).

Hanafi's response in this discussion should be defined as an attempt for the awakening of Islam (revitalization of Islamic scholarship), and not intended as a

propaganda of the anti-Western movement. According to him, the rise of Islam is the main thing due to the condition of Muslims who tend to be inferior to the progress of the West. The rise of Islam to Hanafi is a revival of rationalism to revive (the revitalization of the classical Islamic treasures), as well as an attempt to confront the discourse of Western cultural domination and to re-look at the reality of the Islamic world. Overall, in the explanation of Hanafi's response to the hegemony of Western civilization aimed to invite Muslims in the struggle against Western cultural domination and end the myth of the West as a representation of the world (Hanafi, 2000: xi).

As the process of globalization closer, it does not make the face of the world monopolistic and uniform. On the contrary, the process of globalization precisely increasing awareness of human diversity, economic inequality between one nation with another, even friction and conflict about religion and ethnic still often occur in other parts of the world. The process of globalization also makes Westerners begin to realize and notice the existence of "the other world" which has the existence and right to life as "the Western world". Western arrogance that regards them as the representative of the world's most civilized, most democratic, most powerful so they are entitled to become world leaders and police (Hanafi, 2000: xvi).

Facing the hegemony of Western civilization, Hanafi offers the Tradition and Renewal project. The ambitious Hanafi Project consists of three major agendas, each of which has elaborative and derivative agendas. The first great agenda is our attitude toward the old tradition. This agenda addresses the issues of theological reconstruction for social transformation. Then on the second agenda, that is our attitude towards Western tradition. On this second agenda Hanafi tried to criticize Western civilization. And last is "Our Attitude to Reality", in this third great agenda Hanafi developed the theory and Paradigm of interpretation (Hanafi, 2000: 3). Hanafi's greatest contribution in building a progressive Islamic civilization lies in three major projects which he calls "tradition" and "modernity" (Hanafi, 2000: 1; Yoyo, 2017: 123).

Our Attitudes to Old Traditions

This first projects is a theological reform based on the awareness of the loss of human discourse and history in classical Islamic theology. Actually human and history in classical Islamic theology is very strong, but often hidden or other political interests. Then Hassan Hanafi reconstructed the Islamic tradition with a critical interpretation and historical criticism reflected in the classical treasures.

Islamic theology dominates in the perfect of God without touching human problems. If analyzed rationally, it is irrational. When we have a high dimension of ta'abud to God, our logical consequence is to obey God's command, where we as slaves are in demand to communicate well with God and His creatures. Not heavy-side.

Our Attitude toward the West

This second projects Hassan Hanafi presents Occidentalism, a scientific discipline that discusses how to view the West in a religious perspective. It is a kind of deconstruction to the West that is done using Eastern eyeglasses. Not to make the West the first, only the desire to end the invasion of Western culture in the awakening of the East by restoring the

West to its cultural limits. It means Hassan Hanafi is trying to lift the Eastern ego. This is triggered by the emergence of Eastern problems that depend mentally on the West, on the one hand also the neglect of its traditions are rich in meaning (Hanafi, 2000; Yoyo, 2017).

Our Attitude to Reality

The Qur'an is a guideline for the life of Muslims is no exception. Allah has transferred the Qur'an in the tangible form of writing. Sometimes some people understand it with-without a deep understanding, just knowing the translation of meaning alone in a sense sufficiently representing the meaning of those verses. This makes Hassan Hanafi formulating the interpretation of the Qur'an can't be separated from the triadic relationship between the text-with the complexity of its linguistic and historical context, the interpreter and the reader. If one ignores one of these dimensions, then an interpretation will be uprooted from the real world and will not speak to man (Saenong, 2002: xii).

Countering Western Civilization Hegemony

Counter-hegemony is the opposite of hegemony. As has been explained earlier that hegemony has the nature of dominating one party against the other. Thus, those who do not approve of hegemony take actions as counter-hegemony. According to Persaud (2001: 49) hegemony and counter-hegemony can be seen as a simultaneous "double movement" that contradicts each other. Thus, in the presence of hegemony resulted in the emergence of counter-hegemony (Katz, 2006: 345). The counter-hegemony in this discussion refers to Hassan Hanafi's explanation of Western injustice in the position of the East, and the superiority of the West sees other civilizations.

Critical to the West

In accordance with the historical fact that in contemporary world, the dominance of Western civilization has been divided into 3 attitudes; namely offensive attitude, defensive attitude and the last is moderate. Hanafi therefore demands a critical attitude that must be done in order to address the dominance of Western civilization: First, Critical to the old tradition, second, Critical to Western tradition, and third, Critical to the present reality by changing and developing it. The above mentioned three points refer to the implementation of 3 Turats wa Tajdid projects described earlier as the magnum opus of Hassan Hanafi's thought (Hanafi, 2000: 1).

Removing Eurocentrism

Western tradition is not a universal tradition that embraces the whole model of human experimentation. It is also not a relic of the long experience of human experimentation that has accumulated knowledge from the East to the West, but a thought born in a particular environment and situation, that of European history. This means that Western tradition is a thought that reflects the particular environment of civilization. Thus, adoption can't be done arbitrarily regardless of the characteristics of the civilization (Hanafi, 2000: 36).

One impact of the outbreak of Western civilization hegemony is Eurocentrism. Eurocentrism representing world history, human history, history of philosophy are all connected to the West. Thus, the identical human history is the history of Western man, the

history of the world is the history of the Western world, and the history of such philosophy. This is where Hanafi emphasizes the role of Eastern thinkers and researchers in particular to reformat the philosophy of European history. The ego's over-the-other rendering thereby strengthens Euro centrism and reduces ego innovation to work (Hanafi, 2000: 34).

Assessing Resources Not Exposed to European Awareness

The unexpanded source as described above is a source that is deliberately hidden, both by philosophers and historians of philosophy. Unexposed sources are almost never touched upon by researchers who cultivate the field of Western studies. The source of unexpressed consciousness comes from old Eastern sources and the European environment. The first source is the old East source of which came from the civilizations of China, India, Persia, Mesopotamian civilization, Sham, the sources of the entire African continent and the Islamic civilization that emerged in the medieval Scholastic philosophy. While the second unexposed source is a source derived from European environments that include Paganist religions living in Europe before the spread of Christianity beginning in the Second century, myth, tradition, culture, national temperament, the geographic environment of Europe (Hanafi, 2000: 154).

Actualization of Hassan Hanafi's Occidentalism

In the counter-hegemony of Western civilization, Hanafi (2000: 82) describes the workings of Occidentalism in studying Western tradition as follows:

- 1) Placing Western tradition/science is only the science of intermediaries (*'ulūm al-washā'il*), medium of disclosure, intermediary language. Occidentalism does not study Western traditions of *ansich* to transfer science, but rather to take a critical attitude.
- 2) Study the Western tradition as part of an analysis of contemporary reality, assuming that Western tradition is only one of the buffers of contemporary culture.
- 3) Assessing Western tradition as part of the study of the old tradition, studying Classical Greek Philosophy is studying classical Islamic thought.
- 4) Studying Western traditions as part of participating in a general humanitarian study.

If Occidentalism has awakened as the mainstream (*thayyār 'ām*) of Eastern thought, then East independence and self-esteem that are equal to the West will be obtained. And the alignment of the East-West relations will produce the following points as the results of Occidentalism. First, control/restraint of the Western consciousness, so that the awareness of the West is no longer a ruler, no longer as a subject but as an object of study. In this case, the East also has the same rights as the subject, not just the object of Western studies. Second, placing awareness of the West from the historical side, not as the only experimentation of human history, but as part of the historical phase of human consciousness which stands parallel to the history of civilization of Egypt, China, Islam, and other classical East-East. The East has spawned a very important series of humanitarian civilizations with various achievements, both in economics, politics, and in the development of science and science. Third, restoring the West to its natural limits, ending

the mastery of Culture, cutting imperialist expansion indefinitely, and restoring Western Philosophy to the environment in which it was born, restoring Western culture and civilization to its geographical-historical territory, breaking the claim of the universality of Western civilization and affirming its particularity as a small from the long chain of civilization of mankind. Majesty is not solely Western property, because the West and the East share a role in the course of human history. Forth, removing Western Cosmopolitan culture, discovering the specifications as well as respecting the types of civilization and historical awareness of each nation, including its creativity. West and East have their own peculiarities. Fifth, opening the way of non-Western innovation and freeing themselves from Western minds that hinder their conscience, so that non-Western nations can think with their own sense and local framework to create an appreciation of the diversity of types and models. "For every people, we give clear rules and paths" (Al-Maidah: 48).

CONCLUSION

The idea of Hanafi's Occidentalism is as an alternative in asserting Eastern identity against the West in an equal position. In contrast to Orientalism, Occidentalism made it possible for the East to confront the West more wisely, critically, rationally, without the desire to dominate the West such as the West did with its Orientalism in the colonial era. However, the idea of Occidentalism seems to rest merely on theoretical concept rather in real action.

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