



# Islamization of Knowledge – Symptom of the Failed Internationalization of the Social Sciences?

Wiebke Keim

## ► To cite this version:

Wiebke Keim. Islamization of Knowledge – Symptom of the Failed Internationalization of the Social Sciences?. *Méthod(e)s: African Review of Social Sciences Methodology*, 2017, 2 (1-2), pp.127-154. 10.1080/23754745.2017.1354554 . hal-03469777

**HAL Id: hal-03469777**

**<https://hal.science/hal-03469777>**

Submitted on 25 Feb 2022

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

# PROOF COVER SHEET

---

Author(s): Wiebke Keim

Article Title: Islamization of knowledge – symptom of the failed internationalization of the social sciences?

Article No: RMET1354554

Enclosures: 1) Query sheet  
2) Article proofs

---

Dear Author,

**1. Please check these proofs carefully.** It is the responsibility of the corresponding author to check these and approve or amend them. A second proof is not normally provided. Taylor & Francis cannot be held responsible for uncorrected errors, even if introduced during the production process. Once your corrections have been added to the article, it will be considered ready for publication.

Please limit changes at this stage to the correction of errors. You should not make trivial changes, improve prose style, add new material, or delete existing material at this stage. You may be charged if your corrections are excessive (we would not expect corrections to exceed 30 changes).

For detailed guidance on how to check your proofs, please paste this address into a new browser window: <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/checkingproofs.asp>

Your PDF proof file has been enabled so that you can comment on the proof directly using Adobe Acrobat. If you wish to do this, please save the file to your hard disk first. For further information on marking corrections using Acrobat, please paste this address into a new browser window: <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/acrobat.asp>

---

**2. Please review the table of contributors below and confirm that the first and last names are structured correctly and that the authors are listed in the correct order of contribution.** This check is to ensure that your name will appear correctly online and when the article is indexed.

Sequence	Prefix	Given name(s)	Surname	Suffix
1		Wiebke	Keim	

Queries are marked in the margins of the proofs, and you can also click the hyperlinks below. Content changes made during copy-editing are shown as tracked changes. Inserted text is in **red font** and revisions have a red indicator **▲**. Changes can also be viewed using the list comments function. To correct the proofs, you should insert or delete text following the instructions below, but **do not add comments to the existing tracked changes**.

## AUTHOR QUERIES

### General points:

1. **Permissions:** You have warranted that you have secured the necessary written permission from the appropriate copyright owner for the reproduction of any text, illustration, or other material in your article. Please see <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/permissions/usingThirdPartyMaterial.asp>.
2. **Third-party content:** If there is third-party content in your article, please check that the rightsholder details for re-use are shown correctly.
3. **Affiliation:** The corresponding author is responsible for ensuring that address and email details are correct for all the co-authors. Affiliations given in the article should be the affiliation at the time the research was conducted. Please see <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/preparation/writing.asp>.
4. **Funding:** Was your research for this article funded by a funding agency? If so, please insert ‘This work was supported by <insert the name of the funding agency in full>’, followed by the grant number in square brackets ‘[grant number xxxx]’.
5. **Supplemental data and underlying research materials:** Do you wish to include the location of the underlying research materials (e.g. data, samples or models) for your article? If so, please insert this sentence before the reference section: ‘The underlying research materials for this article can be accessed at <full link>/ description of location [author to complete]’. If your article includes supplemental data, the link will also be provided in this paragraph. See <<http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/preparation/multimedia.asp>> for further explanation of supplemental data and underlying research materials.
6. The **CrossRef database** ([www.crossref.org/](http://www.crossref.org/)) has been used to validate the references. Changes resulting from mismatches are tracked in **red font**.

QUERY NO.	QUERY DETAILS
<b>AQ1</b>	Please provide missing affiliations for the author “Wiebke Keim”.
<b>AQ2</b>	Please note that the Funding section has been created by summarising information given in your acknowledgements. Please correct if this is inaccurate.
<b>AQ3</b>	Please provide missing abstract and keywords.
<b>AQ4</b>	Please check the renumbering of the “Section” numbers throughout the text.
<b>AQ5</b>	Please provide missing “Table 1”.
<b>AQ6</b>	Please check whether the section number in the sentence “With regard to the topic of universalization...” is correct or provide revision.
<b>AQ7</b>	Please note that the use of “ibid” is against journal style. Please replace these with the relevant reference details.
<b>AQ8</b>	Please note that the use of “ibid” is against journal style. Please replace these with the

QUERY NO.	QUERY DETAILS
	relevant reference details.
<b>AQ9</b>	Please note that the use of “ibid” is against journal style. Please replace these with the relevant reference details.
<b>AQ10</b>	Please note that the use of “ibid” is against journal style. Please replace these with the relevant reference details.
<b>AQ11</b>	Please note that the use of “ibid” is against journal style. Please replace these with the relevant reference details.
<b>AQ12</b>	The disclosure statement has been inserted. Please correct if this is inaccurate.
<b>AQ13</b>	Please provide missing publisher name for reference “Akiwowo, 1990” references list entry.
<b>AQ14</b>	Please provide missing publisher for the reference “Kruse, (2005) 2010” references list entry.
<b>AQ15</b>	Please provide missing publisher name for reference “Mamdani, 1997” references list entry.
<b>AQ16</b>	Please provide missing publisher name for reference “Mignolo, 2004” references list entry.
<b>AQ17</b>	Please provide missing city for the reference “Rodriguez Medina, 2013” references list entry.
<b>AQ18</b>	Please provide missing page range for reference “Stenberg, 2004” references list entry.
<b>AQ19</b>	Please provide all the author names if there are four to ten authors, or provide the first seven authors followed by et al. if there are more than ten authors for the “Wallerstein et al. 1996” references list entry.

## How to make corrections to your proofs using Adobe Acrobat/Reader

Taylor & Francis offers you a choice of options to help you make corrections to your proofs. Your PDF proof file has been enabled so that you can edit the proof directly using Adobe Acrobat/Reader. This is the simplest and best way for you to ensure that your corrections will be incorporated. If you wish to do this, please follow these instructions:

1. Save the file to your hard disk.
2. Check which version of Adobe Acrobat/Reader you have on your computer. You can do this by clicking on the “Help” tab, and then “About”.

If Adobe Reader is not installed, you can get the latest version free from <http://get.adobe.com/reader/>.

3. If you have Adobe Acrobat/Reader 10 or a later version, click on the “Comment” link at the right-hand side to view the Comments pane.
4. You can then select any text and mark it up for deletion or replacement, or insert new text as needed. Please note that these will clearly be displayed in the Comments pane and secondary annotation is not needed to draw attention to your corrections. If you need to include new sections of text, it is also possible to add a comment to the proofs. To do this, use the Sticky Note tool in the task bar. Please also see our FAQs here: <http://journalauthors.tandf.co.uk/production/index.asp>.
5. Make sure that you save the file when you close the document before uploading it to CATS using the “Upload File” button on the online correction form. If you have more than one file, please zip them together and then upload the zip file.

If you prefer, you can make your corrections using the CATS online correction form.

## Troubleshooting

**Acrobat help:** <http://helpx.adobe.com/acrobat.html>

**Reader help:** <http://helpx.adobe.com/reader.html>

Please note that full user guides for earlier versions of these programs are available from the Adobe Help pages by clicking on the link “Previous versions” under the “Help and tutorials” heading from the relevant link above. Commenting functionality is available from Adobe Reader 8.0 onwards and from Adobe Acrobat 7.0 onwards.

**Firefox users:** Firefox’s inbuilt PDF Viewer is set to the default; please see the following for instructions on how to use this and download the PDF to your hard drive: [http://support.mozilla.org/en-US/kb/view-pdf-files-firefox-without-downloading-them#w\\_using-a-pdf-reader-plugin](http://support.mozilla.org/en-US/kb/view-pdf-files-firefox-without-downloading-them#w_using-a-pdf-reader-plugin)



## Islamization of knowledge – symptom of the failed internationalization of the social sciences?

AQ1 Wiebke Keim

### AQ3 1. Introduction

The internationalization of science, understood as the increasing circulation of people, ideas and materials and its consolidation through international institutional frameworks has been accompanied by critiques of knowledge divides (International Social Science Council 2010) or centre-periphery- relations (Keim 2008b, 2010b; Rodriguez Medina 2013) within and between countries and broader geographical regions caused by material and power differentials. The theoretical and epistemological consequences have been variously termed captive mind (Alatas 1974), Eurocentrism (Amin 1988; Quijano 2000), irrelevance (Alatas 2001), coloniality (Mignolo 2004) and North-Atlantic domination (Keim 2008a). Various alternatives to this status quo have been proposed – indigenization (Akiwowo 1990, 1999), theoretical parables (Sitas 2004), alternative discourses in Asian social science (Alatas 2006), southern theory (Connell 2007) and counter-hegemonic currents (Keim 2008b, 2011). Islamization of knowledge (IOK), at first sight, appears as yet another such alternative to Eurocentrism.

Within the social sciences, in particular, internationalization has also provoked debates around the coexistence, overlap or incompatibility of approaches not due to affiliation with mutually exclusive theoretical approaches but due to different historical and cultural origins. In a reflection on current epistemological challenges in sociology, Berthelot argued that since the end of the 1980s, 'the articulation between national sociologies and the common corpus of the discipline is not taken for granted anymore but has become a problematic link'. He acknowledged that 'behind political denunciations of hegemony, a direct or indirect questioning of the very pretension of sociology to elaborate a universal discourse can take shape' (Berthelot 1998, 2–3, transl. by author).

This paper critically engages with the IOK-project, concentrating on the domain of the social sciences. The project is interesting in as far as it has led to an institutional set-up of international dimensions that has hardly been taken into account within debates around the internationalization of the social sciences until now. The case is all the more interesting as it maintains clearly universalist ambitions as a wholesome alternative to the existing social sciences. While a commonly agreed upon explicit definition of IOK is still lacking, the common denominator among the various propositions for IOK is to subordinate scientific knowledge production to an overarching, holistic Islamic worldview. This challenges the fundamental distinction between science and religion on which the occidental modern sciences have built. Proponents believe that such a subordination or reintegration

of science and Islam is a precondition to the *universalization of science*. In my view, however, it is also revealing to analyse the development of the IOK-project as a phenomenon of *internationalization*. Not only are the scholarly networks and institutions built around IOK highly international; also, at least for the domain of the social sciences, IOK can be understood as a reaction to the failures of the overall internationalization of the disciplines under North-Atlantic domination. Therefore, my use of the term 'internationalization' refers to a paradoxical feature of IOK: While it presents itself at first hand as an internationalization project for, by and among scholars from Muslim-majority countries, financially and politically sustained by those countries, the very existence of the IOK-project highlights the crucial significance of their encounter with 'the West'.

## 2. Scope of the study

The internationalization of the social sciences beyond Europe and the US has largely been analysed as a distorted process that reinforced, along global 'knowledge divides' (International Social Science Council 2010), a fragmentation of the international scholarly community into centre(s) and peripheries that communicate on largely unequal terms. Keim (2008b, 2010b) conceptualized three dimensions of centre-periphery-relations – the dimension of material and institutional infrastructures (developed/underdeveloped social sciences); the dimension of reproduction (autonomous/dependent social sciences) and the dimension of international recognition and prestige (central/marginal social sciences). Rodriguez Medina (2013) analysed how the appropriation of foreign knowledge shapes peripheral sciences and the strategies of their scientific actors. Post-colonial and decolonial approaches problematize the fact that the knowledges from oppressed or sub-altern actors has been systematically silenced or underrated, resulting in coloniality of the current social sciences (to give but one example, Mignolo 2004). Keim conceptualizes the outcome of centre-periphery-relations as North-Atlantic domination within the social sciences: Central actors and institutions, due to their material infrastructure and widespread recognition, have the power to determine international research questions and agendas.

The indigenization debate, largely led by Nigerian sociologists (Akiwowo 1990, 1999), appeared as an early attempt to propose alternative theorizing drawing on ritual oral texts in Yoruba. Sitas' Parables project (2004) has taken this attempt to elaborate sociological theorizing on the basis of condensed forms or cultural oral knowledge a step further. Keim argues that theoretically relevant alternatives that constitute counter-hegemonic currents within international social sciences tend to emerge out of socially relevant endeavours, empirically illustrated by the example of South African labour studies (Keim 2008b, 2011). Other examples are given in 'Alternative discourses in Asian social science' (Alatas 2006), or the collection of voices in Connell's 'Southern theory' (Connell 2007). IOK, at first sight, appears as yet another such alternative to the existing mainstream social science.

The literature produced from within the contested 'IOK'-field is quantitatively massive and heterogeneous. Critics of the debate agree that it is overall mediocre in content (Abaza 2002, 1995; Stenberg 1996b). There are three substantial monographies on the debate from outsiders' perspectives. Stenberg (1996b), see also (Stenberg 1996a, 2004), a scholar in Islamic Studies, analyses the power struggles in defining Islam and the adequate way of basing science on Islam in the works and lives of four proponents of the

debate – Syed Hossein Nasr, Maurice Bucaille, Ziauddin Sardar and Ismail al-Faruqi. Only the latter was concerned more closely with the domain of the social sciences.<sup>1</sup> Abaza (2002), see also (Abaza 1993), from a sociology of knowledge perspective, traces the emergence of the IOK-project to the encounter of various Muslim scholars with the modern Western education system. She considers the majority of protagonists of the debate as ‘incorporated products of hybridization’ who, ‘as non-Marxist Third World intellectuals [...] have to dichotomise cultures into the repertoire of the we/them language, demonize the West and purify local and national traditions and religious habits [...]’ (Abaza 2002, 5). Consequently, attempts at IOK can be considered as a reversal of orientaling views and thus as a ‘culturalist and provincialist trap’ (Abaza 2002, 8).<sup>2</sup> Rather than being a full-fledged intellectual project, IOK is mainly a label of cultural difference in order to give Muslim scholars a chance within the international higher education and publication market. Abaza describes in detail the institutionalization of the debate – the following section is largely based on her insights. Edipoğlu (2008) proposes a comparative sociological analysis of the debate within the discipline of sociology in Malaysia, Iran and the Arab worlds, mainly through textual analysis of publications. His conclusion, sustained by theological as well as linguistic expertise beyond his sociological competency, is that IOK is torn between Western approaches and traditional Muslim scholarship. His core thesis is that Islamized sociology so far either corresponds to a disguised import of Western approaches or to traditional forms of Muslim scholarship that are, however, unsociological.

In the following, I will analyse the emergence and consolidation of the Islamization-project as symptomatic of the failed aspects of the internationalization of the social sciences. This requires outlining, beforehand, the history of international institutionalization of IOK. This historical account is based on secondary literature and more importantly, on grey literature (reports, institutional documentation and websites); I then focus on one key site of IOK, the International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) in Kuala Lumpur, as a case study. In Section 4 of the paper, the case of IIUM illustrates my point that IOK it as a symptom of the failed internationalization of the social sciences. In Section 5, I delineate three projects for universalization of the social sciences through IOK that result from analysis of interviews with protagonists at IIUM, realized in 2012.

A few methodological indications are required here. The aim of the interviews was to understand what is at stake for scholars who teach and research in the social sciences in an institution that has as its mission the IOK in all disciplines. The interviews were conducted as expert interviews. The expert interview is the first and foremost defined by the characteristics of the interviewee: The expert. While it is generally hard to define what justifies regarding an interviewee as an expert, the particularity of the encounters realized at Kuala Lumpur was that interviewer and interviewee belonged to the same group of ‘experts’, for example, we were colleagues, trained in the same or neighbouring scientific

disciplines (key data on interviewees is provided in Table 1). I would therefore prefer to call the interviews ‘expert talks’ or ‘expert conversations’ (as a translation of the German ‘Fachgespräch’, as opposed to ‘Experteninterview’; I base these considerations on Kruse [2005] 2010). However, those terms are less common in English and in order to avoid confusion, I stick to the term ‘expert interview’. I also specify my way of conducting the interviews: According to the approach of theory-generating expert interviews, I chose to proceed with a largely open form of interviewing, based on an interview guide with the aim to obtain narrative accounts, towards a more argumentative, engaged form of interviewing



in the course of the conversation with the aim to obtain scholarly argument, controversy and justification. It is noteworthy that the interviewees seemed to consider me largely as a competent colleague, however from a different academic environment, and therefore as an outsider and potential critic of the IOK-project. They also clearly saw me as a lay person regarding Islam throughout the interviews. The interviews, therefore, document a direct confrontation with an 'outsider's viewpoint', something which has not been done systematically, but seems to be necessary if the significance of the IOK-debate for the international social sciences is to be addressed.

The interview transcripts were coded with MaxQDA and analysed through thematic framework analysis (Ritchie and Lewis 2003) focussing on the ideas of internationalization (as a deductive category) and universalization (as an inductive category). Thematic framework analysis allowed for a differentiation of argumentative patterns within the debate. With regard to the topic of universalization, this included a thematic comparison of interviews, leading towards a typology of universalization projects presented in Section 5. Attempts to engage in scholarly discussion with proponents of the debate demonstrate the weakness that supposedly 'international social science' is going through as a result of its enduring North-Atlantic domination and of continuing critiques thereof: I conclude that common ground for critical discussion on an equal footing is difficult to find.

### 3. Historical overview of the institutionalization of the IOK-project

The emergence of the IOK-debate is usually traced back to the 'Mecca conference on education', held in 1977 at King Abdulaziz University under the auspices of King Khalid bin Abdulaziz.<sup>3</sup> The conference prolonged historical debates within various reform movements from 1800 onwards, intensified during the period of colonization of Muslim countries, around the fate of the Muslim worlds in the face of increasing Western power. The contemporary background of the 1977 meeting was the Cold War situation and Israel's defeat of the Arabs in 1967. The oil crises of 1973 and 1979 provided the Arab oil-producing countries with the means to export the 'Saudi Arabian petro-Islam ideology' to countries such as Pakistan, Sudan, Egypt and Malaysia, through financing various international networks and conferences (Abaza 2002, 192).<sup>4</sup> In the following years, the debate was certainly also affected by the Iranian Revolution (1979), led by the clergy, in the aftermath of which the social role of scholars and intellectuals had lost prestige and credibility: 'For many intellectuals, the Iranian Revolution was a trigger to revise ideas about the ambivalent role of religion in resisting despotic regimes. The notion of "theology of liberation" and terms like "leftist Islam" [...] became popular in the eighties' (Abaza 2002, 138).

#### 3.1. Origins: The 1977 Mecca conference

The 1977 Mecca conference prepared the ground for the IOK-debate as a truly international endeavour. While the report summarily mentions that 150 papers had been presented by 313 scholars from 40 different countries, the detailed list of participants, listed by country from which they travelled to Mecca, featured 123 Saudi Arabian participants as well as 182 international guests.<sup>5</sup> All participants had been invited 'in their personal capacity as individual scholars' (First World Conference on Muslim Education 1977, 7)

and in view of having all linguistic groups represented. Muslim Heads of State from eighteen countries had sent messages to the conference.<sup>6</sup> The encounter was attended by academic staff and students of the University, the public at large, all Ministers of the Saudi Arabian Government, the Ministers of Education of the Arab/Muslim Countries, all the Ambassadors of the Arab/Muslim World in the Kingdom, dignitaries from different parts of the Kingdom including some Royal Princes, as well as representatives of local and foreign press. Irrespective of its highly international composition, the location of the event also impacted strongly on the contents of debate – for example, special emphasis was put on the Shari'ah throughout the conference report,<sup>7</sup> which has not continued centre stage in the various institutional settings and circles of debate afterwards. Abaza (2002) makes it clear that Saudi Arabia was one of the main funders of the subsequent institutionalization, and interview partners indicated continued intellectual influence by this country, related to its funding power (O. Bakar and K. D. Crow).

The aim of the conference was to address the causes of the Muslim Ummah's current crisis. The key problem, according to the debates, was not economic exploitation, political oppression, racial discrimination or unequal development in international market systems, but education. More precisely, the Westernization of the education system as a consequence of Western domination, and the fact that 'European secular cultural concepts entered the Muslim mind' (First World Conference on Muslim Education 1977, 9). Furthermore, the bifurcation into modern, public, secular education as imposed through colonialism on the one hand, and the marginalized persistence of traditional, Islamic education on the other hand. The critique emphasized especially the uncritical copying of Western education in terms of structures and institutions, while the 'Western spirit', incompatible with and even dangerous to the Muslim mind, could not be transferred, resulting in mediocre educational settings.<sup>8</sup>

The ensuing educational split was analysed as the cause of identity loss and civilizational decline. The major challenge was thus to solve the problem of education by instilling truly Islamic education, based on Islamic concepts, in all branches of knowledge. The aim of this Islamic education is not 'knowledge for the sake of knowledge' as in the West, but 'the realization of complete submission to Allah on the level of the individual, the community and humanity at large' (ibid., 93), since '[...] science is a form of worship by which man is brought into closer contact with Allah' (ibid., 91).

More broadly, key speakers' hopes and expectations regarding the meaning of this conference were of the highest order and pointed far beyond the more concrete aim of education. According to Shaikh Jamjoom, Chairman of the Organizing Committee:

This conference is the foundation stone which His Majesty is laying for the grand edifice of an Islamic Renaissance, the Renaissance that will essentially be based on science, but science which is grounded on religion. It was on the same basis that the Islamic civilization of the past flourished exemplifying to humanity the prerequisites of progress and advancement. Today, humanity is in dire need of an alternative civilization. The signs of collapse and bankruptcy in the West are evident everywhere. [...]. But Islamic civilization will not flourish, unless modern science is harnessed to its service. (Jamjoom 1977, 80–1)

The call for Islamic education and science directly responded to a fundamental critique of Western science: The latter, based on the separation of the secular from the divine, had lost sight of the absolute and universal character of knowledge and values revealed by

God. The aim of the conference was therefore to 'prove to the world at large and to convince ourselves that it is possible to formulate new principles drawn from Islam and meet the challenge of modern technological civilization' (First World Conference on Muslim Education 1977, 13).

The report is yet ambiguous on how this should be achieved. This ambiguity reflects the presence of key proponents of diverging, even contradictory views: Syed M. Naquib al-Attas and his brother Hussein Alatas from Malaysia, Ismail al-Faruqi from Palestine/US and Syed Hossein Nasr from Iraq, among others, met there. Two opposing views that were to structure subsequent debates and institutional settings were already present in Mecca, in 1977, defended among others by the two scholars who were crucial in the subsequent institutionalization of the debate in Kuala Lumpur. In some parts of the report total replacement of Western concepts in (social) science by concepts drawn from the Quran and Sunnah and the creation of a new, radically different system of education is favoured. One key defendant of this option was al-Attas with his paper on dewesternization of knowledge. Other parts of the report suggest drawing a core knowledge from a combination of the 'perennial knowledge' of divine revelation on the one hand, and the 'acquired knowledge' from Western sciences on the other, for example, the envisaged solution is integration of Islamic and secular systems. This proposition was on the basis of al-Faruqi's paper on Islamization of the social sciences.<sup>9</sup>

It was in particular the committee on the social sciences that analysed the existing problems as a result of unequal and distorted internationalization:

The Social sciences taught in Muslim World universities are in most cases a copy of the West. The teachers are Western trained and receive no known additional training in Islamics after their exposure to Western views and theories. The textbooks are either the same as in Western universities or translations of them, or adaptations superficially arranged to present Western ideas in an Islamic garb. This situation has been alienating our youth from their religion, culture and country. The damage it has inflicted upon the personality of the Muslim student is an impediment to healthy progress and sound development. The Conference regards this situation as a threat to the very foundation of Islam. (ibid., 133, also 19)

The voice of S. H. Alatas, author of the famous text on the captive mind (1974), who was a member of the social sciences committee but did not follow the IOK-path later on, is clearly distinguishable between those lines.<sup>10</sup>

The conference report contains a series of recommendations formulated by the various committees. Besides rather vague ideas on the necessary development of Islamic education and science, they recognize the language issue as a major impediment to successful international communication: 'hence the problem of translation and the problem of international exchange of ideas and opinions among scholars' (ibid. 1977, 30). While participants clearly favoured generalized acquisition of the divine language Arabic, they were aware of the fact that the majority of Muslims did not command Arabic, and English as a second international language was accepted. Furthermore, they also recommended more consistent teaching of other major languages (Urdu, Persian, Turkish, Hausa, etc.).

Furthermore, the recommendations contain a series of technical suggestions in view of consolidating this educational project: The creation of an Implementation Unit at King Abdulaziz University; the foundation of a World Islamic Organization for Education, Culture and Sciences, of a World Centre or World Council for Islamic Education, of Islamic Universities in various sites (one in Japan for the Far East and one in Africa were

suggested), and of a well-staffed library that would give full access to the Islamic scientific heritage; furthermore, the development of bibliographic indices, of curricula, syllabi and textbooks, and of a scientific journal; stipends and scholarships for travel and for the organization of seminars and conferences. Equal access to education irrespective of class and colour were demanded as a basic human right, whereas female education in particular fields corresponding to the 'delicate nature of women' and to their particular role and function within society in separate institutions were recommended (ibid., 100–1).

The following section will outline the main international institutional efforts that followed the Mecca conference and will document in how far the emergence and institutionalization of the debate was the result of transnational circulation of scholars who defined themselves as 'Muslim' scholars, especially during their experiences within the US higher education system. What seemed to have motivated them more than contributing to original and relevant knowledge production, however, was the idea to serve the causes and revitalization of the Muslim Umma. 'IOK' was subsequently suggested as an appropriate strategy to obtain the desired results (AbūSulaymān [1982] 1995).

### 3.2. International networks and institutionalization

A group of Muslim social scientists, 'mostly trained and educated in American, Canadian, and British universities' (Barazangi et al. 2015, n.p.), pushing for a new concept of educational reform to address the intellectual problems facing Islamic thought, founded the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS) at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago in 1971 (according to alternative sources, in 1972). The AMSS was in continuity with the Muslim Students Association of the US & Canada, formed in 1963 at University of Illinois,<sup>11</sup> with support from the Egyptian-based Muslim Brotherhood (Ahmed-Ullah, Roe, and Cohen 2004). While the First International Conference on the Islamization of Knowledge, held in Lugano in November 1977, was convened by the MSA (Lappen 2010, 162), the second of this kind was organized by the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), in cooperation with the Islamic University of Islamabad and the National Hijrah Centenary Celebration Committee of Pakistan (International Institute of Islamic Thought 1982, viii). This shift in official organizers clearly indicates continuities in terms of persons and networks, as well as the international institutional consolidation of the IOK-project. The proceedings of the Second Conference on Islamization of Knowledge confirm that '(c)oncern for the Islamization of Knowledge has grown out of the experience of some of the committed Muslim thinkers, who were responsible for establishing Muslim student organizations in the United Kingdom and later in the United States of America'. The document mentions as the most prominent among them AbdulHamid AbuSulayman 'who pioneered the establishment of the AMSS' (International Institute of Islamic Thought 1982, vii).<sup>12</sup> The AMSS's first executive board featured Ismail al-Faruqi (US), Anis Ahmad (Pakistan), AbdulHamid AbuSulayman (Saudi Arabia), Al-Tijani Abugidiere (Sudan) and Abdul Haq Ansari (India). According to Barazangi et al., (2015, n.p.) '(o)ne of their major objectives was to reconstruct the social sciences on Islamic epistemic foundations'.

The creation of the AMSS was followed by the foundation of the IIIT in the US in 1981,<sup>13</sup> 'as an Islamic academic and research institute to usher in a new era by serving and working for the sole purpose of achieving the goal of Islamizing knowledge' (International Institute of Islamic Thought 1982, viii). The headquarters are located in Herndon, Virginia, in the

suburbs of Washington DC,<sup>14</sup> with offices and affiliates in Bangladesh, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the UK. Since the beginning of this study around 2010, there have been considerable changes in the overall structure of the Institute. The Cairo and Paris offices seem to have closed down in the meantime. In her 2002 publication, Abaza still noted that

the IIIT office in Cairo serves as a bridge to send Egyptian academics to Malaysia to teach Arabic, Qur'anic sciences, sociology and other subjects and helps to build contacts between the various tendencies of the Islamists in Egypt and Malaysia. [...] The IIIT in Cairo also sends academics to the USA. (2002, 145)

The interviews conducted in Malaysia confirm that there had been intensive contact between IIUM and IIIT in the earlier years, but seem to indicate that those connections have weakened recently.

Apart from the institutional links, the IIIT has also made an important contribution to publication and circulation of texts, often in both English and Arabic. The *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* (*AJISS*) is a peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary journal published by IIIT and AMSS since 1984. The interviews conducted in Malaysia confirmed that the *AJISS* has remained a favoured publication outlet for proponents of the IOK-debate until today. Besides the *AJISS*, the Institute also publishes the Arabic-language journal *Islamiyyat al-Ma'rifah*.

Several international meetings followed the 1977 Mecca conference: Six more conferences on Islamic education (Islamabad, 1980; Dhaka, 1981; Jakarta, 1982; Cairo, 1987; Cape Town, 1996; Kuala Lumpur, 2009), as well as four subsequent conferences on IOK (Lugano, 1977; Islamabad, 1982; Kuala Lumpur, 1984; Khartoum, 1987) (Adebayo 2012, 93; Akhir [1982] 1995, xii–xiii). It was on occasion of the First International Conference on the Islamization of Knowledge that al-Faruqi presented his paper 'Islamization of Knowledge: General Principles and Work Plan', re-edited by AbuSulayman in 1995 (AbuSulaymān [1982] 1995), the first major IIIT publication in the IOK series. This monograph laid down IIIT's plans for the upcoming years.

Abaza (2002, 144) rightly states that

(n)ot all participants [of IIIT activities, wk] are necessarily advocates of Islamizing knowledge but they are sympathetic to the general policies of Islamization. [...] Many of the intellectuals who publish through the IIIT channels are rather spokesmen of various contemporary Islamic trends, they have been labeled by Western observers, rightly or wrongly, as Islamic liberals.

Apart from the largely US- and Canada-based AMSS, and the international IIIT, the project of knowledge Islamization has also given rise to various Islamic universities in Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Niger and Sudan (Barazangi et al. 2015, n.p.). The available literature links two of them directly to the outcomes of the 1977 Mecca conference: The IIU in Islamabad (founded in 1980) and the IIUM in Kuala Lumpur (1983); both 'offered a unique laboratory situation for the movement to test its products' (Barazangi et al. 2015, n.p.). Edipoğlu, in his comparative study of the IOK-movement in Malaysia, Iran and the Arab worlds, confirms that in contrast to the debate's rather independent evolution in the two latter regions, the IIUM was directly based on the theoretical framework of the IIIT and of al-Faruqi (Edipoğlu 2008, 7). This is why one of the interview partners dismissively describes the IIUM, together with the IIU Islamabad, as 'a project

of the IIIT in Herndon, Virginia. This is the Islamization of knowledge, you know, machine or the company that produces these things' (K. D. Crow). The fact that the second rector of IIUM, AbuSulayman, who had been involved in AMSS from its beginnings, was sent directly from IIIT Washington to IIUM and acted ten years as its rector, confirms the close international ties of Kuala Lumpur's institutions (A. al-Ahsan).

### 3.3. Institutionalization in Malaysia

Following the 1977 Mecca conference, Kuala Lumpur emerged as a major site of institutionalization. The IIUM, founded in 1983, has as its key mission to work on the IOK in all scholarly and disciplinary fields, as 'a fulfillment of a long-felt need of the Muslim community in Malaysia for a model of Islamic university education that can serve as an alternative to the existing conventional education based on the Western and Secular model' (IIUM 2013, 8). Islamization and internationalization are two of the four core missions of the institution.<sup>15</sup> The foundation of IIUM was sponsored by the Organization of the Islamic Conference (since 2011 Organisation of Islamic Cooperation) and, apart from Malaysia, by seven countries.<sup>16</sup> It stands for Malaysia's image of maintaining international relations with the Muslim worlds.

Apart from the international connections, its local significance merits attention. Following the 1969 Sino-Malay riots, Islamic revivalism grew in Malaysian universities. Regionally, the call for Islamization also mirrored the promotion of Confucianism and Asian values by the Chinese-majority neighbour Singapore (Abaza 2002, 67–8). Mahathir, Prime Minister (1981–2003), usually presented as a modernist secularist, forged strategic alliances with Islamic movements to counteract the Islamic opposition in the country. 'The official declaration of the "Islamization of the government machinery" took place in 1984' (Abaza 2002, 65). Abaza analyses IIUM's foundation as 'intertwined with Anwar Ibrahim's rise in politics'. Ibrahim, a leader of the National Union of Malaysian Muslim Students (ABIM) at the department of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, in the 1960s, a student of al-Attas and author of the 'The Asian Renaissance', was coopted by Mahathir into the state apparatus. IIUM's creation could thus be seen as a political move to enhance credibility and popularity of both Ibrahim and Mahathir in face of the Islamic opposition as well as within international circles (Abaza 2002, 66–70). al-Faruqi had maintained close contacts with ABIM, had advised Mahathir during his early years in government, and seemed to have brought Mahathir and Ibrahim together in the early 1980s (Abaza 2002, 82).

S. M. N. al-Attas, an army officer who had studied at the Royal Military Academy in Sandhurst, England (1951–1955), obtained his MA from McGill, his PhD from London, and a strong opponent of communism, was at the origin of the second key site in Kuala Lumpur. As the Dean of the Arts, Faculty of University of Malaya, al-Attas was a crucial figure in stimulating students to read contemporary revivalist literature. He favoured a knowledge-project oriented towards dewesternization and construction of a radical alternative, based on the metaphysical premises of Islam, instead of a fusion of secular and Islamic knowledge, as proposed by al-Faruqi.<sup>17</sup> In 1987, with the assistance and funding of A. Ibrahim who recognized him as his teacher, he achieved the creation of the Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), a post-graduate institute in Kuala Lumpur, where he was appointed as Professor of



Islamic Thought and Civilization, and the Founder-Director of the Institute, in 1988. Despite the ideological differences between ISTAC and IIUM, the two structures have always been institutionally tied together (Abaza 2002, 89ff.). al-Attas' intellectual programme and his way of managing ISTAC made appear the latter as an autonomous body throughout many years:

Actually [ISTAC] was established as an autonomous institution within IIUM system and the founder at that time was a Malaysian intellectual [...] of independent thinking, so he didn't follow rigid outline given by the ministry [...] and he happened to be teacher of many political leaders here and he enjoyed that confidence. – That was Naquib al-Attas – Naquib al-Attas, that's right. So because of that he has a lot of freedom and he established this institution accordingly with a lot of autonomy. But then when he became over aged, slowly there was a change in the government also, so it was taken by the university through the Ministry of Higher Education. As a result of that now it is totally under the IIUM system. That autonomy is not there anymore. (A. al-Ahsan)

The official IIUM history is that

[u]pon ISTAC's request to be autonomous, the Majlis of IIUM granted the autonomy status in 1991. Thenceforth ISTAC operated as an autonomous body affiliated to IIUM. The autonomy status came to an end in 2002 and ISTAC became a Kulliyah of IIUM, subject to the university's rules and regulations.<sup>18</sup>

Among secular intellectuals of Muslim countries, the IOK-project is perceived largely as 'a petro-Islam Washington import', which according to Abaza, 'is not an erroneous statement', but needs to be nuanced:

Still, the local variations tell us that Mahathir, while referring at earlier stages to the language of Islamization, has in recent years increasingly adopted an ambivalent attitude towards Middle Eastern influences in Southeast Asia. He certainly is very much aware of how diverse Malaysian Islam would be from the Middle East. (Abaza 2002, 217)

The interviews confirm that while AbuSulayman was rector, there was 'good coordination', but that since the later 1990s, 'the nature of coordination has come down now little bit'. The reason given for those developments was that at IIIT, 'they have their own agenda there, they are doing a job internationally and the kind of job this university needed was already done and became more of Malaysian institution then'. Furthermore, 'many [international] staff also left after the 1997/98 economic crisis' (A. al-Ahsan).

In the case of Malaysia, accordingly, key figures of the Islamization debate have been in influential positions within academia and close to the government, as consultants, for instance – which is not the case in other countries where the debate has been taking place. To conclude this section, IIUM is clearly an outcome of institutional efforts at an international level, in coordination and negotiation with the Malaysian intellectual and political scene.

#### 4. IOK – symptomatic of the failures of internationalization

In this section, drawing some conclusions from the historical overview and generating insights from the interviews, I analyse the institutionalization of the IOK-project as a symptom of the failures of internationalization in the social sciences. Key information on the interviewees is presented in Table 1.

#### 4.1. IIUM as a case study: A comfort zone for international Muslim students and staff

The IIUM today offers over 150 academic programmes in 15 Kulliyahs (equivalent to Faculties) and Institutes. Alongside conventional faculties are the unique Ahmad Ibrahim Kulliyah of Laws (AIKOL) to train judges and lawyers able to practice in the civil and Shariah court systems; and the Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge & Human Sciences (KIRKHS), where most of the interviews were conducted. The latter is the largest Kulliyah in the University with over 4000 students.<sup>19</sup>

Students from 125 countries are enrolled at IIUM.<sup>20</sup> A 2012 brochure informs that since 1987, 'there have been 60,785 graduates and postgraduates who have successfully completed their studies [...]. Out of this, 53,241 were from Malaysia while 7,530 were International students' (IIUM 2012, n.p.). According to the Deputy Dean of ISTAC, it had been 'a deliberate policy to keep the ratio at least 15 per cent internationals' as a result of the decisions of the 1977 Mecca conference and the foundational set-up of IIUM (A. al-Ahsan).

Two quotes briefly summarize what makes IIUM an attractive place to study for international students: 'It's cheaper, it's in English, [...] they can go here, they can't get to Europe or America because they are Muslims and they are terrorist suspects. You know, it's hard for students to study in the West now' (K. D. Crow). A paper by Nigerian students confirms this view:

The aftermath of the popular 9/11 attack on the US had made many Western countries to introduce stringent measures against emigrants and students going to those countries. Malaysia and other countries in Asia took the advantage and invested in international higher education by providing excellent facilities with moderate tuition fees charges that attracted many students from other developing countries. Many students from Africa, especially the Nigerians, continue to take the advantage provided by the Malaysian higher education sector. [...] One of the most prepared universities of choice by Nigerians is the famous and prestigious International Islamic University Malaysia [...]. (Umar, Noon, and Abdullahi 2014, 161)<sup>21</sup>

Having said that, the label as 'Islamic' university sometimes leads to rejection on behalf of non-Muslim students. IIUM staff reports that non-Muslim students and staff sometimes perceive them as educating terrorists (P. R. Makol-Abdul).

Apart from the financial aspects, the fact that the medium of instruction at IIUM is English – Arabic is taught in language courses and sometimes used for courses related to Islamic sciences – represents another advantage. This makes IIUM an attractive location for non-Arab-language Muslim students (P. R. Makol-Abdul), and the teaching staff seem to enjoy the highly international student body. That English remains dominant means that the ambition of the Mecca conference to strengthen Arabic and to support other Muslim languages has largely failed.

Financial considerations have certainly also influenced international staff's decisions to move to Kuala Lumpur from the very beginning:

[...] we should understand that during the seventies a large number of academics in Egypt, in order to [...] maintain middle class living standards [...] opted, due to the ridiculously low Egyptian salaries, to migrate to the oil producing countries. One could view working in Malaysia and its new institutions as a second Kuwait or Saudi Arabia for expatriate academics. (Abaza 2002, 192)



However, parallel to the growing Malaysian self-confidence and weakening of international ties with IIUM stated above, and to the devaluation of the Malaysian Ringgit in the course of the economic crisis around 1998, many former international staff left the country (A. al-Ahsan).

Beyond the financial aspects, what seems to attract scholars into IIUM is a certain feeling of belonging through the creation of what I would call a nearly exclusive 'comfort zone' for Muslims. Some interviewees express that kind of thought, like, for instance, J. Farooqi:

As it is an Islamic university, [...] so many persons, you know, [...] have faith. Ehm. Here, nobody is there who is against Islam. [...] Many persons, actually a majority of the people, believe that Islam is the only right path. And their Islamic ideology, Islamic standard of morality is good. If you will follow that, then we get benefit of that.

#### **4.2. IOK as an outcome of the failures of internationalization**

The IOK-project has been symptomatic of the failed internationalization of the social sciences from the outset: The whole debate developed out of the unhappy encounter of Muslim students and scholars with Western or Western-style institutions. The international movement of students from peripheries into centres of the international scholarly arena has historically been unilateral and, despite the currently observable fractions into a multi-centred international academic field, the centre-periphery-dynamics persist (International Social Science Council 2010). The IOK-debate thus originated in the unidirectional flow of students from Muslim-majority countries into North-Atlantic universities, especially for higher degrees (MA, PhD).<sup>22</sup> At the same time, the universities in home countries, where most of them obtained their first degrees, were similarly modelled on the structure of North-Atlantic universities, mainly through colonial imposition of the higher education system, in other cases – Turkey, Egypt – through the orientation of reformist elites towards Europe from the eighteenth century onwards. The internationalization of higher education, with regard to the Muslim-majority countries, did not allow all participants to integrate their views, aspirations and experiences, but was led according to North-Atlantic standards.

The core actors of the 1977 Mecca conference were products of this situation:

So you look into the list of the people who attended that conference [Mecca 1977]. You will find that all of them were graduates actually of that colonial system of education. It's not those who were coming from the traditional [Islamic] system. So these people were speaking on behalf of a dying phenomenon [laughs], which is the traditional knowledge that maintains actually the identity [of the Muslim? incomprehensible]. It also reflected the crisis that these people were going through when they were educated in these institutions, in parallel. (I. Zein)

In addition to that, regarding the social sciences in particular, internationalization was affected by the disciplinary divides at the core of the Eurocentricity of the social sciences and consolidated an unequal global division of scientific labour (Keim 2010b): While the 'core disciplines' (Wallerstein et al. 1996) – sociology, political science and economics – pretended to produce general theory-building, this endeavour was hardly empirically based on the social and historical experience of the Muslim worlds and did not integrate their intellectual production. The latter, in turn, was covered by those disciplines that dealt

with the 'other' humans and 'other' societies: Anthropology, orientalism, Islamic studies (Keim 2008a). This disciplinary division directly affected the international circulation of students and scholars, from Muslim-majority societies into Islamic Studies Departments of North America and Europe, bypassing the core disciplines where their knowledge did not make any difference (Keim 2010a). In the same vein that African scholars have criticized the existence of Anthropology and African Studies (Mamdani 1997; Mafeje 2001), IOK-proponents criticized the existence of Oriental Studies in universities of the Muslim worlds:

Indeed, it is indicative of their decadence that Muslims have instituted 'departments of Islamic studies' in their universities. These are always copies of departments of Oriental studies in Western universities, where the study of Islam is the specialization of the few whom society needs for administering its relations with the Muslim world. (AbūSulaymān [1982] 1995, 17)

Those (neo)colonial institutional structures were perceived as a serious impediment to the flourishing of Muslim intellectual creativity:

But throughout the time, perhaps 50 years we are under the colonial period, where the graduates [...] were not allowed actually to use their rational faculty, the way they wanted to use it. Because if they will use the way they wanted to use, they will be kicked out of the university. They will be considered as rebels, isn't it? As rebels. [...] So our teachers who told us sociology or whatever were in that dilemma. I mean they have a different color of skin but they were forced to think in that way if they want to be part of the system, or if they want to be promoted. And they transferred that kind of dilemma to us, the second generation. We were not raised during the colonial era. But our teachers were. Okay? So they transferred that dilemma to us. Now we are wrestling with that dilemma. (I. Zein)

The supposedly general theory of established social sciences did not encompass the experience of students and scholars from Muslim countries:

First of all, for me, I'm not part of the European history, okay? To take that framework as given. [...] Secondly, that shows me that, you know, you have to take this way and this path in order to be quote 'model'. 'Model' like whom? Like European modernism, this is all, you know. [...] Now, this is not me. [...] It's not my history. [...] It is not my destination, it is not my future. My future is not like I want to be a European. (I. S. El-Hassan)

Studying in (neo)colonial and later in North-Atlantic institutions thus provoked a profound experience of alienation:

[...] your self-identity, when it is what it is, that would make it authentic. When it is a kind of a disguised self-identify, having a mask, then it's not an authentic one. – But [...] how does that relate to the practice of social science [...]? – [...] just imagine the dilemma that we have, okay? When I go and study in US, and I put on the US spectacles, okay. Then I'll see everybody through that spectacle, okay? And that spectacle is not me. So I'm seeing the world through the eyes of somebody else. And I assume that is me. (I. Zein)<sup>23</sup>

He continues: 'Paradoxes when you see the other. But when the other is inside you [...]. Because when I see the other over there, the other is me'.

Those accounts demonstrate that the felt need to Islamize the social sciences was directly linked to the experience of students and scholars who moved between countries and between institutions. The lived experience of alienation by exposure to the existing international social sciences provoked a counter-move. I consider this reaction to be symptomatic of the failures in the way the disciplines have been internationalized so far.

The fact that the scholars in question decided to argue for 'Islamization' of the disciplines matches my earlier observations of the structural pressures that the international social science arena exerts upon southern intellectuals to focus on the local/particular, defined through identity and culture, and towards exoticism (Keim 2008b, 2010b). Sitas formulates the argument clearly:

[...] there is a serious pressure to define ourselves as 'different' in the world context of ideas. Trying to be more than peripheral exotica in the 'global cultural bazaar' of social science, we are bumping up against the niche trading tents we have been offered. [...] Of course, we can be cynical and say that even here very few of us are considered good enough to be included, like Ali Farka Toure and Youssou N'Dour in the category called 'world music', as decorative additions. (2002, 20)

It can be argued that to position themselves within the international arena, proponents of IOK have carved out a cultural niche, fashioned according to the existential and identity needs of Muslim scholars, and in accordance with the functioning of the international academic system. This is Abaza's main finding: 'if they really want to have a 'voice' and be invited to international conferences, [they] have to verbalise differences' (Abaza 2002, 5). Similarly, she analyses the institutional efforts of the IOK-debate as a response to the tight international academic job market:

The function of these new Islamic institutions is to provide market outlets and hard currency for the increasing number of Third World PhD holders from Western universities. The 'language of difference' and the debasing of Western values becomes the ticket to acceptance as the 'Other' voice. They are left with few alternatives, but to be inverted culturalists themselves. (Abaza 2002, 219)

However, listening to proponents of IOK reveals that their project represents more than a local or regionally limited cultural niche. The Mecca conference aspired at an internationalization project of its own. In accordance with the quote of Berthelot that opened this paper, the critiques of Western social sciences and of the captive mind (Alatas 1974)<sup>24</sup> do challenge the articulation between various instantiations of the disciplines' common corpus. Examples from the interviews abound:

Because [...] tomorrow I'm going to teach philosophy of science in my class and I go and take a book from the library. For me that book does not reflect the truth and reality. That book is totally developed based on western and within western paradigm. So that book is against the truth and against the reality as a whole. As a whole, I cannot introduce that book to my students. (M. Mumtaz Ali)

Or put differently:

[...] one of the rationales behind the [...] discourse of the Islamization of the social sciences is that the social sciences of the West are not really relevant for the Muslim world, because they are not really constructed by the Muslim and not using the Islamic perspectives. In that sense, they are not relevant. In other words, they don't serve our interest. They serve Western interest. (M. K. Hassan)

At least strategically, such arguments resonate with the broader anti-Eurocentric and post-colonial mood in the scholarly communities of the global South:

I remember that when we discussed 'we need a new paradigm shift that different from Eurocentric approach', I received some support from Africa, from India and Latin America. And this

you can put it in the context of post-colonial approach[es], those who are not interested to be influenced by the European approach and focus on the issue of indigenization of their own history. This trend was very strong in Africa in the '60s and '70s and influenced by the nationalist movements in different parts of the world, whether in India or Latin America. (A. I. Abu Shouk)

Yet, the IOK-project goes further than deconstructive critiques of the established canon or particularistic additions. In fact, the project as formulated by my interview partners is not only one of internationalizing the social sciences. It is one of universalizing them: Islamization means 'not indigenization of knowledge, but, universalization of knowledge' (I. Zein). He adds: 'What we are saying: Enough is enough! Europe, you've got to do away with that element in the way you do social sciences and you've got to open up and have a kind of a universalistic vision' (I. Zein).

### 5. Three universalist projects within the IOK-debate

The epistemic ambition of IOK is to remove the term 'universalism' from the definatory power of the 'West' and to make it the ultimate aim of the IOK-project itself (Edipoğlu 2008, 117). Regarding this universalist ambition, at least three fundamentally different patterns of argumentation emerge out of the interviews.

#### 5.1. All-embracing universalisation

The first argumentative move is certainly surprising for the non-Muslim scholar, and it is elegant, at least at first sight: All true science *is* Islamic science. 'I mean, if you are really committed to finding the truth, it will naturally be Islamic' (A. al-Ahsan). Examples given are humanism and rationalism of the European Renaissance, Immanuel Kant for instance, who was truly Islamic:

In my view [silence] humanism and rationalism promoted ideas which were very Islamic the way they challenged the church, the control of the church. The way they promoted rationalism, in my understanding Qur'an promotes that. And therefore if western civilization is committed to its fundamental values it will be very Islamic.

The result is that 'Islamization' as a label is unnecessary: 'That is the point I'm making [...]. I don't have to claim that I'm an Islamic social scientist. I'm a social scientist looking for the truth [...]. That's all I will [...] say so' (A. al-Ahsan).

If this way of turning the argument around appears smooth at first sight, however, 'if that is what is meant, then there is no argument! [...] Then we are back to square one' (S. F. Alatas). If epistemologically speaking there is no argument, this way of turning the viewpoints around has at least the merit to create perplexity. And, if North-Atlantic scholars might feel uncomfortable with their appropriation or monopolization under the Islamic framework, the argument opens up space for debate instead of closing it up.

#### 5.2. Universalization through integrating multiple intellectual traditions

The second pattern of argumentation represents an internationally compatible programme:

So how can we get to a point where [pause] we can [pause] be away from western [...] not be away, but at least let us say, have an Islamic perspective based on Islamic conceptualization of, you know, the world, the universe and relationships between human [...] without being completely disengaged from the current [pause] western theories of social sciences [pause].  
(I. S. El-Hassan)

The universalization of existing social sciences is achieved through drawing on and integrating a multiplicity of traditions of social thought that might provide general insight. The existing deficient or distorted approaches are thus challenged, complemented and improved. Over time, such an additive, cumulative effort could lead to truly universal social sciences. The idea is not one of opposition or exclusivity, but one of enrichment through drawing fully on the diverse experiences of human societies and their science histories:

Can we on the intellectual, conceptual etc. talk to each other without you being Christian me Muslim or whatever, you know, as a barrier for. [...] So that is why Ibn Khaldun really was very compelling and very convincing to non-Muslims, and [...] they can use it for general insights, for general understanding [...]. (I.S. El-Hassan)

This approach, as opposed to the others who remain at a very abstract level and literally (or orally, for that matter) refuse to illustrate their point through concrete examples of social science practice, is the only one that mentions feasible procedures and empirical examples of how this could be achieved: Not only Ibn Khaldun's 'Muqaddima' is mentioned as a useful source for alternative conceptualizations grounded in the Islamic history of ideas, without insisting on its necessarily exclusive doctrinal dimensions. Other classics, such as al-Biruni's writings on India, for instance, his conceptualization of Indian creeds and spiritual practices, are further examples to be integrated into the general body of social science thought.

This argumentation also puts forth in a more differentiated manner the limits of existing social sciences, as expressed and acknowledged by themselves:

[...] a new way of criticism, I think, to some extent relates to the fact that western sociology in itself is now [...] incapable of understanding western societies in themselves. Okay? [...] So what I'm deriving out from this, you know, it is not simply [...] like looking at [...] potentially non-western sociology [...] looking at [...] history of ideas, is not simply that. But what we now see, in front of our eyes, is that there is something wrong with [western social sciences], [...] we have to look into that and to see whether there is a possibility to find some other ways of understanding better our [...] human societies in general, at one, rather than through this kind of western sociological theories which we have now, with the inbuilt [...] biases of Eurocentricism, [...] biases of [...] superiority [...]. So, have we come really to a stage where we can have comparable traditions [silence] of knowledge that can be useful to all? [silence].  
(I. S. El-Hassan)

One argument which relates to this ambition, and which I cannot fully outline here, is that Muslim scholars, because of their experience of alienation, are in a position of epistemic advantage to achieve the universalization of the social sciences (see the quotes from I. Zein in Section 6). Another related argument is that the observable multiple realities – beyond the traditional themes of the social sciences, extending towards the body, emotions, spirituality, interaction with nature, etc. – cannot be understood through existing social science frameworks. Instead, those multiple realities require multiple perspectives:

And so this is a whole junk of [laughs], you know [...], part of human life which is not really, so can we talk about [...] this kind of reality? So what truths are we talking about if it does not include these multiple realities? And I think now sociology in general is now moving into an arena of [...] multiplicity of realities. Okay? [...] by showing [...] that even empirical reality is far more complex [...] than what our theories up to now can inform us on [...]. (I. S. El-Hassan)

This argumentation links into recent works on ontopolitics of knowledge (Savransky 2012).

To sum up, the project of universalizing through diversifying perspectives should be reflective of Muslim experiences but at the same time generally comprehensible. This formulation matches Sitas' ambition with his 'parables project', that similarly aims at being 'arrogantly local', yet 'universally comprehensible' (2004).

### 5.3. Strong universalism

Finally, the interviews highlight a third way of claiming universalism for Islamized social sciences. This third argumentation equals a strong programme for a single and total universalism, independent of and superior to the existing social sciences. This universalism is based on the belief in God the all-knowledgeable and on the Qur'an as the only source of revealed divine and therefore pure and true knowledge:

First of all, this book as you open, says that: this book is given by all knowledgeable, all wise, all aware authority and power. No single book in this world contains this kind of sentences. No scientist, no philosopher, Plato, Aristotle whosoever has made this claim that he is all knowledgeable, all wise!

Furthermore,

This book is not a book of a particular community. This book is by creator of this universe for all mankind, all human being. This book which is meant for human beings' reflection is totally ignored and marginalized. [silence] Why? Why? Why no western scholar is quoting this book? (M. Mumtaz Ali)

The social sciences, if they intend to produce knowledge, have to build on and be in consonance with the Qur'an; otherwise, they will end up in mere speculation, such as conventional social sciences: 'There are two metaphysical premises as I told you. One is based on knowledge, one is based on speculation' (M. Mumtaz Ali).

This argument condemns the premise of a separation between religion and science and the exclusion of the former from the latter as a specific Western narrowing of vision. Instead, science, as any other human activity, is to be relocated within and under the overall framework of Islam, which is equalled to a 'Weltanschauung' more than to the Western understanding of 'religion' (M. Mumtaz Ali). For the social sciences, a true universalism based on God's revealed knowledge is the only means to overcome the biases and idiosyncratic limitations of the conventional social sciences: The Qur'an alone is valid as a neutral source 'by creator of this universe for all mankind' (see above), beyond the particular interests and power games of human life (Edipoğlu 2008, 117). This pattern of argumentation also relates directly to a supposed universality of Islamic values as opposed to the conventional social sciences view, according to which social norms and values are social constructs, which leads to a relativistic stance.

What makes this strong programme slippery is the fact that its universalism is based first and foremost on the premise of divine revelation – and that this premise is particular

to the community of believers. Therefore, the strong programme loses validity and its presumably universalist potential for supersubjectivity (as a correlate to intersubjectivity in conventional social science methodology) becomes invalid as soon as it has to dialogue with non-Muslims. Extracts from two interviews illustrate this:

770 But then does it mean that the history from an Islamic perspective as you describe it can only  
be practiced by Muslims scholars? – No, I'm not saying can be practiced by Muslim scholars. If  
[...] you accept, even if you are not Muslim, if you accept the Quran as a revealed text, then  
when you look at the story of [...] when the viceroy of Yemen tried to destroy the Kabaa, the  
775 argument in the Quran is that his forces [...] have been destroyed by an unseen force. If you  
put it in a Quranic context you would expect it, if you would like to judge it in a very ration-  
alistic perspective, you should reject it. It is a kind of false story, nobody will accept. – So if  
somebody [...] does not respect the Quranic revealed knowledge he cannot practice that  
sort of perspective. – That's right. – It's a precondition. – That's right, that's right. (A. I. Abu  
Shouk)

780 But as a non-Muslim, I see that I have to subscribe to a whole set of principles before I'm able  
to practise the science that you are advocating. – No I didn't say this. I told you [...] you go to  
library, take the books. What is the scientific criteria? Scientific criteria is that, you should  
exhaust yourself in collecting the data. [...] If you have left only one single article, it means  
your data is not a scientific data. You have set this principle, this rule. [...] but unfortunately  
785 as I told you, we have already excluded this book [the Qur'an] – But you are not putting this  
book next to the others at the same level, you are putting it up. – That is right, my dear sister  
[laughs]. [...] – Which means that I as a non-Muslim cannot do it. Doesn't it mean that? – I don't  
put blame on you. I don't put blame on you. (M. Mumtaz Ali)

Others criticize this exclusivity:

790 [...] what I really take against this process of [...] Islamization of knowledge [...], it mostly, sort  
of, either reiterating what Muslims [...] usually don't disagree with. That is [...] God is one,  
there is unity in the universe and [...] human beings have to have taqwa [...] all of these  
kinds of things. Okay? Which Muslims don't really sort of [...] quarrel with that. [...] Okay?  
But it seems like for the non-Muslim, okay, to be able to understand it or to practice it [...],  
he or she has to become a Muslim. – Mhm. – Okay? [laughs] Which is very absurd. (I. S. El-  
Hassan)

795 Since this strong programme of universalism is based on a premise that is not shared  
within the international scholarly community, it is incompatible with international social  
sciences as they stand. Concepts that are completely alien to the existing social sciences  
are integrated into the Islamized social sciences approach: Instead of intersubjectivity and  
800 limitation to empirical data, the truth of revelation takes centre stage. Belief, faith in God  
and the consciousness that social life evolves in a created order full of signs of God are at  
the basis of this version of Islamized social sciences (Edipoğlu 2008, 9–10). This fundamen-  
tally different understanding is evident, for example, in the very definition of 'society':

805 That final revelation [the Qur'an] makes it abundantly clear that societies did not come into  
existence due to their physical needs. Rather they came into existence to fulfill the pledge,  
the oath which they have taken with their creator Allah subhanahu wataala that when they  
are sent to this earth, on this earth, they will follow their guidance. Allah's guidance. To  
fulfill the guidance of God, they have developed civilized societies. (M. Mumtaz Ali)

810 The proponents of strong universalism realize that their Islamized social science prac-  
tice is incompatible with scientific standards in the international arena. They try to



superficially adopt established scientific norms in order to be able to communicate with non-adherents to their programme and to achieve recognition for their work. Mumtaz Ali, for instance, explains that he has to provide a literature review in his works, although for him it is obvious that in any case the Qur'an is superior to any of the works quoted:

[...] we have set one of the fundamental criteria to be scientific [...]. I want to fulfil that definition so that you should not tell me that Dr Mumtaz that you are not scientific. – Ya, but the requirement is useless then. If you believe that this Qur'an is all knowledgeable and it's true, then you actually don't need any other book. Scientific requirement or not, I mean what do you bother about it? – Unless, unless, you are right, we make a drastic change in our definition of scientific. (M. Mumtaz Ali)

This statement shows that the discussant is aware of the delicate status of practising Islamized social sciences with regard to recognition within the international arena. The current practice is a half-way solution, between two opposing and incompatible requirements. They admit that they do not have the power to drastically change the definition of scientific standards for the whole of the social sciences. This also means that, as soon as the strong programme of universalism leaves the comfort zone of IOK-institutions and favourable peers, it appears as a mere particularism, and to that of a doubtful nature.

The argumentative way out then is to shift again from universalism to pluralism, meaning the demand that mutually incompatible approaches should be left to coexist. Since a neutral and therefore universally valid social science does not exist, no argument against an explicit inclusion of doctrinal premises and concepts into the Islamized approach can hold:

[...] you have to substantiate in the western context and of course in scientific communities, you don't talk about religion and God. So you talk about things where people can accept. But here God, religion is very important. And if your discourse is going against that, then people don't quite appreciate it. So it's a different, you know, social, you might say, norms and intellectual norms but we have to allow for this, if you are talking about pluralism or plurality of views, well okay, this is it. I mean, you have to be prepared if you go to Mecca, then women cannot drive. Just have to accept that. That's the norm in Mecca. (M. K. Hassan)

## 6. Conclusion

Behind the overall label of Islamization, I have delineated three different programmes for universalizing the social sciences. While the first one plays with the definatory monopoly over ownership of universalism, the second one appears as a feasible move towards internationalizing the social sciences not only through international institutions and networks, but substantively, through drawing on a plurality of histories of thought. Universalization is the ultimate aim of an intellectual process that recovers the Islamic intellectual heritage and seeks to integrate it into international debate and theory-building. The third takes universalism as given through divine revelation. It is incompatible with existing social sciences and their epistemological foundations. Maybe more than that, it precludes dialogue and controversy with other approaches.

One may ask why at all proponents of the strong programme adhere to the label of social sciences. This would lead us into another discussion around the meaning and prestige of the existing social science system which I cannot develop here. Yet, proponents'



appropriation and even attempted monopolization of the label of 'social science' raises fundamental questions regarding the international scholarly endeavour.

Since the practitioners of IOK self-define as social scientists, don't they have to comply with the established norms and standards of social science practice? How far can one go in arguing for pluralism within the social sciences? The emergence and institutional consolidation of the highly international IOK-project is symptomatic of the fact that the international entirety of social scientists (the term 'community' seems to become obsolete) has lost its common ground. It has become difficult to engage with those matters in credible ways and to take decisions over exclusion of certain practices from the arena of the social sciences. Of course, we can be pragmatic and state that the established institutional settings channel people and ideas to such a degree that IOK can coexist in parallel to mainstream social sciences, without further requirement to settle those issues. This is by the way tragic for the second universalization project. But once proponents of strong universalism and non-adherent social scientists start a conversation, as I attempted to do, the limits for mutual acceptance become shortly obvious. Who has the scientific credibility to reinstate acceptance of a 'common corpus' in such a situation? It is hardly reassuring that '[f]or many Arab intellectuals, that the Islamization of knowledge is largely carried on by charlatans is hardly news' (Abaza 2002, 192), since secular intellectuals as products of the (neo)colonial secular education systems are perceived as Westernized and no less biased than their North-Atlantic colleagues.

The push towards Islamization has occurred in a period where post-modern laissez-faire has inhibited serious scientific debate.<sup>25</sup> In more recent years, identity-discourses have been fashionable. The achievements of post-colonial interventions have made those North-Atlantic academics who feel concerned by international debates aware of their limitations and vulnerabilities and apologetic of any voice raised from the global South. In the same vein, critiques of Eurocentrism have gained currency and prestige to such a point that their underlying premises and foreseen outcomes are not questioned anymore. Furthermore, the current, not only regional, but theoretical and methodological fragmentation of a discipline like sociology does not seem to be amenable to intellectual friction any more. The IOK-proponents usually address the European classics in their critiques of 'Western' social sciences and hardly take issue with contemporary theoretical approaches.

To sum up, international debate across institutional and paradigmatic divides has become difficult, if not impossible, as a result of the failed history of internationalization and of the currently persisting power differentials at a global level. Any attempt at rigorous argumentation on behalf of a secular, Western colleague is doomed to be silenced through a critique of those power issues:

But we are saying that our problem is the ideological aspect [...] of the social sciences. Now, you cannot tell me that the social sciences are one hundred percent scientific. There is an ideological aspect of it. We are saying that that ideological aspect is Eurocentric and we are more sensitive to this than a German lady like you. Because you've been into it, you cannot be able to see it and to be critical of it. (I. Zein)

More than the potential to be critical of the existing social science, according to I. Zein, those who have been 'othered' by Eurocentrism have the epistemic advantage over their North-Atlantic peers:

Are you familiar with this (not audible) of the slave master relationship, isn't it. If we use this metaphor, it's always the slave that would make the master who he is. Okay? And the master would never forgo that he is a master. But the slave can teach the master the point that: we are all human beings. And this slave-master-relationship should go for you to understand who you are. And to understand who am I. (I. Zein)

Should we believe in their promise to improve the social sciences wholesome: 'Perhaps, the next generation of Muslim sociologist might stand a better chance of making sense, developing a type of sociology which will get rid of this slave-master-relationship. We're hoping this for the whole humanity. It's not for the Muslims' (I. Zein)?

## Notes

1. Ismail al-Faruqi played a key role in the international institutionalization of the debate. Born 1922 in Palestine, he graduated from the American University of Beirut and became District Governor in Galilee in 1942. He obtained a PhD from Indiana University in the US in 1952 and co-founded the Muslim Students' Association in 1962. He spent time at al-Azhar University in Cairo, at McGill in Canada and was a key figure in the creations of IIUM and International Islamic University in Islamabad (see below). al-Faruqi was assassinated in 1986.
2. On the metaphor of the 'trap', see also Sitas (2002) as well as Alatas, who considers Islamic economics to be in the 'modernist trap' (1995, 92).
3. One source indicates that the launch of the Islamic Research Academy at Karachi in 1962 had already prefigured some of the arguments taken up at Mecca in 1977 (Barazangi et al. 2015, n.p.). Alatas (1995, 95) insists that the idea of Islamic science had been introduced in the late 1950s by Syed Hossein Nasr.
4. I do not dispose of any documented insights into the financial aspects of the debate and rely here on Abaza's analysis.
5. Afghanistan: 3, Algeria: 2, Australia: 2, Bangladesh: 5, Canada: 2, China: 1, Egypt: 15, England: 22 (out of which 1 indicated an address or affiliation in Nigeria, 1 in Algeria, 1 in Lebanon and 1 in Pakistan), France: 1 (a representative of Unesco), India: 13, Indonesia: 6, Iran: 6, Japan: 1, Jordan: 4, Kenya: 2, Kuwait: 5, Lebanon: 2, Libya: 3, Malaysia: 2, Mauritania: 2, Morocco: 9 (1 representative of Unesco), Nigeria: 7, North Yemen: 1, Pakistan: 26, Philippines: 2, Qatar: 2, South Africa: 3, Sudan: 5, Syria: 2, Tunisia: 1, Turkey: 6, United Arab Emirates: 3, USA: 16 (of which one was a visiting scholar from Malaysia). All participants were men (First World Conference on Muslim Education 1977, 33–66, 88).
6. Egypt, Sudan, Pakistan, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia, Nigeria, Gambia, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, Qatar and Somalia.
7. 'The Conference recommends that all Muslim countries must necessarily implement Allah's Shari'ah and mould the lives of people upon Islamic principles and values because only then they shall succeed in systematising their education, according to the aims given above' (First World Conference on Muslim Education 1977, 93). Matching the Cold War context, reliance on the Shariah is presented as the right alternative to capitalism and communism.
8. 'Buildings and offices, libraries and laboratories, and classrooms and auditoriums teeming with students and faculty are all material paraphernalia of little worth without the requisite vision. It is the nature of such vision that it cannot be copied; only its incidentals can. That is why in nearly two centuries of Westernized, secularized education, the Muslims have produced neither a school college, university, nor a generation of scholars that matches the West in creativity or excellence. [...] the western spirit is precisely what cannot and should not be copied. It is generated by its own vision of life and reality, in short, by its faith. Education in the Muslim world lacks this vision' (AbūSulaymān [1982] 1995, 7).
9. Al-Attas and al-Faruqi later on disputed authorship of the term 'Islamization of knowledge' – al-Attas accused al-Faruqi of plagiarism ([1978] 1998, xii).

10. cf. Alatas (1995).
11. <http://msanational.org/us/about-us/>, 5 May 2015.
12. AbuSulayman, born in Mecca in 1936, received his BA and MA at the University of Cairo and a PhD in International Relations at the University of Pennsylvania in 1973. He is affiliated with the global Muslim Brotherhood. He was Secretary General of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth from 1973 to 1979. A founding member of the AMSS, he became its President (1985–1987); furthermore, he was a founding member and former president of the IIIT. AbuSulayman also acted as rector of IIUM from 1989 to 1999.
13. Documentation was collected during a research visit to the IIIT-branch in Paris in August 2011.
14. <http://www.iiit.org/AboutUs/AboutIIIT/tabid/66/Default.aspx>, 2 February 2015.
15. 'Mission: 5. (1) Towards actualising the University's vision under clause 4, the University endeavours –
  - (a) to undertake the special and greatly needed task of reforming contemporary Muslim mentality and integrating Islamic revealed knowledge and human sciences in a positive manner;
  - (b) to produce better quality intellectuals, professionals and scholars of distinction by integrating quality of faith (*iman*), knowledge (*'ilm*) and good character (*akhlaq*) to serve as agents of comprehensive and balanced progress as well as sustainable development in Malaysia and in the Muslim world;
  - (c) to promote the concept of Islamization of human knowledge in teaching, research, consultancy, dissemination of knowledge and the development of academic excellence in the University;' (IIUM 2011, 11–12).
16. Maldives, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Turkey, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Egypt (Abaza 2002, 38–9).
17. For his key writings, see Al-Attas ([1978] 1998, 2001). cf. Abaza, for instance, for details around the intellectual foundations of both institutions, where the legacy of Ismail al-Faruqi and AbuSulayman for IIUM and Syed M. Naquib al-Attas for ISTAC are given with much detail.
18. <http://www.iium.edu.my/istac/about-us/historical-background>, 15 April 2015.
19. <http://www.iium.edu.my/about-iium/iium-video>, 25 April 2015.
20. <http://www.iium.edu.my/faqs>, 10 January 2015.
21. However, some of those features are shared with other Malaysian universities that also attract many foreign students (Umar, Noon, and Abdullahi 2014). Another tentative hypothesis regarding the comparative advantages of IIUM in the international academic arena could be formulated: The Mecca conference report had favoured separate education for women. While this does not seem to have been realized at a large scale, the fact that at IIUM two-thirds of students are women could eventually be related to the 'high moral standards' at IIUM (J. Farooqui), supposedly superior to that of Non-Islamic universities.
22. cf. This information given for the interviewees in Table 1. A larger collection of CVs of IIUM staff confirms this trend.
23. I draw the reader's attention to the metaphor of the 'mask', probably an implicit reference to Fanon's writings. The Sudanese among the interviewees were the most well-connected with other 'southern voices' and anti-colonial debates.
24. Explicitly quoted as a reference:
 

One scholar of Malaysia whose name was Alatas, he [...] wrote an article about captive mind. That our mind [...] is influenced by, by the West. So problem is only how can we [...] acquire correct knowledge. Or, [...] that knowledge which is closer to reality. (J. Farooqi)
25. We might add that throughout the Cold War context, anything that strengthened anti-communism was also welcomed.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the colleagues at Kuala Lumpur who have agreed to be interviewed for their time and patience and for pushing my argumentative competency to its limits. I would also like to thank S. Farid Alatas for the opportunity to 'debrief' my interview experiences, for his expert insights into the backgrounds of IOK and for his comments on an earlier version of this paper. I am grateful to the extended team and guests of the BMBF-project 'Universality and acceptance potential of social science knowledge' at Freiburg University – Chandni Basu, Ercüment Çelik, Christian Ersche, Claudia Honegger, José Jiménez/Tomás Elgorriaga Kunze, Bruno Monteiro, Barbara Riedel and Veronika Wöhrer – for critical comments on earlier versions of this paper.

## Disclosure statement

**AQ12** No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Funding

**AQ2** This study was possible with funding from the German Ministry of Education and Research (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF)).

## References

- Abaza, Mona. 1993. "Some Reflections on the Question of Islam and Social Sciences in the Contemporary Muslim World." *Social Compass* 40 (2): 301–321.
- Abaza, Mona. 2002. *Debates on Islam and knowledge in Malaysia and Egypt. Shifting Worlds*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- AbūSulaymān, AbdulḤamīd, éd. (1982) 1995. "Islamization of Knowledge. General Principles and Work Plan [Islamization of Knowledge Series, 1]." Avec la collaboration de Ismail Raji al Faruqi. 3rd ed. Herndon, VA: International Institute of Islamic Thought.
- Adebayo, Rafiu Ibrahim. 2012. "A Survey on the Global Success of the Islamization of Knowledge Programme with Particular Reference to Nigeria." *Jurnal Al-Tamaddun Bil* 7 (1): 91–105.
- Ahmed-Ullah, Noreen S., Sam Roe Roe, and Laurie Cohen. 2004. "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America." *Chicago Tribune*, September 19. Accessed 7 May 2015. <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/watchdog/chi-0409190261sep19-story.html#page=1>.
- Akhir, Rabi al. (1982) 1995. "Introduction." In *Islamization of Knowledge. General Principles and Work Plan* [Islamization of Knowledge Series, 1]. Avec la collaboration de Ismail Raji al Faruqi, coord. by AbdulḤamīd AbūSulaymān, 3rd ed., xi–xv. Herndon, VA: International Institute of Islamic Thought.
- Akiwowo, Akinsola. 1990. "Contributions to the Sociology of Knowledge from an African Oral Poetry." In *Globalization, Knowledge and Society: Readings from International Sociology*, coord. by Martin Albrow and Elizabeth King, 103–117. London.
- AQ13** Akiwowo, Akinsola. 1999. "Indigenous Sociologies – Extending the Scope of the Argument." *International Sociology* 14 (2): 115–138.
- Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib. (1978) 1998. *Islam and Secularism*. Lahore: Suhail Academy.
- Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib. 2001. *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam. An Exposition of the Fundamental Elements of the Worldview of Islam*. Lahore: Suhail Academy.
- Alatas, Syed Hussein. 1974. "The Captive Mind and Creative Development." *International Social Science Journal* XXVI (4): 691–700.
- Alatas, Syed Farid. 1995. "The Sacralization of the Social Sciences: A Critique of an Emerging Theme in Academic Discourse [La Sacralisation des sciences sociales: la critique d'une nouvelle notion dans le discours académique]." *Archives des sciences sociales des religions* 91: 89–111.
- Alatas, Syed Hussein. 1995. "Social Sciences." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, coord. by John Esposito, 4 tomes, no. 4, 86–89. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Alatas, Syed Farid. 2001. "The Study of the Social Sciences in Developing Societies: Towards an Adequate Conceptualization of Relevance." *Current Sociology* 49 (2): 1–19.
- Alatas, Syed Farid. 2006. *Alternative Discourses in Asian Social Science*. [Responses to Eurocentrism]. New Delhi: Sage.
- Amin, Samir. 1988. *L'eurocentrisme*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Barazangi, Nimat Hafez, Donald Malcolm Reid, Syed Rizwan Zamir, Dietrich Reetz, Joseph S. Szyliowicz, Akbar S. Ahmed, and Anis Ahmad. 2015. "Education." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, coord. by Oxford Islamic Studies Online, n.p. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 2 May 2015. <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0212>.
- Berthelot, Jean-Michel. 1998. "Les nouveaux défis épistémologiques de la sociologie." *Sociologie et Sociétés* XXX (1): 1–16.
- Connell, Raewyn. 2007. *Southern Theory. The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Edipoğlu, Kerim. 2008. *Islamisierung der Soziologie oder Soziologisierung des Islam? Indigenisierungsansätze in Malaysia, Iran und der arabischen Welt*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller.
- First World Conference on Muslim Education. ed. 1977. "First World Conference on Muslim Education." First World Conference on Muslim Education, Mecca, 31 March–8 April 1977. King Abdulaziz University.
- IIUM. 2011. "Memorandum and Articles of Association of International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM's Constitution)." International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM). Kuala Lumpur. Accessed 15 January 2015. [http://www.iium.edu.my/sites/default/files/kcdi/legalunit/attach\\_files/IIUM%20s%20Constitution\\_as%20per%2028%20Dec%202011.pdf](http://www.iium.edu.my/sites/default/files/kcdi/legalunit/attach_files/IIUM%20s%20Constitution_as%20per%2028%20Dec%202011.pdf).
- IIUM. 2012. "28th IIUM Convocation Ceremony. International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM). Kuala Lumpur." Accessed 20 April 2015. <http://www.iium.edu.my/news/28th-iium-convocation-ceremony>.
- IIUM. 2013. "IIUM Policies and Guidelines on Islamisation." International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM). Kuala Lumpur. Accessed 15 January 2015. <http://www.iium.edu.my/sites/default/files/IIUM%20POLICIES%20AND%20GUIDELINES%20ON%20ISLAMISATION.pdf>.
- International Institute of Islamic Thought, ed. 1982. "Islam: Source and Purpose of Knowledge." Proceedings and selected papers of Second Conference on Islamization of Knowledge. Islamabad, 4–6 January 1982. International Institute of Islamic Thought; Islamic University of Islamabad; National Hijrah Centenary Celebration Committee of Pakistan. Herndon, VA.
- International Social Science Council, ed. 2010. *World Social Science Report 2010. Knowledge Divides*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Jamjoom, Shaikh Ahmad Salah. 1977. "Speech." First World Conference on Muslim Education, Mecca, 31 March–8 April 1977, King Abdulaziz University, 73–82.
- Keim, Wiebke. 2008a. "Distorted Universality – Internationalization and Its Implications for the Epistemological Foundations of the Discipline." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 33 (3): 555–574.
- Keim, Wiebke. 2008b. *Vermessene Disziplin. Zum konterhegemonialen Potential afrikanischer und lateinamerikanischer Soziologien*. Bielefeld: transcript-Verl (Global studies).
- Keim, Wiebke. 2010a. "Analyse des invitations de chercheurs étrangers par l'EHESS. Compétences reconnues et clivages Nord-Sud." *Cahiers de la Recherche sur l'Education et les Savoirs* 9: 33–52.
- Keim, Wiebke. 2010b. "Aspects problématiques des relations internationales en sciences sociales: pour un modèle centre-périphérie." *Revue d'Anthropologie des Connaissances* 4 (3): 570–598.
- Keim, Wiebke. 2011. "Counter Hegemonic Currents and Internationalization of Sociology. Theoretical Reflections and One Empirical Example." *International Sociology* 26 (1): 123–145.
- AQ14** Kruse, Jan. (2005) 2010. *Reader. Einführung in die qualitative Interviewforschung*. Revised ed. Freiburg. Lappen, Alyssa A. 2010. In Barry M. Rubin, coord. by *The Muslim Brotherhood. The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*. 1st ed., 161–180. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan (Middle East in focus).
- Mafeje, Archie. 2001. "Anthropology in Post-independence Africa: End of an Era and the Problem of Self-definition." Edited by Heinrich Böll Foundation, Regional Office East and Horn of Africa,

Nairobi. Accessed September 2013. <http://multiworldindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/Social-ScientistsArchieMafeje-publication.pdf>.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1997. "Africa and 'African Studies.'" In *Knowledge, Identity and Curriculum Transformation in Africa*, coord.by, Nico Cloete, Johann Muller, Malegapuru W. Makgoba, and Donald Ekong, 149–154. Cape Town.

1085 **AQ15** Mignolo, Walter. 2004. "Colonialidad global, capitalismo y hegemonía epistémica." In *América Latina: los desafíos del pensamiento crítico*, coord. by Irene Sánchez Ramos and Raquel Sosa Elizaga, 113–

**AQ16** 137. México.  
Quijano, Aníbal. 2000. "Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America." *International Sociology* 15 (2): 215–232.

1090 Ritchie, Jane, and Jane Lewis, eds. 2003. *Qualitative Research Practice. A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. London: Sage.

**AQ17** Rodríguez Medina, Leandro. 2013. *Centers and Peripheries in Knowledge Production* [Routledge Advances in Sociology], 115. 1st ed. Routledge.

Savransky, Martin. 2012. "Worlds in the Making: Social Sciences and the Ontopolitics of Knowledge." *Postcolonial Studies* 15 (3): 351–368.

1095 Sitas, Ari. 2002. "The African Renaissance Challenge and Sociological Reclamations in the South." Durban. Accessed October 2005. <http://gsp.sociologie.uni-freiburg.de/gspdat/people/sitas/seminar-freiburg-2002/african-renaissance.pdf>.

Sitas, Ari. 2004. *Voices That Reason – Theoretical Parables*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.

Stenberg, Leif. 1996a. "Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Ziauddin Sardar on Islam and Science: Marginalization or Modernization of a Religious Tradition." *Social Epistemology* 10 (3-4): 273–287.

1100 Stenberg, Leif. 1996b. *The Islamization of Science. Four Muslim Positions Developing an Islamic Modernity*. Lund: Lund Studies in History of Religions.

Stenberg, Leif. 2004. "Islam, Knowledge and 'the West': The Making of a Global Islam." In *Globalization and the Muslim World. Culture, Religion, and Modernity*, coord. by Birgit Schäbler and Leif Stenberg, 1st ed. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press (Modern Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East).

1105 **AQ18** Umar, Abdullahi, Noor Azlan M. Noon, and Musa Abdullahi. 2014. "Challenges Confronting African Students in Malaysia: A Case of Postgraduate Nigerian Students at International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) Kuala Lumpur." *Journal of African Studies and Development* 6 (9): 161–168.

1110 **AQ19** Wallerstein, Immanuel, et al., eds. 1996. *Ouvrir les Sciences Sociales – Rapport de la Commission Gulbenkian pour la Restructuration des Sciences sociales. Avec la collaboration de Commission Gulbenkian*. Paris: Descartes et Cie.

1115

1120

1125