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Research Center for Islamic
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عضو في جامعة حمد بن خليفة
Member of Hamad Bin Khalifa University

ISLAM & APPLIED ETHICS

THE NATURE OF MAN IN SECULAR HUMANISM AND ISLAM: A PSYCHOCULTURAL CONFLICT OF WORLDVIEWS

MALIK BADRI
COLLEEN WARD

COMPILED AND EDITED BY: DR FETHI B JOMAA AHMED

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Introduction

*In the name of God,
the Most Gracious,
the Most Merciful*

The Research Center for Islamic Legislation and Ethics (CILE) is pleased to place into the hands of readers this series of booklets, which contain a collection of research papers that have been presented at events organized by the Center. Through these booklets, we are seeking to build a methodological platform that will contribute to the CILE's key objective, namely promoting radical reform. The type of radical reform that we are calling for is based on a fundamental concept: transformational renovation. This concept transcends traditional renovation and *a posteriori* diligence, which tends to maintain reality and adapt to it, assessing and judging its components through the system of the five categories of laws in Islam: *Wajib* (required, obligatory); *Mandoob* (recommended); *Mubah* (permitted but morally indifferent); *Makrooh* (discouraged or abominable); and *Haram* (forbidden or prohibited); in other words, it is rather an evaluative type of jurisprudence. Transformational renovation goes beyond this intellectual space to create a kind of renovation and jurisprudence that addresses facts critically and explores reality intellectually so as to reform it, or even rebuild it if necessary. Moreover, this transformational renovation process puts forward alternative solutions for the shortcomings of the current reality, seeking to establish new means, models, and paradigms at all levels that would

achieve ethical objectives. Therefore, radical reform purports to go beyond superficial issues and directly into the crux of objectives and ethics, beyond minor details into theoretical foundations and frames of reference.

In order to implement radical reform by means of transformational renovation, religious scholars and scientists should share the responsibility. While religious scholars, in many cases, have been capable of judging reality based on specific facts provided by scientists, the task is different when it comes to diligence and transformational renovation. This is because an endeavor such as this requires an advanced and comprehensive understanding of both religion and reality. Being well-versed in Islamic Sharia sciences and being formally and partially aware of reality alone will not help bring about transformational reform unless it is accompanied with similar knowledge of our reality, and with today's scientific advancement, this is only possible by involving those specialist scientists and practitioners. The process of building reality on the foundation of proper Islamic ethics and values should be based on a deep and comprehensive understanding that will help analyze the reasons behind malice, which drive people to engage in substandard activities. This understanding may lead to the introduction of alternative solutions and new practices, which are more deeply founded on scientific knowledge. Not to dismiss the sound efforts and evaluative diligence of religious scholars, neither Islamic Sharia scholars nor scientists alone should monopolize knowledge or assume sole responsibility for undertaking reforms in society.

CILE activities are noteworthy for bringing together both religious scholars and scientists. We do not seek to address the evaluative process, which is limited to understanding reality through judgment and adaptation, drawing on permissions

or prohibitions. Rather, CILE events facilitate open dialogue between scholars and expert practitioners, who can collectively propose how best to undertake radical reforms and recommend solutions that are at once inspired by Islamic principles and supported by scientific knowledge.

While the combined work of religious scholars and scientists constitutes a fundamental methodological basis for transformational renovation, it should be coupled with many other elements pertaining to the methods, theories, and objectives of science. For instance, traditional Sharia scientific methods do not preclude the type of renovation desired. At the same time, modern science has failed to focus on ethics, as it has not addressed ethics as a fundamental issue. Rather, science relegates ethics to a secondary position. This raises the issue of the division of sciences into religious or secular sciences, and of their tendency to focus excessively on highly specialized topics without associating them with greater universal themes.

Undoubtedly, this undermines the communication between scientists from various disciplines and thwarts their efforts to work together to develop an epistemological approach that combines their knowledge to serve the important purpose of promoting ethics. Therefore, the challenge set before us is not to persuade scientists belonging to various disciplines and backgrounds to work together. Rather, it is to shake them in their scientific safe havens and drive them to push through the epistemological paradigms governing their own knowledge in order to set up a new system and outline methods toward achieving renovation.

Enhancing its specialized research activities aimed at facilitating and exploring the communication between religious scholars and scientists, the CILE convened a three-day closed seminar from 22th to 24th November 2014 in Education City,

Doha, to consider the contemporary challenges of and the relationship between Islamic ethics and psychology.

The seminar participants were scholars, intellectuals and experts with theological and practical experience from around the world, including Dr Malik Badri, Sheikh Dr Mohammed Naim Yaseen, Dr Rabia Malik, Sheikh Dr Saad Eddine El-Othmani, Sheikh Dr Nouredine Al-khadmi, Dr Colleen Ward, Dr Rashid Skinner, Dr Mamoun Mobayed, Dr Tariq Ramadan and Chauki Lazhar. The seminar was moderated by Sheikh Yassir Fazaga.

The CILE requested the participants to focus on addressing the following questions:

- 1) How do you evaluate the main approaches to understanding the nature of human being in contemporary psychology and Islamic Heritage?
 - a) What are the limits of the moral responsibility of human actions from the perspective of contemporary psychology and Islamic Heritage?
 - b) What is the role of the unseen in the psychoanalysis and psychotherapy?
 - c) What is the significance of the search for the objectives of psychology and the objectives of *Shariah* in the formulation of a new approach in psychology?
- 2) What is the position of the ethical pursuit in contemporary psychology and its applications?
 - a) What are the main ethical dilemmas faced by the psychotherapist and the patient?
 - b) What are the ethical conditions of employing techniques of psychological influence on individuals and groups?
 - c) Is there a role for religion in mental health and psychotherapy?

This booklet includes some of the research papers presented in this seminar and is a part of CILE book series which we hope will contribute to our project of transformational renovation.

CHAUKI LAZHAR, *CILE Deputy Director*

About the Authors

MALIK BADRI was born in Rufa'a, Sudan, in 1932. He obtained his bachelor's and master's degrees from the American University of Beirut in 1956 and 1958, respectively, his doctorate from the University of Leicester, England in 1961, and his Post-graduate Certificate of Clinical Psychology from the Academic Department of Psychiatry of the Middlesex Hospital Medical School of London University in 1966. He was elected Fellow of the British Psychological Society in 1977 and is currently the holder of the title of Chartered Psychologist (C.Psychol) from the same Society. In recognition of his contributions in his field he was awarded an honorary D.Sc. from the Ahfad University and was decorated by the President of Sudan in April 2003, with the medal of Shahid Zubair which is the highest award for academic excellence. Professor Badri is the former Dean of the Faculties of Education in the University of Khartoum and Juba University and the founder of a number of departments of psychology and education, including in Imam Mohammad bin Saud University in Riyadh and the Applied Psychology Department of the University of Khartoum. He has also served as senior clinical psychologist in a number of hospitals and clinics in the Middle East and Africa and was the founder of the Psychological Clinic of the University of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, in 1971. He has published widely in psychology and education and his works have been translated into many languages across the Islamic world. Professor Badri was elected by UNESCO to be the expert in Bahirdar. As of March 10, 2015, he is the holder

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The Nature of Man in Secular Humanism and Islam: A Psychospiritual Conflict of Worldviews

Malik Badri

The Nature of Man is the Backbone of Worldviews

It is a psychologically established fact now that the image that we have about ourselves and others is developed very early in our childhood and will remain with us for life. Our beloved Prophet (PBUH) has asserted this when he said, “All children are born with innate moral disposition to believe in God ‘*fitrah*,’ but that it is their parents who distort this inborn goodness (Hadith quoted by Bukhari).”¹ It is in these formative years that beliefs about the nature of human beings that are accepted by a society are entrenched into the minds and hearts of the new generations as if it were a religion, as if they were pairs of colored glasses through which they see themselves and the world around them. So they will establish the belief about human nature that will influence the way adults behave and how they view the world through their biased hue. This, in a nutshell, is how worldviews are formed and preserved.

A Historical and Cultural Background of a Clash Between Two Worldviews

What is the image of man and its consequent worldview that the Western world strongly embraces? The present-day Western conviction about human nature and its ensuing worldview is known as *secular humanism*. One cannot really understand the

distinguishing features of this worldview and its conceptualization of human nature without going into history. Why did this secular worldview dominate Europe with the strength and vigor of a revolution? Newton's third law states that, for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction. Though this law concerns physical bodies in motion, it seems to me, as I briefly mentioned in an earlier publication (Badri, 2000), that it also applies to social phenomena. That is so, because the history of man tells us that extremes in social and moral and legal behavior will certainly bring about opposing antagonistic and extreme retaliatory measures that can swing the pendulum to opposing extremes. Unlike the laws of physics, this counter reaction is not equal, but often more extreme in nature.

The Church of the Middle Ages adopted an extremely demeaning and damaging conviction about human nature. It is misinterpreted from what was known as "the fall of man." This fall of man is the sin that Adam and Eve committed by eating from the forbidden tree. It became an inherited *original sin* causing all humans to be born spiritually condemned with an evil nature. And since the original sin is biologically passed from Adam to all his human children through the sexual act, then it was deduced that sexual desire is itself sinful in nature (St Augustine, *confessions*). From the very early years of Christianity, St. Paul was quoted to have stressed the importance of celibacy. He addressed the unmarried and widows to take his example and refrain from sexuality, but if they cannot then let them marry. Thus, sex in marriage is the lesser of two evils. The other is obviously fornication (Rathus, 1983, p. 248). Furthermore, the belief that Eve was the one who first ate from the forbidden tree and that she convinced Adam to eat from it resulted in the Bible cursing her and the Church to be prejudiced against women and to see them as evil seducers and to

level the harshest punishments against them. This distorted conviction about the nature of man has obviously led to the atrocities of the European Dark Age.

The Roman Catholic Church was in charge of education and has accordingly brought up generation after generation of children who grew up to fanatically accept this unshakable distorted faith about human nature. Accordingly, one can understand the cruelty of its inquisitions and its burning of millions of victims, mainly women accused of being witches having sexual relations with Satan (Russell, 1957, p. 20). The Church was also brutal and extremely suppressive to any form of progress in scientific knowledge or freedom of expression. In his book, *Twenty Reasons to Abandon Christianity*, Charles Bufe wrote:

“For over a millennium Christianity arrested the development of science and scientific thinking... from the time of Augustine until the Renaissance scientific knowledge advanced hardly an inch in the over 1000 years” (Bufe, 2000).

In its anger against the Church, the Western mind, even in our modern age, reacts like a patient recovering from a trauma. It cannot accept a sensible moderate position. Their animosity toward the Church of the Middle Ages became an animosity to all religions. Listen in this issue to the British eminent philosopher, Bertrand Russell, who was one of the most influential thinkers of the Western world in the twentieth century. He was the recipient of the Order of Merit and the Nobel Prize. Illogically, he moves from an attack on the Church to an attack on all religions of the world. I am giving this long quotation because it clearly differentiates between our two conflicting worldviews of Islam and secular humanism. He writes:

“You find this curious fact that the more intense has

been the religion of any period and the more profound has been the dogmatic belief, the greater has been the cruelty and the worse has been the state of affairs. In the so-called ages of faith, when men really did believe the Christian religion in all its completeness, there was the Inquisition, with its tortures; there were millions of unfortunate women burned as witches; and there was every kind of cruelty practiced upon all sorts of people in the name of religion.

You find as you look around the world that every single bit of progress toward the diminution of war, every step toward better treatment of the colored races, or every mitigation of slavery, every moral progress that there has been in the world, has been consistently opposed by the organized churches of the world” (Russell, 1957, pp. 20–1).

Any modern educated Muslim will be amazed by Russell’s denouncement of all religions, but actually his words are not untypical with respect to religion. It is a form of fanatic atheism. In using his rhetoric, any Muslim knows very well that “every step toward the treatment of colored races,” “every moral progress,” and “every mitigation of slavery” were initiated and fostered by Islam and its civilization in a primitive society of aggressive and unruly Arab Bedouins. From the very early years of Islam, it was a religion of love and mercy to the poor and deprived. From the start it brought Bilal the Abyssinian, Suhaib the Roman and Abu Bakr the noble Arab into one loving self-sacrificing group. The progress that the early Muslims achieved by the help of Islam as a worldview is the one that granted scholars like Russell to achieve what they have achieved.

However, this extreme behavior of the Church can itself be viewed as an extreme opposite reaction of Christianity to

the immoral and sexually lax behavior of the Romans which they inherited from the Greeks but carried them to formerly unknown extremes. Their libertine and uninhibited behavior speak for their animalistic conception about human nature. In his book titled, *Human sexuality*, Rathus states that even Julius Caesar was known to have been bisexual. Other emperors such as Caligula encouraged orgies in which sadism and sexual relations with animals were practiced (Rathus, 1983, p. 9).

The Ideological and Cultural Vengeance Against the Church

Just as this animalistic Roman way of life brought about the extreme retaliation of the Church, the cruel and barbaric practices of the Church supported by its distorted view of human nature brought about the retaliation of the Renaissance. The Renaissance led to the Enlightenment that paved the way to contemporary secular humanism. Literally, the term Renaissance stands for rebirth. Europeans, fed up with the atrocities of the Church, felt the burning need to return to their ancient culture of Athens and Rome. It started in Italy, as if it were a feeble resurrection of the dead Roman Empire, but soon gained momentum and spread to other parts of Europe like fire on dry hay. The pendulum was then going to other extreme of explosive anti-Catholic and anti-religious feelings. From the philosophical and cultural aspects, Renaissance humanism swept across Europe to invert the Christian conviction about human nature. The doctrine of the original sin as well as its religious ramification was thrown overboard as the movement of humanism, propagated by the secular scholars and philosophers of the Renaissance spoke strongly for human dignity. The ideal of man viewed by the Church as one, who leads a life

of asceticism and self-punishment, was replaced by a dignified man who frees himself from the chains imposed by the religious orthodoxy. Humanism as a cultural movement was thus able to change Europeans from the medieval scholasticism of Christian clerics to a revived awareness in the thought of ancient Rome and Greece as portrayed by new secular scholars.

However, as centuries came and were left behind and as the Western world was being rewarded for its rejection of the Church by the fruits of Enlightenment and the scientific revolution, anti-Catholic or even anti-religious fervor became more pronounced. Listen, for example, to the renowned 19th-century philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche as he declares in his *The Gay Science* that God is dead:

“God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him. How shall we comfort ourselves, the murderers of all murderers? What was holiest and mightiest of all that the world has yet owned has bled to death under our knives: who will wipe this blood off us? What water is there for us to clean ourselves? What festivals of atonement, what sacred games shall we have to invent? Is not the greatness of this deed too great for us? Must we ourselves not become gods simply to appear worthy of it?”

This excessive animosity to religion or any phenomenon that refuses to be explained by human rational thought was coupled and supported by the unrestricted power of humanism. Accordingly, humanism became like a cult of human self-worshipping. Thus, evidence from science and technology has become the only reliable source of information. Science has become the new god of Western modernity and postmodernity (Atkins, 2011). This is what is now called “the idolatry of science and technology.” This new “religion” emanated with ultimate faith in humankind in possessing the social and legal jurisdiction to

solve their problems by relying on reason and applied sciences. It is a “religion” of secular humanism. This new faith is behind the moral and legal justification for Godless practices that were great sins of the past such as abortion, euthanasia, homosexuality and surgical interventions for changing sex. Thus, the Western world, as I hypothesize, is being guided by an extreme retaliatory worldview against the Catholic Church that was itself an extreme retaliation against the libertine way of life of the Roman Empire. So, the pendulum of cultural and ideological extremism has been swinging back and forth. Judging from this change, is it foreseeable that we may witness a new swing of the pendulum? Are the writings of the few wise Western thinkers, such as Scott Peck, Fukuyama, Herbert Benson and Martin Seligman, the pioneer of positive psychology, an early sign of this possible impending change? I have no space in this article to give quotations from these and similar scholars but readers can search their names on the Internet to find hundreds of studies challenging the contemporary ethical values of materialism.

The Nature of Man in Secular Humanism: General Principles

Though the modern secular worldview on human nature seems to vary with different schools of thought, they all agree on a few general principles on which any conception of human nature should be based. First and foremost, they all agree on the rejection of all supernatural forms including the human soul. Secondly and according to the first cardinal principle, they all agree that morality and ethics should be based on this-earthly here-and-now values that aim at happiness and progress in this world and not in a “mythical” hereafter. In this setting, man

is free to enjoy from whatever he desires within the limits of this secular ethics. Thirdly, they believe that, by relying on his ability to reason and with the support of the scientific method, man has the talent to solve all his physical, legal, moral and political problems. Fourthly, since man possesses freedom of choice and action, he can shape his own destiny in a society that grants him freedom of expression and civil liberties.

Secular Influential Beliefs About Human Nature and How Psychology Offered them Support and Justification

Man stands alone

Let us start with the psychological support to an image of a man standing alone without any need for a God or divine power; a nature of a man without a soul; a man who refutes any supernatural or spiritual entity or religious dogma. The strongest defender of this conviction is one of the most influential builders of Western civilization; this is Sigmund Freud who is also considered a pillar of unbelief. He was the opportune hero for an unconfident and unstable society living the difficult stage of emancipation from the tyranny of the Church. His atheistic revolutionary pronouncements became the ideological and philosophical justification for the new era of a nature of man without a soul and a secularized worldview. The greatest service that Freud gave to atheism is that, like Darwin, he cleverly mixed up his personal and philosophical views with the prestigious sugar-coating of science at a time in which science was the substitute god to a people who had dethroned the Church. Listen to his own words from his famous book, *Future of an Illusion*:

“Where questions of religion are concerned, people are guilty of every possible sort of dishonesty and intellec-

tual misdemeanor. Philosophers stretch the meaning of words until they retain scarcely anything of their original sense. They give the name of 'God' to some vague abstraction which they have created for themselves; having done so they can pose before all the world as deists, as believers in God, and they can even boast that they have recognized a higher, purer concept of God, notwithstanding that their God is now nothing more than an insubstantial shadow and no longer the mighty personality of religious doctrines" (Freud, 1961, pp. 51–2).

But Freud had another more persuasive validation to secular humanism and its materialistic conception of human nature. Capitalizing on his authority in psychiatry and psychotherapy, he not only justified a mutiny against the Church, but he also used his psychoanalytic theory to falsify religion as an illusion and as an obsessive compulsive disorder of humanity. His approach was followed by other founders of psychological perspectives. The following quotation illustrates this claimed psychoanalytic falsification of religion:

"These which are given out as (religious) teachings, are not precipitates of experience or endresults of thinking: they are illusions, fulfillments of the oldest, strongest and most urgent wishes of mankind. The secret of their strength lies in the strength of these wishes...What is characteristic of illusions is that they are derived from human wishes. In this they come near to psychiatric delusions...We can now repeat that all of them (religious doctrines) are illusions and unsusceptible of proof" (Freud, 1961, pp. 48–50).

Furthermore, what made Freud persuasive and convincing to the public of that age was his practical psychotherapeutic

“evidence” in helping the neurotic and the emotionally disordered who sought his therapy. As I now see it, Freud found that during the reign of the authority of the Church, emotionally disturbed and guilt-ridden sinners used to get much help from cathartic confessions they made to a warm accepting priest who allowed them to tearfully express their pent up feelings. They openly revealed their secrets and confessed their sins to a cleric who guarded these intimate stories with spiritual dedication. The priest was a trained warm listener who does not embarrass the confessor by squarely facing him. Thereafter, he helps to heal their problems with spiritual and religious consolation. The confessor was made to believe that his problem was caused by his sinful choice; his personal responsibility aided by the temptations of the devil but that God or Christ has forgiven him. It had been God’s will that made him sin; after such sessions, the troubled sinner or psychologically disturbed would happily leave the church without any disturbing worry and guilt.

Where would such troubled people go for help after the downfall of the church and after they had accepted a secular image of man? I strongly believe that Freud was aware of this psychological vacuum and that he fashioned his therapy according to the successful model provided by the Christian Church. The sinners of the past became the patients of modernity and the confessional or the small room of confessions in the church became the psychological clinic, but the process is similar and the procedure of therapy is essentially the same. It was mainly a form of cathartic confessions to a warm analyst who sits away from the gaze of the reclining patient who freely associates. His disorder is explained in terms of secular theories and his guilt and anxiety are resolved by reducing or eliminating his responsibility.

In the teachings of the church, it is only Divine intervention that can relieve man from his responsibility in committing sins. The new god in Freudian psychoanalysis is the unconscious. A guilt-ridden sinner is made to believe that his disorder is caused by unconscious sexual and aggressive motives on which, as an animal, he had no control on them. Alternatively, his problem is explained in terms of environmental inescapable conditions. More modern therapists would include his unchangeable inherited genes that “mother nature” has wired into his psychobiological systems. So, like the relieved confessor in the church, the patient, without feeling the burden of personal responsibility, would happily walk out of the clinic with a comforted psyche and the success story is widely disseminated to consolidate belief in the emancipated nature of man without a soul.

It should be clear to us from what has been said that Freud was indeed the hero of his time in establishing a changed nature of the Western man and a whole worldview of secular humanism. For this reason, many modern Western thinkers and historians see Freud as the most influential scholar in attacking religion and in espousing a secular way of life. Listen in this respect to Bakan as he writes on this issue:

“...of all the ideologists influential in America, the most important, of course, was Sigmund Freud whose visit in 1909 literally caused an earthquake in public opinion... after 1910 the newspapers were packed with references to Freud’s doctrines and that in the next decade more than two hundred books were written on Freudianism...; consequently, the immature generation in revolt against its elders took up the banner of Freud. He became their philosopher” (Bakan, 1967, pp. 130–1).

With this quotation, we end our discussion on the supportive justification of psychology to a nature of a secularized “despirit-

ualized” man who stands alone without a god. We limited our discussion to Freud and his psychoanalytic theory. We are aware of the contributions of other eminent psychologists in this area but their contributions are not as philosophically oriented as those of Freud and accordingly they had a lesser impact on Westerners at large. We now turn to the second influential conception about man as an animal and its support to secular humanism.

Man is an animal

The belief that man is just an animal with a superior brain has served to establish the “religion” of secular humanism in a number of ways. First and foremost it helped to deny the status of man portrayed by religion as a chosen creature that has a soul. Denying the soul, as we have mentioned, is the cornerstone of secular humanism because in denying the soul one would deny the existence of God. This is beautifully stated by an honest modern well-known American psychiatrist. He wrote the following statement in his book indicatively titled *Denial of the Soul*:

“The word ‘soul’ is probably in the vocabulary of every second-grader... We speak of particular people as ‘having soul.’ ... The fact is that almost everyone understands the real concept. Then why is it that the word ‘soul’ is not in the professional lexicon of psychiatrists, other mental health workers, students of the mind, and physicians in general? There are two reasons. One is that the concept of God is inherent in the concept of the soul, and ‘God talk’ is virtually off-limits within these relatively secular professions” (Peck, 1997, p. 129).

Secondly, “animalizing” man is bound to free him from all the moral restrictions of religion. Who can blame an animal

because he committed “adultery” or extra-marital intercourse or homosexual relations or if he assisted a sick elderly person to commit suicide? Animals are free to enjoy life as they wish and if they become very old or very sick, it would be a humane service to end their life like shooting an old horse. This is the justification for euthanasia or mercy killing. Animals are selfish, aggressive, motivated by their biological and sexual instincts and their competitive nature. This in brief is the image of man in psychology textbooks. If man does not infringe on the rights of others, he is free to behave in his supposedly native nature as an animal. The hero of the animalization of man is of course Charles Darwin. Because of its moral, legal, and philosophical aspects, his theory of evolution was and still is embraced like a religion. The enthusiasm with which Europe received the theories of Darwin was not because of its biological validity since this continues to be a questionable issue. They did so because it is like a new “religion” that offered and still offer them the rational validation for the materialistic and hedonistic way of life that they aspired for. Listen in this respect to Eugenie Scott in the *New Scientist* (2000) as quoted by Morris in a paper correctly titled, “Evolution is Religion – Not a Science”:

“Evolutionists claim that evolution is a scientific fact, but they almost always lose scientific debates with creationist scientists. Accordingly, most evolutionists now decline opportunities for scientific debates, preferring instead to make unilateral attacks on creationists.

The question is, just *why* do they need to counter the creationist message? Why are they so adamantly committed to anti-creationism? The fact is that evolutionists believe in evolution because they *want* to. It is their desire at all costs to explain the origin of everything without a Creator. Evolutionism is thus intrinsically an

atheistic religion. Some may prefer to call it humanism, and New Age evolutionists may place it in the context of some form of pantheism, but they all amount to the same thing. Whether atheism or humanism (or even pantheism), the purpose is to eliminate a personal God from any active role in the origin of the universe and all its components, including man.

Another way of saying 'religion' is 'worldview,' the whole of reality. The evolutionary worldview applies not only to the evolution of life, but even to that of the entire universe. In the realm of cosmic evolution, our naturalistic scientists depart even further from experimental science than life scientists do, manufacturing a variety of evolutionary cosmologies from esoteric mathematics and metaphysical speculation" (Scott, 2000).

Darwinism has actually shaped the mind of Western modernity and its social theories propagating the slogan of "survival of the fittest" that gave the white man an unwritten legal and ethical justification to imperialize and commit ethnic cleansing and genocide among Africans, the Aborigines of Australia and the Red Indians of America.

Because of its importance to the secular humanistic worldview, the image of man as an animal as espoused by Darwin has been greatly supported by biological, psychological, anthropological, social and educational studies such as Watson's behaviorism, Freud's psychoanalysis, Dewey's pragmatism, Konrad Lorenz's ethology and the sociobiology of Desmond Morris. A good clear example for the above is what Watson, the father of behaviorism, documented in his inaugurating book titled *Behaviorism*. He said:

"We believe... that man is an animal different from other animals only in the types of behaviour he displays.

Human beings do not want to class themselves with other animals. They are willing to admit that they are animals but ‘something else’ in addition. It is the ‘something else’ that causes the trouble. In this ‘something else’ is bound up everything that is classed as religion, the hereafter, morals, love of children, parents, country, and the like. The raw fact that you, as a psychologist, if you are to remain scientific, must describe the behavior of man in no other terms than those you would use in describing the behavior of the ox you slaughter...” (Watson, 1970, p. ix).

Man is god

By animalizing man, Western modernity has freed him from the chains of the Church and has given him the justification for leading a secular life of “paradise” in the here and now. However, this new ethical way of life needs to be legalized. In so doing, the Western man has actually crowned himself as a god, since the ethical codes of behavior, and in most countries of the world, are still the sole province of God in the way different religions prescribe. This ethical legalization has naturally come to fill the gap created by the defeat of the Church.

As I see it, this legal sanctioning has a number of benefits in the preservation and further development of the privileges acquired by Western people under the umbrella of secular humanism. First, it will ensure that no government or any other power can take them away. Moreover, legal sanctions can prevent conflict between pleasure-seeking persons running after the same targets. A third declared or undeclared objective is for those in authority to assess the desire of citizens in sanctioning more and more pleasures and less and less moral restrictions. As is clear, with the passage of time there is a

gradual loosening of the moral grip on Westerners. Behaviors that were unthinkable a few years ago have now been permitted. The Westerner can now marry a person of his own sex, surgically change his sex, abort babies, rent uteruses, freeze sperms for a person to have a baby after his death or mercy-kill his old parent.

Though the Church had been dethroned many years ago, the psyche of the Western man is still haunted by its harsh ethical prohibitions. Westerners at times behave like a person suffering from a post-traumatic experience. Each new officially permitted ethical behavior that was prohibited by the Church is hailed by the media. Not only that, but in defense of the new morality, the moral code of ethics prescribed by religion continues to be ridiculed by modern Western thinkers.

Modern psychology with all its perspectives stood firmly in defense of this moral sanctioning. For example, specialists in biopsychology continue to do their best to prove that a number of behaviors that were considered morally wrong and punishable by religious laws are in fact inherited or biologically determined behaviors. So it would appear unjust and ridiculous to punish a person because he behaved according to the instructional code in his own genes! The deduction from this is that God, if there is any God, has created genes or inherited biological disposition in a person and then punished him for behaving according to what he had created in him. This has been strongly emphasized in justifying homosexuality and lesbianism.

For example, Le Vay claimed to have found differences in the hypothalamuses of homosexual men as compared to heterosexuals (Pinel, 1993, p. 380). When his study was published, the Western popular media ecstatically declared that the heritability of homosexuality has been “discovered” and “proved.”

However, as is the case with all researches that make such claims, it was found to be unverified or incorrect. A number of his homosexual small samples had died from HIV/AIDS. Thus, the differences in hypothalamuses had been caused by the retrovirus and not because they were homosexual. Moreover, his control group comprised bodies of persons about whom he had no record regarding their sexual life. Maybe some of them might have been homosexual. Other criticisms were leveled against this and all other studies that had the same claims but what is published about these claims and aired in TV screens are the untrustworthy studies that support the heritability of homosexuality. Their only objective is to support the sanctioning of homosexuality irrespective of what real research says.

Historians of psychology followed the same route of justifying the ethical decrees of modernity to the extent of ridiculing Biblical narratives. One of these writers is Fromer. After discussing the story of the destruction of Sodom, she concludes that either the theologians misunderstood the story or that the two men/angels sent by God to Prophet Lot made a mistake by destroying the town instead of punishing Prophet Lot! Listen to her actual words:

“Nowhere is homosexuality specifically mentioned in the story of Sodom, except in the oblique reference to the townsmen wanting to be ‘intimate’ with the men/angels. Intimacy in this sense can be easily interpreted as comradeship and revelry not sexuality. The two worst sins in the story were Lot’s offering his daughters to the townsmen and the general inhospitality of the townspeople, yet ironically it was Lot who was saved from the destruction of Sodom” (Fromer, 1983, pp. 94–5).

Though other perspectives of psychology followed the same supportive route to ethical libertarianism, the greatest backing

in this respect came from humanistic psychology that speaks very strongly for the freedom of man and his ability to actualize himself in the manner that suits his interests and abilities without any traditional moral restraints. Carl Rogers was the founder of this branch of psychology that specialized in counseling. Humanistic psychology has a much stronger backing to the modern ethical set of laws in comparison to other schools of psychology because unlike behaviorism and psychoanalysis they chose man himself as the god of determining his own life style. Both behaviorism and psychoanalysis chose more abstract gods. Freud chose unconscious instincts as the motivator and determiner of human behavior from cradle to grave. Behaviorists, as we shall see, chose environmental stimuli as the abstract god that shapes human life.

In choosing the individual as the god-determiner of his own life and destiny and in propagating an optimistic image man, humanistic psychology has been dubbed as the cult of self-worshipping. The young took these teachings to their logical extremes and the seventies echoed the reverberation of the slogans of recreational sex without guilt and the publication of the best-selling books such as Comfort's manual *Joy of Sex*, Nina's *Open Marriage* and Gordon's book, *Beginner's Guide to Group Sex*. Looking back at these years in which the concept of fidelity itself was looked at as immature jealousy, one would dare to think that humanistic psychology was not only a defender of the new ethical rules of secular humanism but that the new sanctioned morality itself is to a great extent the legal culmination of that era.

The nature of man is that he has no nature

One of the oldest theories on human nature was proposed by the English thinker John Locke in the 17th century. It was one of

the earliest anti-Catholic statements that challenged the dogma of the original sin. He wrote that children are not born sinful. They are potentially born free and rational beings and that it is the kind of upbringing and education that rid them from this good nature. It is possible that Locke had come to know about the Prophetic Hadith that I quoted earlier but instead of saying that children are born with a good nature that predisposes them to know their Creator, he claimed that they are born with a mind as blank as a sheet of paper; a clean slate or tabula rasa. It is the environment in which they live in that writes whatever it worships or values on their clean slates.

John B. Watson, the father of behaviorism endorsed this belief but took it to its extreme. His famous quotation (Watson, 1930, p. 82) boasting to randomly take any baby out of 12 and manipulate his environment to make him grow up in any way he wishes, a doctor, a lawyer, a thief or a beggar-man summarizes his extreme environmentalism. Accordingly, to radical behaviorists man has no nature. It is the environment that shapes him as though he were a dry leaf or a feather blown about by the winds of his upbringing and his experiences. A superficial look at this belief on the nature of man may give the impression that it takes a neutral stand that does not necessarily support secular humanism. But a more thoughtful insight would clearly show that, like all other Western conceptualizations on human nature, it offers substantial support and justification to its ethical and legal position. If man is a total slave to his environment, then it is his culture that decides what values he would believe in. But since there are many different cultures in this world that bring up people to believe in their different value systems and religions, then what we call the “truth” is nothing but what we are made to believe. All the chatter about the existence of God and the supernatural is manmade. This ethical

relativism is indeed an unmistakable consequence of this belief in human nature. And if there is no truth with a capital “T,” man has the right to rationally follow any ethical code that he develops to suit his cultural conditions.

B.F. Skinner who raised the flag of behaviorism after Watson and became the most noted scholar of behaviorism supported this ethical relativism in his famous book, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*. In it, he strongly stated that the concepts and beliefs like “good” and “bad,” “moral” or “immoral,” “pious” or “sinful” are nothing but the results of contingencies of positive and negative reinforcements or rewards and punishments (Skinner, 1971). Thus, the belief that man has no nature turns out to be a belief in a secular man who had evolved from apes and whose only road to happiness is to lead a secular life in which he rationally develops his own code of ethics.

An Islamic Critique of the Secular Humanistic: Concepts on Human Nature

We have thus far been discussing how the Western world came to adopt a worldview with distorted concepts about human nature and how modern Western psychology supported it. We have explained how the image about human nature that a child accepts and adopts will be the compass that directs his thought, feelings and attitudes. In short it will be the cornerstone of his worldview. We believe that the major reason behind the distortion of the western worldview is the dogma of the Church concerning the evil and sinful nature of man. It is the belief that the fall of man created by Adam and Eve eating from the forbidden tree became an inherited sin that befell all people. So, “man is born in sin” was the culprit behind the extremism of the

Church that eventually resulted in the modern extreme secular retaliation.

From the Islamic point of view, the simplicity of *tawhid*, of faith in a merciful loving one almighty God who is neither begotten nor does he have a son and who is sustaining this universe from its subatomic particles to its greatest galaxies creates no confusion in the minds of believers and offers a worldview in which man is a beloved slave of God for whom the angels were ordered to prostrate themselves in his honor. To Muslims God is just and will not punish a newborn for a fault of his parents.

Furthermore, the Holy Qur'an clearly stated that the fault of Adam and Eve was permitted by Allah. It was entirely their own fault and it was fully forgiven and "deleted." Moreover, the fact that God made them commit this sin and later forgiving it is something good that generates optimism and steers the hearts clear from despair in God's mercy and forgiveness. The lesson is that if Adam who was a prophet of God sinned and was forgiven, how about us normal sinning human beings on earth? In fact this is confirmed by a hadith of our Prophet (PBUH) that was authenticated by Imam Muslim in which the Prophet said to his friends and disciples, "If you do not commit sins, then Allah would have removed you from the face of the earth and would have created other creatures who sin so he forgives them." To rethink about this issue, if *Alghaffar* or the forgiver of sins is one of the Holy names of Allah, then if no creatures commit sins, this holy attribute of God would be redundant!

As we have shown, when the Westerners dethroned the Church they came up with retaliatory images of man that are equally distorted from our Islamic perspective. However, though they are extreme in their anti-religious fervor, they generally include some true aspects. Let me discuss some of these Western concepts of human nature that I already detailed in

order to criticize them from an Islamic perspective:

Man is an animal

“Man is an animal”; yes and no: physically, “yes,” but this is not the end of the story. Man is also a spiritual being. Western psychology carried out an academic “jihad” to convince people that their nature is animalistic; selfish, aggressive or motivated by unconscious libidinal instincts. That is why psychologists are in trouble when they try to explain humane behavior such as altruistic and helping behavior. They cannot get counter evidence from animals since some animals like ants and bees are altruistic. Bees can lose their lives in protecting their queen. And since they cannot deny altruism in man, they come up with absurd defenses to explain it away. For example, psychoanalysts claim that in sacrificing, a person is unconsciously gratifying his own ego. Freudians always use this hide and seek approach to prove that the analyst is always right. To illustrate, if the analyst says you are anxious because you want to have sex with a certain woman but you honestly deny that, he would reply, “yes consciously you don’t feel that but you are unaware of it because it is in your unconscious mind.” As a British psychologist once said, it is as if the analyst tosses a coin and says to you, if it is head I am right but if it is tail, you are wrong!

Some behaviorists completely deny the existence of any true altruistic behavior. They come up with elaborate stimulus–response arguments to disprove it. A more absurd explaining away of helping behavior is pronounced by biological psychologists; they twist the Darwinian theory of the “survival of the fittest” to become “survival of the fittest genes.” So according to them we give our life to save the fittest genes. As I said in an earlier document, this deceptive approach of socio-biologists reminds me of George Orwell’s book *Animal Farm* in which the

pigs after raising the slogan, “all animals are equal,” change it to “all animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others.” By so doing, they justified their enslavement over other animals. The aim of this psychological wrangling is to prove that man’s nature is selfish, hedonistic and aggressive.

Another growing body of evidences in support of the spiritual side in human nature is coming from recent researches in transpersonal and paranormal phenomena such as telepathy, clairvoyance and near death experience. Scientific evidence in such phenomena has for long been played down or flatly rejected by modern psychology but the increasing confirmations to them are becoming more difficult to deny. These studies challenge materialism in two serious aspects. First, they show that our sense perception, on which the whole scientific method is based, may not be the only way we can receive knowledge. Through extra sensory perception, some people can transcend physical perception to see, hear and feel beyond space and time. Secondly, this will challenge the “animalistic” conception of man, since these studies confirm that we are spiritual beings and that is why they are standing against them. They remind them of religion!

Man is god

Man does not need Divine guidance or a heavenly code of ethics. He can draft his own moral rules. In that he is really crowning himself as a god. This kind of image of man cannot be Islamically compromised with. The problem with Western modernity as Malaysia’s eminent professor of Islamic studies, Syed Naquib al-Attas says, is that it always wishes to dichotomize things into two extremes. Either black or white; there is no gray in the way they think. To Western modernity, values are either profane or

sacred, things are either subjective or objective, governments are either secular or theocratic, sex is either for pleasure or procreation, economy is either capitalistic or socialistic, people are either white or colored, ideologies are either rational or religious. This dichotomy is even adopted by small groups such as gay activists. To them one either accepts homosexuality or else he is a homophobic; psychologically sick. In Islam we are guided by a revealed ethical code and a spiritually oriented worldview of moderation. This spiritually oriented worldview has not hindered Muslims when they really followed its teachings seriously from leading the world in science and technology and being the superpower on earth until the 16th century. We did not have a barbaric church. Our Renaissance was brought about by Islam.

The West is free to be governed by the man-made ethical and legal laws but it should be ready to meet the consequences. What is the result? The result is what the well-known American Japanese-born political scientist wrote about the ethical and social deterioration of America and other Western countries between 1960 and 1990. Read his book titled *The Great Disruption* in which he laments that the graph of crime, divorce, illegitimate children and other social catastrophes are rising like the side of a mountain. Read the summary of the book online at <http://www.fsmitha.com/review/r-fuku.htm> in order to see the result of the claim of man to be god. Fukuyama rightly says that the main reason for this great disruption is the cultural shift when values started destroying themselves. In his own words:

“At the highest level of thought, Western rationalism began to undermine itself by concluding that no rational grounds supported universal norms of behavior.”

He blamed the sexual revolution and the rights given to homosexuals and lesbians. In short he blamed the ethical laws and convention that secular humanism drafted by men who claimed to have the full rights to sanction moral rules for a people who accepted their libertine leadership.

The nature of man without a nature

As we mentioned earlier, the Behaviorists accepted the concept of the clean slate or the tabula rasa of John Locke but carried it to the extreme of considering that what we call human nature is nothing but the conceptualizations and generalizations that a person gets from his experiences, mainly as a child and later as an adult. From the Islamic point of view, there is truth in this belief but it was distorted and greatly exaggerated by behaviorists. In the Hadith authenticated by Bukhari that we quoted earlier, the Prophet says that all children are born according to *fitra*. They are born with a good nature including a “wired” potential to know Allah and to be his servants but that their parents would lead them away from this spiritual endowment. This is beautifully written by Yasien Mohamed in his excellent book, *Fitrah: The Islamic Concept of Human Nature*. He states:

“The nature of man’s *fitrah* is that he is naturally inclined to recognize his Creator and worship Him. This worship involves submission to the Divine Will, including His ethical injunctions. It is a fulfilment of man’s Divinely ordained purpose in life. Right action is natural to man and is in harmony with his *fitrah*. Allah has previously implanted in man the love of good, the love of the values which are the constituents of Divine Will” (Yasien, 1996, p. 97).

So children are not really born with a clean white paper as Locke and Watson say. The white sheet or slate has faint or

dotted lines of *fitra* that a child can easily and naturally follow by joining the dots or simply move his pen on the faint lines and then leads his life according to the dictates of this true good nature. But when his parents interfere with the heavy-writing pen of the environment, the lines of *fitra* are erased or kept in the dark background of his psyche.

However, its potential inborn sway will continue to influence his life even if he goes against his good *fitra*. If he refuses to be a slave of God the potential enslavement engraved in his nature will make him a slave to a substitute god such as being a slave to his country, to his bank account, to his political party, to his desires or his to wife! There is no man who is not a slave; either a slave of God or slave to something else.

As Muslim Psychologists, What Should We Do with Western Psychology?

Shall we accept the claim that psychology is a science and as scientists we should accept it?

From our earlier discussion, it should be taken for granted that Western psychology like other Western social sciences is based on a distorted secular worldview that conflicts with Islam as a religion, a way of life and a worldview. Because of its technological supremacy Islamic and developing countries got used to wholeheartedly accepting any information coming from the West if it is under the tag of “science.” By presenting itself under this prestigious “mantra” of science, students in Muslim countries swallow the kernel of psychology with its nutshell; the baby with its filthy bathwater. The danger of this approach is greatly augmented by the shortcomings of our educational systems that discourages critical thinking and encourages the

submissive acceptance of the words of the teacher and that of printed material.

When the exported commodity from North to South is physical in nature, the harm done can easily be identified, for example the quick detection of the life-threatening birth defects caused by the drug thalidomide when taken during pregnancy or the flaws in the braking system of a Japanese car. However, when the exported product is ideas and beliefs and ways of life, the indirect and sneaky damage is often much more malevolent and long-lasting because it attacks the worldview of the recipients and it shakes their cherished beliefs.

So we need to differentiate very carefully between what is really “science” in Western psychology and what is pseudo-science. In fact, as a real science, psychology can hardly deserve this designation beyond the narrow no man’s area where it merges with some of the exact sciences. For example, when it combines with physiology, pharmacology or genetics, then we get physiological psychology psychopharmacology and genetic psychology. And even in this small area, the critical eye would accept the results of the experimental researches but not necessarily their interpretations since they can be influenced by the Western worldview and its beliefs about human nature. Furthermore, if Western psychologists strictly apply the scientific method in their studies, the results are generally restricted to the populations from which the samples were drawn. However, American textbooks often claim universality to the results of social psychological studies done on samples of American college students.

As we have discussed earlier, if we leave this limited area of scientific or pseudo-scientific psychology we will find ourselves in a muddled field where psychology becomes philosophy, speculations and personal arm-chair ideas of the founders

of the different perspectives. This is the area that advocates Western modernity and its secular humanistic philosophy of life that stands for an irreligious worldview upheld like a religion of irreligiousness.

Another serious problem with modern psychology is that, with its pronounced secular concepts about human nature and its early Freudian alliance with medicine, it has concentrated its theories and practices on the negative and pathological aspects of man. It has also denied any reference to the spiritual side of human nature. Social sciences in general and psychology in particular are quite good at explaining egoistic, evil or pleasurable human behavior like aggression, greed and sex. They give these behaviors an amoral deterministic justification and normalcy that can have its serious ethical and legal consequences. But when it comes to human goodness and spirituality, they are either scornful and confused or mute. So we find that terms like “good,” “evil,” “soul” and even “happiness” have disappeared from the modern textbooks of psychology since they have their relationship with religion and spirituality. In an unpublished paper on happiness that I wrote in 2003, I stated that though the main objective of psychology is to give people happiness, I did not find the word “happiness” in the indexes of all the psychology books I examined. It is even absent in Corsini’s *Encyclopedia of Psychology* (1984). From the word “hallucination,” “hallucinogens” and “halo effect,” the Encyclopedia jumps to “hardness” and “Hawthorn’s effect” bypassing happiness. So what we need is a serious effort at the Islamization of psychology; but how?

What Is Wrong with Our Modern Efforts at Islamization?

In discussing this issue with which I wish to conclude my paper, I should like to be brief and precise so that I do not digress from

the main topic of my study. In general, the present efforts of Muslim psychologists at Islamization seem to ignore the ideological and irreconcilable conflict between the worldview of psychology and that of Islam. We, as Muslim psychologists are unable to uproot the “tree” of the systems and theories of modern psychology but concentrated our efforts at Islamizing the branches and leaves. The edifice of Western psychology is built on the substratum of secular humanism. We do not unsettle the ugly building but gave it a beautiful spiritual Islamic paint. I know that this is a difficult task but what we really need is a psychology based on our Islamic worldview.

The “humanism” part of secular humanism is acceptable if it preaches that man is precious and valued but not that he stands alone or be a god or writes his own code of ethics and legal system. In Islam man is very highly valued because of the spiritual component that God breathed unto him and because He ordered angels to prostrate themselves to him. Man is precious and valued as a beloved slave of Allah *Ta’ala* to whom he should submit with grateful humbleness. On this nature of man and its Islamic worldview our Islamic psychology should inculcate in the psyche of the students of psychology a cognitive schema that is highly sensitive to any Western psychological theory or practice which conflicts with Islam. Their hearts and minds would then react like a human body vaccinated against a specific bacterially caused disease. As soon as it enters the body it is immediately attacked by its antibodies. In a similar way, secular and anti-Islamic Western theories or applications would immediately be recognized and corrected. On this bedrock we can build up the detailed items of an Islamic psychology.

Islamic ethics would be the cornerstone of such an Islamized psychology. In such a psychology, the aim of helping the psychologically disordered is not only to treat their symptoms

but also to bestow them with happiness and remedy their distorted worldview. Though it will be a positive psychology that does not imprison itself in the negative side of man, it will have a branch about the psychology of evil and how to treat it and deal with it. Experimental and field research in such a psychology will not be like the nonjudgmental studies of modern “scientism” but that of involved professionals who genuinely wish to help their Muslim societies against social problems and deviant behavior.

Finally, unlike modern Western psychology, it is a social science guided by the life and actions of a living role model; the unsurpassed model of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). There is no human being whose life and biography and speech has been recorded in the most detailed manner. Muslim individuals or groups can find a living example of his blessed life as a devoted worshiper, a spiritual guide, a parent, a husband, a politician, a military leader, a teacher or any aspect of life. A psychology for Muslims that does not make use of the love of Muslims to their Prophet is a hopeless barren psychology. Just remember the flood of emotions and actions by Muslim individuals, crowds and governments when a European artist drew an evil cartoon of our beloved Prophet. Whether you agree with this enormous response in which embassies were burnt down and Western companies lost millions of dollars is not our issue. The issue is that there is no person alive or dead who can stimulate such a colossal response. So, it would be a great oversight for psychology designed for Muslims not utilize these warm feelings.

Note

- 1 The term “*fitrah*” has been given different linguistic and religious meanings that extends from simple inborn disposition or constitution that is neutral (*tabula rasa*) to the religious meaning of being the inborn faculty created in mankind to know Allah and to instinctively accept submitting to Him. In this religious definition, the term *fitra* can be viewed as synonymous with Islam as a religion of submission to God. This is referred to in a number of places in the Holy Qur’an and the Sunnah. It is this religious definition which we are adopting in this paper.

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Elucidating the Psychospiritual Conflict
of Worldviews and Moving Towards an
Indigenous Islamic Psychology

Colleen Ward

In this paper I will explore the basis of conflicting construals of human nature found in Islamic and Western psychologies as identified by Badri (2014) with the goal of interpreting and elucidating broader differences in worldviews that underpin these beliefs.

I start with the supposition that beliefs about human nature are like colored lenses that affect our perspectives and behaviors; furthermore, I point out that this principle is no less true for psychologists and Islamic scholars than for everyday people. Given the cultural, religious and individual variations in these lenses, I believe it is helpful to be explicit in my own positioning. As a psychologist who has had the good fortune to live and work in many cultures, I adopt an approach that reflects aspects of a critical realist perspective in seeking a compromise between the importance of empiricism and the recognition of its limitations. I recognize that our approaches to understanding the social world are affected by our personal experiences and our colored lenses. I acknowledge that my own psychological insights in many ways mirror the parable of the blind men and the elephant – that my theories and research findings can be proven to be true, but that they are limited in that they do not necessarily account for the totality of truths. Consequently, I must minimally acknowledge other perspectives on the truth.¹

The paper that follows is divided into four main sections. I start by offering an eco-cultural perspective on how and why

Western and Islamic worldviews are different and the implications of these differences for psychology. I then examine an Islamic critique of Western psychology, identifying points of agreement and disagreement in our understandings of the underlying assumptions of the discipline. In the third section I introduce the notion of indigenous psychologies and look for ways in which a spiritual dimension may be acknowledged and incorporated in our approach to understanding of human behavior and experience. This is followed by a discussion of the ways in which an indigenous Islamic psychology may develop. I then briefly conclude with questions about future directions against a backdrop of conflicting worldviews.

How and Why We are Different

Worldviews in context

It has been argued that there is a fundamental clash between Western and Muslim worldviews, including key differences in the understanding of human nature. But what are the origins of these differences? As a cross-cultural psychologist, I start from the eco-cultural framework (see figure 1 in the annex) with the argument that posits a relationship between ecology and culture on one hand and human cognitions and behaviors, including worldviews, on the other (Berry, 1967, 2011). Fundamental to this approach are the concepts of interaction and adaptation. The former rests on reciprocal relationships among elements of the ecosystem; the latter reflects changes in the elements that enhance their mutual compatibility. According to Berry (2011, p. 95), the core assumptions of the eco-cultural framework are: “(1) cultural and biological features of human

populations are adaptive to the ecological contexts in which they develop and live; and (2) the development and display of individual human behaviors are adaptive to these ecological and cultural contexts.” Clearly, the eco-cultural framework represents the application of natural science theorizing, in particular evolutionary theory, to the human sciences, presumably a contestable endeavor from an Islamic perspective.

The framework identifies two contextual sources of influence on individuals and groups, ecological and socio-political, and two domains of adaptation for human populations, biological and cultural. Population-level characteristics are “transmitted” to individuals and groups via processes such as enculturation, socialization and acculturation, as well as through genetic inheritance. Not only does this result in variations across cultural groups, but also individual differences in psychological outcomes. From an eco-cultural perspective, human diversity reflects individual and collective adaptation to environmental and social contextual demands.

At the cultural level, this is demonstrated by differences in values and norms. Figure 2 in the annex graphically displays findings from the World Value Survey, arranging countries in relation to two value dimensions: traditional versus rational-secular, and survival versus self-expression values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2010). Traditional values place priority on religion, deference to authority, and family values; traditionalists tend to reject divorce, abortion and euthanasia. Rational-secular values sit in opposition to traditional ones, placing less priority on religion and authority and reflecting a more secular and accepting perspective on moral issues such as abortion and euthanasia. Survival values are associated with a strong need for physical and economic security; those who hold survival values tend to be ethno-centric and have lower levels of

trust. Self-expression values are linked to concerns for environmental protection, gender equality and desire for participation in decision-making in economic and political life. Inglehart and Welzel argue that these value systems arise from underlying ecological and socio-political factors; in particular, the moment between traditional and secular values is associated with agrarian versus industrial bases of a society, and survival versus self-expression values vary across industrial and knowledge-based, technological societies. As can be seen on the map, the Islamic world is positioned in terms of traditional, survival values. The Western world, particularly the English-speaking countries, is high on self-expression values. The English-speaking countries are moderate in terms of rational-secularism, while both Northern (Protestant) Europe and Confucian societies (e.g. Taiwan, Hong Kong) have stronger rational-secular values.

Ecological and social factors also underpin societal norms, particularly the degree of situational constraints that is considered functional and appropriate in a society. This has been studied under the rubric of cultural tightness–looseness (Gelfand et al., 2011). Tight cultures, which have rigid social norms and are intolerant of deviant behavior, can be contrasted with loose cultures, which have more flexible rules and conventions and fewer penalties for norm-breaking. There is strong cross-cultural evidence that rigid social norms are underpinned by ecological and social threats. Tight cultures have greater population density, fewer natural resources, higher food deprivation, less access to safe water, more natural disasters, such as floods and droughts, more pathogens, and higher infant-mortality rates. They also have more territorial threats from their neighbors, autocratic rules that repress dissent, less open media, fewer political rights and civil liberties, and

stricter forms of social control, including more police per capita and harsher punishments for crime, as well as lower crime rates. People in tighter societies are more religious, both with respect to attending services and believing in the importance of God in life.

Table 1 in the annex reports cultural tightness scores based on survey research by Gelfand et al. (2011) in 33 countries. There are relatively few Muslim countries in this study; however, it can be seen that Pakistan and Malaysia are the tightest among the international samples, and Turkey is ranked 7th out of 33. By contrast, the United States, highly influential not only in the sphere of international relations, but also in the development of contemporary psychology, is ranked 23rd among the 33 nations.

Implications for psychology

I have adopted an evolution-inspired eco-cultural framework to demonstrate that broad-based ecological and socio-political factors shape cultures, including norms and values, and that these norms and values impact individuals, their psychological make-up, perspectives on the world and patterns of behaviors. Along these lines, I introduce the notion of the “Western self” and describe how it plays out in everyday situations. This is important as these “features of self” also characterize Western psychologists who theorize not only about the essence of human nature but also about psychological processes and outcomes. Furthermore, I note that our psychological science is embedded in context. Science and society are inextricably intertwined, and psychological theorizing reflects the pervading worldview of the culture from which it arises. Contemporary Western societies tend to be complex, secular, democratic, and moderately

wealthy, and values in these countries lean towards individualism and independent construals of self.

Furthermore, these inclinations have significant implications for psychology.

Construals of self

Ecological and political features of Western countries give rise to individualistic cultures that value independence, autonomy, self-fulfillment, individual rights rather than responsibilities, and concern for self and family rather than larger groups or communities. Hofstede (2001) has identified the antecedents of Individualism as wealth, higher levels of education, social and geographical mobility, urbanism, moderate to cold climates, less agriculture and more industry. Figure 3 in the annex compares Individualism in Muslim countries with the United States and the United Kingdom. Not surprisingly, individualistic values are much stronger in the two English-speaking Western societies.

As the individualistic and collectivistic values at country level are transmitted to individuals within the society, they have implications for self-construals, how the self is understood and experienced. In Western, individualistic cultures the self tends to be experienced as independent and autonomous, whereas in more collectivist cultures, including many Muslim countries, the self is interdependent. This is an important distinction because not only do these self-construals affect psychological processes, including emotion, cognition and motivation (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), but also the notion of a Western independent self underpins our psychological theorizing.

The geography of thought

An extensive discussion of the ramifications of self-construals for cognition, motivation and emotion is beyond the scope of this paper; however, I will highlight a key cross-cultural difference in cognition as I believe it helps us to understand an Islamic critique of Western psychology. Although somewhat simplified and over-generalized for the purposes of this paper, Western thinking at large tends to be scientific, analytic and reductionist in nature. In his book *The Geography of Thought*, Nisbett (2003) traces the development of modes of thought, situating cognitive processes in a broad homeostatic socio-cognitive framework, including cultural assumptions about epistemology and meta-physics, which are embedded in a social structure, based on an economic system, determined, in turn, by ecological forces. In other words, placing the development of human cognition in a historical context, Nisbett argues that fundamental ecological differences between ancient Greece and China have resulted in differences in modes of thought, leading on one hand to a culture that values personal freedom and agency, debate, logic, science and reductionism, in contrast to another that emphasizes the importance of harmony, ethics, technology and holistic thought. There is, in fact, a robust research literature that demonstrates systematic and predictable differences in cognitive processes such as attention, classification and cognitive styles between Asians and Westerners, as well as the tendency for Westerners to engage in dichotomous thinking (Nisbett, Peng, Choi & Norenzayan, 2001). There is also limited evidence that Arabs and Middle Easterners are more integrative and holistic in their thinking than North Americans (Norenzayan, Choi, & Peng, 2007). The key point, however, is that

the reductionist thinking characteristically found in Western societies underpins our psychological theorizing.

The psychospiritual conflict about human nature

Badri (2014) posits that: (1) there is an inherent incompatibility between Western and Islamic worldviews; (2) the Western acceptance of secular humanism is at the root of the conflict, and this must be understood in a historical context and (3) there are four key conflicting assumptions about human nature that deserve particular attention.

Clearly, I agree that there are significant differences in Western and Islamic worldviews. Empirical research has demonstrated systematic, predictable differences in norms and values. I also agree that these differences should be understood in historical context; however, I would not limit an understanding of context to historical and socio-political features of a society. I would strongly argue that ecological factors are also important. Finally, I agree with the four points of distinction between Islamic and Western perspectives on psychology and attempt to elucidate further the bases of these differences.

Although there have been numerous paradigm shifts (psychoanalytic, behavioral, humanistic) in psychology, by the early 1980s cognitive psychology became the main paradigm in Western Academic Scientific Psychology (WASP) and remains so today.² Throughout these paradigm shifts, it has been argued that there are four key underlying assumptions of psychology that conflict with an Islamic approach to understanding human behavior and experience: (1) humans are intelligent animals; (2) human nature is neither inherently good or bad (“the nature of man is that he has no nature”); (3) there is no need for a supernatural or spiritual dimension to understanding human

behavior and (4) humans have replaced God in determining ethical principles (Badri, 2014). There is ample evidence to illustrate these principles, but the identification of secular humanism as the root cause of these assumptions is only part of the bigger picture as other aspects of Western social structure, ecology, philosophy and thought come into play.

The eco-cultural framework adopted in this paper for explaining cross-cultural variation is predicated on evolutionary theory. Although controversial in some circles, including among fundamental Christians, Darwin's theory of evolution is one of the most established theories in science, arguably on par with Newton's theory of gravity and Einstein's theory of relativity (Young & Strode, 2009). Accordingly, as a scientific enterprise, WASP views humans as animals, albeit intelligent, social and sometimes altruistic ones. In contrast to a moral interpretation of evolutionary theory, the motivations and behaviors of humans and other animals are understood as neither intrinsically good nor bad, but as merely adaptive to their context. Indeed, Berry (1994, 2011) argues that the eco-cultural approach offers a "value-neutral" framework for interpreting human behavior, which appears as a welcome advance from the sexism and ethnocentrism that have permeated psychology, including the tendency to equate difference with deficiency and the widespread acceptance of the appropriateness of "civilizing the savages." In the end, however, the WASP portrayals of human nature (whether animalistic, bad or neutral) are at odds with an Islamic perspective, which emphasizes inherent goodness in human nature.

Relatedly, Western psychology has been criticized for lacking a spiritual dimension in its comprehension of the human psyche. This is not surprising given psychology's positioning as a scientific enterprise. The scientific reductionist approach

encourages WASP psychologists to view human beings in terms of their component parts, separating the spiritual (and relegating that dimension to religion), the physical (and putting that in the hands of medical practitioners) and the psyche (the only component that lies in the psychological domain). Centuries of Cartesian dualism and the mind-body distinction, traceable to ancient Greece, paved the way for the application of analytical and reductionist thought to the WASP understanding of human nature.

Does this mean that individualist, reductionist, analytical WASP is godless? Yes and no. It does mean that a spiritual dimension of human nature is not seen as the purview of psychology other than to study religious beliefs and practices in much the same way that one would study other human activities. Religion does not provide explanatory frameworks for the interpretation of human behavior and experience nor does it guide the epistemological assumptions of the discipline. However, this does not mean that individual psychologists or indeed other scientists, uniformly deny the existence of God. It is true that there are some like Dawkins (2006) who are vehement objectors to the notion of God as the supernatural creator, but there are others who see science and faith as distinctly different domains and explanatory systems, with varying degrees of compatibility. Indeed, Gould (1999) refers to science and religion as non-overlapping magisteria. Science is about facts, data and theory; religion is about ultimate meaning and morality.

If there is no place for a god in modern psychology, it stands to reason that moral and ethical principles are determined by people. Secular ethics (a branch of moral philosophy) reflect ethics that are based on logic, reason and moral intuition, leading to normative principles of behaviors and moral prin-

ciples that a group of people can more or less agree on. There are different schools of secular ethics, which is beyond the scope of this paper; however, it is noted here that secular and religious ethics are not always incompatible. Research by Vauclair and Fischer (2011) found little difference across cultures in moral values relating to dishonesty; however, there was considerable variation in moral values linked to personal-sexual issues, such as euthanasia, prostitution, homosexuality, abortion and divorce. More specifically, economic development and country-level autonomy values predict more lenient attitudes towards these issues. In sum, Western societies, guided by secular humanistic values, tend to rely on humanly determined ethics rather than religiously based moral codes, but research also shows a convergence of these ethical systems in many domains.

Alternative psychological perspectives: indigenous psychologies

Science and society are inextricably linked. As psychologists, our cultural lenses influence not only how we see the world in broad terms, but also our epistemological assumptions, the problems we choose to investigate, the theories we develop, and in some instances, even the conclusions we reach. What is most important to understand is that “Psychology,” as the discipline we know, is a highly contextualized discipline. In fact, in the preface to the *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology*, Triandis (1980) estimated that 80% of psychologists who have ever lived have been resident in the United States. This means that the theories we rely upon to explain human behavior are culture-bound, and their relevance and generalizability to other cultural contexts largely remains to be determined. So while

WASP functions perfectly well in explaining and interpreting human behavior in the United States, it remains but one version of indigenous psychology and its application to other contexts should only be undertaken with caution.

Fortunately, there are worldwide efforts to develop alternative perspectives on human behavior and experience, and indigenous psychologies are thriving in parts of Asia and Latin America (e.g. Diaz-Loving 2005; Kim, Yang, & Hwang 2006). Indigenous psychologies set out to understand psychological processes and outcomes in cultural context, highlighting indigenous constructs, theories, measurements, methods and applications. Consequently, there is marked variation in indigenous psychologies across the globe. In some instances indigenous psychologies are highly political in their origins and goals. For example, liberation psychology in the Philippines is a direct attempt to resist colonization of the Filipino mind (Enriquez, 1992). In many instances indigenous approaches are highly applied and geared towards positive social change, that is, social action for the betterment of certain communities or even the broader society. Moreover, it is commonly acknowledged that there are multiple routes to the development of non-Western indigenous psychologies. Enriquez (1990) distinguishes “indigenization from within” and “indigenization from without.” The former starts with indigenous concepts and methods relying on indigenous culture as the source of observation and theorizing. The latter relies on exogenous sources, most notably WASP, as a starting point and modifies and adapts relevant theories and methods to achieve an indigenous version of an “imported” system. Both approaches can lead to culturally appropriate, meaningful insights and understandings of human behavior and experience.

In most instances, the underlying assumptions about human

nature diverge in some ways from WASP as the “majority world” is more collectivist in nature, the core self is embedded and relational, and the “pie of human experience” is not cut in terms of individuals but in terms of significant groups. It is often the case that non-Western indigenous psychologies adopt a multi-faceted, but unified view of the individual, with physical, psychological and spiritual dimensions, and situates that individual within a broader psycho-social, temporal and physical context. This conceptualization of “human nature” has implications for psychological processes and outcomes, including mental health. More specifically, physical, psychological, spiritual, relational and environmental elements must be in harmony to achieve wholeness or well-being.

Some indigenous psychologies arise directly from historic sources, including religious texts and ancient philosophies. For example, Bhawuk (2010) derived an epistemological and ontological foundation for Indian psychology from the Vedas, elaborating the synthesis of the physical, social and spiritual elements of self and the realization that self is Brahman. In the New Zealand context, Rata, Liu and Hutchings proposed a framework for examining cultural reintegration and identity development in colonized indigenous peoples based on Maori creation legends. Other indigenous psychologies arise from the observation of everyday events and interactions in specific cultural contexts. For example, Hwang (1987) developed a theory of interpersonal relations in Chinese societies based on “face and favor,” the norms of reciprocal obligations (*bao*) and hierarchically organized networks (*guanxi*). Ferreira and colleagues examined problem-solving strategies in hierarchical settings by *jeitinho*, an indigenous Brazilian concept referring to the achievement of desired goals by circumventing rules or conventions (Ferreira et al., 2012). Still other indigenous psy-

chologies arise in the interests of impoverished and oppressed communities, such as the liberation psychology movement in parts of Asia and Latin America (Burton & Kagan 2005; Enriquez 1992). All indigenous psychologies attempt to understand human behavior and experience in terms that are meaningful and appropriate within a culture-specific context.

Creating an Indigenous Islamic Psychology

Beginning the journey

There are multiple approaches that can be used in the development of an indigenous Islamic psychology. One approach, reflecting “indigenization from within” (Enriquez, 1990), has been to rely on Muslim teachings. In the Muslim tradition Yusuf (2012) translated and interpreted the works of Imam al-Mawlid’s *Matharat al-Qulub* to offer insights into spiritual diseases of the heart. As stated by Yusuf (2012, p. xvii) “when people are completely immersed in the material world, believing that this world is all that matters and all that exists and that they are not accountable for their actions, they affect a spiritual death of their hearts. Before the heart dies, however, it shows symptoms of affliction. These afflictions are spiritual diseases of the heart.” He then goes on to describe the consequences of afflictions arising from wantonness, vanity, heedlessness, iniquity, negative thoughts and other sources, and describes treatment for the heart, which involves “curbing the soul from its own excessive desires” (pp. 130-1).

There have also been attempts to articulate a Muslim theory of personality based on the Sufi teachings of Al-Ghazali (Fadiman & Frager, 1976) At the core of this personality system

are the five pillars (confession of faith, daily prayer, fasting, charity and pilgrimage), which help Muslims to remain aware of their divine nature. Germane to our discussions, Al-Ghazali distinguished “objectionable” and “praiseworthy” branches of knowledge. The former includes logic, which is viewed as limited with respect to spiritual questions and philosophy, and academic knowledge, which has been described as “vain posturing.” In contrast, the science of revelation, based on personal experience, is deemed praiseworthy in fostering psychospiritual growth; however, the path to psychospiritual growth can be an arduous journey. It requires an initial awakening, patience and gratitude, self-denial, trust in God, truthfulness and love. There are common obstacles to be conquered along the way, including heedlessness, incapacity and *nafs* (impulses, drives to satisfy desires).

There have also been efforts to contribute to the development of an indigenous Muslim psychology, adopting the “indigenization from without” approach (Enriquez, 1990). Adam (2015) was interested in stress, religious coping mechanisms, and psychological well-being in Muslims living as minority group in a Western cultural context. Although a religious coping measure for Muslims had been developed in Iran, and religious coping measures were available based on work with Christian groups, there was no existing measure to assess religious coping in a heterogeneous Muslim minority sample. With this in mind, and with the goal of validating a scale to assess cognitive, behavioral and social aspects of religious coping, Adam adapted scale items from a range of Muslim and general religious coping measures and added items to reflect common Islamic religious practices. Her psychometric analysis revealed a three-factor measure of Muslim religious coping in cognitive (e.g. I have been seeing my situation as Allah’s will),

behavioral (e.g. I have been seeking guidance by reading the Qur'an) and social (e.g. I have been attending events at the Mosque) domains. She then examined the effects of religious and non-religious (e.g. active coping, planning, acceptance, positive reinterpretation, seeking emotional and instrumental support) coping on life satisfaction. Her analysis indicated that: (1) religious, but not non-religious, coping mechanisms positively predicted life satisfaction; (2) each domain of religious coping (cognitive, behavioral, and social) was associated with positive outcomes and (3) coping through religious behaviors buffered the negative effects of acculturative stress on life satisfaction. The findings highlight the importance of incorporating a spiritual dimension in understanding and explaining subjective well-being in religious Muslim populations and suggest the importance of religion in therapeutic interventions.

Beyond this line of research, there has also been a number of applied studies that have been based on the development of psychotherapeutic models for Muslim patients. Many of these combine Islamic practices with Western therapeutic techniques. For example, Mehraby (2003) blended religious practices, such as prayer and supplications, with cognitive restructuring, in treating with Muslim clients coping with grief. Carter and Rashidi (2003) likewise incorporated Islamic practices and beliefs into their psychotherapeutic approach along with "Eastern" values and philosophical principles and "Western" therapeutic methods in their work with Asian Muslim immigrant women in the United States.

Challenges and future directions

Creating an indigenous psychology is a long and laborious process. Ward (2007) described developments in indigenous

Asian social psychology over three decades noting the progress from “adding” non-Western peoples to psychological research to focusing on indigenous, culture-specific constructs, generating new theories, constructing culturally appropriate measurements, and prioritizing areas of application. It is likely that the development of an indigenous Islamic psychology would follow similar patterns. The first step in indigenizing psychology is often making non-Western peoples visible. As noted by Abu-Raiya and Pargament (2011, p. 93), “Systematic, rigorous and large scale scientific psychological research on Muslims has been particularly sparse.” However, “adding” Muslims to international psychological research is not sufficient. It is critical that the concepts investigated are not only relevant, but also of high priority in the Muslim world and that the methods and measurements are culturally sensitive and appropriate. Moreover, the “adding” approach also introduces a political dimension into the research in that Westerners, most frequently Americans, implicitly become the yardstick against which others are measured.

A more meaningful approach to creating an Islamic psychology is to identify key concepts that are central to the understanding of human nature and psychological functioning. In our forum, for example, the concept of *fitra* and its implications for psychological functioning and well-being were discussed at length, suggesting that this is a key concept in Islamic psychology. Observations of everyday behaviors provide one way to identify these key constructs. Another method is to adopt a bottom-up approach as recommended by Abu-Raiya and Pargament:

“Research among Muslims should be grounded in Muslims’ experiential lives, worldviews and methods of communication. Using qualitative research methods

might be an important step in this direction as this format of investigation allows Muslim participants to voice their concerns and religious feelings and thoughts in their own ways and in their own words” (Abu-Raiya & Pargament 2011, p. 106).

Stuart and Ward (2011) adopted this approach in their research with Muslim youth in New Zealand, who highlighted the significance of Islam in their lives, noted the importance of achieving balance in a non-Muslim environment and suggested ways in which this might be accomplished without compromising on faith. In their own words “To have good morals and have a strong base of religion and be able to balance these in your life in New Zealand” formed the basis of success. Using identify maps (see figure 4 in the annex) in conjunction with interviews and focus groups, this permitted the researchers to identify key issues and challenges confronted by young Muslim immigrants and to generate theory-based predictive models of psychological well-being that could be tested in subsequent research.

Key concepts and indigenous theories can also be derived from ancient texts, religious teachings and philosophy. The teachings of Al-Ghazali and the works of Imam Al-Mawlud, interpreted as a basis for psychological well-being and spiritual growth provide examples of this approach. It should be noted, however, that some Muslim psychologists, particularly those who have been trained in Western countries, may be inclined to reject this approach as being “unscientific.” The necessity of a scientific basis for indigenous psychology has been the subject of debate in many cultural contexts, and an overall consensus on this issue remains to be achieved.

Testing of indigenous theories relies not only on the use of culturally appropriate concepts, but also, the availability of culturally appropriate measurements. Indeed, in their review of

empirical studies on the psychology of Islam, Abu-Raiya and Pargament (2011) noted that a major reason for a paucity of research in the area has been the limited availability of reliable measures. Progress is being made with their review delineating 14 measures of Islamic religiousness; however, many of the scales are limited in terms of reliability and validity. This is a topic that deserves priority attention, particularly to demonstrate the significance and centrality of Islam in the lives of Muslims and its impact on their health and well-being.

As an indigenous Islamic psychology develops, along with the theories and measurements, there are many options for applications. Our forum has very much concentrated on mental health and well-being, viewed from the perspective of practicing Muslim counselors, psychologists and psychiatrists. It is abundantly clear that indigenous Islamic perspectives on human nature, moral codes and the relationship between Allah and the community of true believers exert strong influences on these outcomes. But there are also many other areas of application that can impact outcomes as diverse as cognitive and moral development, pro-social behavior, community cohesion and intergroup relations. These also deserve attention in due course.

Finally, in the development of an indigenous psychology, it is important to recognize that despite the notion of a pan-Muslim identity, there is considerable diversity among the world's Muslims. Abu-Raiya and Pargament (2011) note that Islam may mean different things to different people and accordingly, a broad perspective should be adopted when delving into the psychology of Islam. This serves as a word of caution and the basis of a recommendation to avoid over-simplifying an Islamic perspective and situating it in sharp contrast with a Western worldview.

So where to from here?

The Western and Muslim worlds are different worlds, different in terms of norms and values, and consequently, different in terms of their indigenous psychologies. An eco-cultural framework provides one means of understanding and explaining the root of these differences. However, as to whether these differences result in a clash of civilizations or a respectful acknowledgement of differences and a pragmatic approach to dealing with them is in our hands.

Do we fuel the fires of Huntington's (1996) clash of civilizations where cultural and religious identities are seen as the primary source of international conflict? Or do we support the more optimistic United Nations Millennium Declaration in the era of globalization?

“Differences within and between societies should be neither feared nor repressed, but cherished as a precious asset of humanity. A culture of peace and dialogue among all civilizations should be actively promoted.”

This declaration, endorsed by Her Highness Shaikha Moza, formed part of the Fourth Forum of the Alliance of Civilizations held in Doha in 2011 (Alliance of Civilizations, 2011). In my view the goals of the Millennium Declaration are no less appropriate for our discipline of psychology than for the world's modern nations.

Notes

- 1 The story originated on the Indian subcontinent and has been found in many religious traditions, including Sufi Muslim lore (see Idris Shah, *Tales of the Dervishes*, Octagon Press, 1993).
- 2 To the best of my knowledge, the acronym WASP was introduced by John Berry in 1997 in the preface to the *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology* (2nd ed.), Allyn and Bacon.

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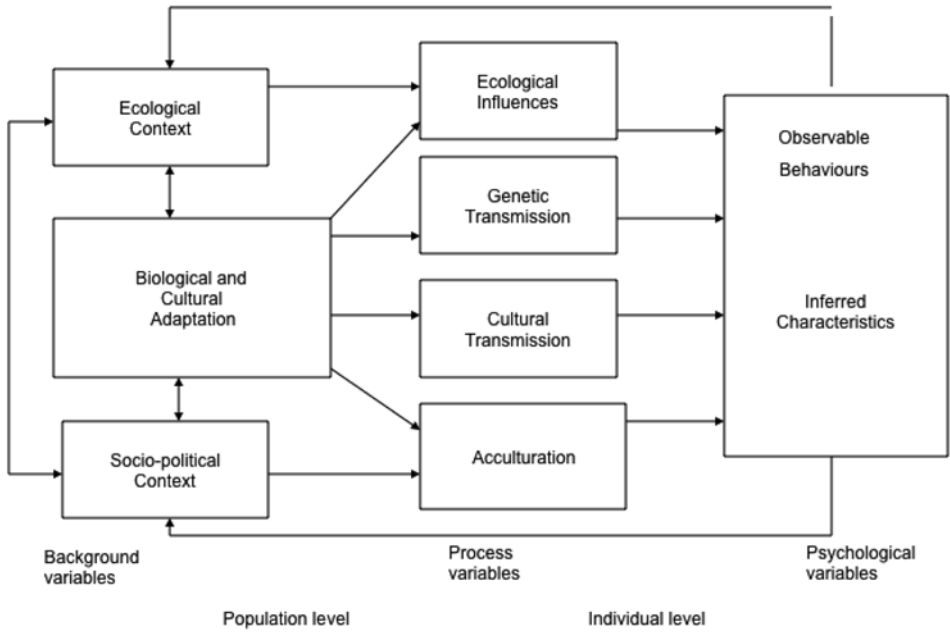
Appendix

Table 1. Tightness score for 33 nations (tightest to loosest)

Pakistan	12.3	France	6.3
Malaysia	11.8	Hong Kong	6.3
India	11.0	Poland	6.0
Singapore	10.4	Belgium	5.6
South Korea	10.0	Spain	5.4
Norway	9.5	United States	5.1
Turkey	9.2	Australia	4.4
Japan	8.6	Greece	3.9
People's Republic of China	7.9	New Zealand	3.9
Portugal	7.8	Venezuela	3.7
Germany (former East)	7.5	Brazil	3.5
Mexico	7.2	Netherlands	3.3
United Kingdom	6.9	Israel	3.1
Austria	6.8	Hungary	2.9
Italy	6.8	Estonia	2.6
Germany (former West)	6.5	Ukraine	1.6
Iceland	6.4		

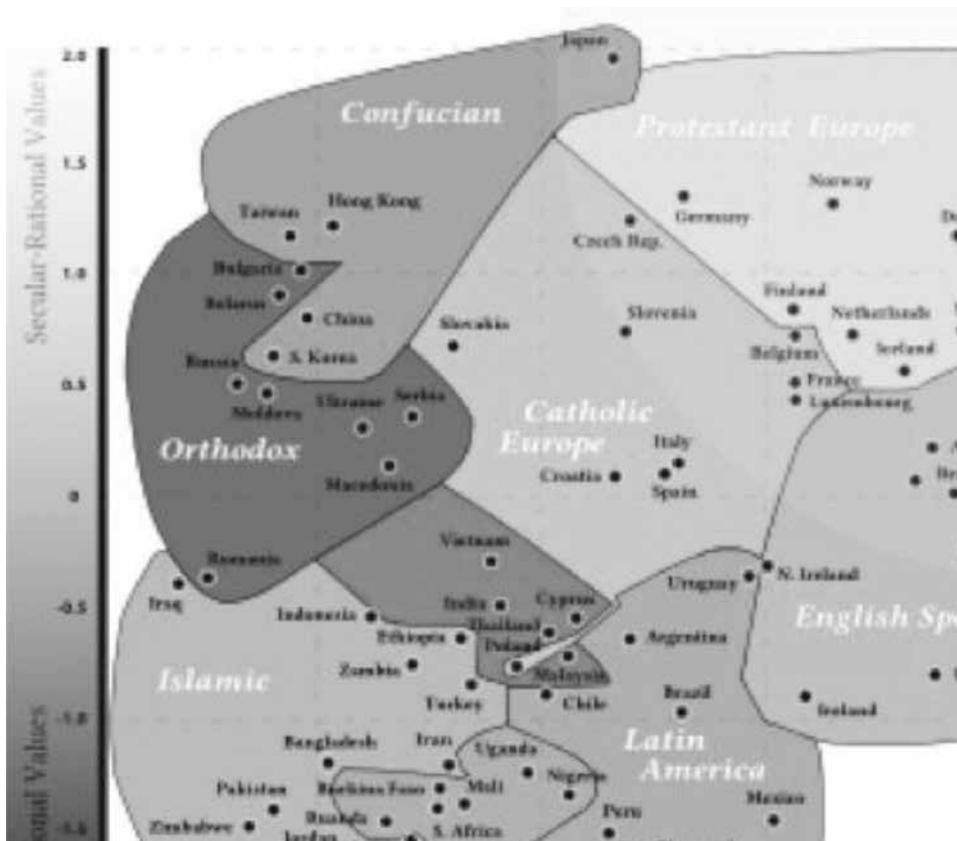
Source: Gelfand et al. 2011.

Figure 1. Eco-cultural framework



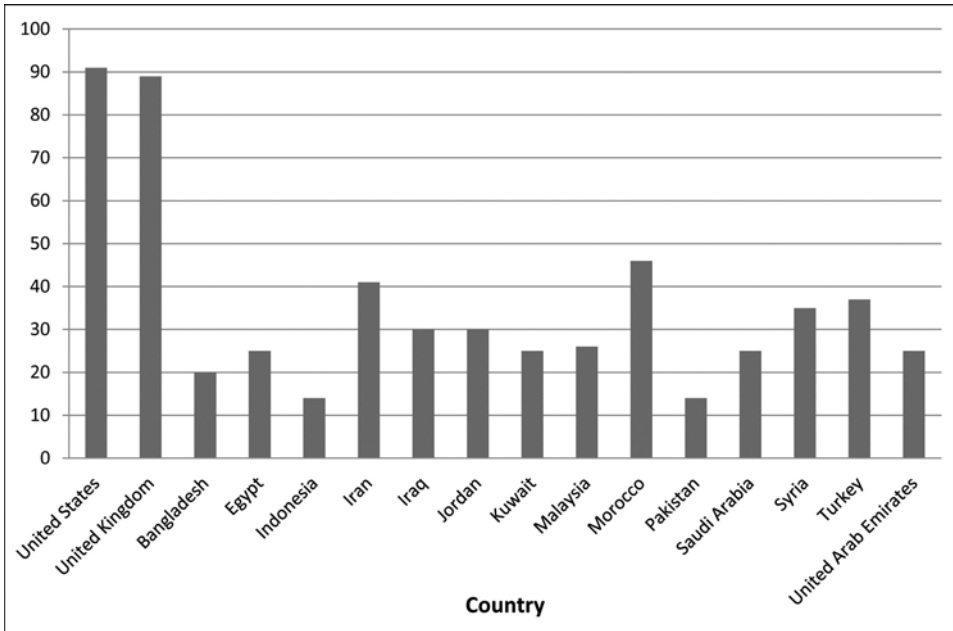
Source: Berry (2010).

Figure 2. Cultural map of the world



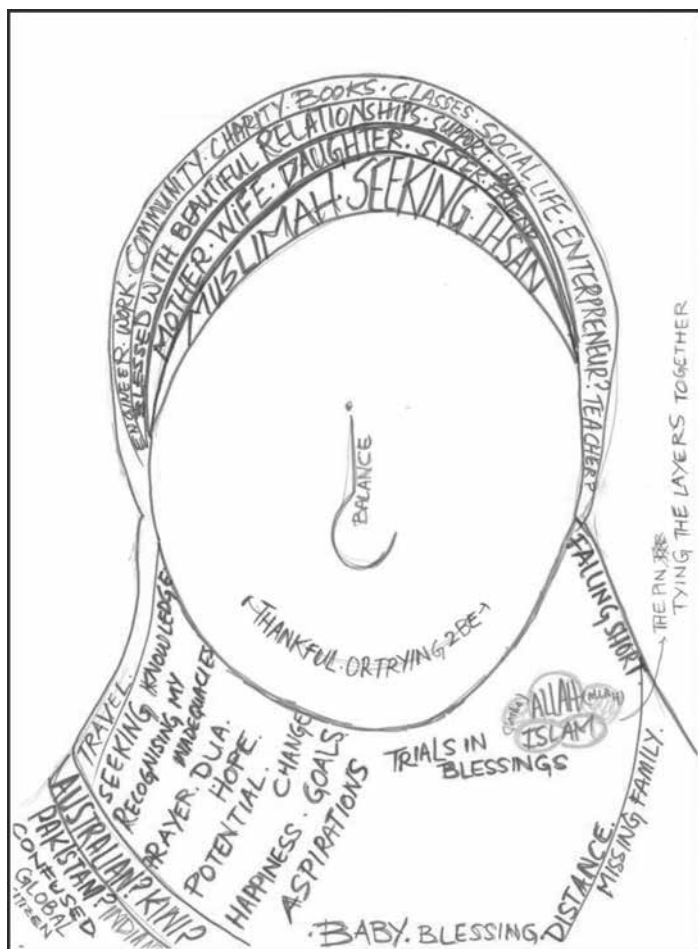
Source: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVContents.jsp>

Figure 3. Individualism in the US, UK and 14 Muslim countries



Source: <http://geert-hofstede.com/united-states.html>

Figure 4. Identity map drawn by a young Muslim woman in New Zealand



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