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Occidentalism: An Eastern Reply to Orientalism*

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to research the etymology and different definitions of the term of Occidentalism. Occidentalism, in its broadest meaning, is the reverse of Orientalism; just as Orientalism is a Western reading of the East, Occidentalism is an Eastern reading of the West. A meticulous reading of related literature reveals several different meanings attributed to Occidentalism. One of these definitions was introduced by the Egyptian philosopher Hasan Hanafi, who sees Occidentalism as the science of adopting Western values by eliminating them. Conversely, Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit do not consider Occidentalism to be a science, but hostility against the West. In addition to these two definitions, a further perspective defines Occidentalism as the answer to one of the following questions: "How can the Western values be developed" and "How can Western values be adopted by the East, while saving the Eastern identity". This paper defines and explores the terms 'Occidentalism' and 'Occidentalist' considering these forms and interpretations.

Keywords

Occidentalism, Occidentalist, Orientalism, Hassan Hanafi, Edward Said.

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Introduction

Throughout history, civilizations have been in perpetual contact with one another; this contact has aroused a curiosity regarding the other. Orientalism occurred due to such a curiosity; namely, the West's coming to know the East in general and, more specifically, Islam. Some authors trace the history of Orientalism back to the Persian-Greek wars. Others, including Edward Said, think that the Vienna Council of 1311 -which allowed Arabic to be taught at some European universities- marked the beginning of what would ultimately become known as Orientalism. Hasan Hanafi, the author of *Introduction to the Science of Occidentalism*, meanwhile, suggests the 17th century. This difference in dating the origins of Orientalism stems from the various definitions one gives to Orientalism itself. Said (1978: 1-3), the author of the most influential study on Orientalism, divided it into three aspects; a style of thought, an academic discipline, and a corporate institution. Each category has a different history.

Said considers Orientalism in a pejorative sense. According to him, Orientalism is used by the West not only as it tries to come to know the East, but also as it tries to define and rebuild it; that is, the Orient became Orientalized (both in and by the mind of the West). Said based his opinion on Foucault's thesis of "power-knowledge". According to Said, the main subject of Orientalism is the relationship between the "accumulation of knowledge" and "power". This means that Orientalism is not only a pile of texts used to describe a given object, it is also comprised of information used to redefine the identity of the East. However, there is a significant difference between Said and Foucault regarding the nature of power. Walia (2001: 29-30) summarizes this difference accordingly:

> Foucault's conception of repressive structures refuses to look at the idea of power as a preconceived hegemonic force that always operates hierarchically downwards from an institution of the state located at the top. He emphasizes the 'impersonal element' in the operation of power that has for its goal the fashioning of subjects and their histories. For Said, this is not so; he maintains instead that there are a conscious plan and intentionality behind the Western domination of the East. Governments, authors, individuals are not simply the passive agents of such strategies.

In his influential book *Forget Foucault*, Jean Baudrillard (2007: 61) criticizes Foucault for concealing "power" by decentralizing and deterritorializing it. For Said, Orientalism was more than a mere innocent curiosity to know the East; consequently, he tried to uncover the power behind Orientalism.

Occidentalism, as a discipline, was established centuries after Orientalism, at the end of the 20th century. Occidentalism has been shaped by Orientalism, indeed, the most common criticism raised against Occidentalism is that it is a *reverse Orientalism*; it *reproduces* orientalist discourse. Orientalism 'otherizes' non-Western cultures per the discourse of the 'West and the rest'. Occidentalism will have adopted the Orientalist method if its defining feature is indeed to otherize the West. In fact, Occidentalism produces knowledge about the West with the intent of balancing East–West discourses and opinions; its aim is not to dominate or otherize the West. Hasan Hanafi purposes to reverse the relationship between the center (the West) and the periphery (the East), but not by rebuilding the West or redefining it differently. This is a positive sign regarding the current and prospective methodology of Occidentalism.

The Concept of Occidentalism and Different Approaches

The word *Occidentalism* is derived from the old French word *occident* meaning '*west*'. Occidentalism can, therefore, be defined as *the science of the West*, though we should not be overly hasty to limit Occidentalism to a science or scientific conduct. Similarly, categorizing it as an ideology purely on the basis that the word ends with the suffix '-ism' -like positivism and rationalism, neither of which are ideologies- would be unwise. If we look at the word in Arabic and consider its origins in that language, it can be seen that west is *gharb* (غرب), while Westernization is *taghrib* (تغريب); Occidentalism, however, is *istighrab* (إستغراب), and so it can be concluded that Occidentalism has a different meaning from Westernization in Arabic.

Occidentalism, in its broadest meaning, is the assumption or adoption of Western imagination and envisagement, expressing an opinion on the West and studying the West in a scientific or unscientific manner (Metin 2013: 66). A meticulous reading of related literature reveals that there is no agreement on the definition of Occidentalism; however, some definitions are incompatible and there is no common point among them. These definitions can be classified as follows:

> Definition One: Occidentalism is the study of the West by the East.
>
> Definition Two: Occidentalism is the reflection of hostility against the West.
>
> Definition Three: Occidentalism is the answer to the question: "How can Western values be developed and adopted?"

The details of each of these definitions shall now be expounded upon according to the opinions they entail. The first opinion is related to the discourse and scientific dimensions of Occidentalism. According to this definition, the aim of studying the West is to save the East from epistemological domination by the West, start an emancipation movement that will rebalance the relation between East and West, reconstruct the processes of Westernization and modernization processes so that the East can retain its identity, and, determine 'red lines' in and regarding the East's relationship with the West. Herein lies the difference between Occidentalism and Westernization, Westernization does not worry about the identity of the other which is expected to submit; Occidentalism, however, endeavors to rebalance the relationship between the self and the other, not to assimilate the other into its own identity.

According to the second opinion, Occidentalism is an expression of hatred towards the West. This approach asserts that the East is biased against the West, so it otherizes the West both ontologically and attributively. According to this definition and opinion, the East is motivated by revenge, and hence fights against Western values.

The third opinion can be divided into two groups. Western supporters of this view see Occidentalism as a discipline that develops Western values, whereas its Eastern supporters see Western values as currently occupying a central position, and hence Occidentalism is the East's utilization of the resource of self-rectification to address this imbalance. According to this approach, the West presently occupies a central position and the East a peripheral one; if the East wishes to assume a central position in the future, it should, therefore, adapt itself to the values of the center.

First opinion: Occidentalism as emancipation

Tonnesson (1994: 17) defines Occidentalism as a positive Arab response to Edward Said's critique of western Orientalism. Hasan Hanafi, a pioneer in

establishing this discipline with his 1992 book *Muqaddimah fi Ilm al-Istighrab* (*Introduction to the Science of Occidentalism*), is one of the most important representatives of such a response. Hanafi describes Occidentalism as a self-defense against the destructiveness of Orientalism, a science that studies the West, while simultaneously filtering out Western values permeating the Eastern culture.

Hanafi's call to establish Occidentalism as a science has enjoyed a positive response among Turkish authors; consequently, these authors' understand Occidentalism to be a discipline. One of these authors (Öztürk 2006: 48) defines Occidentalism as "a concept that refers to the set of academic activities related to studying Western societies and cultures". Another (Aydın 2006: 371) purports "Occidentalism, on the one hand, brings into question the limits of Westernization of the East" while, on the other hand, "provides strength against the West coming to know it closely, criticizing it, and obtaining the necessary information by which it can be destroyed from the inside". Consequently, these authors corroborate Hanafi's opinion-that Occidentalism is a self-defense of the East.

Yavuz (2006: 107) defines Occidentalism "as an Eastern attempt to define and recover itself, after centuries of stereotyping by Western nations". An interesting point in this definition is that East, through Occidentalism, otherizes the West just as the West has otherized the East. A journalist remarks this mutual otherization, stating "Occidentalism is the name of East's degradation the West to shallowness, decadence, colonialism, mechanization, immorality, and disbelief, just as the West has degraded the East to tyranny, luster, cruelty, passion. As the most criticized aspect of Orientalism was otherization, if Occidentalism adopts and maintains this Orientalist method, it will certainly lose its scientific character.

Hanafi has developed his theory of Occidentalism within several books, articles, and interviews; his Occidentalism is based on his *Al-Turath and Al-Tajdid*[1] (Heritage and Renewal) theory and has three different fronts (2006: 13-14).

1. First Front (Supporters of Old Heritage): This view rejects Westernization completely and advocates that the identity of the East should be shaped according to what it has inherited from the

past. This view is often held by those with a strict Islamic perspective (especially *Salafis*) and nationalists.

2. Second Front (Supporters of the West): This view is supported by advocates of the West, and proposes that the East should break away from its past and develop itself with greater identity and affiliation with the West. Individuals with this perspective often prefer Western values to the heritage of their civilizations. Although the West has only predominated over the last 200 years, it has nevertheless had a considerable impact on the Eastern way of life.

3. Third Front (Realist Attitude): This perspective is held by those who advocate adopting what comes from "outside" into the Eastern way of life, but only if it is useful. According to this view, Islam is seen as two, overlapping circles that share a common center; the smaller circle being identified with Islamic religion and its strict rules, the larger with Islamic civilization. What exists between the small circle and the big circle are those things the East has adopted from the outside[2], which should be filtered according to their benefits and repercussions regarding the East.

Hanafi prefers the third view. According to him, Occidentalism is a science faced with reality. Currently, reality is dominated by a prevailing influence from Western civilization and modernization. Hanafi (2012) differentiates between Occidentalism (*istighrab*) and Westernization (*taghrib*), stating that Occidentalism is a counter-field of research, one that can be developed in the Orient in order to study the West from a non-Western worldview.[3] The aim of Occidentalism is to prevent Westernization from threatening the independence of Eastern civilizations and Eastern lifestyles, architecture, science, language, traditional wear, and physical appearances, among other Eastern features and characteristics (2006: 18-19). The East should not adopt the identity of the occupier by abandoning its own identity. It should adopt what it can utilize while preserving its own identity (2016: 20-21). As can be seen, Hanafi's Occidentalism is based on a concern about Eastern identity; saving the identity of the East means saving its existence. Consequently, Occidentalism becomes a discipline concerned with the struggle for saving the identity and existence of the East.

Hanafi (1993) charges Occidentalism with completing the process of decolonization in many Third World countries. The occupation of these countries by the West is not simply an occupation of land, it also consists of cultural, economic, and political domination. Ridding these countries of cultural and economic domination by the West is more difficult than merely removing direct Western influence from non-Western lands. At that point, Occidentalism becomes a struggle for independence and refers to an emancipation movement.

Methodologically, Hanafi studies Occidentalism according to a "subject-object relationship". Herein, the West is seen as the center and the East as the periphery-the center creates and the periphery consumes; the center sees and conceptualizes. The center acts as the master and lays down the discipline within the periphery. While the center operates as the trainer, the periphery acts as the trainee. Occidentalism, as a new science, is one that can reverse such a relationship and its fixed roles as played by the two components, or actors. Hanafi (1993) states that "*Cogito ergo sum*, which declared the West as a knowing subject becomes, in the third world, *studio ergo sum*. Therefore, the East will become subject so long as it studies the center, that is, the West. As can be seen, Hanafi objects to the Eurocentric worldview and desires to reverse historical roles-his aim is not to remove the center and the periphery, but to change their members.

Orientalism is ontologically based on Eurocentrism and declares Western culture and civilization as *unique*. However, as Hanafi (1993) declares "There is no culture with a capital 'C'. There are only multiple cultures, with small cs.". It should not be allowed for Orientalism to construct itself as *the big culture* located in the center and evacuate this center of all others. Accordingly, Occidentalism is the discipline of saving a space in this center for non-western societies and consequently return the West to its natural borders.

According to Hanafi, there are two models that best explain the relationship between the West and the East: the Islamic and the Western model. The Islamic model is based on dialogue, and the Western model is based on conflict. According to the Islamic model, the dialogue between the East and the West has been established twice in history: First at the beginning of the Middle Ages, through the transference of Greek Culture by the translation

of Arabic and Syriac works; second, at the end of the Scholastic Era (via the works of Al-Andalus). According to the Western model, the meeting of West and East occurred three times through three different 'clashes': First, during the *Pax Romana* during the time of the Greco-Roman Empire, *Pax Christiana* during the age of the Crusades, and *Pax Europaea–Americana* in which time the modern West reached its zenith (Hanafi 2004: 272). At these points, Occidentalism becomes the discipline of establishing a dialogue between Islam and the West.

Hanafi's theory of Occidentalism was developed contemporaneously with Fukuyama's 'End of History' thesis and Huntington's 'Clash of Civilizations' thesis; it contributes to these discussions while also introducing a different perspective. Therefore, Hanafi's response as to a question posed to him by a journalist regarding Fukuyama's claim that 'History has come to its end': "For Arabs, Africans, Latin Americans, Asians, history has not ended. It has, perhaps, not even started" (Tonnesson 1994: 17).

Second opinion: Occidentalism as a form of hostility

Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit are, perhaps, the two most prominent individuals who consider Occidentalism as a hostility against the West; hence the title of their book *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies.*[4] They (2005: 5) refer to Occidentalism as "the dehumanizing picture of the West painted by its enemies", and describe (2005: 11) the scope of Occidentalism accordingly:

> One way of describing Occidentalism would be to trace the history of all its links and overlaps, from the Counter-Reformation to the Counter-Enlightenment in Europe, to many varieties of Fascism and National Socialism in East and West, to anticapitalism and antiglobalization, and finally to the religious extremism that rages in so many places today.

According to Buruma and Margalit, the history of Occidentalism began with a conference held in 1942 in Kyoto, Japan. The name of the aforesaid conference was *Overcoming Modernity*. Several distinguished Japanese scholars and intellectuals gathered-while the Second World War was being fought-to discuss how to overcome the influence of modernity. They claimed that the main 'struggle' within the War was between the Western mind and Japanese

spirit. Consequently, Buruma and Margalit emphasized anti-Westernism and anti-modernization in their final declaration. The writers (2005: 12) see this conference as the beginning of anti-Westernism and Japan as a hotbed of murderous Occidentalism. They (2005: 5) assessed this Japanese challenge in their book accordingly: "Not liking western pop-culture, global capitalism, U.S. foreign policy, big cities, or sexual license is not of great moment, the desire to declare a war on the West for such a reason is."

According to Buruma and Margalit, Occidentalists protest four Western qualifications: the Occidental city, capitalism, the Occidental mind, and idolatry. Simultaneously, they (2005: 16) consider many disparate themes and developments as anti-Westernism, including anti-reformism and anti-Enlightenment, different kinds of fascism and national socialism, and anti-capitalism and anti-globalism. In *Origins of Occidentalism*, Buruma (2004: 280) writes that Occidentalism began amid the counter-Enlightenment but also developed into a reaction against industrialization. Buruma and Margalit assert that Occidentalism is simply a combination of historical and philosophical ideas and point out a cultural clash between modernity and its enemies. They see no difference between Islamic radicalism and Nazi Germany; between a Taliban fighter who says "The Americans would never win, for they love Pepsi-Cola, but we love death" (2005: 49) and the German Army, which launched a series of futile attacks on the British in Flanders, and whose soldiers sang "happiness lies only in sacrificial death", in November 1914 (2005: 50).

Another claim made by Buruma and Margalit is that Occidentalism, like capitalism, Marxism, and many other modern *-ism*'s, was born in Europe, before being transferred to other parts of the world. They (2005: 6) compare Occidentalism to colorful textiles exported from France to Tahiti. This is an extreme example of a Eurocentric view. If we consider that they define Occidentalism to be a hostility against the West, and Occidentalism as the enemy of the West, then it can be inferred that the first enemies of the West were, in fact, Europeans. This mindset even removes the capacity and *ability* of non-Western individuals or movements to be original or authentic enemies of the West. According to them (2005: 7), non-Western enemies of the West merely follow the path set by Western enemies of the West, just as Japanese kamikaze pilots and Taliban fighters followed Hitler's path.

Third opinion: Occidentalism as a way of 'reaching the center'

Thinkers within this category no not consider Occidentalism as hostility against the West. They think that Occidentalism will benefit both the West and the East. According to this perspective, Occidentalism can be a useful tool by which to develop and adopt Western values. Among those who hold this opinion is Couze Venn (2000: 8), who gives the following description of Occidentalism:

> It relates to the process of the becoming West of Europe and the becoming modern of the world. Thus, Occidentalism refers at once to the space of intelligibility of a triumphalist modernity and to the genealogy of the present as a history of the transformations that have, in the course of time, instituted the forms of sociality and the lifeworlds that inscribe Occidentalism.

According to this approach, Occidentalism is the science of developing Western values and exporting them to the non-Western world. This approach is also Eurocentric, and it considers the relation between the West and the non-Western world per the same center–periphery relation mentioned above, thereby maintaining the Orientalist discourse.

The other side of this approach is represented by George Yong-Boon Yeo, who served in the Singapore Government, as Minister of State for Finance, Minister of Information and the Arts, Health, Trade and Industry, and Foreign Affairs. According to Yeo (1991: 4), the dialogue between Eastern and Western cultures leads to the general improvement of both. He (1991: 5) uses the term 'Orientalism' in a non-pejorative sense and not in the way Edward Said described it, stating:

> I am referring to the kind of 'Orientalism' that sought to absorb the best from the East. There is now a reverse process of 'Occidentalism' at work, of Asian selectively absorbing the best of Western science, art and ideas. 'Occidentalism', as the observer of Orientalism describes it, is the process better than the word 'Westernization' because 'Westernization' suggests that we lost our Asian character while 'Occidentalism' describes selective change within our Asian character without giving up the essence of Asian character.

Yeo's approach seems closer to the thoughts of Hanafi, who believes that Occidentalism should determine the limits of what the East ought to adopt from the West. However, the 'center–periphery' perception of the Far East makes this similarity seem farther away. Chih-yu Shih assesses and analyses this perception in his article *The West That Is not Western*. The two of the most important beliefs in the Far East are Confucianism and Shinto. Both confirm the perspective that all individuals (selves) have the potential to reach the center. The difference between these two belief systems is that, while the doctrine of Confucian is based on selflessness and has no notion of the 'other', Shinto has a strong sense and tradition of 'othering'. In the worldview of Shinto, the Japanese community competes with other communities through a process of collectivity to reach to the center. As the West became the new force in the center, it subsequently became harder to resist Western modernity, and hence both Shinto and Confucianism competed to restore their status at the center by adopting Western science and institutions (Shih 2011: 3-6). This kind of Occidentalism, which acknowledges that the center is true-and that the periphery should rectify itself by looking at and toward the center-can be referred to as positivist Occidentalism, and is the point of decomposition between Asian Occidentalism and the version of Occidentalism propounded by Hanafi. This is because Hanafi does not think that the center is always virtuous, and the periphery should adopt its principles and institutions to reach such a center.

Xiaomei Chen, who focuses on Chinese Occidentalism and wrote an influential book on this subject titled *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in post-Mao China*, differentiates 'official Occidentalism' from 'anti-official Occidentalism' with reference to China. She (1995: 4–5) defines Occidentalism as a discursive practice that, by constructing its Western 'other', has allowed the Orient to participate actively and distinctly per the process of self-appropriation, even after its appropriation and construction by Western 'others'.

Chen (1995: 5) describes 'official Occidentalism' as the discourse of the government (of the PRC). The Chinese government uses the essentialization of the West as a means for supporting a nationalism that affects the internal suppression of its own people. In this process, the Western other is construed by a Chinese imagination, not for the purpose of dominating the West, but in

order to discipline, and ultimately dominate Chinese citizens domestically. This official Occidentalist discourse is used not only to suppress the Chinese people but to find a regional unity that comprises other countries located within the political hinterland of China, such as Korea and Taiwan.

Comparatively, the proponents of 'Anti-official Occidentalism', often lie outside the established government and its Party (Communist Party of China) apparatus. These individuals are often opponents of governmental and Party institutions and commonly include members of the intelligentsia with diverse and often contradictory interests. As a result of the cultural and sociological specificities of contemporary Chinese society, such Occidentalism can be understood as a powerful anti-official discourse, one that utilizes the Western other as a metaphor for a political liberation against ideological oppression within a totalitarian society (Chen 1995: 9). By suggesting that the West is politically and culturally superior to China, they-the aforementioned intellectuals-defend their opposition to established "truths" and institutions (Chen 1995: 27–28). In fact, within this frame, the West is neither an absolute 'other' for the government nor is it a set of values to be admired by governmental and Party dissidents; rather, it is a metaphor utilized within and for arguments concerning the internal power-struggles of China. Tavakoli (1997: 20) gives another example of this situation, highlighting that both Europhiles and Europhobists in Iran use Europe as a reference point. Europe is simultaneously a heaven on earth for Europhiles, while being a hotbed for religious infidelity for Europhobists. Thus, it turns into an argument that can be utilized by two opposing groups to condemn one another, rather than being as something real that should be emulated or abhorred.

As can be seen, these three opinions concerning Occidentalism are almost entirely different from one another; their definitions concerning the concepts of Occidentalism and Occidentalists, and their perception of the other and the world are incompatible. These three opinions can be tabulated accordingly (see Table 1) (Metin 2013: 71):

Table 1. *Classification of the Definitions of Occidentalism*

Opinions	Definition of Occidentalism	Occidentalist	Key Representative(s)	Perception of Center-Periphery	Perception of Other	Perception of the World
First Opinion	Positive. The East has right to study the West, just as the West has right to study the East. Occidentalism is self defense against to aggression of the West.	Easterners only	Hasan Hanafi	The aim is not to carry the East to the center, but to balance between the East and the West.	Attributive/changeable other	The West and the East perceived as a set of civilizations
Second Opinion	Negative. Occidentalism is intertwined with prejudices. It is hostility and a war against Western values.	Easterners and Westerners	Ian Buruma, Avishai Margalit.	Euro-centric; The West is the center and the East is peripheral.	Ontological/changeless other	West and the rest
Third Opinion	Positive. Occidentalism is an answer to the question: "How can the Western values be developed".	Both Easterners and Westerners	Couze Venn	Euro- centric	A synthesis of Euro-centrism and an attributive 'other'	The West and the East perceived as a vast bloc
	Positive. Occidentalism is a discipline of adopting the Western science and institutions while retaining an Asian character.		George Yong-Boon Yeo	The center is not stable. Each culture/ civilization has potential to be in the center.	A synthesis of self-rectification and attributive other	The center and the periphery

Different Meanings of the Term "Occidentalist"

Another term that provides a better understanding of the scope of Occidentalism is 'Occidentalist'. An Occidentalist is a non-Westerner who develops a discourse on the West, repeats an existing discourse, studies the West, or holds an imaginative position regarding the West. Why can a Westerner not be accepted as Occidentalist? The answer to this is that, because they study the East, they are an Orientalist and hence, if they study their own civilization they can be defined as a critic or an intellectual. What about a non-Westerner who lives in the West-can they be defined as an Occidentalist? As the West is more accurately defined as a set of values rather than being a geographical region-and being Easterner or being Easterner means adopting a way of life rather than living within a particular area-a person who lives in the West and feels himself to be an Easterner can be described as an Occidentalist. Naturally, if this argument is used *vice versa*, then it is possible to encounter Orientalists in the East.

Many writers define the term 'Occidentalist' differently to the authors of the current paper. For example, Coronil (1996: 56) defines Occidentalism, not as the reverse of Orientalism, but rather as its condition of possibility; its 'dark side' such as the dark side of a mirror. Hence an Occidentalist is one who is interested in the concerns and the images of the Occident, whether they are situated in the Orient or not. According to this definition, the terms 'Occidentalist' and 'Orientalist' have thus become integrated. Carrier (1995: 16) mentions Bourdieu's desire to criticize the elements of the French society and refers to it as Bourdieu's Occidentalism. Accordingly, are Bourdieu, Nietzsche and Hitler therefore Occidentalists? In the opinion of the authors, no. If Occidentalism merely means the criticism of the West, then Enlightenment philosophers could be described as the exemplars of what it is to be an Occidentalist. Furthermore, both modern and post-modern thinkers would also be accepted as Occidentalists under such a definition, despite the tenuousness of such a categorization. As the West moves dialectically through and throughout history, internal criticism and antithesis provide continuity of this dialectic. Consequently, insider critics and reactions should not be assessed as Occidentalist critics.

Shibli Zaman (n.d.) describes the term 'Occidentalist' in a negative sense and believes that utilization of such a term degenerates the character of Islam. Nevertheless, he prefers the term *Occidentalist Muslim* over *modernist*

Muslim, stating:

> [An] Occidentalist Muslim is one who adheres to the ways of the West and makes attempts to reconcile Islam with its heretical ideologies, usually at the expense of Islam, rather than giving up Western ideas and principles. The attempt to introduce democracy, a model by far inferior to Shari'ah, is one such example of Muslim Occidentalism.

According to him, the Occidentalist Muslim is torn between Islam and the West, and chooses to push the character of Islam into the background. We would like to point out that Shibli Zaman is not alone in this perspective, he is also representative of a mindset that strictly adheres to Islamic values and does not lean towards any interaction between Islam and Western values.

In the opinion of the authors of the current paper, the term 'Occidentalist' should be derived from the concept of Occidentalism. If Occidentalism is an Eastern reading of the West, then an Occidentalist (a person) should have an Eastern (i.e. non-Western) identity. As mentioned before, where they live is unimportant. The important concern is where the individual feels at home, and what they identify with. Examples of such individuals include Edward Said, Hossein Nasr, and Tariq Ramadan, all of whom lived in the West for considerable lengths of time but are not generally considered to be Westerners. The second condition of being an Occidentalist would be that the individual must be concerned with the West (as a phenomenon or as a dimension) in an *imaginative*, *discursive* or *academic* manner. The third condition concerns identity; the individual must retain, defend, change, or develop their Eastern identity. Here, 'identity' refers to many aspects including architecture, attire, everyday life, science, art, and institutional, aspects, among others. When these three conditions are all met or exemplified in an individual, then their *image, discourse* and *study* gain an Occidentalist, while the character-*the imager, the owner of discourse* and *the studier*-becomes an Occidentalist.

Types of Occidentalism

Outside the three approaches that have been described above, Occidentalism can be classified according to a different criterion; by means of adding an adjective. For example, Jonathan Spencer (1995: 237-241) bifurcates Occidentalism into 'positivist' and 'romantic Occidentalism'. The roots of positivist Occidentalism can be traced to the works of Mauss, Louis Dumont,

Comte and a majority of structuralist thinkers. According to them, there are incommensurable differences between the West (self) and 'them' (the 'others'); their present is our past. In the words of Lindstrom, "they are the younger brother who struggles behind". In romantic version, which can be traced to the works of Boas, Mead, Benedict, and Geertz, cultures exist in parallel, as equals but usually with very different characteristics.

According to Douglas Cowan (2009), Occidentalism occurs in two principal valences -proactive and participative- both of which warrant further investigation across the spectrum of pop culture, production, and consumption. Proactive Occidentalism encompasses those individuals who intentionally interpret cultural products in the service of particular theological commitments and agendas. Participative Occidentalism, on the other hand, refers to those who interpret pop-cultural products in terms of a particular cultural hegemony.

Excepting these definitions, there are some other definitions that point out the scope methodology of Occidentalism. According to Woltering (2009: 24), Occidentalism is straightforward and universal; Occidentalism is both the activity of constructing an image of the West and the result of this activity, that is, the image itself. Coronil (1996: 57), per a system of classification that expresses forms of cultural and economic difference in the modern world, sees Occidentalism as being inseparably tied to the constitution of international asymmetries underwritten by global capitalism.

Coronil's definition is worthy of further contemplation as Occidentalism, especially Hanafi's Occidentalism, is criticized for confirming and maintaining asymmetric power relations. Occidentalism is a reflection against Orientalism, but it maintains an East–West worldview of Orientalism; in this regard it is, therefore, likely to fall into the trap of 'reverse Orientalism'.[5]

Yavuz (2006: 110) also mentions 'secular–materialist Occidentalism' and 'religious–theological Occidentalism', while Carrier (1992: 199) mentions the term 'ethno-Occidentalism'. Excepting these terms and their progenitors, Occidentalism can assume or be coupled with many adjectives such as civilizations, countries, ethnic roots, and even ideologies. For example, we can mention Islamic Occidentalism, Chinese Occidentalism, Turkish Occidentalism, and even socialist Occidentalism. If this is the case, however, Occidentalism should be redefined so to assume an ideologic adjective. Even though such definitions are possible, we assert that a scientific Occidentalist movement should take precedence over any ideological Occidentalist

movements and systems within a country and civilization, and should fundamentally be tied to those disciplines that study the West.

Conclusion

Occidentalism is a new discipline and has not reached or assumed it final form. Contributions from all over the world have been made throughout its establishment and development but these remain very limited. However, this limitedness also comprises a plenitude in that there are three different approaches to Occidentalism. The first of these considers Occidentalism as a reflection against Orientalism and the destructiveness of West; the second considers Occidentalism as anti-Westernism; while the third considers Occidentalism as the development and adoption of Western values. Of these three approaches, the author of this paper considers the first of this to be the most authentic and accurate for reasons that shall be explained below.

While the second opinion considers Occidentalism as hostility against the West, it also incorporates hostility of its own regarding its position toward *the rest*. It idealizes and accepts the West as unique but sees all criticism of Western values as a sign of enmity towards the West; hence this opinion does not carry a scientific character. The third opinion-Occidentalism as the development and adoption of Western values-can be divided into two, the first of which defines Occidentalism as the developing of Western values. According to the authors of this paper, this definition is not admissible. Occidentalism is not as an answer to the question "How can the Western values be developed", just as Orientalism is not an answer to the question "How can the Eastern values be developed". Just as Orientalism is a "discipline of the East", not of Easterners, Occidentalism is similarly a discipline of the West, and not of Westerners. Regarding the second approach, we assert that Occidentalism is not a discipline concerned with the adoption of Western values as the adoption of Western values also means accepting the supremacy of those values; in other words, it means pushing Eastern values into the background. Wanting to approach the center and, ultimately, to be located within the center while simultaneously ignoring those processes that comprise the center itself means relenting to a Eurocentric discourse and reproducing Orientalist practice.

We shall now return to the first opinion; herein, both Hanafi's Occidentalism and Asian Occidentalism argue that Occidentalism is the discipline of adopting Western values by eliminating them and by saving the identity of

the East. However Hanafi's Occidentalism differs from Asian Occidentalism in that he describes Occidentalism as for of 'reverse-orientalism', emphasizing the historicity of the East–West relation, and arguing that it is now the East's turn to assume the lead role on the historical World Stage. Hanafi believes that, when this time comes the East will be able to perform on a stage of its own construction, and not a Western stage. Consequently, he loads Occidentalism with a charge: to change the course of history. This mission may seem difficult to complete under the current circumstances, but the starting point of Hanafi's Occidentalism evident in its own phenomenon; that is, Occidentalism is a movement of emancipation from the phenomenon of Westernism, and thus is shaped and defined according to that from which it emancipates itself. Many authors criticize this unavoidable situation for the weak point of Occidentalism. Such criticisms state that Occidentalism merely reproduces Orientalism and its discourse while developing a counter-discourse against Orientalism, modernization, and the current Western way of life. Consequently Occidentalism becomes an 'auto-' or 'reverse-Orientalism'. The question as to whether this argument is accurate or justifiable cannot be answered herein and demands a different study. Nevertheless, such an investigation should proceed by comparing the methodologies of Occidentalism and Orientalism.

Finally, it should be noted that, although Occidentalism is a new discipline, its origins can be traced back far into the history of the East and the West. From the very first contact between these two spheres, the East has imagined and opined about the West, has studied the West, has collated background information about the West. In this sense, travel books, embassy reports, diplomatic archives, novels, memories and other materials all add and comprise a body of literature upon which Occidentalism depends. The mission of Occidentalism is, as a science, to study the West and to develop a counter-discourse in accordance with its own aims.

Notes

1 Hanafi also has a book with the same title *Al-Turath wa Al-Tajdid, Mavqifuna min Al-Turath Al-Qadim* (Beirut, 1992).

2 The small circle represents Islam as a religion, and the big circle represents Islam as a civilization. These circles correspond in Turkish to "islamiyet and islam", or, per the conceptualization of Marshall Hodgson (1974: 57–60), to "Islam and Islamdom".

3 Wolfgang Schwanitz (2008: 2) offers the term 'Occidentalistics' instead of 'Occidentalism', defining the former as those conducting research into Western civilization from within the Orient to enable social scientists there to develop Orientalism as an object, thereby devising a subject of their very own. The Turkish historian Ilber Ortaylı (2002) also prefers the term "Occidentalistics".

4 The subtitle of another edition is *A Short History of Anti-Westernism.*

5 For a summary of these critics, see Yudian Wahyudi, *Arab Responses to Hasan Hanefi's Muqaddima fi 'ilm al-Istighrab.*

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Oksidentalizm: Oryantalizme Doğulu Bir Cevap*

Abdullah Metin**

Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı Oksidentalizm kavramının farklı tanımlarını araştırmaktır. Oksidentalizm en kısa tabiriyle oryantalizmin tersidir. Nasıl ki Oryantalizm Doğu'nun Batılı bir okumasını ifade ediyorsa Oksidentalizm de Batı'nın Doğulu bir okumasıdır. İlgili literatürü taradığımızda Doğu'nun bu okumasına farklı anlamlar yüklendiğini görüyoruz. Mısırlı felsefeci Hasan Hanefi'ye göre Oksidentalizm batılılaşmaya alternatif olarak, seçerek almanın bilimini ifade etmektedir. Ian Buruma ve Avishai Margalit ise Oksidentalizmi bir bilim olarak değil, Batı düşmanlığı olarak tanımladılar. Bu iki görüşün aksine, Oksidentalizmi "nasıl daha iyi Batılı olunur" sorusunun cevabı olarak gören üçüncü bir görüş daha vardır. Bu görüşün Doğulu ve Batılı temsilcileri olmakla birlikte yaklaşımları birbirinden farklıdır. Çalışmada Oryantalizm-Oksidentalizm bağlantısı incelenerek Oksidentalizm ve Oksidentalist kavramlarının farklı anlamları üzerinde durulmuş ve Oksidentalizmin bilimsel yönüne vurgu yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Oksidentalizm, Oksidentalist, Oryantalizm, Hasan Hanafi, Edward Said.

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Оксидентализм: восточный ответ ориентализму*

Абдуллах Метин**

Аннотация

Целью данной работы является исследование этимологии и различных значений термина «оксидентализм». Оксидентализм, в широком смысле, является обратной стороной ориентализма; если ориентализм - это западное прочтение Востока, то оксидентализм (западничество) - это восточное прочтение Запада. Тщательное изучение соответствующей литературы обнаруживает несколько различных значений термина оскидентализм. Одно из этих определений было введено египетским философом Хасаном Ханафи, который рассматривает оксидентализм как противоположность вестернизации, как выборочное восприятие западных ценностей. Для сравнения, Ян Бурума и Авишай Маргалит считают оксидентализм не наукой, а проявлением враждебности по отношению к Западу. Есть и другой подход, который определяет оксидентализм как ответ на вопросы: «как лучше воспринять западные ценности», «как воспринять западные ценности, не утрачивая восточной идентичности». В данном исследовании определяются и рассматриваются термины «западничество» и «западник» с учетом этих форм и интерпретаций.

Ключевые слова

Оксидентализм, западник, ориентализм, Хасан Ханафи, Эдвард Саид.

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