

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

POLITICS AND FUTURE STUDIES:
A COMPARISON OF REPRESENTATIVE WORKS
OF JOUVENEL, HUNTINGTON, SARDAR AND
INAYATULLAH

BY

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requirement for the degree of Master of Arts Islamic
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ABSTRACT

This study discusses the importance of futures studies as a new field of inquiry in Western thought as well as Islamic thought, particularly in Bertrand de Jouvenel's, Samuel P. Huntington's, Ziauddin Sardar's and Sohail Inayatullah's thoughts. The books of four scholars were studied, namely, *The Art of Conjecture*, *Clash of Civilizations: Remaking of World Order*, *Islamic Futures: the Shape Ideas to Come* and *Questioning the Future: Methods and Tools for Organizational and Societal Transformation* respectively. It analyses the political thinking from the Western and Islamic view point. The result shows that the Muslim nations are to be concerned the intentions of the West. Based on the anticipated, this study suggests that the reconstruction of the future Islamic civilization requires rejuvenation of the Ummah's way of thinking and today's action. It needs a new methodology which are futuristic thinking in general and future studies in particular.

ملخص البحث

هذا دراسة يتناقش الأهمية من دراسات المستقبل كمجال جديدة في تحقيق فكرة الغربية أيضا في تحقيق فكرة الإسلامية، بشكل خاص في أفكار برتراند دي جوفنل، صموئيل ب. هونتینگتون، زهاء الدين سردر و سهيل عناية الله. درست الكتب من أربعة علماء، أي، الفن الحدس، صدام الحضارات: إعادة نظام وأوامر العالم، مستقبل الإسلامي: الشكل الأفكار في إتيان واستنطاق المستقبل: طرق وأدوات تحويل النظامية وإجتماعي على التوالي. ويحلل الفكرة السياسية في منظره نقطة الغربية والإسلامية. فالنتيجة تعرض بأن الأمم مسلمة ينبغي أن تكون معلقة بالنيات من الغرب. أساسا على الواقع، يقترح هذا دراسة أن إعادة إنشاء مستقبل الحضارة الإسلامي يتطلب تجديد من طريقة تفكير الأمة وعمل هذه الأيام. هو يحتاج منهجية جديدة التي تكون فكرة مستقبلية عامة ومستقبل دراسات خاصة.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion it confirms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Islamic Civilization.

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Sayyid Ajmal M. Razak Al-Aidrus
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Islamic Civilization.

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Uthman El-Muhammady
Examiner

This dissertation was submitted to the Kulliyyah of International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization and is accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Islamic Civilization.

.....
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Institute of Islamic Thought and
Civilization

DECLARATION PAGE

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degree at IIUM or other institutions.

Suzana Suhailawaty Md Sidek

Signature.....

Date.....

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

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**POLITICS AND FUTURE STUDIES:
A COMPARISON OF REPRESENTATIVE WORKS OF JOUVENEL,
HUNTINGTON, SARDAR AND INAYATULLAH**

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

Arabic Term	Transliteration	Arabic Term	Transliteration	Arabic term	Transliteration
ء	'	ر	r	ف	f
ب	B	ز	z	ق	q
ت	T	س	s	ك	k
ث	Th	ص	□	ل	l
ج	J	ض	İ	م	m
ح	□	ط	İ	ن	n
خ	Kh	ظ	Đ	ه	h
د	D	ع	□	و	w
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ي	y
ـ	a	ـ	i	ـ	u
اـ	ā	ـيـ	Ê	وـ	ū

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION ON FUTURE STUDIES

Future studies has become very important as a field of academia in the past few decades. Futures studies reflects on how today's changes become tomorrow's reality. It analyzes the sources, patterns, and causes of changes in order to develop foresight and create alternative future. Like historical studies that try to explain what happened in the past and why, the efforts of futures studies try to understand the potential of the present to face the future. Thus, people try to know not only what is happening, but also what might happen, what could happen, or, under particular condition, what will happen *in the future*.¹

Future studies is not a science in themselves, although they make use of exact and social science. It is the study from an open perspective from the various developments. This is why people always talk about the futures and not one future. The basic purpose of this exercise is to set desirable objectives and see how to achieve in long term planning by acting upon the present. When Einstein was asked why he was interested in the future, he simply answered, "I intend to spend the rest my life there."² According to Roy Amara, "it is a truism that the future is largely unknowable." Almost by definition, the future is necessity characterized by considerable uncertainties; it can be "examined" only by indirect ways.³

¹ Wendell Bell, 'What Do We Mean by Futures Studies?', in *New Thinking For A New Millenium*, edited by Richard A. Slaughter (London: Routledge, 1996), 3.

² Mahdi Elmandjra, "*The Future of the Islamic World*," (Paper presented to Symposium of Islamic Future, Algiers, 4-7 May 1990), 7.

³ Roy Amara, "Probing the Future," in *Handbook of Future Research*, edited by Jib Fowles (London: Greenwood Express, 1978), 41.

Most people talk about Alvin Toffler when they discuss future studies, especially in his famous book, *Future Shock*,⁴ however, even in the 1960s, a lot of interests were shown by people about the future. Even before this, the “publication of *The Image of the Future*⁵ by F.L. Polak in 1951 was a major signpost. That book demonstrates the advantage of a most interdisciplinary background. Book *The Art of Conjecture*⁶ by B. De Jouvenel which appeared in 1964 was another.” Polak analyzed the rise and fall of civilization and Jouvenel discussed the principles of future studies for the first time.⁷ These books are the most important sources for future studies.

The term ‘future’ can denote the field of “future” studies. It describes the field’s recognition that one person or group of persons cannot predict “the” future, only possible, probable and desired futures. Begin from this; other scholars became interested in this field. Future studies is “a new field of social inquiry” whose “purpose is the systematic study of the future.” This study is sometimes also called “future field,” “futures research,” “futuristics,” “prospective studies,” and “prognostics” and its scholars are known as futurists. The job of the futurists is to “discover or invent, propose, examine and evaluate possible, probable, and preferable futures. They explore alternative futures in order to assist people in choosing and creating the most desirable future.”⁸

Since the future has not yet happened, futurists have had to develop a number of different methodologies for studying the future and change that are different from traditional scientific methodologies for studying the present and the past—on which data already exists or can be generated. These methodologies range from quantitative,

⁴ Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock*. (London: The Bodley Head. Ltd., 1978).

⁵ Fred Polak, *The Image of the Future*, (Amsterdam: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., 1973).

⁶ Bertrand de Jouvenel, *The Art of Conjecture*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967).

⁷ Wendell Bell, ‘What Do We Mean by Futures Studies?’ 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3

visionary, creative, intuitive right brain methods, and various combinations in-between. It is important to remember here that futurists believe in many alternative futures—including probable, possible, and preferable futures. For this task futures studies, as it is generally undertaken, uses a wide range of theoretical models and practical methods, many of which come from other academic disciplines—including economics, sociology, history, engineering, mathematics, psychology, physics, astronomy and theology.

By 1970, RAND Corporation had added non-military projects to its agenda, and they accounted for about a third of its activities. RAND workers developed scenario-writing, computer simulations, technological forecasting, the Delphi technique, program budgeting, cost-effectiveness, and systems analysis. It was a school for futurists, including T.J. Gordon, O. Helmer, and H. Kahn. It spawned a number of other organizations including the Institute for the Future, Kahn's Hudson Institute and Gordon's The Future Group.⁹

Many standard methods of research are used in futures studies, from sampling techniques and statistical analysis to data-gathering using laboratory experiments, surveys of opinions, and participant-observation. Because it is important to have an accurate and detailed description and analysis of past trends and 'initial conditions' of the present as a basis for both forecasting and designing the future, all such methods may be of use in specifying 'what was' and 'what is' as preparation for conjecturing about 'what will be,' 'what might be,' 'what could be,' or 'what ought to be'.¹⁰

Yet futurists have developed their own methods, either by adapting standard methods or creating new ones to achieve their special purposes. Futurists identified more than 17 methodologies approaches, often used in conjunction with each other.

⁹ Wendell Bell, 'What Do We Mean by Futures Studies?' 7.

¹⁰ Ibid., 15.

Such methods include extrapolation techniques using time series data, statistical models, brainstorming, scenario writing, simulation, historical analogy, probabilistic forecasting, Delphi techniques, operational models, cross-impact analysis, causal modelling, network analysis, relevance trees, gaming and contextual mapping.¹¹

Monitoring is another method that is increasingly used. It is a process of assessing events as they occur and immediately projecting them into the future. It is on-line data gathering and analysis combined with immediate extrapolation.¹² The Delphi technique is an example of a method specifically invented by futurists for the study of the future. It is often combined with cross-impact analysis to study what would happen to one event, if something else changed in a certain way. Scenario-writing is a basic method of futures studies. Scenarios are stories or future histories of what might or could happen under certain circumstances, if current trends continue, for example, or of some specific courses of alternative action are taken. They can be combined with nearly any other method, from the most qualitative to the most quantitative, and they permit people to visualize and to explore alternative futures.¹³

There no single, fully developed theory of the future on which futurists has agreed. One reason is that many futurists work for clients who are mostly interested in practical results, not abstract theories. The futurists work tends not to be the test of theory or creation of knowledge but it tends to be the search for solutions to recognized problems. No doubt futurists ought to give more concern to theory construction, because theory and practice are two aspects of the same principles. Good theory can produce good practice.¹⁴

¹¹ Ibid., 16.

¹² Ibid., 17.

¹³ Ibid., 18.

¹⁴ Ibid., 19.

‘The future’ may be considered as emerging from the interaction of four components: events, trends, images and actions. First, events are those things, which make people doubt the efficacy of thinking about the future at all. Things just seem to happen. What is going to happen next seems to be utter unknowable. Who knows when the next war, assassination, earthquake, decision by your boss is going to toss society into a completely different direction. Second, they would have us focus on trends in order to anticipate and prepare for the future. Third and fourth major factors influencing the future are the images of the future which people hold and the actions which people take on the basis of those images. Some of these actions are taken specifically with the intention of influencing the future. Thus, one of the things futures studies tries to do is to help people examine and clarify their images of the future-their ideas, fears, hopes, beliefs, concern about the future-so that they might improve the quality of their decisions which impact it.¹⁵

Futurism is the catch-all term applied, to “a considerable number of organizations, institutionalized programs and individual workers... whose *major* and often sole, activity is concerned with the study of the future.”¹⁶

However, we know that the future continues from the present. It cannot stop. Hence, “the future ... is still being made.” By knowing what will happen, they will be more careful of their action, the action of other people and their reaction and things they cannot control. Many organizations were set up to study the future. People wanted to find ways to make the world a better place. In 1966, for example, the World

¹⁵ James Dator, ‘Futures Studies as Applied Knowledge’, in *New Thinking For A New Millenium*, edited by Richard A. Slaughter (London: Routledge, 1996), 107.

¹⁶ Alvin Toffler, “Introduction: Probing Tomorrow,” in *The Futurists*, edited by Alvin Toffler, (United State: Random House, 1972), 4.

Future Society¹⁷ was established by Edward Cornish and others and it has become one of the largest of the many futures organizations. In 1967, an international group that was to become the World Future Studies Federation¹⁸ held its first meeting in Oslo, Norway. And in 1968 the late Aurelio Peccei and others founded the Club of Rome¹⁹, which although it has remained small, became one of the most influential futures groups during the 1970s.²⁰

We can see from that in the 1960s many organizations were set up. A major meeting was held in Oslo, Norway to discuss the future of the world. Soon people started concentrating in different areas. Future studies looked at politics, economics, technology, science, medicine, environment, fashion, and many other areas. The society for the study of technology, whose co-founder was Ogburn, is the initial organization that was set up to assess technology.²¹

Another important part of the future studies is our operations research and the ‘think-tank.’ This area helped businesses to look at improving productivity and systems. The think tank helped governments come up with policy. In this area, the RAND Corporation²² became one of the most influential of many institutes centers

¹⁷ The World Future Society is a non-profit, non-partisan scientific and educational association of people interested in how social and technological developments are shaping the future. The Society was founded in 1966 and is chartered as a non-profit educational and scientific organization in Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

¹⁸ An organization founded in 1967, comprising of some 300 individuals and 20 institutions around the world whose mission is to promote futures education and research. The WFSF is a global network of practising futurists such as researchers, teachers, scholars, policy analysts, activists and others from over 60 countries.

¹⁹ The Club of Rome is a global think tank and centre of innovation and initiative. As a non-profit, non governmental organisation (NGO), it brings together scientists, economists, businessmen, international high civil servants, heads of state and former heads of state from all five continents who are convinced that the future of humankind is not determined once and for all and that each human being can contribute to the improvement of our societies.

²⁰ Wendell Bell, What Do We Mean by Futures Studies,? 5

²¹ Ibid., 6

²² The RAND Corporation is a non-profit global policy think tank first formed to offer research and analysis to the United States armed forces. The organization has since expanded to working with other governments, private foundations, international organizations, and commercial organizations. It is known for rigorous, often-quantitative, and non-partisan analysis and policy recommendations.

and other organizations that engaged in ‘thought research’ and that became known as ‘think tanks’.²³ RAND gives information to Western governments to provide “policy alternative, designs, suggestions, warnings, long-range plans, predictions, and new ideas.”²⁴ This has made RAND very powerful in the West. They influence Western attitude, especially America’s, towards other countries. That is why there is a fairly close relationship between strategic studies and future studies. Nowadays two-thirds of research work on the future is carried out by military institutions and multinational corporations. Scientific research activities are funded along the same lines.²⁵

Two other organizations that have to be talked about are The Commission on the Year 2000 of the American Academy of Arts and Science, and the suggestions of H.D. Laswell and D. Lerner. The former, chaired by D. Bell, met in 1965 and 1966 and its participants were mainstream, establishment intellectuals who represented the elite American universities, government, some major corporations, and some of the largest foundations. Although the Commission itself did not continue in existence, it gave an impetus to futures studies, resulting in 1967 in the publication of a special issues of *Daedalus*, ‘Toward the Year 2000: Work in Progress’, Kahn and Winner’s *The Year 2000*, eventually, additional futures work by some of its own members as well as by other people. Most important, it gave academic and scholars respectability to futures studies.²⁶

The approach to study the future from 1965 and 1966 to predict what will happen in the year 2000 was an important experiment. This gave credibility to future studies. Many scholars involved in the study were intelligent people from many institutions and government. This study made future studies important. The other

²³ Dickson P, *Think Tank*, (New York: Atheneum, 1972), 25.

²⁴ Wendell Bell, *What Do We Mean by Futures Studies?*, 7

²⁵ Mahdi Elmandjra, “The Future of Islamic World,”.

²⁶ Wendell Bell, *What Do We Mean by Futures Studies?*, 7

study is important because it studied processes and to help people who make decisions. H. D. Laswell, D. Lerner and others proposed the information of the policy sciences in 1951. Two purposes were (1) to study the policy and decision-making processes themselves and (2) to provide information to assist decision-makers in their tasks. Laswell was among the first scholars to see that decision-making and policy-making necessarily rely on anticipations of the future and he formulated the idea of the ‘development construct’, which is somewhat similar to the concept of ‘image of the future’. He called his method of futures research ‘developmental analysis.’²⁷

Many studies were done to see how the future can be predicted. This was to analyze society and programs to help society. This study is put together with areas studying policies to predict the future. Even though there were many studies done in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, many other future studies were science fiction and political books: stories by Jules Verne and H.G. Wells and books on the Vietnam War, Black power and the environment.²⁸

As mentioned earlier, *Future Shock* made future studies famous. Future studies, according to Toffler, give “new alternative images of the future visionary explorations of the possible, systematic investigation of the probable and moral evaluation of the preferable.”²⁹

The major purpose of futurists is to maintain or improve the welfare of humankind and the life-sustaining capacities of the earth itself. Futurists distinctively carry out this purpose by systematically exploring alternative futures. They engage in *prospective thinking*.³⁰ Still other futurists are intellectually fascinated by questions

²⁷ Ibid., 7

²⁸ Ibid., 8

²⁹ Alvin Toffler, “Foreword”, in *Cultures of the Futures*, edited by M. Maruyama and A. M. Harkins (Moutan: The Hague, 1978).

³⁰ Wendell Bell, What Do We Mean by Futures Studies?, 9

having to do with time and knowledge: What can or cannot be known? How does information about the future contrast with information about the past or present? Some focus on possible futures, others on probable futures, still others on preferable futures.³¹

According to Roy Amara, futurists try to describe alternative futures, to characterize the state of knowledge and uncertainty, to provide early warning signs of change; to identify possible choices; to understand change processes; and to gain a greater understanding of one's time and risk preferences.

Futurists are constantly identifying and evaluating possible consequences of present development and *cholees*. The method is similar to that of an expert chess player, sizing up the situation, prior to his next move. He looks as many moves ahead as possible, paying particular attention to those branches of the 'tree of alternatives' that contain the greatest potential opportunities or the greatest risks. He does so with full knowledge that the play of the game will almost certainly not proceed as he has visualized it in his mind's eye. Furthermore, he knows he must repeat the whole process each time his opponent makes his next move.³²

Toffler's goal was to describe what happens to people who are overwhelmed by change, how they manage-or fail-to adapt them to the future. His international bestseller *Future Shock* of 1970 was a result of subsequent conversations between the author (a former journalist) and researchers from a wide range of disciplines as well as industrialists, psychiatrists, doctors and hippies. Toffler also emphasized that the speed of change was important; unlike many other futurists, he emphasized soft, everyday aspects of the future. A main conclusion is that the speed of change can often be more important than the direction of change. The time frame of planning must be extended if we are to forestall technocracy, and the growth of futures research is therefore seen as one of the healthiest phenomena of recent years.

³¹ Alvin Toffler, Introduction: Probing Tomorrow, 4

³² Ziauddin Sardar, *The Future of Muslim Civilization* (Pelanduk Publication: Petaling Jaya, 1988), 6.

To improve the life of human beings, futurists mention three factors: First, the action that takes place in the present is what shapes the future. Thus, present conditions must be studied, because futures thinking are largely about what to do now, that is what action to take to create a future that will be as desirable as possible, given present conditions and hopes for the future. Second, futures thinking play an orientating role, letting people know where they are in the present. Third, the results of futures research help people to balance the demands of the present against those of the future.³³ This is the way they look forward on how the world can be improved. Everything must be planned correctly. This will help people prepare for many things, including food and population needs.

Apart from the books on science fiction and politics, there are some authors in future studies whose works are considered very good and as classics. The books are *The Study of the Future, An Introduction to the Art and Science of Understanding* and *Shaping Tomorrow's World* is a good introduction to future studies.³⁴ In this book, Futurists are seen as persons interested in the longer-term future of human civilization, using non-mystical means to identify and study possible future occurrences. The book presents methods and case studies, as well as future-oriented organizations and the ideas of a dozen leading futurists.³⁵

The German futurist Ossip K. Flechtheim, in 1943, introduced the word 'futurology'. As early as the mid-1940s, he began speaking and writing about the need for what he termed 'futurology' that he referred as a new "science." He looked for a

³³ John McHale, "The Emergence of Futures Research," in *Handbook of Future Research*, edited by Jib Fowles (Westport, Greenwood: CT, 1978), 9

³⁴ From the Futurist Bookstore, World Future Society, 7910 Woodmont Avenue, Suite 450, Bethesda, Maryland 20814, USA.

³⁵ Kjell Dahle, "50 Key Works: A Beginner's Guide to the Futures Literature," in *New Thinking For A New Millennium*, edited by Richard A. Slaughter (London: Routledge, 1996), 84.

logical pattern in the future like scholars looked for logical patterns in the past.³⁶ John Naisbitt's book *Megatrends*,³⁷ published in 1982, sold 9 million copies. He concentrates on the industrial growth of America. He also talks about the Information Society. He finds his information from local papers to establish his facts.³⁸

One of the most important books on future studies is by the Dutch professor, Fred Polak. His book *The Image of the Future*³⁹ is a classic. He demonstrates that idealistic and inspiring visions of the past have greatly influenced later developments.⁴⁰ The author then describes what he sees as a unique lack of convincing images in our own times. Most people believe in the words of the Nobel Prize winner for physics, Dennis Gabor: "The future cannot be predicted, but it can be invented".⁴¹

Here are some other important books on future studies written from the political point of view. Most scholars think Armstrong's book on methodology of forecasting is still the best book.⁴² He has given many examples of empirical studies. Atal's and Masini's book, *The Future of Asian Cultures*,⁴³ is considered the best book on future studies on Asia. It is a collection of articles by scholars who analyzed the work at "global and personal levels." One of the strangest books written is about what will happen if human beings made contact with an alien from another planet. This book was written by John Billingham. The title of the book is *Social Implications of*

³⁶ Ibid., 87

³⁷ John Naisbitt, *Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives*, (New York: Warner Books, 1984).

³⁸ Kjell Dahle, *50 Key Works: A Beginner's Guide to the Futures Literature*, 90

³⁹ Fred Polak, *The Image of the Future*, (Amsterdam: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., 1973).

⁴⁰ Kjell Dahle, *50 Key Works: A Beginner's Guide to the Futures Literature*, 93

⁴¹ Ibid., 100

⁴² J. Scott Armstrong, *Long-Range Forecasting: From Crystal Ball to Computer*, (New York: John Wiley and Sons., 1970).

⁴³ Yogesh Atal and Eleonora Masini, (eds.) *The Futures of Asian Cultures*, (Bangkok: UNESCO, 1993).

*the Detection of an Extraterrestrial Civilization*⁴⁴. There is a book that discusses a world without weapons. This book was written by Elise and Kenneth Boulding. They have written many books, but this is their best book.⁴⁵ Burns discusses the importance of leaders in leading the world. He defines who leaders are and who followers are.⁴⁶

In the area of communication futures, Cliché's book, *Cultural Ecology: The Changing Dynamics of Communications*,⁴⁷ is better than other books. It discusses privacy issues and the information society. In education the book edited by Dator has essays about how to teach future studies.⁴⁸ The book written by Davies, Nandy and Sardar discusses five hundred years of colonialism. It says that now multicultural futures can take place because there are no more colonies.⁴⁹

The book on global consciousness by Elgin and Drew continues the earlier work done in the 1970s with Oliver Markley and Willis Harmon on indicators that humanity's image of self, other, nature and future is undergoing a dramatic shift to a more spiritual, ecological and planetary paradigm. Indicators for global consciousness change, global ecological awareness, postmodern values, experiential spirituality and sustainable ways of living are presented. The survey of the many empirical reports is quite useful but the study...has gained by citing and using sources from non-Western cultures.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ John Billingham et al, *Social Implications of the Detection of an Extraterrestrial Civilization*, (Mountain View, California: SETI Press, 1994).

⁴⁵ Elise Boulding and Kenneth Boulding, *The Future: Images and Processes*, (London: Sage, 1995).

⁴⁶ James MacGregor Burns, *Leadership*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1978).

⁴⁷ Danielle Cliché, (ed.), *Cultural Ecology: the Changing Dynamics of Communication*, (London: International Institute of Communication, 1997).

⁴⁸ James Dator, (ed.), "Futures Studies in Higher Education" in *American Behavioral Scientist* (Special issue. Vol. 42, No.3, 1998), 293-554. Expanded to *Advancing Futures*. (Westport, Ct.: Praeger Studies on the 21st Century, 2002.)

⁴⁹ Merryl Wyn Davies, Ashis Nandy and Zia Sardar, *Barbaric Other: A Manifesto on Western Racism*, (London: Pluto Press, 1993).

⁵⁰ Duane Elgin with Coleen Draw, *Global Consciousness Change: Indicators of an Emerging Paradigm*, (San Anselmo, California: Millenium Project. 1997).