

Good Governance According To Islamic Perspective

Ibnu Rusydi

Fakultas Agama Islam Universitas Wiralodra Indramayu, Indonesia
e-mail: ibnurs@gmail.com

Submitted: 02-01-2023

Revised : 22-02-2023

Accepted: 27-04-2023

ABSTRACT. This paper aims to identify and analyze how governance is thought an Islamic perspective. The issue of state leadership in Islam is interesting to study, especially how to find examples of good and clean leadership in Islam. Moreover, one of the global trends of the 21st century is the tendency to implement *good governance* which is a reference for developing countries in the midst of rampant corrupt government systems. Good governance is a government that guarantees justice, dignity, equality, self-respect, and the sharing of development benefits by all. This study concludes that governance in Islam is a state for the benefit, the state is a tool or means to create and maintain benefit. Good and effective governance from an Islamic perspective is based on sharia and *siyāsah shar'iyah*. *Siyāsah shar'iyah* is Islamic governance and political policy in maintaining the benefit and resisting damage. In essence, the concept of good governance according to the Qur'an is the principle of *al-amanah* (trusted) and *al-'adālah* (justice). Honesty and fairness are the basis of a good leader in running his government. In the language of *trust* means trusted, trusted, honesty, integrity, and responsibility. The state in the view of Islam is a state that prospers and makes its people happy in achieving *maqasid al-syariah*.

Keywords: *Good Governance, Justice, Al-Amanah, Islamic Politics, Corruption*



<https://doi.org/10.31538/munaddhomah.v4i4.727>

How to Cite Rusydi, I. (2023). Good Governance According To Islamic Perspective. *Munaddhomah: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, 4(4), 1001–1007.

INTRODUCTION

Starting this paper, the author tries to find answers to the question of how is governance thinking in Islam?, then what criteria can be used as a standard of measurement so that a Muslim leader can be considered to have run his government well? These questions are relevant at this time along with the strong push for the application of the principles of good governance by developed countries compared to third world countries which are dominated by countries with Muslim populations. By many parties, the Western model of *good governance* is considered a panacea in overcoming the problems of poverty and underdevelopment that plague third-world countries, while the World Bank considers good governance a prerequisite for international assistance in development investment in developing countries to avoid capital allocation errors. investment and prevent corruption (Budi Wiyoto, 2005).

In Muslim countries, from Malaysia and Indonesia to Pakistan, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, to Morocco, there is a desire that Mazen Hasem calls the "*dream of Islamic Governance*". This is indicated by the desire of the Muslim community in these countries for Islam to play a role in several political policies (Mazen Hashem, 2007). In the Islamic Arab world, the term good governance has become increasingly loud after the fall of Arab leaders who were considered corrupt, such as Muammar Qaddafi in Libya, Ben Ali in Tunisia, and Husni Mubarak in Egypt by involving their families and cronies in controlling political and economic power (Daniel Kaufmann, 2011). This serious problem becomes a separate question how to advance the Arab

Islamic world when many corrupt practices plague the Arab world leaders (Bashīr Mustafā , nd), or are there other factors that cause it, or indeed the Arab-Islamic traditions and culture are undemocratic (Mazen Hashem, 2007).

Corruption is an immoral act that is contrary to the noble values of a Muslim. A Muslim is required to be honest and trustworthy, while corruptors have the opposite nature of that, namely fraud and greed. In Islam corruption is a actions that destroy the order of life, threaten the lives and property of many people. Corruptors must receive the appropriate punishment in the form determined by the judge. Assets obtained from corruption are illegal assets. The prohibition of the property does not turn into halal even though the property is used for good or charitable activities (Amelia, 2010).

Another problem that plagues Muslims today is the problem of backwardness. Religious teachings that emphasize the balance between increasing the quality of faith and increasing the standard of economic living are indeed difficult to find in everyday reality where the economic structure is described as having to be competitive and fair. Muslims today live in a backward situation. Bernard Lewis considers that Muslims are lagging behind in politics, economics and science, even though they realize that Muslims have experienced a period of progress in various fields, but in reality Muslims are increasingly underdeveloped. The domination of Muslims in the past in the political and economic fields is currently far behind from other non-Muslim countries. Lewis explained that this fact may be caused by a backward economy, especially when compared to economic development in Muslim countries with Western countries (Murodi, 2021).

DISCUSSION

Understanding Good Governance

Indeed, the discourse on good governance is an issue that has emerged in recent years. This shows the desire for state administration and management to be carried out in a good, honest, trustworthy and accountable manner. Good governance is basically a commitment to carry out the administration of the state properly and correctly in the context of the welfare and prosperity of the people (Ahmad Farhan Hamid, 2007). Good governance is social justice, effective, responsible, and transparent administrative machinery. In the same way, social and political maladies such as corruption, nepotism, favoritism, ethnicity, and flagrant abuse of power were ostracized in the system (Mukhtar, 2013).

Clean government is generally referred to as good government, and generally takes place in a country where the people respect the law. Good governance can be built through clean government with bureaucratic apparatus that is free from corruption, collusion and nepotism. In order to realize a clean government, the government must be moral and proactive as well as *checks and balances* .

The World Bank defines *governance* as the way power is used in managing economic and social resources for development of society. Governance is a way of how the power of a government in managing social and economic resources to advance society. If it is associated with *good governance*, it can be said that the condition for the progress and development of a country is how a government is managed properly. *Good Governance* refers to accountability, transparency and participation (Syamsuddin Haris, 2007). The implementation of the good governance system is expected to increase the economic development of a nation. Therefore, *good governance* can be interpreted as a process and aspiration towards a *governance system* that is attached to the following values; *first* , public institutions that are efficient, open and transparent (not corrupt) and accountable at all levels. *Second*, effective and efficient management of human, natural, economic and financial resources for the sake of creating fair and sustainable development. *Third*, the participation of *civil society* in the decision-making process (R. Siti Zuhro, 2010).

Good Governance is al-Amanah wa al-Adalah .

The view that *good governance* is the principle of *al-amānah* (trusted) and *al-'adālah* (justice) was put forward by Abdullah al-Ahsān who believes that in essence the concept of good governance according to the Qur'an is the principle of *al-amānah* and *al-'adālah*. Honesty and fairness are the basis of a good leader in running his government. The Qur'an states that a leader must be trustworthy and be a bearer of justice in society. The Qur'an explicitly mentions the necessity to behave and be trustworthy in the letter in Qur'an, 4: 58; which means: " *Indeed, Allah commands you to return trusts to their rightful owners;1 and when you judge between people, judge with fairness. What a noble commandment from Allah to you! Surely Allah is All-Hearing, All-Seeing.*" In the language of *amanah* means trusted, trusted, honesty, integrity, and responsibility. Islam requires Muslims to be trustworthy, that is, to be honest and trustworthy. Amanah is the basis of ethics and morals in running the government (Abdullah Al-Ahsan & Stephen Young, 2008).

With this trust, conditions for an honest, trustworthy, transparent and fair society will be created in every activity and work, so as to create an environment that trusts each other and brings blessings to the parties involved and creates benefit for mankind as a whole. Based on the letter An-Nisa (4) verse 58 above, basically all humans are ordered to fulfill the mandate and act fairly . However, it is the leader or ruler whose mandate is greater than other humans. Therefore, the position of a leader is highly emphasized in carrying out his leadership with trust, carrying out the beliefs of his people, and establishing laws according to the principles of justice.

Mustopadidjaja AR considers that conceptually civil society and good governance are paradigms and systems of noble state administration, namely trying to realize and maintain human values in individual and collective life, in society, nation and state, which are based on faith and devotion. (Mustopadidjaja, 2001). Spiritually, the commitment to piety as a government administrator will give goodness to work and government. Allah swt says in Qur'an, 7: 96 which means: " *Had the people of those societies been faithful and mindful 'of Allah', We would have overwhelmed them with blessings from heaven and earth. But they disbelieved, so We seized them for what they used to commit.*"

Malek Maszele stated that the basic concepts and principles of good governance in Islam are sourced from the Qur'an, the Sunnah of the Prophet, the experience of the *Khulafaur Rashidin*, and *maqashid sharia*. For Malek Maszele the current model of Islamic governance in some Muslim countries is considered "bad government and underdevelopment" where materialistic values are the reference, this condition must be changed through Islamic good governance by prioritizing aspects of faith values and development whose subjects are humanity (Malik Maszlee, 2011).

Social Justice and Equality Government.

Imam Sayed Moustofa al-Qazwini is more interested in the term sharia which is associated with good governance, the idea is that good governance is a government that has *social justice and equality*. In addition, he also stated that the foundation of Muslim society is ethics and morals. Morality is one of the most powerful forces in shaping a civilized society, and the disease that undermines the morals and ethics of government is corruption. Therefore, one of the characteristics of good governance according to sharia is a government that is clean and free from corruption (Imam Sayed Moustofa al-Qazwini, 2004).

Some Islamic scholar regard the concept of good governance in Islam as *siyāsah shar'īyyah*. Good and effective governance in the Islamic perspective is based on sharia and *siyāsah shar'īyyah*. *Siyāsah shar'īyyah* is Islamic governance and political policy in maintaining the benefit and resisting damage. The opposite of *siyāsah shar'īyyah* is *siyāsah al-dhalimah*, which means bad government. *Siyāsah shar'īyyah* values that form the basis of good governance are: a). al-Amanah, b). al-Akhlāk, d), al-Syura, e). and al-ḥisbah (S.HSI al-Qudsy & AA Rahman, 2011). The real manifestation of the mercy of sharia is the achievement of sharia goals (*maqāshid sharī'ah*) in the form of realization and maintenance of total benefit which includes spiritual aspects (*ḥifd al-din*), intellectual aspects (*ḥifd al-'aql*), material aspects (*ḥifd al-māl*), aspects of life security (*ḥifd al-nafs*), and aspects of regeneration and family (*ḥifd al-nasl*) (Binhadi, 2011).

Siyasah initially means 'to arrange, to manage' which is technically interpreted in political field. In Islamic terminology, politics is the arrangement of people affairs based on Islamic law. In Islamic literature, this definition is popularly called Fikih Siyasah (Islamic jurisprudence on politics), another Islamic scholar, like Ibn Qayyim, calls it *Siyasah Syariyyah* (Sharia Politics). However, *siyāsah syar'iyah* is still different function with politics. Politics merely contains the way of power achieving and people servicing, *siyāsah syar'iyah* has a function in bringing people to the right way based on Islamic norms (*ishlah*) (Zainuddin (2019).

Najmuddin al-Tufi explained that the purpose of leadership in Islam is first, to improve individual morals (*ishlah akhlak al-nafsiyah*), such as: fairness, maintaining honor, honesty, dignity and patience. Second, maintaining human rights (*hifzhu huquq al-nas*), such as: guarding, property, blood, eliminating injustice, protecting knowledge from damage and enforcing rules. Third, protect the soul from damage (*Najat al-nafs min al-balakah*), such as; protect yourself from the damage of the hereafter by understanding, knowing and obeying Allah (Azzuhri, 2019).

It is different with Ibrahim Adebayo who concludes that the Prophet Muhammad had applied the principles and good governance, despite his combined role as a prophet and as a leader of the people. For Ibrahim Adebayo, the main prerequisite for the formation of good governance in Islam is belief in Allah, because after all a leader must be responsible to Him. The main character of bureaucratic administrators in Islam is the individual faith factor to create a clean bureaucracy. The encouragement of belief that all their activities will be held accountable before God is a consequence of whoever administers the state, both for rulers and bureaucratic officials in carrying out their duties.

Interestingly, Ibrahim Adebayo rejects the good governance model of Western countries such as obedience to law, equality, justice, human rights, deliberation and others because it is a form of westernization in Muslim countries, therefore the Western model of good governance must have a touch of values. If you want Islam to be implemented in Muslim countries, otherwise it will become a westernization and endanger the Muslims themselves (Adebayo, RI, 2010). This opinion is in line with the views of Wolfgang Drechler who said that the push for westernization in Muslim countries in strengthening public administration was not very encouraging. Wolfgang Drechler, 2013). For this reason, Abdullah al-Ahsân proposes that governance needs to be pushed towards understanding and harmony between Islamic concepts and Western culture towards a common goal of improving the quality of life and humanity (Abdullah Al-Ahsan & Stephen Young, 2008) .

The exemplary and leadership factors are one of the conditions for the cleanliness of good governance in Islam (Naqvi, Imran & Aziz, Shazia & Rehman, 2011). Past facts prove the example of the caliph 'Umâr Ibn al-Khattâb who was one of the *kbulafâ al-râsyidîn* who ruled from 634 AD to 644 AD was a caliph who firmly and firmly defended the unity of Muslims. One of his achievements was the expansion of Islamic territory and spread to Syria, Persia, North Africa, including capturing the city of Jerusalem and performing high respect for the houses of worship of the Jews and Christians. Caliph Umar lived a simple and frugal life. Caliph Umar required officials to clarify his wealth and if there was an excess then it was handed over to Baitul Mal as the property of the Muslims. Many of Umar's administrative and regulatory reform practices became role models for later Muslims (Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 2003).

Besides 'Umâr Ibn al-Khattâb, a figure who was considered fair in his government was 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz, a caliph during the Umayyad caliphate. His leadership as caliph is even considered as *the fifth kbulafâ al-râsyidîn*, following the caliphs of the Prophet's companions namely Ab Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân, and Alî (Imam Abi Farrâj, 1996). The figure of Umar ibn Abd al-'Azîz is considered a firm, brave, pious, and just leader. Even Imam Abû Faraj al-Jauzî when writing *kitab Sûrah wa al-Manâqib 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azîz* devoted a separate chapter which discussed at length the justice of the Umayyad dynasty during his reign.

The exemplary leadership that must be an example for all Muslims is the model of the leadership of the Prophet. In fact, the practice of good governance would be better if the figure

of the leader refers to the practice of implementing the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad which describes his character and behavior, as agreed by all scholars, namely *shiddiq*, *fathonah*, *amanah*, and *tabligh*. *Siddiq* means right, which means always stating and doing the truth and honesty. *Fathonah* means intelligent, which is able to think clearly and rationally. *Amanah* means trustworthy, that is, maintaining the trust given. *Tabligh* means conveying, which is conveying a message from Allah about the truth and carrying out human duties as caliphs in the prosperity of the earth.

Islam has never separated religion from politics as the church has separated the kingdom of God from the empire. Prophet Muhammad was a religious leader and political leader in the first Islamic society in Medina. (Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 2003). Even the history of the life of the Prophet's government is always used as a reference to ensure that there is a very close relationship between the values of good governance. The example of a leader is the main step that is required. Likewise, the Prophet enforced the rules of law and was fair in his decisions case (Ali Nurdin, 2006).

Ibn Khaldun in his monumental work *Muqaddimah* tries to offer the concept of a good state (good governance) through a causal explanation in the process of advancing and declining a dynasty (*al-daulah*) and civilization (*'umrān*). In terms of the sovereignty of a state, Ibn Khaldun believes that state sovereignty cannot be realized except through the application of sharia, and vice versa that sharia cannot be implemented except by the state. For this reason, the progress and development of a country will be achieved through justice, namely justice that is accountable to God and actualized in real life. According to Capra, Ibn Khaldun's development theory will be realized through sovereignty in politics, beliefs and sharia rules, public participation, natural and human resources, development, and justice (M. Umer Chapra, 2006).

Baldatun Toyyibatun Warobbun Gofur, *the Land of Dreams* .

Islam is a comprehensive religion that covers all aspects and areas of human life. Islam is a comprehensive system, covering all aspects of life. Islam came to bring mercy to the whole world. In this case the Qur'an, 21:107 asserts: " *We have sent you 'O Prophet' only as a mercy for the whole world* ".

Islam as a foundation in life teaches justice and always leads to the realization of a just and prosperous social order. The guideline for Muslims is the Qur'an which is a holy book that is a guide for humans in their lives to realize safety, peace and prosperity in life in the world and in the hereafter (Abd Wahab Khallaf, 1996). In terms of good governance, the Qur'an clearly emphasizes with the expression *baldatun toyyibatun warobbun ghofoor*. Al-Qur'an, 34: 15 states: " *Indeed, there was a sign for 'the tribe of' Sheba in their homeland: two orchards—one to the right and the other to the left. 'They were told: 'Eat from the provision of your Lord, and be grateful to Him. 'Yours is a good land and a forgiving Lord.* ".

Islam was brought and spread by the Prophet Muhammad SAW. As a leader of the ummah, since the beginning and in his life he has practiced the principles of goodness which is currently known as *good governance* such as being trustworthy, honest, responsible, deciding cases fairly, deliberation in decision making, and law enforcement. This shows that the application of *good governance principles* has been carried out since the time of the Prophet Muhammad.

Good governance is mean tolerance. Islam and good governance perspectives have similar and integrated policy, agenda and strategy in addressing religious tolerance. There are no conflicting doctrines between Islam and western values. that religious tolerance is important for human life sustainability. In Islam, the concept of tolerance can be called as "*al-tasamuh*". Various chapters in Al-Qur'an explicitly encourage tolerance and reject intolerance. As a peaceful religion, Islam forcefully refuses all patterns of violence such as terrorism, suicide booms, and killing humans. The term "religious tolerance" is an attitude of respect towards other religions and beliefs (Ridho, 2015).

Wan Mohd Nor, Center for Advanced Studies on Islam, Science and Civilization (CASIS), Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, notes the importance of the position of happiness (*sa'adah*): "In our view of nature, well-being and happiness (*sa'adah*) are important aspects of life. individual and societal progress. That is the true goodness aspired to in this world and in the hereafter. The state in the view of Islam is a state that prospers and makes its people happy in achieving maqasid al-syariah, namely maintaining the quality of life, religion, reason, property, and offspring. That is the country (*balad thayyibah*) which is blessed by Allah SWT. (Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, 2011).

CONCLUSION

The thought of governance in Islam is that the state is for the benefit, the state is a tool or means to create and maintain the benefit. Good and effective governance from an Islamic perspective is based on sharia and siyāsah shar'iyah. Siyāsah shar'iyah is Islamic governance and political policy in maintaining the benefit and resisting damage. In essence, the concept of good governance according to the Qur'an is the principle of *al-amānah* (trusted) and *al-'adālah* (justice). Honesty and fairness are the basis of a good leader in running his government. In the language of *trust* means trusted, trusted, honesty, integrity, and responsibility. The state in the view of Islam is a state that prospers and makes its people happy in achieving maqasid al-syariah.

REFERENCES

Al-Quran

- Abdullah Ahsan & Stephen Young. (2008). *Guidance For G-good governance : Explorations In Qur'anic, Scientific And Cross-Cultural Approaches*. International Islamic University, Kuala Lumpur.
- Abd Wahab Khallaf. (1996). *Kaidah-Kaidah Hukum Islam (Ilmu Ushulul Fiqhi)*. PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta.
- Adebayo, R.I. (2010). Islam, Democracy and Good Governance: A Glimpse of Islamic Political Thought. *Orita: Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies*, XLII, (2); Published by Department of Religious Studies, University of Ibadan. 1-24.
- Ahmad Farhan Hamid. (2007). *Konsep, Strategi, dan Impelementasi Good Governance dalam Pemerintahan*. Irjen Depag RI, Jakarta.
- Ali Nurdin. (2006). *Quranic Society: Menelusuri Konsep Masyarakat Ideal Dalam Al-Qur'an Gelora Aksara Pratama*, Jakarta.
- Amelia M.A (2010), Korupsi Dalam Tinjauan Hukum Islam, *Juris: Jurnal Ilmiah Syari'ah*, Vol. 9, No. 1, DOI:<http://dx.doi.org/10.31958/juris.v9i1.738>
- Azzuhri al Bajuri (2019), Pemikiran Politik Islam Najm Al Din Al Thufi (Kajian Siyasah Syar'iyah), *Juris, Jurnal Ilmiah Syari'ah*, Vol. 18, Nomor 1, Januari-Juni 2019, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.31958/juris.v18i1.1398>
- Bashir Mustafā. (n.d.). *Al-Adāu al-Mutamayyiz li al-Hukūmāt Min Hilāl al-Hukm al-Sālih Wa al-Idārah al-Rashīdah*. Markaz Dirāsāt al-Wihdah al-'Arabiyah, Bairut.
- Binhadi. (2011). *Pedoman Umum Good Governance Bisnis Syariah*. Komite Nasional Kebijakan Governance, Jakarta.
- Budi Wiyoto. (2005). *Riset Evaluasi Kebijakan Publik Mitos Ketakutan Birokrasi Instrumen Strategik Good Governance*. Malang, Indonesia
- Daniell Kaufmann. (2011). *Governance and The Arab World Transition: Reflections, Empirics, and Implications for The International Community,* From Aid to Global Development Cooperation The 2011 Brookings Blum Roundtable Policy Briefs. www.brookings.edu/global.
- Imam Abi Farrāj 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Jauzī. (1996). *Sīrah wa Manāqib 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz*. Dar Ibn Khaldun, Iskandariyah.

- Imam Sayed Moustofa al-Qazwini. (2004). Shariah and Good Governance, The Implementation of sharian by Democratic Means: Nigerian Experience, July 7-9 th, 2004, Abuja, Nigeria.
- Malik Maszlee. (2011). Constructing The Architectonics and Formulating The Articulation of Islamic Governance: A Discursive Attempt in Islamic Epistemology, Durham E-Theses, Durham University.
- Mazen Hashem. (2007). Islamic Root of Good Governance. Arab Insight Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring, World Security Institute, Cairo, 63-72
- Mukhtar Umar Bunza (2013), The Application of Islamic Law and the Legacies of Good Governance in the Sokoto Caliphate, Ni-geria (1804-1903): *Lessons for the Contemporary Period* *Electronic Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law (EJIMEL)*, Vol. 1 (2013), pages, <http://www.ejimel.uzh.ch>
- Murodi. (2021). Dakwah dan Filantropi; Jalan Menuju Kesejahteraan Umat. Prenadamedia Group, Jakarta.
- M. Umer Chapra. (2008). Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Development: Does It Help Explain the Low Performance of the Present-Day Muslim World?. *Journal of Socio-Economics*. 37. 836-863.
- Mustopadidjaja AR. (2001). Reformasi Birokrasi, Perwujudan Good Governance dan Pembangunan Masyarakat Madani, Makalah disampaikan dalam Silaknas ICMI 2001, bertema: Mobilitas Sumber Daya Untuk Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Madani dan Percepatan Perwujudan Good Governance.
- Naqvi, Imran & Aziz, Shazia & Rehman. (2011). The Model Of Good Governance In Islam. *African Journal Of Business Management*. 5 (27). 10984-10992.
- Ridho Al-Hamdi (2015), Coping With Religious Tolerance And Gender Equality: Comparing Islam, And Good Governance Perspectives, *IJIMS, Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, December 2015: 163-193
- R. Siti Zuhro. (2010). Good Governance Dan Reformasi Birokrasi Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*. Vol 7, No 1, 1-21
- Syamsuddin Haris. (2007). Desentralisasi dan Otonomi Daerah: Desentralisasi, Demokratisasi, dan Akuntabilitas Pemerintah Daerah. LIPI Press, Jakarta. 1-21
- Syarifah Hayaati Syed Ismailal-Qudsy & AA Rahman ((2011). Effective Governance in the Era of Chaliphate Umar Ibn al-Khattab (634-644), *European Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 18, Number 4. 612-624
- Seyyed Hossein Nasr. (2003). Islam; Religion, History, and Civilization. HarperCollins e-books, New York.
- Wan Mohammad Nor Wan Daud. (2011). Budaya Ilmu dan Gagasan 1 Malaysia; Membina Negara Maju dan Bahagia.: Casis UTM International Campus, Kuala Lumpur.
- Wolfgang Drechler. (2013). Three Paradigms of Governance and Administration: Chinese, Western and Islamic. *Society and Economy*, Vol. 32, No. 3. 319-342.
- Zainuddin, Yustiloviani, Afrian Raus, Mauliddin, (2019), An Ambiguity Of Constitutional Law Major At The Faculty Of Sharia Of Islamic Higher Education Institutions In Indonesia, *Mazahib Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam*, Vol. 18. No.2 pp. 229-252