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*Ghassan Elkahlout*

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# INSANIYAT

## Journal of Islam and Humanities


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### Is Religion Compatible with Modernity? An Overview on Modernity's Measurements And its Relation to Religion

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#### Abstract

*This paper aims to elaborate the measurements of modernity and its relation to religion. In the Third World, modernity is often measured by unclear measurements, and in some cases, some of the attitudes of certain circles in the West now also appear to be at odds with modernity. Based on a literature survey, this paper finds that modernity is a condition, not as a specific marker of a certain period and region. Modernity points not only to the West, but also to non-West, because modernity can be measured by: capitalism as an economic rationality; mass production-based industries and the existence of industry mentality; urban population pressure and its medical control; secular and humanist nation state; democratic country; rational bureaucracy, the state's rule of law, military-based technology; and empirical science and rationalism. Even so, for a secular state, it does not require the latest modernity that should alienate religion absolutely in a public sphere. Religion is possible to be in the public sphere, if it could be debated rationally and does not discriminate minorities as certainly religion is now more rational. Religion is also possible to contest with other issues in a public sphere in the free market in a democratic political system and can be a civil society force; in addition, some religions do not mind with secularization in the sense of sociological rationalization.*

**Keywords** : modernity; condition; measurement of modernity; rational religion; public sphere.

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#### A. Introduction

Modernity in Third World society is adored by the modernization callers, both from the regime of the implementers and academicians, because modernity is a targeted reality from the modernization process done. As said by Danial Lerner, and also by Light and Keller, modernization is a term that refers to a long process of efforts of social transformation of a less developed society in order to become a society that has the characteristics or dimensions of modernity normally found in a developing/developed society, both modernity in the values, institutions, and views (Riggs,1980; Karim,1994). In Indonesia, the dimensions of modernity such as the secular nation state, family planning, and capitalism, although



sometimes imposed artificially, are the dimensions heralded by the New Order regime that had been ruling for 30 years after the collapse of Sukarno's Old Order.

However, modernity is also a word that is reviled by Muslim fundamentalists. The reason is that these circles have religious characteristics that are (1) tend to interpret religious texts rigidly, literally (textually), absolutely and dogmatically, which sometimes conflicts with modernity which emphasizes on the elements of novelty/currency and here-ness as will be explained. (2) Affirm the unity of religion and state. They idealize theocratic state typology (Islamic State), in which the religion regulates the state and vice versa. Meanwhile, in modernity, the typology which is upheld is the secular nation state. (3) Declare war against secular ideology and action, and therefore their main programs are such as sexual control, in which it is different from the modernity which emphasizes on secularism, not only politically but also sociologically. (4) Especially in the East, they have a stigmatic view towards the West (both in ideas, such as pluralism, social view, and especially political view), in which the West is seen as an imperialist monster which sometimes threatens their faith and existence (Marty-Appleby, 1995; Kasdi-Karyono, 2003; Munawar-Rachman, 2004).

Presumably, they understand modernization as westernization and of course it is theoretically understandable as David E. Apter stated that modernization in the Third World occurred through four stages; (1) colonialism which caused the Third World occupied as a pacesetter. (2) Establishment of urban centers, markets, and schools with European standard. (3) The emergence of local elites demanding a greater participation from the educated people and later becoming a mass movement demanding independence. (4) The period of independence is followed by the modernization process following the European model which was previously an imperialist state (Apter, 1985).

In the context of the West, modernity also seems interesting to be discussed now. The reason is that the West now seems to have started to lead to a point in which in some cases they become closed, which conflicts with modernity that they had initiated and produced in the past. It is shown in the anti-immigration policies and closed attitude to the things outside them like the emergence of the phenomenon of Islamophobia after 9/11. The Brexit Case in the UK, the exit of British from the EU, and the victory of Donald Trump in the 2016 election in the USA in some ways show that assumption. Brexit shows that the way of thinking of some citizens who became supporters (elderly, villagers, or conservative) was not open to immigrants; furthermore, it also closes opportunities in some aspects, especially related to the British economy in a broad market. **Young people who rejected it also considered that Brexit was an attempt by the elderly to take their future away. Now Brexit is regretted by the majority of voters (2.3 million people) (Kompas, 2016).** Meanwhile, Trump is rated by some of media and his opponents as racist, anti-immigrants and Muslims, xenophobia, and discriminative, although this image has not necessarily been proven in his later policies (Fetzer and Soper, 2005).

Thus, the social science literature measures modernity differently. Harvey Cox, referring to a theory proposed by JJ. Rousseau (1712-1778), and also Lucian W. Pye views that modernity is a world that has some bases; the nation state in the political system; science-based technologies; rationalism (rational view of life); profit doubling (capitalism); secularization (secular approach on social relations) and underestimating religion. Pye (1965) adds another measurement, that is social justice in public affairs. However, the measurements of modernity that seem more real and accurate used in this article are based on the view of Jones (2010).

Due to the above reasons, it seems important to bring about modernity and its measurements. It is also important to highlight the measurement of secularization (secular approach on social relations) and underestimating religion. The question is whether in

modernity as the goal of modernization should underestimate religion? This question is important to put forward considering the same issue raised by Huston Smith, "Can modernity accommodate transcendence?" and also Shireen T. Hunter's question, "Can Islam and modernity be reconciled?" (Smith, 1981; Hunter, 2009). This question is important because after the collapse of communism, in reality there is no state in the world that underestimates religion now. Religion even experiences reappearance, as called by some experts as the phenomenon of the post-secularism (Hardiman, 2016).

## **B. Method**

Based on the data source, this article is based on literature research, which is of course not a quantitative research, whose data validity is measured by how many samples are used. The more samples used do not mean that the level of truth and the quality of the research are higher. However, this research is a qualitative research, that is the validity of the data is measured by how high the quality (accuracy and also the depth / criticism of the data on the surface). Hence, this research collects various research results and literature on the topic. Furthermore, the available data are compared and used both as a baseline or analytical data. The data obtained, at least in some parts, are not directly taken for granted, but then compared, both similarities and differences to be displayed in this article according to the article scheme. Further, the accuracy and depth of the data are viewed, tested, and then displayed. For example, the data of classical sociological theories that reject religion in modernity in this article are not entirely judged according to the reality and demands of contemporary society. However, the one used in this article is the contemporary sociological theory, as shown in the C3 section of this article.

## **C. Results and Discussions**

### **C1. Modernity as a Condition in the West and Non-West**

The word "modernity" is derived from the word "modern". It comes from the Latin word *modus* (*modernus*) which means new, latest, or recent/now. In the Western history, the word "modern" was first used in 490-500 which shows the displacement of the old Roman period to the new Roman period. However, in this study the word "modern" is the opposite of the ancient times and the mid age in the West that has run since the 16<sup>th</sup> century or precisely in the 18<sup>th</sup> century until the 20<sup>th</sup> century and today. It is identical with the word "contemporary", although some experts distinguish the word "contemporary" as the present time, about 50 years later. Modernity, in this context, means novelty, progress, dynamism, innovation, an attempt to cut the old-fashioned past, either novelty and progress in the form of ideas, behaviors, and progressive institution resulted from autonomy/ freedom of man as the foundation and awareness of the present as a requirement. In Arkoun's term, modernity is progress, dynamism, and innovation, both in the form of material (outer frame) or in the form of intellectual (cultural) as the base (inner frame). It is the principal changes in thinking and other areas of life. According to Heller (1999), as the emphasis of modernity is on novelty and better future, everything in modernity is open to be questioned and tested; everything is a target to be investigated in order to obtain advancement; and everything is assessed, if accompanied by rational and empirical arguments (King, 1995; Mohammed, 1998; Gillen-Ghosh, 2007; Jones, 2010).

Modernity, therefore, is a continuous effort to improve the lives and efforts to achieve progress. Change, development, and improvement are the goal of modernity, and it means believing that tomorrow must always be better than today. This belief needs readiness to

change the existing order; hence, it must be prepared to dismantle tradition. Therefore, in modernity, human life does not rely on the intervention and action of God alone but leaning primarily on rationality and science. In fact, for many people in the West, in modernity, divine revelation and religious authority as the interpreter of God's will have been lost, at least diminishing. The reason is that in modernity, guidelines for human behavior are human reason and newly found empiric knowledge. On both of them the improvement of human being's destiny is leaned, and safety in modernity is not only obtained in the hereafter alone (Jones, 2010).

In Indonesia, Nurcholish Madjid defines modernity as living rationally, scientifically, and in accordance with the natural laws. Modernity is replacing irrational and unscientific patterns of thinking and working to be more rational and scientific (according to the results of human's understanding of the objective laws that control nature, ideal and material), and thus resulting in efficiency, effectiveness, and progress. For him, modernity is a great and new civilization, capable of living continuously, because it is built on the idea, attitude, and strong belief that sustain them, namely rationality and objective science in accordance with *sunnatullah* (natural law)/nature and humanity (Madjid, 1987).

From the definition above, modernity is understood by most experts as a Western project, in which the institutions of modernity are rooted in the European history as a historical trend emerging from Cartesian philosophy, industrial capitalism, political revolution and cultural change in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most experts say that was rooted in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, since the industrial revolution in England which Karl Polanyi calls "the great transformation." Industrial Revolution since 1760 has dramatically changed the UK, Europe and North America in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the way of producing goods and organizing labor. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, new forms of energy, especially steam engines, replaced the muscle power of animals and humans; a process of industrialization occurred and gave birth to the need for massive labor—in which women then worked; iron industry was established; and also, a new transportation system such as trains, cars, and ships was produced. This new transportation facilitated product distribution process. What happened then was an explosion of economic production and distribution with an amazing speed. Since the industrial revolution, the invention of new technology has been continuously presented by modern Western man, for example water-powered spinning machine, the discovery of electricity, and communications technologies. Human transformation through early modern technological inventions with the industrial revolution, as revealed by Yuval Noah Hariri, lies in the transformation of water and fire energy into kinetic energy. It all resulted in an increase in the speed and efficiency of the industry, and it happened through researches supported by the capital owners and the capital obtained by the state, among other things through imperialism. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many new discoveries and technologies were presented by the United States, in addition to Germany which found, among others, radio and cars. The United States in the Western history has recently complemented the previous technological inventions such as cars, telephone, electricity, television, computer, copy and fax machine, internet, nuclear weapon, and aircraft. Consequently, the industrial revolution creates a bourgeois class, in which the richest class is bankers, factory owners, and also the owners of the mine.

In the socio-political context, modernity originated from the American Revolution (1763-1789) and the French Revolution (1789-1799) which voiced openly individual's rights which are now known as human rights. The American Declaration of Independence of 1776 reveals the recognition of man's natural rights contained in the Enlightenment idea of John Locke. Among other things, the Declaration calls that "those human beings are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with rights that cannot be violated, including life, liberty, and the search for happiness". The US Constitution includes the principles of



Montesquieu on *trias politica* as a political system of checks and balances) and modernity in the areas of social and politics (for example, presidential election held every four years in one period). The US shows that people through a democratic political system can create an effective government they have chosen, and this is demonstrated by the fact that the United States has become a great nation in the world within 150 years. The US Revolution shows that the effectiveness of government does not necessarily has to be done through empire political system or oligarchic government.

French Revolution that began in 1789 has changed the old-fashioned dynastic or theocratic state into modern: the national, liberal, secular, rational and constitutional state. French revolution removed the political system of monarchy in 1892; removed the privileges of the nobility and clergy, declared human rights (individual rights that cannot be denied) and made the Church/religious authority as a sub-ordinate of the state. In French Revolution, the source of all sovereignty lies essentially in the nation. State belongs to the people as a whole and the individual who used to be the one conquered by the king/nobility becomes an equal citizen, whose rights and obligations are stipulated in the Act. Absolutism and divine rights through French Revolution are rejected. French Revolution stopped the command of King Louis XIV, who shouted "*l'etat c'est moi*" (I am the state). Institutions and procedures of the country are based on principles that could be understood by reason, not on tradition, like when the state was in the hands of the conservatives. Later, Napoleon who crowned himself as an emperor in 1804 stated that it was impossible for traditional rulers in France could recover their powers and also traditionalism, the opposite of modernity in the political and social fields. He also spread the ideas of French Revolution to Europe as a whole, especially the Code Napoleon which became the forerunner of the modern civil law (Eisenstadt, 1987; Gomes, 1994; Loyal, 2003; Horowitz, 2005; Ritzer, et.al., 2007; Smith, 2009; Kamarga-Siboro, 2012; King, 2013; Gillen-Ghosh, 2015; *Kompas*, 2015; Symes, 2015). Alexis de Tocqueville calls French Revolution as the most monumental revolution with the slogan *liberte, egalite, fraternite*, the main elements of modernity in the social and political field.

Thus, modernity at the beginning of its appearance was born in Europe and North America, and it is associated with the economic, technological, social, and cultural changes. Modernity is a project of enlightenment of Europe and North America with an emphasis on rationality, regularity, effectiveness of the state, control and trust on progress. Modernity emerged due to the deterioration of middle-age European society synonymous with stupidity, not growing, not humanist, and intolerant. Therefore, Western modernity spread in non-Western world mainly through colonialism supported by military force with modern weaponry (Gomes, 1994; Horowitz, 2005; Ritzer, et.al., 2007; King, 2013; Gillen-Ghosh, 2015; Symes, 2015).

Nevertheless, modernity should be understood as a condition, not as a marker of a specific period and region. Modernity not only refers to the West in a certain period, but also to the non-West. The reasons are: (1) the word modern (*modernus*) has been used since the fifth century AD before the modern West, to distinguish the Christian period with the power of the Roman pagan in the previous period. (2) The term modern is to designate the West since the Industrial Revolution, opposing to the word primitive to designate the East. Therefore, the term modern is in fact Western bias and forms a stereotype if modernity simply points to the West. (3) Modernity is a relative thing, because it is bound by time and space. Something that is currently modern can certainly be conservative in the future. In Guatemala and southern Mexico for example, there are the Indians that created the modern Mayan civilization for their time. Now, it becomes simple, not to mention retarded. Likewise, the political system that was developed by the Prophet Muhammad and the four caliphs after the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD is said by Robert N. Bellah too modern for its time, where he praised it

in terms of popular participation and openness of his leadership to be criticized. (4) Some aspects/elements of modernity can be born in any time and space. Elements of modernity among others are the rejection of traditional authority, the idea of progressive time where time is understood not as a mere rotation, both individual and collective liberation, having empirical orientation in understanding the world, and considering the whole trouble, at least in large part, as a technical problem, so Marshal GS. Hodgson calls today's modernity as the technical age (Madjid, 1987; Lyon, 1994; Ritzer, et al., 2007; Hodgson). Modernity is a socio-political concept that emphasizes on historical changes, in which the emphasis of modernity is awareness, understanding, and control over nature (the environment) as the foundation of production and welfare, as well as optimism (Horowitz, 2005; Ritzer-Smart, 2006). Modernity is also an economic development and transformation from agricultural society to industrial society along with the socio-cultural shift that is believed to occur because the process of social restructuring should be done by the state together with its society to create "the lost paradise", without waiting for destiny (Sokhei, 2011; Hardiman, 2003).

Therefore, modernity can be expanded beyond the West although the most influential pioneer was the West. Japan, now the world's largest car manufacturers and industries including top ten GDP countries—with more than 34,000 dollars (comparing Indonesia 700 dollars)—has been doing modernization since the restoration done by the Emperor Meiji (which mean Light government) in 1897 AD. He modernized Japan after defeating the Tokugawa dynasty which was anti-foreign. His restoration caused land owners restored their lands to the emperor with the compensation of receiving high-level positions in the Government. All classes were treated equally before the law; military service was required as in France and Germany; the privileged social rights were eliminated; and he referred the constitution to Bismarck's constitution, in which although there was the parliament, but the Emperor held the authority, and minister ruled on his behalf without much controlled by parliament. Western-style building was constructed with full street lights. Japan also did industrialization that originated from a visit the Japanese people did to factories in the West, sending talented people to study in the West, hiring people to teach Western industry expertise, changing the traditional into modern education, and increasing the budget for the sector of education drastically. The spirit to develop an empirical science and modern Western technology is reflected through the statement of Yukichi Fukuzawa, a Japanese education reformer: "Whatever happens in this country, whatever war occurring in this country, we will not stop studying the West". He also said the human position is determined by the status of education, not the values brought since born as a legacy. In addition, the defense industry, heavy industry, communication systems and modern transportation are constructed (Perry, 2013).

An attempt to give birth to modernity is especially in the form of industrialization in non-Western countries like in Japan which is later followed by other big countries. South Korea, which is now known as the world's car manufacturers such as Hyundai and electronic goods such as Samsung, and China can be called as successful examples. The growth of modernity in the economic field makes China able to buy many established and big companies such as: Volvo (Sweden) and own large stocks of Peugeot Citroen (France). Since 2010, China has become the largest exporter in the world, replacing Germany. The country's foreign exchange reserves reached US \$ 3.2 trillion—the biggest in the world. China has also become the country with the second largest military expenditure in the world after the US. China is predicted to become the number one economic power in the world in 2030. In addition to China and South Korea, modernity even spread throughout Asia. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in 2015, nowadays Asia contributes about two-thirds

of global economic growth (*Tempo*, 2012; *Kompas*, 2015).

Although there are many phenomena of imitation which largely occurred through West colonialism, modernization in non-Western countries certainly has all the consequences in time and space. In some part, the anomalies should be recognized, when compared to that of the West, and in some other parts are necessarily appropriate. In non-Western countries, modernity even gives birth to many inventions of non-Western traditions that are consistent with modernity. It is partly found through a reinterpretation of tradition. In Japan, the spirit of Bushido (the way of life of Samurai/warrior elite) seems appropriate. This type of mentality includes hard work, honesty, responsibility, unselfishness, clean heart, and feeling shame. An example of anomaly is that industrial modernity in Japan adopts traditional values and emphasizes on more cooperation, rather than competition. The relation between workers and employers is also paternalistic, rather than individualistic. Another anomaly which is almost existing in non Western countries is that modernity in the history of Non-West is often established with the nation state intervention, even with authoritarianism, although in some Western countries also have experienced it. The history of modernization in Indonesia under the New Order era is one example that can be explained. Modernity often only became an elite agenda which was less rooted in the society. It can be said that modernity occurred not due to a single factor and the same factors, but many factors and may be different factors (Gomes, 1994; Lamarre; 2004; Perry, 2013; Santoso, 2014).

## **C2. Measurements of Modernity**

Based on the explanation above, modernity can be measured by the changes or phenomena as a marker, as follows (Jones, 2010):

### **a. Capitalism as Economic Rationality**

According to P. Selinow, one of the pillars that marks out modernity is capitalism, as the analysis of Karl Marx (Horowitz, 2005) and Friedrich Engel in the *Communist Manifesto*. For both, the spirit of modernity is, in addition to the picture of the modern society, also capitalism as a condition (Ritzer, et.al., 2007).

In etimological term, capitalism comes from the word “capital” which means asset. According to Werner Sombart (1863-1941), capitalism is an economic system that is dominated and characterized by the role of capital which is based on three main ideas: the effort to acquire or possess, competition, and rationality (Rahardjo, 1991).

This economic system originated from the ideas of Adam Smith (1723-1790) in his monumental book *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776. The core of this book is natural liberty (freedom in economics (to try)) for the individual and the idea of prosperity for the people and all nations through the invisible hand.

Smith refuses the Mercantilist’s claims which believe gold and silver as a source of wealth for the rich and the powerful. According to Smith, the production and trade are the keys of the state’s prosperity. The prosperity of a nation, he says, is not only from gold and silver, but also from the land, the buildings, and all kinds of goods that can be consumed. The prosperity of a country occurs if all the needs and living facilities are available at a low price. For that, the thing to do is to increase productivity through the division of work, thrift, and hard work. In this book, Smith refuses the view that the land is the main source of economic value. Instead, Smith stresses that the most important in the economy is labor, primarily because the increased production can be achieved through work division.

However, he says, the basic key to success is providing economic freedom for the people. He calls natural freedom for all people, namely the freedom to do anything without state interference. Its doctrine is *laissez faire*, let the market run its own way.

This means the freedom of the flow of labor, capital, money, and goods movement. Labor, he says, should be allowed to move from one city to another, without having to obtain prior permission from the government, in which this rule applied when he wrote his book. Likewise, as for capital and goods, everyone is free to save, invest and accumulate capital, without any restrictions from the government. Everyone should also be allowed to buy items from anywhere, including foreign products, without restrictions of tariffs and quotas.

In keeping with his concept of natural freedom in economics, Smith opposes state efforts to regulate and determine the wages artificially. Everyone, according to him, is entitled to obtain wages in accordance with market capabilities. In fact, economic freedom will produce not only a better material life, but also human rights.

There are three core ideas written by Smith in *The Wealth of Nations*: first, freedom, namely the right to produce and trade products and capital and obtain labor freely without government intervention. Second, self-interest: a person's right to conduct their own business and to help others. Third, competition (right to compete) in the production and trade of goods and services.

According to Smith, self-interest will make all people prosperous. In his opinion, millions of people's self-interest will generate a stable and prosperous society, without the need of being centrally directed by the state. Doctrine of self-interest is often referred to as the invisible hand. Everyone, Smith says, tends to seek profit for himself if he is given the freedom to choose among different possible benefits. However, he will be guided by an invisible hand to achieve the ultimate goal which is not part of his desire. By pursuing his own self-interest, unwittingly, it means that he advances community more effectively rather than when he really intends to advance it.

In accordance with the above market economic theory, Smith refuses exclusive privileges to certain trading companies and harshly criticizes the practice of monopoly which was then developing. Monopoly practice, in his view, would damage the natural price or cheaper price of free competition, because the monopoly price is usually higher.

Despite emphasizing on self-interest, Smith refuses greed and shortage. Although this theory is debatable, both are often practiced in a global company. This is because he believes in the morality of humans who always have a desire to help his brother. Anyway, legal trading, Smith says, should be beneficial for sellers and buyers without sacrificing any of the parties. He also believes that businesses will be concerned with the reputation of his business. In addition, Smith's economic freedom is not freedom without limits. Everyone, he says, is free to pursue their own interests and is allowed to compete, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice. Therefore, Smith supports social institutions—market, religious communities, and law—to strengthen self-control, self-discipline, and generosity. Capitalism relation with greed is also rejected by Max Weber (1864-1920), an interpreter and critic of capitalism. For him, it is a naive idea. Boundless greed for profit, Weber says, is not synonymous with capitalism, and also with its spirit. Capitalism may be identical with self-limiting, or at least a rational restriction against such an irrational impulse (Koslowski, 1996; Hart, 2005; Skousen, 2005; Perry, 2013).

As Smith, the pioneer of capitalism such as Edmund Burke sees that the expansion of state power is too much, so it will be the enemy of freedom and economic independence. The thesis of this minimal state is related to the system of modern society, in which civil society will only develop, if not hindered by state intervention. As the public system, the market is constantly a moving machine which only requires a legal framework, without government interference. The goal is to generate growth without barriers (Gidden, 1999).

The question is how the welfare of people in the capitalist countries? The answer is economic growth led by the market that will shed the common welfare. This theory is often called the theory of “trickling down”. In capitalism, the welfare of a state must be understood not as a state’s allowances, but as an effort to maximize the economic progress (total wealth). The strategy, as above described, is by allowing the market to realize its wonders. In capitalism, welfare is not understood as economic equality, but inequality. For the supporters of capitalism, the notion that inherent social inequality is an error or disadvantage is naive and irrational. This idea is contrary to egalitarianism, because it means wanting to create tedious uniformity which can only be implemented through despotic power. Equality recognized in capitalism is simply equality of opportunity and the law (Gidden, 1999), or equality in inequality.

In addition to the recognition of property rights and the freedom to possess business without government interference, the core idea of capitalism according to Sombart, is rationalism, namely efficiency and effectiveness. Efficiency is the best ratio between input and output. While the effectiveness is the target achieved as planned. In modernity, rationalism is the key, as it is called by Weber (Lyon, 1994). It seems that the basis of this idea is Smith’s view above that the main factor in production is not land, but labor. To double production, management of work division is the key.

In the course of the next capitalism, economic rationalism is very prominent to be recorded by Max Weber (1864-1920). Therefore, capitalism becomes the measurement of modernity in the economic field. According to him, as quoted by Ross Poole, what is meant by economic rationalism in capitalism is instrumental ratio, juridical ratio and scientific ratio (Santoso, et.al., 2007). In modern capitalism, to improve productivity, economic enterprises should also be aided by the engine and other technologies. Through technologies such as electricity and machinery, the products obtained can be much multiplied rather than through human hands. By doing so, the price of the product becomes more affordable by most people. Moreover, in the perspective of the juridical ratio, economic rationalism also means that economic assets must be legally defensible. Evidence of law and legal practitioner services in the economic system of modern capitalism become highly emphasized. The goal is to secure economic asset, so as not to be lost. Meanwhile, in the perspective of scientific ratio, to improve performance, especially marketing, and also the products, the independent scientific research is needed. Scientific ratio in capitalism also means the importance of education needed by capitalist industry and also employee training to increase productivity.

For Weber, based on the explanation above, capitalism is not a mode of production, but rather the attitude or spirit, a way of looking at things as a central problem in human life. Capitalism is the result of a rationalization process (Jones, 2010).

In addition to being an economic rationalism of modernity as a measurement of modernity, capitalism becomes the measurement of modernity because it is an economic system that makes the accumulation of capital or profit as a goal. The reason is that in the time of pre-capitalist, the society usually produced goods for consumption only. While in capitalism, the production of goods is for the purpose of selling in the market at a higher price rather than the price of production, which therefore production must be doubled by using the ratio of technology (Jones, 2010).

#### **b. Industry-Based Mass Production and Mentality of Industry**

In addition to capitalism, modernity is also measured by the spread of the phenomenon of industry as opposed to traditionalism with its agricultural sector (Horowitz, 2005). This does not mean that in modernity there is no agriculture, but agriculture with

technology and its efficiency and effectiveness. In addition, the type of farming that develops in any modernity is agriculture (Horowitz, 2005; Ritzer, et.al., 2007). As shown in the Industrial Revolution in England, the development of industries as a measurement of modernity was related and it was the inevitable result of the development of science and technology (new discoveries), as opposed to superstitious or irrational thinking that developed in traditional societies, as explained in advance. Industrial development is also associated with the instrumental ratio as the main ratio in capitalism.

In postmodern sociology, industry as a measurement of modernity is in accordance with Michel Foucault's view (1926-1984). According to him, in postmodern era, the human body is under strict control of the hospital's medics. Human underwent medicalization whose central orientation is body. Good or happy life is judged not much related to knowledge and spiritual beliefs, but on the body, on how the body is shown in front of others. A society is obsessed by their body. Fetishism of body in this case also occurs. This fact carries major implications for production and mass consumption. Therefore, industrialization becomes a prerequisite and a major element in modernity. Without industrialization, a good product cannot multiply and mass consumption is not likely to happen. Manual production without machines, in modernity, tends to disappear, at least marginalized. Through industrialization, the products centered on the body are flooding the market, advertisements are everywhere, down to the bedroom via television or newspapers or magazines, and people flock to buy, either in the modern market or traditional, and then have them.

This kind of narcissism produces so many kinds of clothes on display, face cream, lipstick, perfume, conditioner, deodorant powder, mascara, lash extender, and others. Bathroom and dressing room are now enhanced with the latest products, because in both places, modern humans clean themselves, dress themselves, change themselves, and admire as well. Today men are crazy caring their body. So, the food industry, the clothing industry, dietary food industries, the beauty industry, the medical industry that offers a way to deliver the baby by cesarean surgery, and the mobile phone industry are growing.

In multiplying of the products, according to Heller (1999), the modernity reasoning is the division of social functions to bring prosperity. In Durkheim's opinion, solidarity built in modernity is mechanical solidarity (the specific division of work based on expertise). This is because modernity is the antithesis of traditionalism with its agriculture-based feudalism. The pattern of social solidarity of this farming society is organic (formed because of communal similarity between members) (Karim, 1994; Lyon, 1994).

In producing industry-based mass production with the mechanic solidarity above, modernity needs industry mentality. According to Jock Young, there are seven values that underlie an industrial society: (1) delayed pleasure; (2) planning of the work (for future action); (3) subject to the rules of bureaucratic; (4) assurance, much supervision on the details; (5) routine, predictable; (6) instrumental attitude to work; and (7) productive hard work rated as goodness.

Talcott Parsons also delivers almost the same thing. According to him, the change from traditional society to industrial society is marked by some changes: (1) from affectivity to affective neutrality, namely transformation from an attitude to act due to wanting immediate pleasure to an attitude to act with a willingness to postpone or abandon short-term pleasure. (2) From particularism like racial exclusiveness to universalism. (3) From the ascription like nepotism to achievement. (4) From the diffuseness to specificity, that is from social relations which have a wide scope and all-encompassing as the relationship of father and son to the special relations such as teachers and pupils (Madjid, 1987).

### **c. Urban Population Pressure and Control Through Medical**

As a result of the development of industries that require labor, the development of urbanization is one of the marks of modernity. An increase in the population of the city is then inevitable, not only because of urbanization but also the growing prosperity. The increasing number of city dwellers in Europe and Indonesia for example can show this. In Europe, the population had increased from 120 million in 1750 to around 468 million in 1913 (Jones, 2010).

Based on the data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, in 1960, Indonesia's population living in cities was only 15%. However, after undergoing a process of modernization, especially industrialization, in the New Order, the Indonesian population living in cities in 1990 reached 30%. In 2010 it increased again to 44%, and in 2025 it was estimated to be 57%. Modernization in Indonesia spawns the emergence of urban villages, towns which busily accommodate urbanization, but still characterized by village (*Kompas*, 2015). Because of the level of welfare through work opportunities and salaries are better than in the farming system, the natality in modernity is increasing, while the mortality rate is decreasing.

According to Foucault (1926-1984), a phenomenon arises as a result of the shift from the dominance of religious medical domination to technology-based medical (clinical) in the period of modernity. Foucault calls it as bio-medical. Bio-medical focuses on the eradication of the disease found in the body rather than extermination on external causes. It is different from a holistic treatment which combines social, emotional, and physical treatment. Bio medical is also different from the pre-treatment of modernity that sees illness as a result of magic or being punished for committing certain sins. Modern human body is under strict control of the hospital medical staff not only through treatment, but also through prevention. Medical also regulates and disciplines the society through diet, exercise, avoiding bad habits such as smoking and drinking. Thus, the body becomes the center of modernity. Moreover, in the modernity, marriage and family are also loaded with medicalization. Medicalization is even not only for life but also for death. The majority of modern society die in hospitals or under the supervision of bio-medical.

Regarding that, modern society can maintain their health in order that industrial production and commodity can be maintained, and even be maximized. As a result, natality and life expectancy in modernized countries are increasing, while the mortality is decreasing. Any population, both in rural areas with its traditionalism and urban areas with its prosperity and bio-medical, grows and develops (Jones, 2010).

Therefore, a rational and efficient control toward the population through the control over reproduction (pregnancy) becomes a measurement/marker of modernity (Jones, 2010). Control over the population is part of the social reform as revealed by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) according to the principles which he states: "the greatest happiness for the greatest number to society of large". Because the level of welfare in modern society especially urban community increases, in order to give birth to great/shared prosperity because of limited resources, then, control over the birth in modernity becomes a marker. Then Family Planning Program (*Keluarga Berencana*) is something usual in the phenomenon of modernity, not just part of a social reform, but also part of human control over nature and life as one of the main elements of modernity. Birth is not seen as a destiny that cannot be managed, but part of that could be managed appropriately corresponding to human rational choice (Horowitz, 2005).

Family Planning Program here is an attempt to manage the child's birth through medical

according to the plan of the number of families (children) wanted, for example two or more children, either for postponing to have a child so that the number of children is not many as in traditional society, or for restricting the number of child permanently. For delaying child birth temporarily in order that the number of child is not many, in modern medicine, it is usually done partly by taking anti-pregnancy pill by women, or the use of condoms in sexual intercourse by the male, or use spiral by women, and so on. As for the restriction, if it is permanent, it can be done among others through a vasectomy or tubectomy.

In addition to the planning program, control over the population in modernity is currently also done through childfree (choice of life without children), which has emerged in Europe since the 1970s. In Indonesia, this lifestyle is now growing. Since the last five years, in Indonesia there are many couples who decide to live without children. The reason among others is the tendency to live more comfortably, conveniently, and practically, and the couples who choose this lifestyle feel they have much time for themselves. Of course, this is also influenced by the increasingly high pressure of living in urban areas, while the child bond is a lifelong bond; the cost of children's education is high; and the house prices are high (*Kompas*, 2015).

#### **d. Secular and Humanist Nation State**

As described above, in French Revolution, modernity in politics is marked by the birth of the nation state model, the idea of citizenship, secularism, and democracy (Jones, 2010). In sociology, this measurement can be seen from the view of Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*. For both, the spirit of modernity, in addition to capitalism, is also a picture of modern society socially as a condition (Ritzer, et.al., 2007). All that passed, firmly stated by both, disappear by the wind; all that are holy become impure; and the man finally come face to face with the real conditions in their lives and the relationships among them one another (Jones, 2010).

The nation state is a state that is founded on nationalism, which means love to the homeland, a sincere willingness to serve and be obedient to the homeland, and a willingness to put aside anything other than the homeland, including religion, ethnicity, and personal and family interests (Adams, 2004).

Nationalism originated from French Revolution which confirms that the sovereignty comes from the nation, from the people as a whole, and from the united citizens, *la patrie*. State is not owned by the ruler individually, but the embodiment of the will of the people. At the time of French Revolution took place, people were conceived to have unlimited sovereignty. The nation state was above the king, the church, guild, or province. It encompassed all kinds of loyalty (Perry, 2013).

The measurement of modernity in the socio-political field is a state that has a high commitment to humanism. Humanism is believing that all human beings have human rights. Human rights are rights belonging to men without obligation (these rights are obtained automatically from birth as a gift from God), and without being purchased and inherited or leased, and without the presence of those rights, human cannot live with dignity (who not only has physic like an animal, but also has hearts and minds, the two things that make humans special which distinguishes them from animals). In Western humanism, human rights are attached to human beings and also universal, without distinction of gender, race, religion, ethnicity, political opinion, or any other. Human rights cannot be violated and in part also should not be reduced, even by the government or the state. The last mentioned rights in the study of human rights is called *non-derogable* human rights, that cannot be reduced under any circumstances (ICCE,



2003).

#### **e. Democratic Countries**

Besides the above measurement, modernity is also marked by the enactment of a democratic political system, both democracy as a political system and cultural system. The reason is because, as stated by Daniel Lerner, economic development (capitalism with its industrialization) in modernity creates a society that experiences transition from agriculture-based economics to industry. Urbanization then occurred, where the population living in cities is more or at least increase significantly. Also, in the industrial society, new transportation network is present as part of the industrialization that eases mobilization; economic development that requires and aims at the creation of freedom; easy access to information, availability of media (exposure to mass communication), and access to education (literacy) which becomes larger. All produce a middle class, and democracy then becomes the people's demands. The middle class demands political participation from the mass that would threatens the existence of the government who does not respond to the citizens, even though the effects of education and individual's wealth toward political participation vary from one country to another. Socio-economic development, in this case, is believed to change the political behavior. Barrington Moore concludes "no bourgeoisie, therefore no democracy". The development of a powerful middle class is the beginning of a more democratic government basis (Sokhey, 2011). However, Carles Boix argues that the development of democracy is not only influenced by the growth of the middle class, but also by other factors, including the balance of power between social classes in modernity, the nature of economic resources, and the distribution of wealth.

Meanwhile, according to Almond and Verba, democracy develops in a plural modern culture which is based on communication and persuasion, consensus building, and representatives of the institutions of power. They identify three types of citizens: parochial (people who are completely unaware of politics); subject to (politically conscious and become the servant of the state but do not participate); and participants (politically conscious and actively participate (related to the political system through various activities). In a country with a typology of the parochial community, democracy will be less advanced, even die. For example, in a feudal, very poor, and undemocratic country, its people do not have the awareness or knowledge about the government.

Later, Ronald Inglehart also reveals aspects of culture in today's modern society that underlies democracy. Based on a survey of 25 industrialized countries that experienced modernity in the 1980s, he concludes that certain social characteristics have a correlation with a stable democracy. For example, high interpersonal trust and support for gradual changes in a society (Sokhei, 2011).

Nevertheless, for Huntington, the development of modernity in the field of economics is not synonymous with political development of democracy, but it is a different process. Stable authoritarian system may be preferred, rather than unstable democratic system. Andre Gunder Frank's dependency theory seems to be used to see democracy and economic modernity according to Huntington. Weak countries which are exploited by the powerful countries through integration into the economy of the world place small countries like Brazil and Chile in an unbeneficial process in the international economic system. Stable economic growth will not be born because of its reliance on the richer nations and states. Democracy is a bit difficult to be expected to develop properly.

Curse theory on natural resource by Terry Lynn Karl could also explain Huntington's theory above. In the countries like Venezuela and the oil-rich Gulf States in the Arab

world, politicians are not interested in thinking about long-term economic efficiency and the state is centralistic. Oil creates a centralized state and the urge to give unlimited power and privileges for the oil industry. It is like the problem of “Midas’s touch”, the king who always gets his wish and whatever he touches turned to gold. Rich countries with dictatorships which produce economic stability are more preferred by people in some countries, rather than democratic countries which have unstable economy. Countries that rely on natural resources solely seems not to be automatically democratic (Sokhei, 2011).

However, the last theory above does not mean eliminating the relationship between modernity in economic and democracy. Survival theory as espoused by Przeworski and Limongi reveals that democracy may still appear, regardless of the level of economic or wealth of the country, but it would be more likely to survive if the countries are rich. At the very least, the wealth will be the cause of the survival of democracy (Sokhei, 2011).

#### **f. Rational Bureaucracy, Rule of Law State, and the Technology-Based Military**

According to P. Selinow, in addition to capitalism, there are two more pillars of the marker of modernity, namely the effective bureaucracy as Weber analyzed, and norms, forms, and procedural regulation of modern society, as analyzed by Foucault (Horowitz, 2005).

The same thing is stated by Weber. Modernity, according to Weber, is characterized by the effectiveness of the state through the enforcement of laws formulated in a rational, written constitution, and bureaucracy run by trained government officials, who manage state affairs according to rational rules and regulation. Everything, Weber says, has the same importance in modernity with capitalism as an effort to organize work and production in a rational way, and also an attempt to understand and master nature through reason (Perry, 2013).

Similar to the bureaucracy and especially the law, the measurement of modernity in a political system is the monopoly of the use of sophisticated weapons, because the dominance of state or political power in modernity is the characteristic or essential logic of modernity. With the monopoly on the use of sophisticated weapons, not only does it produce civil authority that controls modern weaponry in which the military becomes its sub-ordinates (Heller, 1999), but also the state becomes effective in managing various affairs in front of people. In addition, the existence of modern weaponry, in addition to the law including international law, makes the state effective in the national defense system. It is not or less likely to be threatened by other countries.

The state’s model reinforced by law enforcement with the establishment of the constitution and the modern weaponry as military defense systems (Ritzer, et.al., 2007; Horowitz, 2005) above can be referenced from the practice of modernity in the history of France since the revolution. It is also important to refer to the history of weaponry World, where war showing industrial war of modern weaponry first occurred in the United States when the civil war happened between North and South in 1861-1865 (Santoso, 2014), which was followed later in World War I and II.

Even so, the legal system built in modernity ideally does not show the repressive nature. The legal system built must reflect the social reforms, as stated by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) according to the principles: “the greatest happiness for the greatest number to society of large”. Also, in the logic of the necessity of social reform is in prison. According to Bentham and David Hume (1711-1776 AD), the measurement of a good deed or not in the modern law is happiness or misery that is caused. Therefore, the punishment given to offenders no longer on the basis of scripture but upon consideration

of happiness or suffering of the victims. The more and higher the suffering caused by an act, the higher the punishment obtained by the perpetrators, and vice versa, also associated with prison. Prison should consider the welfare of the occupants humanly. In Indonesia, the mindset of modernity related to prison is translated by changing the name from “prison” to “Correctional Institution (*Lapas*)” (Horowitz, 2005), although its effectiveness is doubtful.

Considering the possibility of misuse of weapons by certain circles who have access and also by other countries, thus the use of modern weaponry in modernity must be regulated by the law, both national and international law. The necessity of modern weaponry in modern military systems requires the enforcement of the rule of law.

### **g. Empiricism and Rationalism**

Modernity is also characterized by the belief that humans are capable of producing science themselves, not becoming the object of divine knowledge. Previously, people relied on the Bible as the source of authority in matters of science, and thus modernity in Western history is characterized by, for the first time, human in the history of producing science. Rationality includes the scientific mind and activities. Intellectual engine of modernity is the belief that no mysterious thing in the world that cannot be disclosed, if the mind is used as guidelines. By doing so, humans not only know something more definitely but also can make life better, to reach progress (Jones, 2010) as a core element in modernity. Through science, the future of mankind is determined and freely created by himself.

Although according to Jones (2010), science and technology as the measurement/ marker of modernity is not the first one, according to Agnes Heller, it is the main characteristic of modernity as a world view. The reason is, because science plays an important role in the progress of modern human (Heller, 1999). George Ritzer and Barry Smart, quoting Adam Ferguson, even calls that a modern society is a society of knowledge. Knowledge of science and technology, therefore, for both, is the most fundamental element in modernity. This perspective comes from Francis Bacon (d. 1626): knowledge is power (free translation of *scientia et potential*). It emphasizes on experiments and observation. Science, therefore, is the capital and now the global economy is based on knowledge, especially information technology (Ritzer- Smart, 2006).

In line with the above logic and as Nurcholish Madjid revealed at the beginning of this chapter, modernity also means to live rationally in accordance with the demands of reason. This is as revealed by Rene Descartes (d. 1650): “Cogito ergo sum” (I think, I exist). Man’s existence, according to Descartes, is determined by the rational attitude and ability.

Descartes’ view is in line with Weber (1864-1920). According to him, reason could destroy spiritual sense of human life by eliminating the cruel tradition existing for centuries. He denounces that religious belief is deeply felt as superstition and he looks feelings and desires as an impediment to clear thinking. Reason, in fact, can make people be soulless and meaningless. However, Weber says, reason is responsible for human brilliant achievements in science. Rationalization and also secularization, for Weber, can be a tool for the bondage of self because they generate institutions, and gigantic bureaucracy, causing depersonalization of life. However, he says further, the process of rationalization and secularization has raised human liberation. It enables human beings to overcome the illusions and control their environment. Even, it makes modern officials, Weber says, have distance emotionally, so they just pay attention to the implementation of the tasks efficiently. Human feelings such as compassion is considered as an obstacle

to the effectiveness of the bureaucracy. In the name of efficiency, a person is placed in a “steel cage” which revokes his autonomy. He is even warned to avoid a crisis due to the lack of efficiency. The reason is, because it will bring a charismatic leader who attracts followers through the force of personality, where the authority lies in faith of the people over its exceptional mission and ability (Perry, 2013).

### **C3. Is Religion Compatible with Modernity? Relation between Modernity and Religion**

Relation between modernity and religion has become a debate by social experts. In a classical social theory, the existence of religion tends to be ignored in the process of modernity. According to social classical experts, since modernity means facing and resolving problems through empirical and rational experiments, then modernity makes human as the center, not God as the center. Social morality in modernity is not determined by religious texts and motivation of heaven or fear of hell. However, it is determined by self-awareness, respect, and admire. The rules of public morality in modern life are taken from the view of the majority or rational calculations for regularity and others agreed.

In other words, as stated by Weber, in a society that experiences a process of industrialization and urbanization, and has high education level and wealth, where they are dominated by the view that the world is based on the rational and empirical standards, and mastery of technology over nature, claims of religion become unreasonable, and marginalized. The role of religion, he says, becomes degenerate; habit to go to places of worship is eroded; social and religious significance are erased; and active involvement in religious organizations, even in religion-based political parties becomes weaker. Explanations of religion are defeated by the mind; logical explanations of science make human control the nature and also technological products. At least, in developed countries such as Europe, North America, and Japan, religious authorities are no longer able to dictate social control over birth, divorce, abortion, sexual orientation, and the necessity of marriage before the birth of a child.

The other aspect that marginalizes religion, as referred to Durkheim, is the authority based on expertise and responsibility in health, science, education, art, literature, and others. Religious belief then just becomes an individual choice, not as a public necessity. At the very least, divine authority is only one of many resources in modern society. Human in modernity becomes independent from religious doctrines. Religion has been out of the public sphere. This does not mean the secular state as a manifestation of modernity altogether hostiles to religion, but religion is no longer a basis of legitimacy of action (Norris-Inglehart, 2004; Bennet, 2005).

In modernity, at least in some parts of the world, culture and western civilization as a product of modern humanity become the truth and absolute value as well as a universal model in the progress and development. It seems to be a substitute for religion applicable in a pre-modernity period (Bennet, 2005). It starts from the view of Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) who suggests modern society based on the scientific method and industry creates new principles that bind all, a secular morality and rational system that replace Christian dogma (Perry, 2013).

In the European countries, modernity emphasizing on rationality does not just make a religion in the public sphere becomes marginalized because of only becoming an individual choice, but in some societies/regions of Europe it is even abandoned altogether. There are some forms, such as atheism and agnosticism (Mouzelis, *www.Soc.Sagepub.Com*, accessed on January 2015). Atheism among others was born by David Hume (1711-1776) and Friederich Nietzsche, and from communism/Marxism prevailing in eastern Europe until 1980s, and it also applied in China and Cuba, although this time the form has been reformed. Hume insists

that all religious ideas, including Christianity teaching that offers the idea about god, come from fear and superstition alone. The universe may be eternal and the universal order seen is only a natural condition that does not require an explanation and not linked to the existence of the creator. Christian belief, according to Hume, lies in faith alone rather than reason. For Nietzsche, too, Christian morality should be abolished, because it is only suitable for people who are weak and slaves. Christian morality burdens people with guilt and blocking the free implementation of the spontaneity of human instinct. He also proclaims “god is dead”. God is a human creation. There is no higher world, there is no transcendental or metaphysical truth, and no morality comes from god. Humans, he says, is capable of creating new values, achieving self-control, and eliminating uniformity (Bertens, 1991; Perry, 2013).

Atheism is also presented by Thomas H. Huxley (1825-1895). Human in modern times, he says, must choose between religious myths and truths of science. Religion, for Huxley, apparently, is part of the old world that is destined to disappear. Charles Elliot Norton (1827-1908) states that “the loss of faith among the most civilized portion of the race (they are modernized) is a step of childishness into adulthood”. He is in line with Freud which says, the idea of god is childish. The desire for god, he says, emerges from the experience of infant helplessness and longing for a patron. Jool Moody even mentions religion as a science of crime. In the west, particularly in Europe, god has been regarded as *otiosus* (useless), even according to Jean Paul Sartre (1905-1980), religion is dangerous, because the idea of god denies human freedom. Furthermore, Albert Camus (1913-1960) asserts a militant atheism. According to him, humans must reject god blindly and their love pours out to mankind, not god. Especially in Europe, the ideology of atheism pasts few intellectuals, and even it becomes a widespread belief. Any religion, especially in Europe, is then knocked out, not given the room (Armstrong, 2014; Armstrong, 2013).

However, as will be revealed below, religion is not always excluded or marginalized in modernity. In the United States, even in the world in general, religion is not marginalized (Norris-Inglehart, 2004). According to Anthony Giddens, this can be explained by the theory of free market politics (Giddens, 2009), with the enactment of a liberal democratic system (Eberle, 2002). Therefore, according to Habermas, religion is possible in a public sphere, with certain conditions (Hardiman, 2009), as will be described. Therefore, a secular state as a measurement of modernity seems not conceived as a single (Na'im, p.213).

However, it cannot be generalized, at least in contemporary public world. As revealed by Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, recent world history shows that in Europe, in part of a small region of the world where people are rich, religion is marginalized by modernity. Both measure the marginalized religion in Europe with a measurement of religious participation, religious values, and religious belief. However, it is not the case in the United States, where the occurrence of modernity began, and also in the other world in general. The churches in the United States are still crowded and the world as a whole is increasingly religious. Government in various parts of the world, in fact, is more and more involved in religion. According to them, this phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the US is a developed country whose economy is the lamest, and it has a lot of poor people, and the lowest level of social security and insurance. Meanwhile, the factors that make the world in general more religious are poverty, disease, and early death that still becomes a major threat for most of region of the world, although most measurements of modernity have been there (Norris-Inglehart, 2004). However, when marginalization of religion by modernity in the United States and the world in general does not occur, this is strengthening the perspective that modernity and religion could not actually sit side by side because religion is not marginalized in the United States and in the world in general and because modernity has not run maximally or inclined failed.

The opinion of Anthony Giddens and other intellectuals such as Jürgen Habermas is more convincing on the suitability of religion and modernity. According to Anthony Giddens, strengthening the phenomenon of religion in modern society these days can be explained by the theory of free market politics. For him, religion is now contested to win, retain and attract followers. Now the public sphere like mass media is like a market for economic products, because the public sphere is also a market for religion (Giddens, 2009). The existence of religion in the public sphere, therefore, is possible due to the enactment of a liberal democratic system in modern political system today (Eberle, 2002). Now, with the democratic system, it allows religion in the public sphere, especially its substantive and rational arguments for the present context.

The view that sees religion and modernity are on contrary, according to John F. Wilson, Huston Smith, and Shireen T. Hunter, comes from the perspective that religion is monolithic opponent of modernity. Religion is seen as a belief in transcendence which is traditional side that is not based on rationality and empirical science. Religion does not emphasize on the present or novelty (here and now). Meanwhile, modernity is seen as novelty and control over the natural and social lives, the opposite. Modernity is also seen as an entity that cannot accommodate transcendence. In fact, religion is not entirely a system of belief that is based on the feeling and belief in transcendence, but partly, even largely built on rationality for the benefit of here-ness and now-ness, possibly using rational bureaucracy as a product of modernity (Wilson, 1981; Smith, 1981; Hunter, 2009) as seen in the phenomenon of Protestantism. It also emphasizes on control over social and natural life (world life), in which the life in the hereafter is taught through the world life (good deed/ humanist work). Religion, by those who see that religion and modernity are on contrary, is seen as an entity that emphasizes on god alone, not as an entity for humanity, although religion actually stresses on the divinity and humanity, in which god is seen as substance.

With rational and substantive arguments, now religion can be contested to secularism as an element of modernity in the public sphere. In a public debate, it could influence votes obtained in the election, and it could even be an inspiration for the birth of the public rules, as far as done rationally and not violating the rights of minorities.

Public sphere is a space or arena, whether real or virtual, where the space or arena not only belongs to religious people but also belongs to non-religious people, and in that space, there is a process of communication or political discourse (the interests of) of citizens, and even it becomes the arena to negotiate a variety of ideas and interests of the society, including religious views and interests, in which the communication is done freely and non-discriminatory. In summary, public sphere is accessible, open, and inclusive to everyone (Hardiman, 2009; Hardiman, 2011). In other words, public sphere means the network used by citizens to articulate to the public the interests of society to the state (Habermas, 1991). The form includes a narrative and textual discourse (including speeches, reports journals, letters, articles, reports broadcasts, songs, and popular theater) as well as acts of political show or a civilized and peaceful protest (Ritzer, 2005). With the development of computer technology, multi-media and internet are also some of the new public sphere (Kellner). In addition, public sphere also includes public policy in the Act or other regulation, especially if it is produced by a process of deliberation of citizens in the making.

Theoretically, accommodation of modernity over religion, particularly its public sphere, is delivered by Jürgen Habermas. In contrast to the absolute secular circles in the early modernity that put absolute faith in the private sphere, Habermas proposes a pluralistic public sphere model that accepts religious aspirations without having blocked like that of carried by absolute secularists. He does not reject religion in the public sphere, because then public policy becomes more legitimate, because it involves all parties, without silencing the

parties voicing religious aspirations.

However, he proposes several rules that allow religion in the public sphere: (1) the religious aspirations, especially if they are intended to become a public policy, they must be explained rationally and treated as the the rational territory, so they have epistemic status that can be accepted by the secular citizens or those who believe differently. The religious aspirations, therefore, should be debated rationally by various parties (the sacred side of religious aspiration should be eliminated beforehand), contain the principle of social justice for all parties (inclusive/meet the principle of plurality/human rights), and if it is going to be a source of value to the formal rules, do not legitimize themselves (valid in themselves) once enacted, without the necessity to involve the society, such as in the legal logic of the civil law. However, formal rules whose values are sourced from religion can be valid if they are resulted from the deliberation process. Habermas in this case uses the logic of common law which requires that a public policy is in force after passing through a process that makes it agreed by various parties. (2) The secular citizens or residents who have different belief need to learn from religious aspirations to reach an understanding. It means that, in Habermas' public sphere, all parties must open themselves to various discourses, and this does not only apply to the bearers of religious aspirations. (3) The state must be neutral. However, neutrality does not mean that the state should absolutize political secularism, so religion is really only in the private sphere. The task of the state is doing a public deliberation, encouraging rational discourse, and maintaining legal order. (4) The group from the majority religion also cannot stop the contributions of groups having different religions and of secular groups. The majority of citizens should not ignore or silence the potential of truth from minority groups (Habermas, 2006; Hardiman, 2009).

Based on the above explanation, now a secular state as modernization measurement is not conceived as a single. Based on current social science literature, there are three concepts of secular state: (1) state that separates religion and politics (state), where the state should not intervene on the issue of religion. Religion, in this first concept, is only in the private sphere and maximum is in the area of civil society, not taken care by the state. This is the earliest conception of a secular state. (2) The secular state is a state where people make the region of the world; for example, politics is seen and addressed as the rational and empirical world (secular), not addressed sacredly (hereafter) (Nasution, 2003). This is the sociological and cultural conception of a secular state, the secular state in the sense of social reform (3) The secular state is a state where people are in a condition to negotiate the relationship between religion and the state rather than excluding religion from the public sphere of society rigidly. This is the last conception of a secular state that makes the state as neutral in religion, where religion is as a deliberative area, as initiated by Jurgen Habermas or Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im (Na'im, p.213).

In addition to the explanation above, the factors that make religion not marginalized in the practice of modernity in the United States and in the world as a whole is the explanation of Peter L. Berger. The process of secularization in modern society, according to him, does not marginalize religion entirely, but it makes religion more rational, as evidenced later under Weber's thesis that sees a positive correlation between the protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism. For Berger, modernization is not a variable that is parallel to secularization, at least, not entirely the same variable. Secularization thesis as a necessity in modernity tends to be ideological, because it is not based on empirical facts and it denies the other factors which allow de-secularization. Berger sees that the ideas above extend, as developed by elite intellectual communities having secular tendency. In fact, a social reality happening lately increasingly shows that religion is steadily experiencing rationalization. Although religion experiences the privatization process in modernity, from the influence of religion spread

through the private sphere, the role of religion in the public sphere still feels significance. Humans, in Berger's perspective, are not able to remove some mystical elements in religion in order to satisfy the needs of logical consistency. The views of classical sociology that see that religion is certainly marginalized in modernity tend not to pay attention to the human aspect as the flavoring agent (Berger, 1967; Riyanto, 2009).

The last part of the Berger's perspective is also in accordance with the explanation of other experts such as William James, the US prominent philosopher (1842-1910). He says: "it can strongly have suspected that humans will always pray (religion) until the end of time, even if science brings something different to the religion ... except, if basic human nature turns into something we do not know nor imagine. James's explanation is comparable to Henri-Louis Bergson, the famous French philosophers (1859-1941). He states: "it could have been reduced or disappear whatever we like of enjoyment of life, but it is impossible religion can disappear from human life. It could be, in the past or the present, we find people who do not know science or art or philosophy, but there is no society without religion" (Shihab, 2012).

In line with the above thinkers, according to Jose Casanova, secularization does not necessarily mean the decline of religiosity, but it promotes the privatization of religion, where religion is possible in the public sphere, even on condition. Religion's involvement in public affairs is, strictly speaking, acceptable to address ethical issues such as abortion. Religion even, he further explains, could portray three aspects: (1) as an autonomous public sphere and power against opponents of state power. (2) Religion through its organization can be a civil society institution, especially for issues such as religious freedom. (3) Religion can enter the public sphere of civil society to participate in the ongoing process of normative contestation (Csanova, 1994; Haryanto, 2015).

#### **D. Conclusion**

Based on the explanation above, although originally born and developed in the West, modernity is a condition and not as a marker of a certain period and region. Modernity not only refers to the West in a certain period, but also refers to the non-West. Among the reasons is: because the modern word (*modernus*) has been used since before the West becomes modern; the term "modern" is indeed Western biased and a form of stereotype, and modernity is a relative thing, because it is bounded by time and space.

In the definition above, the measurements of modernity are capitalism as economic rationality; mass production-based industries and their industrial mentality; urban population pressure and its control through medic; humanist and secular nation state; democratic country; rational bureaucracy, the state rule of law, and military-based technology; and empirical science and rationalism.

Even so, for the level of a secular state, the latest modernity does not require that religion should be alienated absolutely in the public sphere. Religion is possible to be in the public sphere, if it could be debated rationally and does not discriminate minority as conceived by Habermas. Religion is also possibly contested in public sphere such as in the market of freedom in a democratic political system as initiated by Giddens. Religion is also possibly not marginalized because now religion is more rational as argued by Berger. Several religions have no problem with the secularization in the sense of sociological rationalization, as suggested by Bellah. Religion can also be a power of values/ morality that can compete with the power of value/ morality/ secular movement in the public sphere, be a civil society's power against the oppressive Government, as delivered by Casanova, and especially can fulfill the thirst of modern human spirituality, as revealed by William James.



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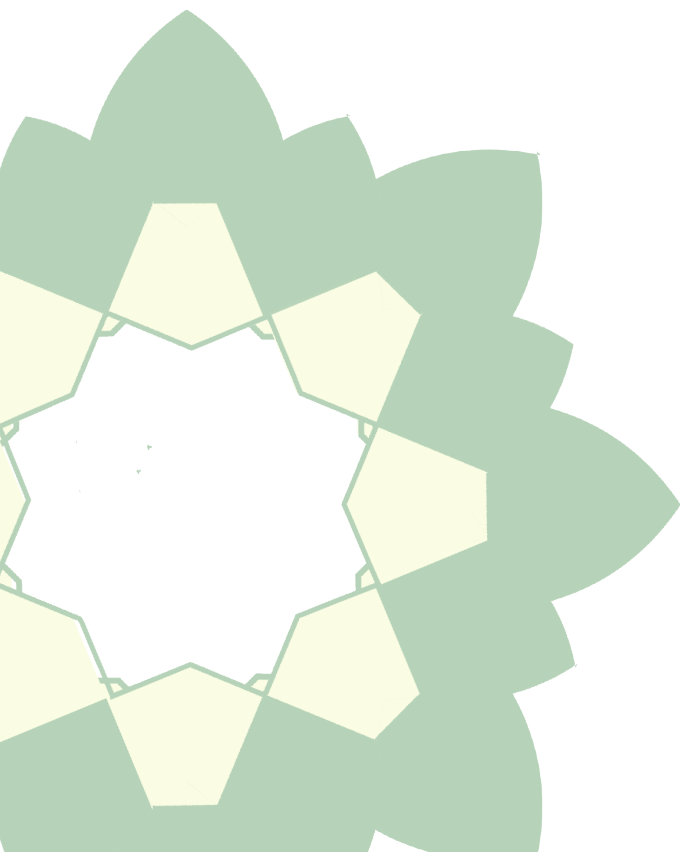
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