

Towards a Model of Islamic Policy Studies for Higher Education: A Comparison with Anglo-American Policy Studies

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Abstract

This article examines the underlying nature of the Islamic policy studies tradition as it relates to higher education, as an approach that shares some characteristics with public policy theory in Anglo-American contexts, but also has distinctive differences in values and practices. This includes similarities and differences in the major dimensions of policy studies that serve as a framework: the policy context, policy cycle, policy actors, policy instruments, and decision-making models in relation to the political system and governance. Differences in public policy like any aspect of administration are a function of cross-cultural factors, public administration structures, and higher education used to qualify civil servants. The first section of the paper examines pre-Islamic traditions of governance and higher education in the Middle East region that laid the foundation for subsequent regimes in the Middle East and later influencing the development of governance, policy and administration in the West. The second section examines the development of policy in the Islamic period, identifying those features most distinctive and influential in shaping policy values, participants and processes. The final section compares the models of public policy studies in an Islamic context and the Anglo-American model, demonstrating that many shared characteristics and dimensions exist, but there are critical differences in the foundations, roles, and practices in policy development.

Keywords: Policy, Islamic studies, public administration, higher education, civil service

Introduction

One of the problems associated with both postcolonial critiques and the proponents of internationalising university curricula is the heavy dominance of Anglo-American knowledge through globalisation, and its colonising effects, as well as a domination of the language of various fields, in other words a colonised discourse agenda that tends to admit only a 'scientised' discourse as legitimate. Any form of administration or leadership is a function of, and embedded in, the societal context in which it forms and operates. For example, administration and leadership in Arabian Gulf States are governed by their constitutions, legal systems, policy regimes, and cultural practices that differ from Western states through the Islamic values and legal traditions used that have produced knowledge, skills and professional practices. In modernising contexts, there are also many different approaches and forms that countries can adopt rather than simply imitating Western countries, discussed in the new multiple modernities literature (e.g. Eisenstadt, 2007). Even if the same technologies are adopted, for example, the way they are used and for what varies considerably across cultures.

Driving much of the controversy and debate, as well as misunderstanding and ideologically-driven conceptions (often unconsciously), is Islamophobic academic work, most famously in Huntington's (1997) clash of civilisations theory, countered by a number of scholars (Achcar, 2002; Rose, 2013) and in journalism (Said, 1997) as well as foreign policy (Cole, 2009; Kaunert, Léonard, Berger, & Johnson, 2015). The other major cause is the assumption that Western knowledge is universalizable and in comparison with other global traditions, superior, evident in the rapidly development of many forms of

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postcolonial critiques across all disciplines and criticism of the neoliberal reduction of social institutions to economic values. Islamic traditions suffer from neglect – assumptions made that there is nothing of value in the tradition to serve societies in the contemporary world. Scholarship and teaching, preparing graduate students in and from Muslim communities and countries, and those who chose expatriate careers in academia in Muslim countries have been affected by these international politics for a number of years (Nelles, 2003). One of the most important educational issues of this controversy is the false assumption that the Islamic intellectual tradition does not have to be included in curriculum because it has very little to do with current knowledge internationally (Muborakshoeva, 2013).

This problem also applies to public policy and its use in developing and maintaining higher education, especially for those who will be working in countries where the constitution, laws and policies are Muslim. A large body of literature has developed on leadership, management, and administration in an Islamic context covering strategic planning, decision-making, values, the varying roles played in a range of political systems, but the topic of public policy theory, apart from discussion of individual policies, is greatly underdeveloped. What is necessary is a public policy studies framework, equivalent to those models in the West that cover the policy cycle, policy actors and instruments, and various theoretical approaches suitable for a Muslim context, instead of the widespread globalisation practice of simply adopting and using the Western models. This also requires an internationalised perspective that recognises and builds upon knowledge traditions in the non-Western world, including that of Islam. As other Islamic principles and values are interpreted for contemporary conditions, their long history and public policy studies tradition can equally be developed.

This article examines the underlying nature of the Islamic policy studies tradition as it relates to higher education, as an approach that shares some characteristics with public policy theory in Anglo-American contexts, but also has distinctive differences in values and practices. This includes similarities and differences in the major dimensions of policy studies that serve as a framework: the policy context, policy cycle, policy actors, policy instruments, and decision-making models in relation to the political system and governance (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009). Differences in public policy like any aspect of administration are a function of cross-cultural factors (Dodds, 2013; Guess & Husted, 2017), public administration structures (Otenyo & Lind, 2006), and higher education (Zajda, 2015) used to qualify civil servants. There is a growing body of literature on higher education internationally demonstrating that the political system, historical forces, culture, and many other societal factors shape the forms that higher education take in Asia (Jarvis & Mok, 2019), Central and Eastern Europe (Dobbins, 2011), and Latin America (Horta, Heitor, & Salmi, 2019) as well as the diversity of systems and practices throughout Western Europe (Gornitzka, Kogan, & Amaral, 2007).

The argument here is that higher education policy is part of public administration and the policy studies framework used. For many parts of the world much of education policy is part of public policy and therefore part of the public administration traditions involving legislation, financing, labour policy, social and cultural policy, foreign policy, economic policy (De Boer et al., 2017), types of regulatory regimes, political governance systems, and relations with other states (e.g. Abella, 2008). It is also part of the public organisation system in many countries (Bleiklie, Enders, & Lepori, 2017), often viewed as a public good (Williams & Filappakou, 2015). It is an historical-contextual topic – policy systems are not disconnected from their historical origins but have an evolutionary and developmental character, affected by cultures, the rise and fall of empires and alliances, and the impact of globalisation pressures (Raadschelders & Vigoda-Gadot, 2015). Additionally, it is the development of public administration that also drove the evolution of advanced and higher education required to train and educate civil servants who have played critical roles in the formation of civilisations.

The first section of the paper examines pre-Islamic traditions of governance and higher education in the Middle East region that laid the foundation for subsequent regimes in the Middle East and later influencing the development of governance, policy and administration in the West. The second section examines the development of policy in the Islamic period, from illustrative caliphates (the scope has to be limited to fit the length of an article), identifying those features most distinctive and influential in shaping policy values, participants and processes. The final section compares the models of public policy

studies in an Islamic context and the Anglo-American model in general terms given the limited scope of an article, demonstrating that many shared characteristics and dimensions exist, but there are critical differences in the foundations, roles, and practices in policy development.

Historical Origins and Precedents

The story of policy studies in Islam begins with pre-Islamic traditions of governance and administration in the Middle East region that were adopted as empires formed and expanded requiring the knowledge and expertise of previous empires (Liverani, 2014), absorbing the administrative elite of conquered territories and their craft into the new bureaucracy (Lapidus, 2002). Some senior administration converted from Buddhism and Zoroastrianism to Islam bringing knowledge and expertise with them, aided by an intensive translation programme of texts from prior empires in all scholarly fields, including the Greco-Roman tradition (Duncan-Jones, 1994; Gruen, 1996; Santangelo, 2007; Tan, 2017), about statecraft, effective operating of a court, and ideal administrative practice (Hoyland, 2015). In this manner, a broad collection of knowledge about administering land ownership, collecting taxes, maintaining defence, managing education, health, and agriculture along with other public responsibilities was synthesised (De Planhol, 1970).

While many texts refer to the history of policy, and the importance of using historiographical methods in examining how policies and their approaches developed, most limit their discussion to the 20th century and usually policy history subsequent to the Second World War (e.g. Kay, 2006). However, policy is a topic that permeates the literature on early states ranging from those involving inter-dynastic marriages, political expansionism and security, the appointment of royal family members as governors to conquered states and degrees of their autonomy, finance, defence, trade and commercial ports, communication and coordination among administrative offices, city state construction, and management of agriculture (Liverani, 2014), recorded in legal codes, court judgements, letters and decrees.

As recent advances in archaeological knowledge take place, re-evaluations of the paleolithic and neolithic periods of history are also demonstrating a much more complex and sophisticated organisational capability in constructing large temple complexes like that at Göbekli Tepe dated to approximately the tenth millennium BCE (Verhoeven, 2010). Sites in the northern Levant and southeast Anatolia provide tangible evidence of specialised technical and administrative skills were necessary to produce structures, symbolic systems and statuary, and specialised buildings (Charvát, 2013; Kuijt, 2002). This revised history suggests that an actively developing administrative capability was created that served as accumulated intellectual capital upon which many empires rested. Policy studies and its use is as old as states with a governing body, an administrative staff, and those who implement policy. In the historical period, public policy is evident in the earliest city states of Sumer and Akkad. The form that policy takes is also a function of the political system of a nation or state, providing points of contact for other social institutions, varying according to those with power, the type of society (e.g. agrarian), which social institutions play a strong role. For example, in Mesopotamia the temple, like the church and guilds in the medieval European, was a central structure that provided education, and administered agriculture and healthcare.

From the earliest societies in Mesopotamia, a system of justice was developed through legal and administration institutions that provided protection, a distribution of resources and legal means for citizens to pursue justice (Darling, 2012), and a craft and method to policy and higher education programmes to train civil servants in these administrative skills (Carr, 2008; Finn, 2017). For example, in Ancient Egypt (Garcia, 2013) and in the Hittite Empire where administration and education were highly developed and formalised (Bilgin, 2018), a foundation of laws, codes, administrative systems and practices, and specialised schools for the training of bureaucrats with governance and policy-making and implementation powers existed. DeLeon (2006) regards policy practice as an inherent feature of any kind of rulership and governance systems, meaning that it appears in the historical record with the earliest of civilisations in Mesopotamia. The evidence of policy activity is amply represented in the many thousands of policy related documents that have been uncovered in the ancient cities and states of Mesopotamia. These include legal codes (that preceded Hammurabi), treaties, contracts, decrees, court records, administrative texts, scholarly works, and correspondence demonstrating that a centralised

interpretation of policy was maintained in the empires, and that arbitration was a characteristic feature of their policy systems (Barjamovic, 2013).

Advanced education and training was far more developed than previously recognised - the city states of Sumer and Akkad had complex bureaucracies required written records, legal codes, court records, literature and scholarly writings, and specialised schools for administrative training (Foster, 2016). Administrative education is most evident in the many thousands of tablets constituting a detailed bureaucratic record for periods of time that have survived from as early as 3,400 BCE that quickly evolved into narrative texts along with a culture of organisation, a centralised administration, and a consistency across bureaucracies (Taylor, 2013) that allowed for greater policy development, implementation, and analysis. This sophistication and complexity is also indicative of a highly organised and trained bureaucratic institution required for the implementation, analysis and evaluation of policy in a large diversity of activities, such as agriculture, trade, defence, construction, manufacturing, and the judiciary using correspondence, contracts, treaties, court records, employment records, and laws. A system of policy is inherent to any human civilisation in the construction and managing of a society ranging from establishing taxes, trade practices, governing agriculture, education and health, legal rights, foreign relations and the use of warfare and conquering to extend state policy (Garfinkle, 2013).

These developments also spawned a highly advanced form of higher education for scribes and viziers in specialised schools and apprenticeships to train a class of bureaucrats who were educated broadly (Griffith, 2015), much like the Chinese mandarin tradition and the Commonwealth tradition of 'mandarin's prior to the rise of neoliberalism. Even in early empires, a tradition that was carried through the Islamic period is that of senior bureaucrats like al-Mulk who individually created and supported schools, maintaining personal libraries and keeping staff who supported scholarly activities (Bennison, 2009). It is upon these foundations that both professional practices of governing and administration are based and scholarship formed. It is evident, for example, in the Assyrian empire that the knowledge and skills of policy formation and implementation were based on earlier empires and city-states upon which a strong scholarly tradition was practised that informed governance and administration in its policy activities (Heeßel, 2017).

The Islamic Policy Tradition

Islam is, in a sense, a policy system. It consists of foundational concepts and values, but also guidelines for interpretation of how these should be carried out individually and collectively, and identifies those with governance responsibilities and other core roles in the system. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) explained in his speech and actions how the Qur'an was to be interpreted for all spheres of life, addressing topics relevant in a comprehensive way to individual activities as well as family, work, and business practices, tax and financial issues, and social relations. The foundation upon which it rests is the Qur'an and Sunnah, and the interpretation of these into governmental structures began with the Rashidun Caliphs immediately following the Prophet Muhammad. Abu Bakr, particularly, is one followed for how he translated the fundamental principles in Islam into the construction of how a society is ordered, how it is governed, and appropriate practices in highly pragmatic ways. His guidance established the primacy of a constitution, principles of justice and laws upon which policy can be formulated (Duri, 2011). Building on this foundation, Umar further developed policies in alignment with the Qur'an for regulation related to the nascent public administration system, for family, crime and rituals, creating a working policy framework that is close to basic social life upon which the new Muslim identity formed, addressing all societal dimensions including the growth and maintenance of educational institutions (Hallaq, 2010).

It is against this foundation that political systems and countries are evaluated in Islam, for example, the Umayyads criticised for their policy pursuits of other interests that diminished or denied Islamic principles. It is against these criteria that many senior civil servants who also contributed scholarly works to good government were highly valued, such as al-Mawardi, who served as a judge and diplomat, in his Ordinances of Government (*Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya w'al-Wilayat al-Diniyya*) that is still regarded, in the Sunni tradition, as a measure for the evaluation of law and policies (Duri, 2011). One of the defining features of Islamic policy was the importance of responsibility to society, as a greater emphasis

on the collective compared to the individual (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997). Another distinctive feature of Islamic governing and administrative systems is the confluence of knowledge from many sources such as Chinese and Indian knowledge, and both knowledge and senior administrative staff recruited from the Byzantine empire, in accordance with Islamic principles of advanced knowledge that is expected to be drawn upon where it is complementary with Islam (Nasr, 1997).

Within the Caliphal traditions, the concentration of policy work was located in the *Dīwān i Wazīr*, essentially the office of the vizier who, like Cabinet secretaries in many contemporary Western governments oversees state policies and their implementation (Morgan & Reid, 2010), many of whom like al-Mulk also maintained their intellectual role writing scholarly-applied texts to direct good rulership and government. Senior officials were required to have an extensive and advanced education, considered to be a central, if not elite, part of the intelligentsia (Duri, 2011), often driving the development of higher education in Islamic societies, much the same as in Western countries, and used as a policy instrument under colonisation to control systems of power through knowledge (Dodds, 2013). Much like that of Western policy hierarchies, the principles range from foundational religious or philosophical principles of the state, through constitutions, laws, state and ministry policies, down to organisational policies in all spheres of social institutions.

Although the term ‘policy’ is not used in the literature, from the early Islamic period on the core elements of policy involving policy development, implementation and analysis – in other words all phases of the policy process – are evident. There is a clear line of policy formulation starting in its origins with the Qur’an, the Prophet Muhammad and the Rightly Guided Caliphs (the Rashidun Caliphate, 632-661 CE) in the growing formalisation in codes and legal traditions. In the Umayyad period (661-750 CE), a religious scholarly development took place in opposition to the Umayyad government, that produced the Sunnah tradition of the sayings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad upon which to base good rulership and administration (Hawting, 2000). During the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258 CE), the structure and size of government bureaucracy expanded both in size and in areas of jurisdiction, reflecting the development of public policy and its implementation in a functional organisation of government that corresponds closely to modern government structure, the practice of maintaining written records and the production of technical manuals to train and guide administrative work, requiring considerable advanced education for those in the senior ranks (Bosworth, 1990). At this time, mosques hosted educational activities and scholars on their property and often provided educational venues free of charge for the disadvantaged with residential facilities along with senior officials providing similar support (Bennison, 2009; Duri, 2014; van Berkel, El-Cheikh, Kennedy, & Osti, 2013). One of the most important developments at this time was a scholarly centre called the House of Wisdom established to support education and research (Bennison, 2009). A fundamental premise of Islam in relation to peace and prosperity is the need for a system of justice and a sound administrative system to implement it (Darling, 2012).

There is no shortage of guides for good rulership and administration, in effect, principles that govern proper action, forming a justice-based foundation for governing and its policy practices, generally referred to as the ‘mirrors of princes’ written by many senior government ministers, senior bureaucrats, historians, lawyers and philosophers (Hillenbrand, 2004). The rules for governing and administering evolved through the vizier tradition and the main writings it produced to guide those with power and responsibility for the welfare of the community such as the anonymous ‘Proper Behaviour for Sultans and Viziers’ (Darling, 2012, p. 69). Viziers took an active role in this respect, like al-Mulk’s *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings* (2002) in the eleventh century.

Another well-known text is the anonymously authored *Sea of Precious Virtues (Bahr al-Favā'id)*, written in the 12th century in Persia that focusses on competence and moral fitness for rule that interprets Islamic values and principles in the context of governance and policy for a state. In addition to guidance on rulership and senior administrative government levels, the judiciary, economics, the role of religious leaders, and many aspects of social life there are sections relevant to educational contexts. One of the central tenets of Islam is the critical importance of knowledge and reasoning ability that applies not only to basic education, but to higher education and the cultivation of wisdom, that is, not only the skills and

knowledge, but the piety to use them properly rather than destructively (Anonymous, 1991). Emphasised also for those in leadership and governance positions, that is, political roles, are a number of criteria that must be met in practice that inform what we would call the policy process: moral principles from religion that must guide decisions; that social justice be pursued in distributive and retributive forms; and that officials (the administrative system) be suitable and conscientious, that is, operating within the value system.

An influential example of vizier literature is that of the 11th century *The Laws of Islamic Governance* (1966) by al-Mawardi that provides commentary on all major public policy fields: obligatory contributions to charity, the economic system, defence, the management of natural resources, the judiciary, and marriage, et cetera. Stressed are a number of qualifying criteria for those involved in any form of public policy or public sector: a moral character that protects them from corruption and keeps their focus on the welfare of the community and state; advanced knowledge and highly developed reasoning skills; intellectual insight and wisdom necessary for both decision-making and judgement; and operating by rule of law (Black, 2001). All of these were deemed necessary in the policy process. Relevant also to administrative requirements is the recognition that viziers (*Wazirs*) have two types of responsibility as a whole: those who interpret governing goals from leadership and act as advisers (Kennedy, 1981) at a senior level roughly equivalent to Cabinet Secretary or highly influential Deputy Ministers or Permanent Secretaries, and those who implement policy. During the Abbasid caliphate some viziers rose to even higher policy-making positions if sufficiently trusted, and at times exhibited the ability to be ruthless in pursuing legitimate administrative action if deemed necessary (Kennedy, 1981). The same qualities are required: good moral character that prevents corruption, truthfulness in order to speak truth to power, dedication to the public good, and the intellectual capacities and knowledge to make sound decisions and judgements, in other words having a highly advanced education.

Instructive are the biographies of those viziers who were held up as role models of good government, such as Ali ibn Isa in the Abbasid caliphate who exhibited the advanced level of learning expected in a senior official (Bowen, 1928). Ibn Isa had a life characteristic of these viziers - tuition with great scholars, the authoring of academic texts, and maintaining inner circles including some of the greatest scholars of their era, like Al-Tabari, whose education and learning was multi-disciplinary (Bowen, 1928).

Accompanying vizier writing in administration is a large body of scholarship heavily patronised and supported by the state and individuals. Al-Farabi in the 10th century is a notable example. His *On the Perfect State* (1997) contains a critical chapter on 'Reason', the intellectual foundation upon which governing and policy practices should be based, and necessitating an advanced education for those in the political and administrative sides of government, relevant to both knowledge of the observable world, and that of idea, values and principles. It is the latter that guides our interactions and decisions of the former, in other words, how one conducts the policy process. Another important figure is al-Ghazali (1964) in the eleventh century, whose rules for good government in the *Revival of Religion's Sciences* (*Ihya' 'ulum al-din*) (1964) include guidance for ruling well: 1) in a way that he is the subject and the other is the ruler; 2) caring for those in his trust; 3) not indulging appetites or being extravagant; 4) governing kindly; 5) striving to please his subjects; 6) pleasing subjects only within the Law; 7) understanding the danger and responsibility of governing; 8) thirsting for the spirit of devout 'ulama' [body of Muslim scholars]; 9) ensuring that those in his service refrain from injustice; and 10) avoiding pride and anger (Hillenbrand, 2004). Seemingly sensible criteria for the formulation and implementation of policy, but not universally evident in our contemporary world.

Building on Qur'anic passages, the placement of a high value on education and knowledge, as a sacred duty of each Muslim (Weir, 2012) is closely related to the responsibilities as a citizen, and traditionally regarded as a necessity for administration in its formulation, analysis, implementation and evaluation of policy. The Abbasid caliphate was one of the most successful of empires in creating and implementing policy to create and support a 'golden age' in scholarship, one that included all disciplines, pure and applied, that also synthesised scholarship from several parts of the world through its cultural openness.

It is this tradition that laid most of the foundation for the rise of learning and disciplines in the European Renaissance and Enlightenment (Bennison, 2009). This required a policy development including structures of education as a social institution, committing resources to it, setting up systems of schools and advanced education, and applying the fruits of scholarship in politics, laws, economics, culture, and religion (Bennison, 2009). In addition, a complex system of basic, and specialised organisations arose including that of the university, which Makdisi (1981) demonstrates also influenced the formation of universities in the West.

In the modern period, the Ottoman Empire (1517-1924 CE) plays an ambiguous role in policy development; on one hand, the empire is regarded as successful in modernising government but also viewed as a decline in Muslim terms as it was influenced by Western states and secularism. It evolved through several stages in which the bureaucratic elite was more involved in policy development than management, redefining their professional roles (Findley, 1989; Hanna, 1996; Hepper, 1994). At this time policy also diversified through a complex combination of context, groups and individuals, including many more influential policy actors than the Grand Vizier who were located outside the centralised structures of empire. This included increasing policy activity among intellectuals during reform periods (Findley, 1989), in all societal sectors including education that underwent an evolution into a comprehensive system of Islamic higher education, reflected in the high educational qualities expected of the senior administrative levels (Hathaway, 2013). Ottoman governance and administrative systems of the policy cycle from agenda-setting to evaluation were influenced by a number of policy actors from the political and governmental realms (Fodor, 2018), and local authorities in parts of the empire, like Iraq where full integration into a centralised empire administratively did not take place (Çetinsaya, 2006), and in other regions under Ottoman rule such as Egypt (Baldwin, 2016) and Syria (Mundy & Smith, 2007).

The history of the Ottoman Empire also provides evidence of conflicts among policy actors, for example, corruption and undermining of central policy by far flung provinces where the governors' bureaucracy was too distant for policy oversight. The evolution of policy derived from activities of the state rather than a comprehensive cohesive plan, where influential elite figures contributed to the policy process such as the jurist Ebu Suud Efendi whom Suleiman the Magnificent elevated to a powerful position from which he was able to bring Ottoman law into greater conformity to Shari'ah in the 16th century (Gerber, 1994). The other major effect on Ottoman policy practices in the Tanzimat reforms of 1839 were Western government practices adopted to strengthen central control, for which a reform in public education under close control by the Ministry of Education was intended to prepare the civil service for these new practices while at the same time providing greater access to those with few resources to enter the civil service (Çetinsaya, 2006).

The modern period in Islamic administration, and its policy processes, is partly a function of Western colonial restructuring of social institutions, administrative systems, and policies serving colonisers' interests (Owen, 2004) and using policy frameworks by countries and companies that reflected foreign imperatives (Mulcahy, 2017), and partly the reconstruction of Islamic principles of government and administration in post-independence and nation-building countries. For example, Islamic governments pursue public policies that provide for a high level of state activity in the economy and publicly owned enterprises and assets and a high level of military involvement in other social institutions (Richards & Waterbury, 2008), not unlike that of welfare-statism in the West. Islamic conceptions of governmental, and therefore policy systems are those grounded in social justification and the collective good, guided by knowledge in combination with central values of faith (Weir, 2012).

A number of books on Islamic administration and management have appeared that reinterpret public administration and policy making within a Muslim perspective, values and principles. However, they do not explicitly present a policy model or theory instead embedding it in practices of good government. Ali's (1975) *Administrative Ethics in a Muslim State* traces the theory of Muslim administration from passages in the Qur'an, the Sunnah, important caliphs in its historical development, determinations by judicial authorities as schools of Islamic law formed, and scholars (often civil servants themselves), and qualities of those involved in governmental, that is, policy activities including advanced education.

Al-Buraey's (1985) *Administrative Development: An Islamic Perspective* follows the same structure, but contains more details relevant to a fuller public policy model. More emphasis in his text is placed on the socio-political and economic environment, on the 'actors' in the development process, determining appropriate goals, identifying the values and practices appropriate to Islam, and strategy and implementation that corresponds to the strategic planning process for policy implementation. While 'policy' is not used in the text, the components and processes of a policy theory or model are implicit.

A more recent text is Jabnoun's (2008) *Islam and Management* that is focussed more on leadership roles and qualities, however, it does include factors that are a part of policy. Organisational culture is emphasised in terms of the values and goals that reflect Islamic principles, and the ethics of administrators including their greater sense of common purpose than individual achievement modelled on the companions of the Prophet Muhammad. This is followed by a section that contains the elements of the policy process, without identifying them as such, from the identification of an issue or agenda formation through to the appropriate forms of implementation. Much of the balance of the book focusses on leadership qualities (reflecting the current leadership fad that has to some extent supplanted good administration), including the Islamic ethical virtues combined with organisational principles like consultation (*Shura*), the common good and service to others (ElKaleh & Samier, 2013).

Comparison with Anglo-American Policy Models

In contemporary Muslim countries, policy activity is often a combination of Western practices like those of former French or British colonies (Thompson & Quilam, 2019), or have had a heavy influence from American policy studies and practices due in part to Western administrative curriculum used in their universities or was the curriculum taught to those who studies abroad. In some cases, as Jamal (2018) argues, some aspects of Western practices are consistent with Islamic principles. Generally, what is viewed as a 'global' administrative practice or model is most often an Anglo-American theory, model or approach (Drechsler, 2015). The marginalisation of non-Western policy traditions and practices is evident in the way that policy studies is presented in higher education, sometimes grounded in microeconomic analysis that either ignores or marginalises systems of values, such as the Islamic (Wintrom & Williams, 2013).

Policy, in any jurisdiction, is a function of the political system (Birkland, 2016), constitution, laws, and structures of government, the judiciary, interest groups and other influential individuals or groups, as well as the values and belief systems of a country. Essentially, public policy is whatever decision a government chooses to make even if that means choosing to not make a decision (Dye, 1972; Howlett & Ramesh, 1995), however, the combination of 'actors' and forces that lie behind a decision and how it is implemented are complex and dynamic. Studying public policy requires several levels and approaches, in the Anglo-American texts includes:

1. the policy cycle, for which there are models with different numbers of stages, for example, Birkland's (2016) six stage model of issue emergence, agenda setting, alternative selection, enactment, implementation and evaluation reflecting the American context influenced heavily by systems thinking. Cairney (2012) outlines a slightly different six-stage cycle, consisting of agenda setting, policy formulation, legitimation (to ensure political and other forms of support for chosen instruments), implementation, evaluation, and maintenance, succession or termination.
2. the policy environment that will differ significantly across societies and different systems of social institutions, that consists of political, economic, media, demographic and interest groups for the American context (Birkland, 2016) as well as social values that reflect differing views of the appropriate role of the state (e.g. welfare state). One major difference for non-American countries is a highly significant and powerful foreign power influence and actions.
3. policy actors ranging from elected and appointed officials to interest groups, research organisations and the media, the institutions of a society including the structures and levels of government, the bureaucracy, societal sectors like business, and the international system that includes governments, corporations and NGOs, and in colonial contexts, the interests of an

occupying power. Policy actors are often studied as policy networks, tracing the relationships among individuals and groups through a number of dimensions of relationship and attitude that vary by state structure, social class, culture and values: the number of policy actors, functional characteristics of information, types of relationships and access to negotiation, structure that relates to the nature of relationships among policy actors, institutionalisation relating to actor formalisation and membership, rules of conduct or the game that govern interactional norms, power relations, and styles of strategy used (van Waarden, 1992). An important feature of Islamic systems is the principle of consultation (*Shura*), and the access provided to citizens through regular public meetings (*Majlis*).

4. Policy instruments are those programmes or techniques used to bring a policy into effect, consisting of a number of types such as legislative and regulatory, economic or fiscal, agreement and incentive-based, and information-based. One common instrument used by welfare state systems is the crown corporation or publicly owned enterprise in order to influence the economic system and ensure services to the public (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995). Under neoliberalism, coming into vogue in the early 1980s, this approach, and the entire welfare state orientation was dismantled to varying degrees in Western countries. A neoliberal perspective often refers to such state activity as ‘interfering’ in the economy, a term used commonly about Gulf countries.
5. Style of policy intervention such as redistribution, managing of markets, privatisation and democratising the policy process (Moran, Rein, & Goodin, 2006), that reflect political orientations and ideologies.

Policy studies also is done using a number of analytic and interpretive approaches, from deductive (e.g. public choice class theory, neo-institutionalism) to inductive (e.g. welfare economics, pluralism, statism) approaches (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995), as well as feminist critiques, critical theory, discourse analysis, and cross-cultural analyses.

Table 1. Comparison of policy hierarchies

Component	Islamic	Anglo-American
Underlying belief & value system	Qur’an and Sunnah (accompanied by Hadith & Tafsir)	Religion or philosophical system
Constitution	Fundamental principles of Islam embedded	Constitution, often with amendments
Legislation	Shari’ah	Laws
Govt agency policies	Through the Diwan remains open to new knowledge & therefore contains ambiguity	Remain deterministic and grounded in established positions and more often scientific knowledge
Guidelines & procedures	Decision-making through Shura for implementation, remaining flexible & consistent with Islamic ethics	Task based procedures that aim for replicability
Organisational policies	Evolves through principles of Muhasabah (improving understanding), Tawhid (economics is subordinate to and unified with sacred values), Waqaf (social responsibility to address inequities) & Ihsan (the attainment of Islamic virtues)	Linear best practices & total quality management, often with economic values and individuality as end values
Organisational guidelines & procedures	Require a qualitative judgment against primary values and service to society	In contemporary neoliberal terms measurable quantitatively

The argument made here is that the basic categories of policy studies can be internationalised with sufficient modification and application. The main problem lies in not contextualising the system of policy studies sufficiently. For example, the Islamic policy tradition involves a number of Islamic public administrative features such as fundamental values of serving the community and assuming collective responsibility for society (Mottahedeh, 2001), principles of social justice (Samier, 2016), and the synthesis of sacred and secular that affect all human endeavour (Weir, 2012). One way of representing the difference between an Anglo-American theory and the Islamic is by comparing what is usually called the policy hierarchy that maps out the levels of policy in a society. Table 1 describes the general comparison of these hierarchies that is indicative of the differences, but is not comprehensive (derived largely from Weir, 2012).

What is proposed in this table is a way of linking Islamic values, principles and qualities to the levels of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation while indicating the primary ways in which the Anglo-American models of policy operate that are now much more embedded in secularism, individuality, economic values, and quantitative evaluation. What is important to note is that there are many other forms of Western policy that do include higher order values and a more qualitative approach, such as the humanistic management approaches developing in reaction to neoliberalism (e.g. Amann & Stachowicz-Stanusch, 2013) that correspond to many of the values described above.

Conclusion

Islam, like other philosophical systems consisting of higher order moral values, has embedded within it both the conceptions of higher education and the requirements necessary for civil servants, and the population as a whole in a society. However, these are not consistent with neoliberal approaches using 'scientific' frameworks (Weir, 2012). Islam, unlike some other religious systems, does not differentiate sacred and secular, and therefore is a wholistic system of belief and thought that contains within it philosophical perspectives and values, political and social principles from which legal traditions evolved, and guidance for administration and leadership.

The policy process evolved out of implementing the values and practices in the Qur'an and Sunnah, and the absorption of policy-making and implementation practices that had developed in the region over a 4000 year period, but redirected and reinterpreted within the normative and societal principles of Islam. Administrative policies and practices continued into twelfth century Sicily influencing European developments (Johns, 2002). Within this context, policy related to the rise of higher education in the Muslim world, prior to that in Europe (Berkey, 2003), for example the law of *Waqf* (charitable trusts) (Makdisi, 1981) is compared with the development of universities and related government policy in the medieval West (Pedersen, 1997).

Inherent in Islam, particularly its humanistic tradition, are key values and goals for human development and society shared with other humanistic systems in many parts of the world. The capacity for policy studies development, and its influence on higher education and the quality of public administration, can again serve as a model of what can be. In contrast to the current one-way direction of knowledge transfer under globalisation regimes, and the dominating higher education practices in the West, this sharing of knowledge and experience should again work in both directions, already seen in correspondence between Islamic arbitration and international arbitration (Bhatti, 2019).

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