

The Fundamentals Of The 'Kaum Muda' And 'Kaum Tua' ideologiesocial Movements In Malaysia (1970-2017)

Ibrahim MajdiMohamad Kamil¹, Noor Farhana Ahmad Pazil², MohdHerzaliMohd Haled³, Ashlah Ibrahim⁴

¹ Centre for Fundamental Studies, International Centre for Halal Studies,

^{2,3} Management and Science University, Seksyen 13, 40100 Shah Alam, Selangor, Malaysia

¹ibrahim_majdi@msu.edu.my

ABSTRACT

This study attempts to analyse the development of the ideological development of Islamic thought-specific ideology into the 'kaum muda' and 'kaum tua' groups. This study applies to qualitative methods. This study uses a library data collection methodology that is mostly precedents on primary sources and partly secondary sources. A data analysis methodology, generally, this study uses a critical analysis method for analysing data on the views of the young and old tribe trends among Islamic movements in Malaysia. The content analysis method is generally used William Roff's view on the 'kaum muda' and the 'kaum tua'. The findings of this study conclude that the development of the trend of Islamic politics has had a profound effect on the emergence of the same Islamic movement which is now more known as Traditionalist or modernist groups such as IKRAM, HALUAN, Hizbur Tahrir, and ISMA.

Keywords

Traditional, modernist, kaum tua, kaummuda, social movements.

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Introduction

The growth of many social movements in the Islamic ideology has had a significant impact on the education, administrative, economic and social system of the Malaysian community, especially for the Malay Muslim community. The development of the intellectual and Islamic values in the social system, which occurs is the result of the pressure from the civil society who want principles and Islamic values in their daily lives. Therefore, the result of civil society pressure has begun in the Islamic awakening era in Malaysia around the 1960s.

Social movements such as ABIM, JIM, PAS, ARQAM and Jamaat Tabligh have appeared in the era in ideology and more Islamic principles. These social movements used Islam as the foundation for their organisational movement Shiozaki Yuki (2007:106). The address fought by the social movements has attracted the community, especially the Malay-class Muslim community living in urban and semi-urban. The main reason used in the Islamic fight was that they assumed that the government administration was in the meantime to disregard Islamic values in government administration structure and policies applied to the social system (H. Dadang Kahmad, 1999:67-68). They considered the Malaysian government is secular as a result of the remnants of the British colonial administrative system before independence. The Era of Islamic awakening occurring in Malaysia is also not by internal factors but also influenced by external factors.

The significant contribution of the Islamic Movement has led the government to comply with the needs of civil society by adopting administrative systems in the increasingly evolving government. From the economic front, many conventional systems have been converted into a more Islamic Shariah-compliant system, and the strengthening of

education focused on Islamic values. The Islamic Awakening era saw a direct network between Islamic movement in Malaysia and Islamic movements in the foreign countries including Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Pakistan, Iran, India, Turkey, and Indonesia (Kassim Ahmad, 1984). From the ideological standpoint, both the central ideology of the Muslim Awakening champion the same goal but through different methods according to their thought.

Social Movement concept

Maconis (2019: 645) defined social movement as an organized activity that encourages or discourages social change. According to Alberle (1966), there are four types of social movements based on the level of changes and the specific doers (Maconis, 2019: 645). First, it can create limited changes to specific individuals known as Alternative Social Movement. In this type of social movement, the status quo of the targeted group will be maintained because it will cause a limited social change. Second, the limited changes that aimed towards everyone in the society in which known as Reformative Social Movement.

For example, demonstration to give opportunity for women to involve in general elections. The third type is the Redemptive Social Movement that can create radical changes to the specific individuals. It can relate to religious social movement that aimed to change the way of life of the believers. Lastly, the Revolutionary Social Movement that is targeting everyone in the society. It is the most extreme type of social movement and can cause major transformation or radical change to the society.

Early History of 'Kaum Muda' and 'KaumTua' in Malaysia

The historical development of the emergence of the Kaum Mudamovement in Malaya could be followed as early as the 20th century. The movement supports the reformist agenda underlying by the influence of Pan-Islamism (Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 2006) from the Middle East as well as India. Since early 1906, they began to seriously oppose the tyranny of British authorities and Malay aristocracy. This was evidenced through the publication of a magazine entitled al-Imam who was outspoken in criticizing the injustice of both groups especially against the Malays (Khoo Kay Kim, 2001). The emergence of the Kaum Mudamovement later sparked a considerable conflict with the traditionally streamed KaumTua. Basically, this happens due to the differences in Islamic idealism brought to face the needs of the times. This situation was taken advantage of by the British colonial authorities known for their divide and rule policy to continue to ignite between the two groups (MohdRadzi and O.K. Rahmat, 2008).

Tensions between these two streams began to sag at the end of the 30s (Mohd. SarimMustajab, 1982: 150) when the Malay nationalists were said to have begun to dominate The Malayan politics. Nevertheless, the impact of the clashes between the Kaum Muda and the KaumTua has made many short-term and long-term contributions to the Malays especially. Besides the KaumTua successfully defending their status-quo in the religious system in the country, The Kaum Muda also contributed in producing new education systems as well as producing various Malay-Islamic political organisations (Mohd. SarimMustajab, 1982.: 151-152).

The ideological Influence of Islamic movement in Malaysia

The Islamic Awakening movement in Malaysia was also influenced by the revival movement from the foreign country, especially the Muslim Brotherhood movement from Egypt, Jamaat Islami movement from Pakistan and subsequently the Iranian Revolution in 1979. Intellectual development also took place in the era where the Malays did further their studies at the highest level, either local or international universities. This intellectual development has established a social network between the Islamic Awakening movement in Malaysia and overseas from the Middle East. The Influence and social networking with the movement in the Middle East had begun since the era of 'kaummuda' according to Roff in theOrigins of Malay Nationalism when the'kaum muda' group was heavily influenced by the early movements by Jamaluddin Afghani, Sheikh Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida. The network that existed in the event of social movements whether Malaysian students are pursuing the Middle East and also the attendance of agents bringing the ideology of Islamic awakening to Malaysia to create a sharedawareness to return to Islamic values especially throughIslamic social movements.

Awakening Islamic Movement in Malaysia (2000-2017)

The establishment of various new movements as a result of the formation of Islamic thought that affects the Malay community will continue in line with the changes in the social environment. In the opinion of the researcher, this problem is a difficult problem to solve and will repeat when any of the thought ideology to be dominant in administration and authority. When any thought in the administration appears in the official hierarchy, it will always cause dissatisfaction with other ideological groups. For example, the ideas of the Islah or modernist were prominent in the administration during the 1990s until early 2000 mainly in the beginning of Civil and Islam Hadhari society that is seen bringing the ideas of the Islah and Tajdid group. However, this has raised the dissatisfaction to thetraditional Islamist groups.

The effect of the idea of the 'kaum muda' and the 'kaum tua' as discussed by Roff in the Origins of Malay Nationalismhas developed a new Islamic social movement in the present. The current Islamic movement is seen to be present with a variety of ideology, whether existing ideology, reform from existing ideology or newer ideology broughtin. Inthis topic, the researcher will discuss a few numbers of new Islamic social movements that are seen as champions according to their respective methods and ideology. Among the movements that were seen to stand out in the current Islamic fight were as follows:

1) Ikatan muslimin malaysia (isma)

Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia or ISMA was established in 1997 with Siswazah Muslim Malaysiabefore being converted into Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia in 2005. ISMA reportedly has about 20 thousand members comprising middle class Malay and students around institutes of higher learning around Selangor and also active in foreign countries such as Egypt, Jordan and several Western countries (Mohamed Nawan Osman & Saleena Saleem 2016:5). In higher education institutions,the ISMA movement was actively involved in various programmes, namely, Persatuan Belia Islam Nasional (PEMBINA). According to Fauzi Hamid and Che Ramdan Razali, the Islamic movement ISMA seen as oriented to conservative Islamists, but the foundation of their struggle was like moderate Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia(ABIM) andJemaah Islah Malaysia(JIM), which was influencedfrom Egyptian Muslim movement. Zulkifly Abdul Malek (2011:73) noted that the ISMA movement, in terms of its goals and ideology, has many similarities to the Islamic Movement of ABIM and JIM. However, the only difference in ISMA is that ISMA is more conducive to the belief and loyalty of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Malaysia, and it endorses the Muslim Brotherhood through Hassan Al Bana's ideological principles.ISMA also claimed that their movement is based on the motion of truth from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood movement.ISMA is a failed movement in joint with IKRAM (Fauzi Hamid & Che Ramdan 2016:6) movement. This failure is because ISMA isseen to have distinctive approaches despite having a similar ideology basis with some Islamic movements in Malaysia. The ISMA movement very much of the Egyptian

Brotherhood movement was because most members of the ISMA were former students from Egypt (Zulkifly Abdul Malek 2011:73) including President ISMA Abdullah Zaik bin Abdul Rahman.

From the political standpoint, ISMA was seen trying to bring an approach to non-partisan for any major political parties of the Malay Muslim community in Malaysia (Mohamed Nawab Osman & Saleena Saleem 2016:6, Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid & Che Hamdan Roslan 2015:317), such as UMNO and PAS. However, it supported several political party agendas such as the UMNO's pro-Malay policy and supporting the struggle of Islamic law-by-laws such as hudud and Bill 355. Despite being a part of a supported policy, ISMA also opposed to a non-profitable policy of Malay Muslims especially as criticising the slogan policy of '1Malaysia' by Prime Minister of Malaysia, Najib Razak, as according to ISMA the slogan was getting rid of 'Ketuanan Melayu' among the Malaysian community (Mohamad Nawab Osman & Saleena Saleem 2016:3). ISMA also saw PAS as a champion of the Malay and Muslim agenda when it was in Pakatan Rakyat. The non-partisan nature of this ISMA could be proved when contested in the 13th general election in 2013 on a party's ticket, a political party which was inactive after the 1990 general election. However, ISMA only competed in a place of the majority of Muslim Malays, but there were no representatives from among the Malays. This act shows the commitment to upholding the principles of ISMA movement by not competing against Malay representatives. This principle was further strengthened through the ISMA slogan, 'Malay consensus, sovereign Islam' (Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid & Che Hamdan Razali 2015:317). Besides, ISMA was also seen to expand the thought of Hassan Al-Bana's thoughts in Malaysia.

In 2010, the ISMA movement organised a resolution of the Hassan Al-Bana convention in discussing the race agenda. The Convention was also charged as the first official Hassan Al-Bana convention in Malaysia. The essential nature of sticking to the Egyptian Ikhwan also caused ISMA to be seen in full support to the group's pro-Ikhwan during the Egyptian general election in 2010 (Zulkifly Abdul Malek 2011:73). During the unrest in Egypt, ISMA was seen as the official tongue of Ikhwan in Malaysia by posting an official statement and leader from Ikhwan in Malay translation. ISMA claims nationalist's nature, such as the approach taken by ISMA is the original idea of Hassan Al-Bana (Nawab Osman & Saleena Saleem 2016:8). The difference between ISMA, the JIM movement, and ABIM is ISMA influenced by Hassan Al-Bana's thinking because, for them, the thought of Hassan Al-Bana is a real brotherhood ideology. While for JIM and ABIM, they also took the ideology of other Ikhwan people besides Hassan Al-Bana. The approach of ISMA movement is seen to be more conservative in its actions and the struggle of Malay nationalists. ISMA is also seen aggressively in the polemic between races and other social movements in Malaysia. The researcher found that the ISMA movement was a movement that was supporting the traditional ideology approach but was encouraging the thought of Hassan al Bana. The ISMA movement is only influenced by the idea of the Muslim Brotherhood of Hassan Al Bana versus other Muslim Brotherhood figures.

2) Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM)

IKRAM's movement is a new movement that appears to unite the movements of the Muslim Brotherhood under one movement. IKRAM movement was registered on 22 October 2009. IKRAM has introduced their organisation as a da'wah organisation, 'tarbiah' and charity led by Mohd Parid bin Sheikh Ahmad since its inception in the IKRAM (www.ikram.org.my) movement. The most influential movement that is part of the IKRAM movement is Malaysia's (JIM). On 29 December 2012, JIM was dissolved. All assets of JIM were handed over to the new platform which was the Malaysian IKRAM Association (IKRAM) (Mazlee Malik & Hamidah Mat 2014:113). As such, it may be said that the ideology of the IKRAM movement has many similarities to the JIM ideology which is heavily influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood movement by making the ideology of 'Tajdid' and 'Islah' as the ideology of IKRAM. IKRAM was seen as a continuation of the previous JIM movement. Many JIM members and some JIM's leadership also participated in IKRAM and became part of IKRAM's leadership. IKRAM also emphasises the aspect of education and humanities. According to Zaid Kamaruddin, IKRAM emphasises justice and social wellbeing besides continuing to preach and uphold Islam among the Malaysian Society (Sinar Harian: 17 Januari 2014). IKRAM also conducts 'tarbiah' activities to its members through Usrah and published their 'tarbiah' pamphlets, tarbiatuna. IKRAM is currently seen as the most active Islamic movement in its activities in the form of Da'wah, 'tarbiah', and humanity. Nowadays, several NGOs have been sheltered under IKRAM movement.

From the Association of IKRAM's websites, the researcher found a social network between the institutions and NGOs in the IKRAM movement. The organisation under IKRAM is Malaysia Humanitarian Care Co., Ltd. (MyCARE), which focuses on humanitarian activities. IKRAM-MUSLEH focuses on educational activities and manages the IKRAM Association, Hidayah Center Foundation (HCF), and Koperasi Islah Malaysia Berhad (KIMB). School under, IKRAM Health, Malaysian Muslim Scientist Association (PERINTIS), Charity Kindergarten and 'Rislal Harmoni' Sdn. Bhd. which publishes books for IKRAM movement. As for young people, IKRAM has opened the Ikram Teens for teenagers and Ikram students to carry out activities at university level (www.ikram.org.my). In terms of education, IKRAM was seen successfully continuing the success of the education aspects initiated by the JIM movement with educational institutions under the IKRAM movement to find a place among the Malaysian community through IKRAM-MUSLEH. This movement has 31 Islamic primary schools and 13 Islamic secondary schools throughout Malaysia (www.musleh.edu.my). Educational institutions under the IKRAM movement were also seen as continuing to continue with the Islamic education philosophy institution. On the political front, IKRAM is a principle of being a non-partisan NGO.

The non-partisan nature of the IKRAM movement is that it supports any party seeking to oust Islam either from the government or the opposition. IKRAM movement is seen as a movement that is willing to cooperate with any

party as long as it strengthens Islamic interests in Malaysia. This movement is in line with the goals of the establishment of IKRAM. However, there is still a sentiment that the IKRAM movement is a pro-opposition movement because of the involvement of many JIM members in the IKRAM movement that supported Anwar Ibrahim during the 'reformasi'. Furthermore, the establishment of the National Trust Party (AMANAH) is a new pro-opposition Islamic party. IKRAM supports the establishment of AMANAH party, and there are members and leaders of IKRAM such as Hasanuddin Mohd Yunus who was then deputy president IKRAM to join the AMANAH party as vice president of the AMANAH party. Apart from Hasanuddin Yunus, Ahmad Termizi Ramli, an activist in IKRAM had contested in the Kuala Kangsar small election under the AMANAH party. (Hew Wai Weng 2016:5). Hew Wai Weng added this is probably due to the same approach and ideology taken by IKRAM motions and AMANAH parties who share the same approach in Islamic political champions. IKRAM members were seen campaigning for Ahmad Termizi Ramli. As such, the perception of the Malay Muslim community was primarily seen that the IKRAM movement was part of the AMANAH party despite the president of Ikram, Mohd Parid once again pointed out that IKRAM was a non-party movement to any party, but celebrating a political party that wanted to Islamic ideologies (www.ikram.org.my). Despite his former deputy president Ikram and some members joined the AMANAH party. Researchers found that the IKRAM movement was a movement that still retains the flow of Islah entirely in the ideological and approach since it was initiated by the 'kaummuda'movement and continued by movements such as ABIM and JIM.

3) **Pertubuhan Himpunan Lepasn Institusi Pendidikan Malaysia (HALUAN)**

HALUAN was a motion that was established since the year 1988 with the official name 'HimpunanLepasanInstitusi-institusiPengajian Tinggi MalaysiaThe operations are confined to its members' health and benefits, leading to operations decreases until the year 2000s.This trend has been growing, and the rise in participation has contributed to more inclusive growth in 2011.The name was re-registered as a graduate organisation of Malaysian educational institutions, and the brand and structure were designed to achieve Malaysia's Vision and mission. (<http://www.haluan.org.my/v5/>). Their motto are Akhliah, educate and serve. It aligns with their goal for producing Muslims who are constantly improving themselves towards goodness and becoming a role models for others. The HALUAN mission is tarbiah that nurtures leaders and dakwah that transforms the society. Therefore, there is a spiritual program implemented for teenagers Identity Camp & Youth Volunteerism and for families, there was a National Family Convention had been held focused on spiritual development. Not only that, for individuals there is halaqah for sharing more about Islam and the story of a willingness that can be used as an example in life. This change opens application to the community to join the HALUAN. The activities of the movement are growing and diverse.

HALUAN community has been seen to be active by engaging in communal and humanitarian activities. 'tarbiah' activities among members are also continued. HALUAN also a missionary movement to the Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Among the main activities such as the official website is a charitable activity through the 'Penyayang HALUAN' hostel, which houses orphans and the poor. Besides, through the HALUAN of the Higher Learning Bureau, they organised an annual activity by inviting academicians to discuss current affairs other than training programmes and volunteerism to members of the HALUAN to strengthen the skills among the members. HALUAN has also established clubs under the HALUAN to make HALUANmovement more effective.

Among the wings of the HALUAN are the youth club, the student club, health club, school club, to reach the non-Muslim and rural groups, the entrepreneur Club, and the HALUAN Teacher Club. In intellectual part, the motion is seen not too highlighting the ideology of their organisation's movement compared to ISMA and IKRAM movements. In 2014, the HALUAN took over an institution of learning, i.e. Perlis Islamic Higher Education Institution (IPTIPs) (<http://www.iptip.edu.my/>). However, HALUAN movement was not excluded from the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, especially with the founder of DahlanMohd Zain, a former ABIM of Perlis's leadership. The current leadership is Abdullah Sudin Ab Rahman and MohdDarusSenawi Ali who is also a former member of ABIM as a HALUAN advisor. The HALUAN is seen as an active movement in Da'wah, education, humanities and community but not much involved in political movements in Malaysia. The researcher found HALUAN is a movement that has the characteristics of Islah but does not highlight their ideology and does not want to be involved in direct politics.

4) **HizbutTahrir Malaysia**

The HizbutTahrir's movement was a conservative Islamic movement and expanded transnational in the 48 countries around 2013 and focused as an Islamic movement focusing on political aspects (Sudarno Shobron 2014:47). The Hizbut Tahrir movement was established since 1953 again by Taqiuddin An-Nabhani in Palestine (<https://ht-malaysia.com>). According to Fauzi Hamid and Che Hamdan Razali (2016:15), the ideology of the Hizbut Tahrir movement was a traditional Islamic ideology with the main aim of the Islamic Movement in order to reinstate the caliphate. Despite the long-going activism, the motion was made in 2004 by using the intellectual deed of the Nusantara (IKIN) to organise activities in general such as forums, seminars, and demonstrations. At present, Hizbut Tahririsseen more active and use the name of Hizbut Malaysia's Tahrir and have established their operations office in Bandar BaruBangi.

Researcher sees that the Hizbut Tahrir movement has the same ideology and goals as all the Hizbut Tahrir in other countries because they are under the same movement and have the same goals. They also hold the same leaders and representatives in the country of Malaysia named as Hizbut Tahrir Malaysia spokesmen. In terms of activity, Hizbut Tahrir emphasised political aspects and no other

matters like other Islamic movements in Malaysia. Hizbut Tahrir also regarded them as an Islamic political movement. The political views of the Hizbut Tahrir movement are different from those of other Islamic movements in Malaysia. The Hizbut Tahrir movement believes that the democratic system practised in Malaysia, or other systems, is not Islamic. As such, their movement is not involved in electoral politics, but also calls on the people to boycott the electoral process during the 13th General Election (Ahmad Fauzi Hamid & Che Hamdan Razali 2016: 15). It is clear here that the Hizbur Tahrir movement is one of the traditional groups that still maintain their approach through traditional thought. Although the Hizbut Tahrir is a traditional movement, it conflicts with the official religious department because it is alleged to bring more extreme movements. The four movements are among the latest and most active Islamic movements, which affect the Malay intellectual community in Malaysia, particularly in the current time with the earlier preliminary movements that are still active to the present.

Findings

The approach of most social movements today is not limited to spiritual aspects alone. The social, educational, health and economic aspects are also emphasised by most of today's new movements, whether traditional, Islamic, or liberal. This aspiration has been carried out by a group of 'kaummuda'as William R Roff (1967: 78) points out in his study.

"..... the perfection and purification of Islam was for young people not simply an end in itself but an irradiated for the acceleration and grabby of social and economic change for the betterment of Malay society....."

An interesting one to discuss, in 'The Origins of Malay Nationalism', is Roff's opinion that traditional streaming groups focused on religious learning. Currently, as for the strong movements to support strong traditional Islamic ideology, the traditional trend movement no longer disregards social, educational, health, and economic aspects as well as focus on 'tarbiah' aspects. Besides, the movement that supports traditional thought trends is no longer limited to those living through traditional practise only but are present in the form of a more modern movement and also comprise of high-educated people and urban and semi-urban communities. In fact, in urban and semi-urban areas have also emerged modern huts that teach world knowledge and afterlife. This movement is a dynamics that is happening to the traditional trend group and can no longer claim that only the reformers movement that is conscious of social, economic, welfare, and health aspects.

Conclusion

In conclusion, a clash of ideas between the 'kaummuda'and 'kaumtua'groups remain relevant until today. This idea is the result of the analysis of content from the works of William Roff and other references concerning the ideology and approaches adopted by the 'kaumtua'and the 'kaummuda'may have many similarities to the current Islamic movement. However, the 'kaummuda'and the 'kaumtua'may not be as relevant as the Malay Muslim community today

prefers to use these terms for the 'kaumtua'ideology such as traditional and conservative. While for 'kaummuda', terms such as modernist, progressive, Islah are used to refer to the ideology of this movement.

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