

Analysis Ofislah Movement Development In The Current Social Movement In Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to analyze the development of the influences of Islah in the context of Islamic politics in Malaysia since its inception in its development. This study adopts qualitative methods. This study used a library data collection methodology which was largely precedents on primary and secondary sources. In the data continuous methodology, this paper is generally using a critical analysis method to analyse data on the history of growth of the Islah movement in Malaysia to see how the current Islah movement can be related with the early Islah movement. While the content analysis method focuses on the influence of Islamic social movements in Islamic politics Malaysia post GE-14. This paper continuedthe analysis of William Roff on the development of the Islah movement until the impact of government administration nowadays. The discovery of this paper concluded that the development of the Islah movement has given significant influence on Islamic politics particularly in Malaysia as a result of the participation of Islamic Movement activists into cabinets and the introduction of the concept of rahmatan Lil Alamin.

Keywords

islah, social movement, kaummuda, Malay intellectual.

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Introduction

The 'kaummuda' according to William Roff (1967) was one of the social movements that champions the spirit of nationalism and brought the thought of Islah during the pre-independence era. Although the young people may no longer be relevant in the social realities of the Malaysian society, the ideology of the reform or Islah is seen to be fertile especially in the circumstances of movement either through political societies or parties in Malaysia. In previous study by William Roff and other academician, the Islah movement only focuses on the movement during the pre-independence and the rise of Islamic movement on the 70s to 90s period only. This study will focus on the development of the Islah movement that has been brought by the 'kaummuda' to the thought of the Malay community especially nowadays. This research also will discuss the 'kaummuda' as the development of Islah movement nowadays influenced by the ideology of the 'kaummuda' movement.

According to Schaefer (2013: 395) the collective effort of individuals organized into social movements can ultimately lead to change. Schaefer collected several approaches of social movement such as Relative Deprivation approach by Wilson (1973) and Resource Mobilization approach by Gamson (1989). The relative deprivation is the feeling of dissatisfaction towards the unfair treatments and negative differences between two groups. An individual action will not be enough to content the frustration. Therefore, the collective actions are needed or known as social movement. In the Resource Mobilization approach, an effective and successful social movement is depending on the utilization of media, political influence, money, and charismatic leadership (Schaefer, 2013: 395).

'Kaum Muda' As An Early Movement Islah In Malaysia

Researchers will describe briefly the history and development of the 'kaummuda' in Malaysia. The 'kaummuda' according to William Roff (1967) was one of the Nationalists movement in Malaysia in the British colonial era. They champion the newer Islamic ambitions compared to traditional groups, which are also called 'kaumtua'.

These terms were popularized by William R. Roff in his book 'The Origins of Malay Nationalism' in 1967. Among the early pioneering names of this thought were the Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin in Perak, Abu Bakar al-Ash'ari in Perlis, Wan Haji Nik Abdullah bin Hj Wan Musa in Kelantan who brought the idea of reform to Malaya while Syed Sheikh Al Hadi was actively involved in spreading the ideology through the literary literature, newspapers and magazines so that the nationalists's spirit would be able to inspire the spirit of the Malays According to Abdul Rahman Abdullah (2010) The figures of the Islah movement were heavily influenced from Egypt and India such as Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Sheikh Waliullah al- Dihlawi, Sayyid Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Sheikh Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Ridha. Therefore, in general, this ideology brings the idea of reform especially in Islamic thinking in Malaysia.

According to Kamarudin Salleh (2007:48), among other names of the group among others are the groups are Tajdid, Islah, Sahwan Islamiyyah and Ihya' Islam. This shows that young people are only names, but the bigger is thought or ideology brought into Malay communities especially in Malaysia. Among the aspects of reform carried out that they did not oppose the knowledge or education of

the West, but the knowledge should be adapted to Islam. This brought approach is different from the former Conservative scholars who still maintain traditional Islamic approaches and knowledge.

Mohamad Kamil (1996:33) noted that the majority of the scholars of the Malay Archipelago at that time could not run away from sufism influences which more focused on religious field and consider that modern knowledge at that time is less important. The same was also expressed by Jaffary Awang and Kamarudin Salleh (2007:42) which states the group of conservative groups felt that Western power was not a threat as they believed to be the height of the Muslim status than non-Muslims. This has been the basis for two conflicts of Islamic thinking in Malaysia and is a collection of the issue between young and old people or traditional groups with new groups.

Based on our observation, the existence of 'kaummuda' in Malaya is an important event due to the commencement of the thought of the thinking of a social movement. Before that, there might be a 'minded scholar', but the thinking of Islah. However, the researchers express that there was confusion when William Roff stated that the young people's movement was a nationalism movement.

According to the 'Kamus Dewan' dictionary, nationalism means love feelings in his own country and race. In fact, most of the terms of nationalism are used refers to a sense of love and pride in his own country and race. This is different from the 'kaummuda' movement that puts religion i.e. Islam as a major struggle compared to the struggle for the nation. The movement focused on this Islamic struggle appears to be reaction to the colonial-powers of the West.

During the colonial era, Europe has prompted to expand the Empire by bringing the objectives of '3G', which are 'Gold', 'Gospel' and 'Glory'. One of the objectives of the western Colonial 'Gospel' refers to an expansion in religious form where the western colonists not only wanted to expand the empire of the colony and the economy alone, but also wanted to expand the Islamic religion to the colonials. Hence, the existence of an Islamic movement in response to this western movement. The influence of this Islamic movement also affects the Islamic movement in Malaysia.

Hence, the researchers feel that it should be corrected that the 'kaummuda' movement is not just a Malay nationalism movement as stated by William Roff but the 'kaummuda' movement is a movement that has been in Islam as a key focus by bringing the thought in it. The Islah movement continues to evolve with a more structured movement structure.

Development Of The Islah Movement In Malaysia

Islah movement in Malaysia is heavily influenced by the Islamic movement in Egypt. The operations of Islah continued to evolve and began creating a more structured social motion. According to Peter Mandaville, the Muslim Brotherhood movement in 1928 was a dimension in the Islamic movement when the Muslim-based, Hassan al-Banna had brought a new vision of the Islamic political Movement (2007:14). The Muslim activism movement has given new dimensions of the Islamic movement not only in

Egypt but has given the influence of Islamic movements around the world including Malaysia.

The Islah movement in Malaysia also expanded gradually. The movement began to evolve in Singapore, followed by the Straits Settlements including Penang and Melaka, later expanded in the Federated Malay States of Perak, Selangor, and Negeri Sembilan until eventually expanding to the non-federated Malay States of Kelantan, Johor and achieving its peak in Perlis (Abdul Rahman Abdullah, 1997:211). In fact, the result of the development of the Islah movement, has advent the first Islamic political party in Malaya which is the Hizbul Muslim Party (HAMIM) established by Abu Bakar Al-Baqir in Gunung Semangol, Perak. The Hizbul Party of Muslims took the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt which established an Islamic-based political party.

However, the Muslim Hizbul party did not compete in the election when it was said that HAMIM party had links to the Malayan Communist Party (PKM). The Malayan Bull party is banned under the emergency law of 1948 by an English party. The seven leaders of HAMIM including his heads, Abu Bakar al-Baqir were detained by the British. While their followers had joined UMNO, and later founded the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) (Abdul Halim Ramli et al, 2017:168).

Social Movements In 1970s

Post World War II saw the fall of Muslim empires worldwide including in southeast Asia. In Malaysia, the colonial effect saw the fall of the Empire of the Muslim government in Malaya and was replaced by a secular and western colonial rule. Researchers take post 70s as an important timeline when several significant events occur and the result of more of the Islah movements that appear in Malaysia.

After the fall of Muslim heritage during the colonial era of the West Power, the 1960s saw the Islamic culture trying to return steadily. In addition, when there was a conflict between the Arab and Israel in 1967, some had raised the spirit of Islamic awakening everywhere. Added Kersten (2009:90), the conflict in southeast Asia such as the communist threat in Singapore and the conflict between the ethnic group in Malaysia also affected the encouragement of Islamic awakening in Malaysia. In the 1970s also saw the spirit of Islamic awakening increasingly heightened when the revolution in Iran. This also gives awareness to Islamic movements around the world including in Malaysia that so that the golden times of Islam can return.

In Malaysia, the Islah movement which appears with much is the result of the influence of Islamic awakening from outside, especially the influence of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Jamaat Islami in Pakistan, and the Iranian revolution. According to Ibrahim Majdi & Mariam Abdul Majid, these external influences arose in line with the intellectual development of the Malay community when the Malay community had many to further their studies in or outside the country (2017:105). This intellectual development also created more of the Islah movement in Malaysia especially among the youths.

In this era, several organisations were seen to bring the ideas of Islah in their respective movements. Among the

organizations that appeared at the time included the National Association of Islamic Students Malaysia (PKPIM), who also served on a song of the Islah movement, the Malaysian Islamic Youth Force (ABIM). Other movement groups include the Islamic Representative Council (IRC), and Malaysia Islah movement (JIM). In the political movement, PAS remained a party that brought the ideas of Islah. Among the influences of the Islah, which can be seen from these movements when the follower of these movements been thought using books of the people of Islah movement from outside among them such as Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Maulana Sayyid Abu Ala Mawdudi, Imam Hasan al-Bana, Sayyid Qutb, Malik bin Muhammad, Dr. Ali Shariati, Imam Khomeini, and Said Nursi, known as the ideas of Islah (Amini Amir Abdullah 2011:26). Apart from the influence of books, the influences of the Islah can also be seen from the history and structure of the social movement.

ABIM's leaders also meet the people of Islah in Indonesia such as Muhammad Natsir or known as Pak Natsir. Some of the other Islah people in Indonesia also became a ABIM movement mentor such as Pak Hamka and Ir. Imadudin Abdul Rahim. For example, Hamka Tafsir is widely used in usrahof ABIM. Apart from that, ABIM also has networking with Islah movement groups in Indonesia such as the Islamic Da'wah Hall (DDII), and the collection of Islamic Students (HMI) of Indonesia (Mashitah Sulaiman & Mohammad Redzuan Othman 2015:211). The network between ABIM and Islah movement in Indonesia managed to strengthen the ABIM as an influential movement around the 1970s and 1980s. Apart from ABIM, another social movement which was JIM.

From its own name, this has been established JIM as a motion of the Islah when the term 'Islah' has been used in their social movements. JIM is established from the development of the Islamic Representative Council (IRC), a youth social movement which is also focused on preaching especially among Malaysian youths who are pursuing overseas education especially in Western countries.

Similar as ABIM, JIM's social movement has been heavily influenced by the ideological movement of the outside, such as the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt, Jamaat Islami in Pakistan and the Nursi movement in Turkey. In addition, the structure of JIM's own organization is heavily influenced by the structure of the mentioned movements. JIM believes that preaching and Islah should be developed more than a conventional religious lesson for humanity, freedom, and better social life (Mazlee Malik, 2014:149-151). This clearly highlighted JIM as a motion of the Islah. While for political parties in Malaysia, PAS continued to be a single political party in this era which continued to bring in the Malaysian's approach and ideology.

Even so, inside the PAS is their mixture of various ideology whether Conservative, Islah and liberal. PAS ideology direction is changed according to current leaders. The PAS began to see much of the ideology in the era Yusof Rawa became president of PAS. Prior to this, despite the elements of Islah in PAS, PAS was more of a nationalist movement compared to Islah. Beginning era Yusof Rawa, PAS is seen inclined to the influence and ideology of Muslim Brotherhood (Zulkifly Abdul Malek, 2011:25). This movement also influenced the federal government of Malaysia.

During the era of Mahathir Mohamad became prime Minister, he realised the awareness of Malays especially the youths led to a change or Islah in the Malaysian government. Mahathir Mohamad has distinctive thought in the Islamic fight in Malaysia. Mahathir Mohamad is known for its criticism in the Malay community. He considers that the Islamic holdings are orthodox and extremists that will be a deterrent to progress and modernization. Mahathir Mohamad also did not see him as a religious member, but Mahathir stated that he was a Muslim leader who wanted to improve the position of the Malay Muslim community who was seen as failing on the earth themselves (Muhamad Amin 2011:44). Mahathir Mohamad has also introduced a policy of adoption of Islamic values in national administration.

As the main leader of the government, Mahathir Mohamad's government was able to make reform in Islamic institutions in Malaysia and brought together the ideas of Islah especially after the ABIM of the former president of Anwar Ibrahim with several other ABIM figures into the government agencies.

Among the success of the Malaysian government in making a reform towards Islamic institutions in Malaysia in the era was to set up various newer institutions with various roles such as the establishment of the Islamic Economic foundation of Malaysia, Tabung Haji, the introduction of the gold dinars system, upgrading Islamic centres, the establishment of the Islamic Da'wah Foundation Malaysia (YADIM), and the establishment of Islamic Understanding institution (IKIM).

Contemporary Islah Movement In Malaysia

Continuation of the development of the Islah movement continues to date. The development never ceased. Apart from other previously mentioned movements, there has been a newer group of Islah movement. In this subtopic, researchers will mention some examples of the Islah movement in Malaysia in the present society.

The first example of a social movement is the Malaysian Muslim Bond (ISMA). ISMA was established in 1997 with the graduate of the Malaysian Muslim post before being changed to Malaysian Muslim in 2005. ISMA is reportedly a member of the middle-class Malay and students around the Institute of higher learning around Selangor and also active in foreign countries such as Egypt, Jordan and several Western countries (Mohamed Nawab Osman & Saleena Saleem, 2016). Among the reasons why researchers say the ISMA as an Islah movement due to the move of this movement to the preliminary figure of the Islah movement.

The ISMA movement very much of the Egyptian Brotherhood movement was because most members of ISMA were former students from Egypt including President ISMA Abdullah Zaik bin Abdul Rahman (Zulkifly Abdul Malek 2011:73). ISMA is very celebrates the initial leader of Ikhwanul Muslim, Hassan al Bana. Among the programmes held by ISMA among them were the organising of the Hasan Al-Bana Convention resolution in discussing the nation's agenda. The Convention was also charged as the first official Hasan Al-Bana convention in Malaysia. In fact, ISMA was seen supporting the full group's pro Ikhwan

during the Egyptian general election in 2010 (Zulkifly Abdul Malek 2011:73).

The IKRAM movement is a social movement aimed at consolidating the movements of the Muslim Brotherhood. The IKRAM movement was registered on 22 October 2009. IKRAM has introduced their organization as a da'wah organization, outreach and charity led by MohdParid bin Sheikh Ahmad since its inception in the IKRAM (www.ikram.org.my) movement. IKRAM's movement is a new movement that appears to unite the movements of the Brotherhood of Muslims in the combine under one movement. The IKRAM movement was registered on 22 October 2009. IKRAM has introduced their organization as a da'wah organization, outreach and charity led by MohdParid bin Sheikh Ahmad.

The establishment of the Malaysian Educational institution (HALUAN) is a da'wah and outreach body such as the movement of other Islamic NGOs. The HALUAN is 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 'PenyayangHALUAN' hostel for orphans and the poor. In addition, 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 to members of the social movement.

As previously discussed, the process of Islah in the government has previously managed to strengthen the Islamic institution in Malaysia with the establishment of various institutions such as Tabung Haji, Malaysia's Islamic Da'wah (YADIM), Islamic Bank and Islamic University in Malaysia. The 1980s and the 1990s witnessed the resultant of leadership between the Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad and Anwar Ibrahim who later became the prime minister and Deputy Prime Minister where these two leaders would like to bring in Islam in Malaysia.

Mahathir Mohamad had appointed Abdullah Ahmad Badawi who had a strong religious background as a new deputy prime minister and later replaced Mahathir Mohamad as the fifth Prime Minister. Abdullah Ahmad Badawi is a prominent figure of the family ' traditional scholar '. He is seen as one who is Islamic and ' good guy ' in the political world. He was well-tolerated and received the support of the Malay Muslim community (Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid & Muhammad Takiyuddin Ismail 2014:160). Although it came from a family of ' conservative scholars, he was seen to bring about reform or Islah during his administration era.

The concept of Islam Hadhari during the administration era of Abdullah Ahmad Badawi has highlighted the policies of the Islah. Among them, JAKIM, through NGOS under the Government, the Malaysian Islamic Da'wah Foundation (YADIM) has become a major driver in the coordinating and mobiliser of Islamic NGOS such as the Malaysian Charity Council (MAIM), the Malaysian Islamic Women Consultative Council (MPWIM), Nadwah scholars, and scholars Malaysia to implement activities and activities to give an understanding of Islam Hadhari to the Malaysian Society (Azyathi Nazim, Fariz Md Sham & Salasiah Hanin 2014:4). However, Fauzi Abdul Hamid and Che Hamdan claimed that Islam Hadhari was not entirely from Abdullah Ahmad Badawi himself.

According to Fauzi Abdul Hamid and Che Hamdan, Islam Hadhari is a Islah by Abdullah Ahmad Badawi to pursue the Islamic standard that was developed during the era of Mahathir Mohamad's leadership. As such, Islam Hadhari brought in the leadership of Abdullah Ahmad Badawi seen taking a more gentle Islamic approach until Islam Hadhari can be accepted by the Malaysian community in the early stage when the Barisan Nasional led by Abdullah Ahmad Badawi had a great victory in the 2004 general election (2015:313). Abdullah Ahmad Badawi was then replaced by Najib Tun Razak who brought a new policy which was to end the policy of Islam Hadhari by Abdullah Ahmad Badawi.

Najib Razak has taken the attitude to celebrate and have good relations with active Islamic movements in Malaysia regardless of their thinking flow. The Islamic approach taken by Najib Razak is seen to be mixed between conservative and Islah approaches. For example, in the UMNO General Assembly, Najib Razak is seen in a speech with the Islamic ideas to emphasize the Malay supremacy and Islam as his primary principle and to have good relations with the Tabligh organization. At the same time, Najib Razak also celebrated the idea of Islah with the establishment of the Association of Scholars Malaysia (ILMU) with Fathul Bari to be the head of ILMU and establishment of the Wasatiyyah and index of Shariah acids (Nawab Osman and Saleena Saleem, 2016:4).

The government's change in the 14th general election (PRU) saw a change from the political and administrative perspective of the country thus transforming the Islamic approach by the government.

The Influence Of The Islah Movement In Malaysia Post Ge-14

The general election in 2017 saw the government's change in the ruling. The Pakatan Harapan (PH) had successfully defeated Barisan Nasional (BN) and for the first time BN, formerly known as the Alliance Party, lost for the first time. This change is not only to political aspects, but also affect the Malaysian government's approach and ideology towards Islamic religion.

Pakatan Harapan is a multi-racial political coalition that contains various parties such as the People's Justice Party (PKR), Democratic Action Party (DAP), Parti AMANAH Negara (Amanah), Malaysian United Indigenous Party (BERSATU) and Sabah Heritage Party (WARISAN). In this subtopic, researchers will focus on two aspects of the ideological influence in the government today, the leaders in the government previously;

1) Leadership in the Government

In the government nowadays, among them appointed in the Malaysian cabinet among them are those who have been active in the world of the Inter-stream social movement. Among the members of the Cabinet had participated or become part of the leadership of the movements previously discussed.

Some of the government members which is an ex-leadership of ABIM. In addition, they had also participated in the PAS. The influence of ABIM may be strong in the

government when many of them support Anwar Ibrahim in the current era of reform. Apart from those who have already joined ABIM, there are also ever joined other social motions like IRC-JIM-IKRAM, and the 'Voice of Islam' group.

If we look at the number of Cabinet members who have been directly involved in the Islamic Movement are 14 people out of 54 members of the Cabinet. If seen in percentage, about 26 per cent of the cabinet members who have been involved in Islamic movements in Malaysia in particular the Malaysian Islah movement in Malaysia. This affects the state's rule. Apart from being a member of the cabinet, many of them were active in the operations of the Islah before being appointed to hold important positions in various government agencies. This is also supposed to affect the Islamic approach by the government nowadays. So, the involvement of the early Islah struggle have gain a great achievement in uphold new reform in government institutions. One of the evidences is with the introduction of Rahmatan Lil Alamin concept.

2) Rahmatan Lil Alamin

The concept of RahmatanlilAlaminis a concept that attempts to be featured by the Alliance of Hope (PH) government. In the government's official religious programs, the government through the Minister of religion, Mujahid Yusof Rawa tried to introduce and popularise the concept. In the government's official programmes such as the MaalHijrah celebration, the Quran's Musabaqah, and Maulidur Rasul celebration, the tagline RahmatanlilAlamin was used. In addition, in September 2019, it was also held the week of RahmatanlilAlamin.

This shows that the Government is seriously in bringing in the approach of RahmatanlilAlaminin government administration. The government is also trying to give an understanding to the community on the idea of RahmatanlilAlamin. Among the efforts to provide greater understanding to the community according to Mujahid Yusof are through international seminars and proposed of the book RahmatanlilAlaminof Academic members in order to answer questions on the concept (BeritaHarian, 13 September 2019). On the concept of RahmatanlilAlamin, this concept has become polemic among the Muslim community in particular by the conservative group. It is described that the idea of RahmatanlilAlaminwould be a policy for the new Malaysia. It is the second time the government introduced the Islamic Administration policy in the government after Islam Hadhari. In addition, this policy is not only to safeguard the interests of Muslims only, but also include non-Muslims. The Government also plans to broaden its understanding on this concept.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it will be a great success if the policy was succesfully implemented for Malaysia's movement of Islah. This is because their struggle over the years to establish a progressive and moderate Islamic State administration can be implemented. This results in the involvement of Islamic dictatorship in the government. However, this is not happening when the change of government happens.

The influence of the activist-in-turn activists in politics brought great changes to the national policy. In fact, the efforts of the Islah movement in supporting Islamic administration in the government have begun since the 'kaummuda'nasionalismmovement according to William Roff. The study shows that the Islah movement from the early form of 'kaummuda' are developing and gain their success in post 14th general election. For further research, this study suggested future study to analyze the conflict between the Islah and the traditional ideology in Islamic authorities of Malaysia.

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