

**ISLAMIC RESURGENCE AND RELIGIOSITY AMONG  
THE MALAY MIDDLE AND LOW INCOME CLASSES  
IN SELANGOR AND KUALA LUMPUR, 1977-2014**

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**FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA  
KUALA LUMPUR**

**2016**

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**MASHITAH SULAIMAN**

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## ABSTRACT

This study analyses the phenomenon of Islamic Resurgence and its impact on the urban Malay Muslim middle and low income classes' religiosity in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, between 1977 to 2014. The period of the study began in 1977 for the reason that the initial official cooperation between the independent voluntary *da'wah* organisations, namely Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia (ABIM) and World Association of Muslim Youth (WAMY); and the government agencies specifically, Islamic Centre and Foundation of Islamic *Da'wah* Malaysia (YADIM) started during the organisation of the Asian Muslim Youth Seminar on *Da'wah* in 1977, which then contributed to the great launching of Malaysian *Da'wah* Month in 1978. The year of 2014 was selected to end this study in conjunction with the great inauguration of the National *Da'wah* Program which ended with the National *Da'wah* Award in March 2015. The Exploratory Sequential Mixed Methods Design which combined the qualitative and quantitative methods were used for this multidisciplinary historical, Islamic studies and sociological research. Archives, official documents and records were analysed through content analysis using thematic and chronological approaches. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six experts, 19 leaders of Islamic organisations and political parties, and 17 representatives of the Malay middle income and eight informants of the low income classes. 734 set of questionnaires was gathered using a combination of stratified, random and cluster samplings with the ratio of 2:4:4 respectively for the upper-middle income, the middle-middle income and the low income classes. Questionnaires were distributed randomly at Kuala Lumpur and in the nine districts of Selangor. Five clusters are government sector, Islamic NGO organisations, political party, factory and agricultural sectors and the public at large. Islamic Resurgence in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur was deeply facilitated by domestic factors and triggered by international circumstances in the Muslim world and

counterparts. The dynamics of Islam in Malaysia, especially in the urban areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur continues to be a strong element to determine the Malay Muslim identity. Pragmatic and responsive roles of the government, the opposition Islamic party, the Islamic NGOs, the printed and electronic media accelerate the widespread of Islam in the public spheres. The study showed significant differences between the Malay low income and two groups of middle income classes, namely the upper-middle and the middle-middle income in Islamic thoughts, practices and life styles. Economic status and household income are not the only indicators or determinant factors which help to increase a Muslim's level in Islamic thoughts, practices and life styles. Islamic religiosity can also be contributed by self-awareness or responsibility, belief in the Islamic perfect way of life, personal attachment with Islamic *da'wah* organisations and institutions, family background and support, supportive public spheres, the role of government agencies, NGOs and Islamic political parties and mass media. Islamic Resurgence positively impacts the Malays at individual, social and international level in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. The negative response of the Islamic Resurgence is traced through the involvement of a minority group of Malays in radical and terrorist activities.

## ABSTRAK

Kajian ini menganalisis fenomena Kebangkitan Semula Islam dan impaknya ke atas aspek keagamaan masyarakat Melayu bandar, iaitu kelas menengah dan rendah di Selangor dan Kuala Lumpur, antara 1977 hingga 2014. Tempoh kajian ini bermula pada tahun 1977 kerana pada tahun tersebut bermulanya kerjasama secara rasmi di antara organisasi *da'wah* secara sukarela iaitu, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM) dan *World Association of Muslim Youth* (WAMY) dengan agensi kerajaan khususnya, Pusat Islam dan Yayasan *Da'wah* Islamiah Malaysia (YADIM) dalam penganjuran Seminar *Da'wah* Belia Islam Asia pada tahun 1977 yang menyumbang kepada pelancaran secara besar-besaran Bulan *Da'wah* Se-Malaysia pada tahun 1978. Tahun 2014 dipilih bagi mengakhiri kajian ini adalah bersempena dengan pelancaran Program *Da'wah* Negara yang berakhir dengan penganjuran Anugerah *Da'wah* Negara pada Mac 2015. Rekabentuk Metodologi Kajian Eksploratori Bercampur Secara Berturutan yang menggabungkan kaedah kualitatif dan kuantitatif digunakan dalam penyelidikan pelbagai-disiplin ini, iaitu kombinasi antara disiplin sejarah, pengajian Islam dan sosiologi. Data primer, bahan arkib, rekod dan dokumen rasmi dianalisis melalui analisis kandungan menggunakan pendekatan tema dan kronologi sejarah. Kaedah temubual semi-struktur dijalankan bersama enam pakar, 19 pemimpin organisasi Islam dan parti politik serta 17 pemberi maklumat dari kelas Melayu berpendapatan sederhana dan lapan dari kelas Melayu berpendapatan rendah. Sebanyak 734 borang kaji selidik berjaya dikumpulkan daripada responden di sekitar Selangor dan Kuala Lumpur dengan menggunakan kombinasi kaedah persampelan secara stratifikasi, rawak dan kluster. Borang kaji selidik diedarkan secara rawak di Kuala Lumpur dan sembilan daerah di Selangor dengan ratio 2:4:4, iaitu masing-masing bagi golongan kelas menengah berpendapatan tinggi, kelas menengah berpendapatan sederhana dan rendah. Lima kluster dikenalpasti mewakili sektor kerajaan, badan-badan NGO Islam, parti politik,

kilang dan sektor pertanian dan masyarakat awam secara umum. Kebangkitan Semula Islam di Selangor dan Kuala Lumpur banyak disumbangkan oleh faktor domestik dan turut dirangsang oleh situasi antarabangsa di negara-negara jiran dan Dunia Islam. Kedinamikan Islam di Malaysia, khususnya di kawasan membangun Selangor dan Kuala Lumpur terus menjadi unsur penting dalam menentukan identiti Melayu Muslim. Peranan kerajaan, parti politik Islam pembangkang, NGO Islam, media cetak dan elektronik yang responsif dan pragmatik menjadi pemangkin kepada proses penyebaran Islam dalam lingkungan awam. Kajian mendapati terdapat perbezaan yang signifikan antara golongan Melayu berpendapatan rendah dan dua kumpulan kelas menengah Melayu, iaitu kelas menengah berpendapatan tinggi dan sederhana dalam pemikiran, amalan dan kehidupan secara Islam. Kajian mendapati bahawa pemikiran, amalan dan cara hidup Islam merupakan aspek keagamaan Islam yang saling berkait-rapat. Status ekonomi dan pendapatan isirumah bukan semata-mata petunjuk atau faktor penentu yang membantu meningkatkan tahap pemikiran, amalan dan cara hidup Islam bagi seorang Muslim. Keagamaan Islam turut disumbangkan oleh tanggungjawab dan kesedaran diri, kepercayaan terhadap cara hidup Islam yang lengkap (*syumul*), hubungan peribadi dengan institusi dan organisasi *da'wah*, sokongan dan latarbelakang keluarga, sokongan lingkungan awam, peranan agensi kerajaan, organisasi Bukan Kerajaan, parti-parti politik Islam dan media massa. Kebangkitan Semula Islam memberi kesan positif kepada orang Melayu pada peringkat individu, masyarakat dan global di Selangor dan Kuala Lumpur. Reaksi negatif Kebangkitan Semula Islam dikenalpasti melalui penglibatan sekumpulan kecil orang Melayu dalam aktiviti keganasan dan radikal.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABIM	<i>Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia</i> (Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia)
AIM	<i>Amanah Ikhtiar Malaysia</i>
BN	<i>Barisan Nasional</i> (National Front)
DDII	<i>Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia</i> (The Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council)
HAMIM	<i>Parti Hizbul Muslimin Malaysia</i>
HM	Hizb al-Muslimīn
HMI	<i>Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia</i> (Association of Indonesian Muslim University Students)
IIFSO	International Islamic Federation of Student Organisations
IM	<i>Ikhwan Muslimūn</i>
INDAH	<i>Institut Da'wah dan Latihan Islam</i> (Institute of Islamic Da'wah and Training)
IKRAM	Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia
IKIM	<i>Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia</i> (Malaysian Institute for Islamic Understanding)
IRC	Islamic Representative Council ( <i>Majlis Syura Muslimun</i> )
ITK	<i>Institut Teknologi Kebangsaan</i> (National Institute of Technology)
JAKIM	<i>Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia</i> (Malaysian Department of Islamic Development)
JAIS	<i>Jabatan Agama Islam Selangor</i> (Selangor Islamic Religious Department)
JAWI	<i>Jabatan Agama Islam Wilayah Persekutuan</i> (Federal Territory Islamic Affairs Department)
JIM	<i>Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia</i> (Association of Jamaah Islah Malaysia)

KeAdilan	<i>Parti KeAdilan Nasional</i> (People's Justice Party)
LEPAI	<i>Lembaga Penyelaras Pelajaran dan Pendidikan Agama Islam</i> (Board of Moderator in Islamic Learning and Education)
LEPIR	<i>Lembaga Pendidikan Rakyat</i> (Institute of People's Education)
LKD	<i>Latihan Kader Da'wah</i> (The Da'wah Training Cadre)
LUTH	<i>Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji</i> (Board of Hajj Management and Fund)
MATA	<i>Majlis Agama Tertinggi Malaya</i> (Malaya Supreme Islamic Council)
Muafakat	<i>Pertubuhan Muafakat Sejahtera Masyarakat Malaysia</i> (Malaysian Association of Community Peace Consensus)
MCKK	Malay College Kuala Kangsar ( <i>Maktab Melayu Kuala Kangsar</i> )
MKI	<i>Majlis Kebangsaan Islam</i> (Malaysian National Council for Islamic Affairs)
MPI	<i>Maktab Perguruan Islam</i> (Islamic Teaching College)
NEP	New Economic Policy ( <i>Dasar Ekonomi Baru</i> )
NIOC	The National Iranian Oil Company
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAN	<i>Parti Amanah Negara</i> (The National Trust Party)
PAS	<i>Parti Islam SeMalaysia</i> (Pan Islamic Party of Malaya/Malaysia)
PASTI	<i>Pusat Asuhan Tunas-Tunas Islam</i>
PBMUM	<i>Persatuan Bahasa Melayu Universiti Malaya</i> (Malay Language Association of University of Malaya)
PEPIAT	<i>Persatuan Pelajar Islam Asia Tenggara</i> (The South East Asia Muslim Students Association)

PEPERMAS	<i>Pusat Perekonomian Melayu Se-Malaya</i> (Centre of the Pan-Malaya Malay Economy)
PKMM	<i>Parti Kebangsaan Melayu Malaya</i> (The Malay Nationalist Party of Malaya)
PKPIM	<i>Persatuan Kebangsaan Pelajar Islam Malaysia</i> (The National Association of Muslim Students Malaysia)
PMIUM	<i>Persatuan Mahasiswa Islam Universiti Malaya</i> (Muslim Students Association of University of Malaya)
PMUK	<i>Persatuan Melayu United Kingdom</i> (The Malay Student Association of United Kingdom)
PR	<i>Pakatan Rakyat</i> (People Coalition)
SAR	<i>Sekolah Agama Rakyat</i> (People Religious Schools)
SAW	<i>Sallallahu A 'laihi Wa Sallam</i> (Peace Be Upon Him)
SWT	<i>Subhānahū Wa Ta 'āla</i> (May He be praised and exalted)
UKM	<i>Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia</i> (The National University of Malaysia)
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation
WAMY	World Association of Muslim Youth
WVS	The World Values Survey
YADIM	<i>Yayasan Dakwah Islamiah Malaysia</i> (Foundation of Islamic <i>Da 'wah</i> of Malaysia)
YaPEIM	<i>Yayasan Pembangunan Ekonomi Islam Malaysia</i> (Malaysia Islamic Economic Development Foundation)

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## GLOSSARY

<i>'Aurah</i>	The area of Muslims part of body which needs to cover according to al-Quran and al-Sunnah
<i>Da'wah</i>	Call and efforts to spread Islam and its teaching
<i>Fardu 'Ain</i>	Fundamental teaching in Islamic practices
<i>Madrasah</i>	Arabic or religious school
<i>Ma'had</i>	The secondary religious school
<i>Ma'thūrat</i>	The compilation of prayers of the Prophet and his companions by Imam Hassan al-Banna, the Egyptian prominent leader of <i>Ikhwān al-Muslimūn</i>
<i>Muā'malāt</i>	Social ethics, i.e., the part of the law that guides the relationship between humans
<i>Mujaddīd</i>	Persons engaged in this activity of Islamic Resurgence or renewal
<i>Nasyīd</i>	An Islamic religious song
<i>Ummah</i>	Universality of Muslim society
<i>Ulama'</i>	The Muslim scholars
<i>'Ibādah</i>	Worship in Islam or practices concerning the relations between Allah SWT and human beings, or devotional practices
<i>Imām</i>	A leader in congregational prayer
<i>Ijma'</i>	The consensus of Muslim scholars
<i>Islāh</i>	Reform
<i>Sadāqah</i>	Charity
<i>Sunnah</i>	The Prophet's Muhammad SAW's traditions
<i>Surau</i>	A small prayer house
<i>Syarī'ah</i>	The rule, laws and jurisprudence of Islam
<i>Shirk</i>	Associating or assigning partners equals to Allah SWT, and is considered to be the paramount sin in Islam
<i>Syahīd</i>	The warrior who die in the way towards Allah SWT
<i>Salafīs</i>	Group of Muslims who follows the tradition of the early generation of the prophet's life, the companions and the generations after the companions
<i>Tajdīd</i>	Renewal and purification of Islamic teaching
<i>Takfīr</i>	Accusing other Muslims of being unbelievers
<i>Dhikr</i>	Remembrance of Allah SWT



## TRANSLITERATION TABLE

Arabic Words	Pronunciation	Transliteration	Example	Transcription
ا	(alif)	a	ادب	<i>Adab</i>
ب	(ba')	b	بسملة	<i>basmalat</i>
ت	(ta')	t	تدبير	<i>tadbir</i>
ث	(tha')	th	ثابت	<i>thabit</i>
ج	(jim)	j	جميل	<i>jamil</i>
ح	(ha')	h	حميد	<i>hamid</i>
خ	(kha')	kh	خبير	<i>khabir</i>
د	(dal)	d	دين	<i>din</i>
ذ	(dhal)	dh	ذليل	<i>dhabil</i>
ر	(ra')	r	رحيم	<i>rahim</i>
ز	(zay)	z	زجاج	<i>zujaj</i>
س	(sin)	s	سامر	<i>samr</i>
ش	(syin)	sy	شيخ	<i>syaykh</i>
ص	(sad)	s	صلة	<i>silah</i>
ض	(dad)	d	ضحى	<i>duha</i>
ط	(ta')	t	طالب	<i>talib</i>
ظ	(za)	z	ظهور	<i>zuhur</i>
ع	('ayn)	'	عادل	<i>'adil</i>
غ	(ghayn)	gh	غفار	<i>ghaffar</i>
ف	(fa')	f	الح	<i>falah</i>
ق	(qaf)	q	قتل	<i>qatil</i>
ك	(kaf)	k	كنية	<i>kinayat</i>
ل	(lam)	l	لمعة	<i>lam'at</i>
م	(mim)	m	مسير	<i>masir</i>
ن	(nun)	n	نسيم	<i>nasim</i>
و	(waw)	w	وسيم	<i>wasim</i>
هـ	(ha')	h	هاتف	<i>hatif</i>
ء	(hamzah)	,	أسفل / رأس	<i>asfal / ra's</i>
ي	(ya')	y	يوم	<i>yawm</i>
ة	(ta' marbutat)	ṭ	مسيوقة	<i>masbuqat</i>

Long Vowel			
Arabic Word	Roman	Example	Transcription
ء	ā	قضى	qadā
ي	ī	كريم	karīm
و	ū	حروف	hurūf

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Research Background

Islam and the Malays in Malaysia has become a unique entity which bound this ethnic group with their faith and in constructing the formation of their identity. The Malays represented 63.1 per cent out of 28.3 million of Malaysian population in 2010.<sup>1</sup> Islam is a dominant progressive religion in the country and almost 100 per cent of Malays are Muslims. As a multiracial society, other religions can also be practised in the country and this consists of 19.8 per cent Buddhist, 9.2 per cent Christian, 6.3 per cent Hindus and other religion 3.4 per cent.<sup>2</sup> Since the independence of Malaya in 1957, then later the formation of Malaysia in 1963, Islam has been adopted as an official religion. This recognition has allowed any efforts and meanings to upgrade its function as the main belief which suit its status according to the Malaysian Constitution. This privilege status in the constitution has permitted the expansion of Islam and revitalisation of its function in the society which encourages the emergence of religious consciousness in the early 1970s.

The reawakening of Islamic consciousness in the life of the Malaysian Malays in 1970s showed that Islam has remained a major factor that leads to the social transformation of the Malays. In the early formative years of Islamic Resurgence, it showed the participation of local university students to embark on Islamic consciousness and *da'wah* among campus residents. Consequently, Islamic activities and other matters relating to Islam which were considered as substance of the ruling party, UMNO were taken into practice in the form of official programmes for ceremonial purposes in the government agencies. Many Islamic organisations were established, for instance the National Council for Islamic Affairs (MKI) was formed

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<sup>1</sup> *Population, Household & Living Quarters*, Putrajaya: Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2010, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Report on Population Distribution and Basic Characteristics of Demography 2010, Putrajaya: Department of Statistics, Malaysia, June 2010, n.p.; Mohd Shah Che Ahmad, 'Cabaran Mualaf Sebagai Pendakwah', *Utusan Malaysia*, 11 November 2011.

with the establishment of Islamic Research Centre in 1971, Institute of *Da'wah* and Islamic Training (INDAH) was established in 1974 under the purview of Islamic Centre. Foundation of Islamic *Da'wah* of Malaysia (YADIM) was founded in 1974 followed by the establishment of Board of Moderator in Islamic Learning and Education (LEPAI) in 1983.<sup>3</sup> Since 1980s, the government enthusiastically consolidate Islam in the form of establishing institutions and systems.<sup>4</sup>

Between 1970s and 2014, Malaysia demonstrated a progressive development of Islam through a responsive initiative by many Islamic organisations: non-governmental organisation (NGO) such as, al-Rahmaniah, Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia (ABIM), Islamic Representative Council (later known as Jamaah Islah Malaysia and *Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia-IKRAM*); the government nationalist political party, United Malays National Organisation (UMNO); Pan Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS); and other *da'wah* movements, such as, Tabligh and Al-Arqam. Their participation in reflowering Malaysian Islamic development landscape could definitely impact the public particularly, the Malay middle and low-income classes.

A quest for Islamic struggle in the society, the role of political Islam in modern democracy and its compatibility for the purpose of nation building became a crucial debate in 1970s and the late 1980s. In this context, the rising tide of Islam in the early 1970s was a remark of efforts for reviving the Malays' religiosity in particular about their obligation in performing duties as a Muslim. The historical facts and background of the current Islamic Resurgence must be proven of the role of Islam as a core factor in the formation of the Malay society as well as in the configuration of their ethnic

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<sup>3</sup> *JAKIM 35 Tahun: Sambutan 35 Tahun (1968-2003) JAKIM*, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia, 2003, pp. 23-24; Azizi Umar & Supyan Hussin, 'Status Sekolah Agama Rakyat (SAR) Dalam Sistem Pendidikan Kebangsaan: Satu Cadangan Model Penyelesaian', *Prosiding Seminar Kebangsaan Pendidikan Negara Kali ke-4*, organized by Fakulti Pendidikan, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi :ESSET, 3-4 August 2010, p. 3, pp. 1-17.

<sup>4</sup> The Islamisation in the context of modern society started to be enforced in Mahathir's era with the implementation of Nurturing of Islamic Values Policy, the establishment of International Islamic University, Islamic banking, Malaysian Institute for Islamic Understanding (IKIM) and Malaysian Department of Islamic Development (JAKIM). See, Greg Fealy, Virginia Hooker (editors), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006, pp. xxiv-xxix.

identity. This religious resurgence is expected to give an impact on the religiosity of the two social classes of the Malays which consist of the middle and the low-income.

## **1.2 Research Questions**

This study will be guided by the following research questions:

1. What facilitated the process of Malaysian Islamic Resurgence in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, 1977-2014?
2. What are the efforts of the Malaysian Government through the ruling party, UMNO; endeavours of the Malay Islamic-based political party, PAS and of Islamic NGOs, ABIM and IKRAM towards reflowering Islamic Resurgence in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur?
3. Is there any significant relationship between efforts of Islamic organisations in the Islamic Resurgence and the development of the Malay middle and low-income classes' Islamic thoughts?
4. Is there any significant difference between the Malay middle and the low-income classes in the practice of Islam?
5. Is there any significant difference between the Malay middle and the low-income classes' Islamic lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism?

## **1.3 Research Objectives**

The objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To study the historical background of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia, and the development of Islamic religiosity among the Malays, particularly in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, and the contributing factors to this phenomenon.
2. To identify the efforts of the ruling party, UMNO, and endeavours of the Malay Islamic-based political party, PAS and Islamic NGOs, such as ABIM and IKRAM

towards the blossoming of Islamic Resurgence and its relation to the Malays' religiosity in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

3. To analyse the differences between the Malay middle and low-income classes in their Islamic thoughts, practices, Islamic lifestyles and physical appearances.
4. To analyse relationship between the Malay middle and low-income classes' religiosity and their household's income through the efforts of the Islamic organisations.

#### 1.4 Scope of the Research

This study focuses on the impact of Islamic Resurgence on the religiosity of the Malays in three main areas. First, the study explores historical background of the Islamic Resurgence 1977-2014 and factors which contribute to the phenomenon of Islamic consciousness in the context of Malaysia, specifically in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. As a historical research, this study discloses the origins and nature of the growth of Islamic Resurgence in the period of 1977 to 2014 by referring to and analysing premier sources of information such as, government and institutions' official records, annual reports, official speeches, bulletins and newspapers.

The period of the study began in 1977 for the reason that the initial official cooperation between the independent voluntary *da'wah* organisations, namely Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia (ABIM) and World Association of Muslim Youth (WAMY); and the government agencies specifically, Islamic Centre and YADIM was made in organizing Asian Muslim Youth Seminar on *Da'wah* in 1977, which then contributed to the great launching of Malaysian *Da'wah* Month in 1978.<sup>5</sup> Second, the extensive call for *da'wah* has also emerged since the 1970s through the youth organisation activities initiated by ABIM, which has started before, by the leadership of

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<sup>5</sup> Safina Ramli, 'Program *Dakwah* Negara', *Utusan Malaysia*, 30 March 2014. See also, Anwar Ibrahim's speech as ABIM Presiden and WAMY Representative for Asia Pacific in the launching ceremony of Seminar *Da'wah* Belia Islam on 24 February 1977 or 6<sup>th</sup> Rabiulawal 1397H. The seminar was official launched by the Prime Minister Tun Hussein Onn.

the National Association of Muslim Students Malaysia (*Persatuan Kebangsaan Pelajar-Pelajar Islam Malaysia - PKPIM*). *Da'wah* was launched in campus of University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur through the struggle made by the University Malaya Malay Language Association (PBMUM) and Muslim Students Association of University of Malaya (PMIUM). Islamic *Da'wah* then began to seek greater position in the government in 1980s with the introduction to Islamic values (policy) in the government agencies as national values, upgrading status of Islamic laws and expresses the holistic idea of Islamic ideal which comes to a practical implementation in social, economic, and spiritual development.<sup>6</sup>

The landmark of the resurgence in 1970s is that the concept of *da'wah* and the worldview of Islam as the comprehensive way of life which is unknown before has been pervasively used and acknowledged since 1970s. Third, most of the scholars and researchers who studied Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia agreed that the beginning of this religious movement was in the 1970s. The phenomenon contributed by internal and external factors. In order to review its causes and processes, it is important to study the phenomenon from its roots. Therefore, this study precedes its exploratory approach from early 1970, besides discovers the nature and background of Islam before 1970s.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, the resurgence is an ongoing process and has continued to the present day of the study. This study compares the past efforts to revitalise Islam in the Malay society and analyses the current impact of the resurgence on the religiosity of the two classes of Malays. Therefore, it is not complete to weigh the current development of the Malay religiosity without tracing back the development of Islamic Resurgence, its stages and efforts of the contributors of the resurgence. In order to evaluate its impact, it is important to start the period of the study from 1977 to 2014, until the study ended up.

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<sup>6</sup> '*Dakwah* (Malaysia)', In John L. Esposito (editor), *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, January 14, 2013. <<http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e480>>.

<sup>7</sup> See for example, Judith Nagata, 'Religious Ideology and Social Change: The Islamic Revival in Malaysia', *Pacific Affairs* Vol. 53, No. 3, Autumn, 1980, pp. 405-439; Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia: Dakwah among the Students*, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1987; Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti, 1987; Hussin Mutalib, *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics*, Singapore: Oxford University, Press Pte. Ltd, 1990; Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, Kuala Lumpur: JIMedia, 2009.

The study ends in 2014 due to a great launching event of the National *Da'wah* Programme which was closed with the National *Da'wah* Award in March 2015 by the government through its agency, YADIM.<sup>8</sup> Thus, this research is a historical and contemporary social-religious study in nature. In order to evaluate religiosity of the Malays, the impact study of Islamic Resurgence would be undertaken until 2014.<sup>9</sup> The historical development of the Islamic Resurgence analyses three main periods of Malaysian Prime Ministers specifically Tun Mahathir, Tun Abdullah until the second phase of Datuk Seri Najib's rule up to 1 June 2014 in line with the end of the launching day for the National *Da'wah* Programme.

This research also analyses the role of the Islamic Resurgence contributors that encompass the efforts of government through its support to the Islamic policies, management of Islamic affairs by the ruling party, UMNO; and the participation of non-governmental organisations (NGO), in particular ABIM and IKRAM, and endeavours of PAS as the opposition in the formation of Islamic values and consciousness in the Malay society. Explicitly, three main groups were selected which involved in *da'wah* activities and Islamisation process. They are UMNO represented the government or ruling party, ABIM and IKRAM act for the Islamic non-governmental organisations (NGOs); and PAS as the only opposition which stands as the Malay-based Islamic party.<sup>10</sup>

Generally, there were many organisations that contribute to the resurgence in the period of 1977 to 2014, for instance students' organisations,<sup>11</sup> NGOs,<sup>12</sup> government institutions,<sup>13</sup> the opposition Islamic political party such as PAS and other Islamic

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<sup>8</sup> The National *Da'wah* Program was officially launched on May 28, 2014 at The National University of Malaysia, (UKM), Bangi, Selangor. See, Safarina Ramli, 'Program *Dakwah* Negara', *Utusan Malaysia*, 30 March 2014; 'YADIM perkenalkan Anugerah *Dakwah* Negara', *Sinar Harian*, 29 January 2015; Mohd Hafiz Ismail, '*Dakwah* perlu diterus Walaupun Sukar', *Sinar Harian*, 8 March 2015.

<sup>9</sup> In addition, the evaluation and assessment on the impact of the Islamic Resurgence in the development of the Malays' religiosity is made until half quarter of the year.

<sup>10</sup> Shahrudin Badaruddin, 'Demokrasi dan Perubahan Aksi Politik di Malaysia: Kajian Terhadap Pendekatan Perjuangan Pertubuhan Berlandaskan Islam, 1981-2008', Ph.D Thesis, University of Malaya, 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Such as PKPIM, KARISMA, PEMBINA, GAMIS.

<sup>12</sup> For example ABIM, IRC-JIM-IKRAM, ISMA and others.

<sup>13</sup> Such as JAKIM, IKIM, YADIM.



*da'wah* movements.<sup>14</sup> Out of these organisations, this study only focuses on the efforts done by the ruling party, two NGOs and the opposition (Islamic Malay-based political party) which meet all these criteria: First, the organisation which has started the foundation of *da'wah* activities since 1970s and continues to 2014 in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. In relation to this criterion, a few organisations had fulfilled the first requirement. The United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) was formed in 1946; conversely the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS), was launched in 1951. Yet, PAS and UMNO are the only Malay Islamic-based political parties that are still in operation. Meanwhile, ABIM was formed in 1971; and IKRAM was originated from IRC that was formed in 1974, which later was reorganised in different name as Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM) in 1991.

The second criterion is that the organisation must be a prominent organisation in the group, for instance, UMNO represents the government or the Malay-Islamic based ruling party; ABIM and IKRAM<sup>15</sup> respectively represent the NGOs; and PAS represents the only opposition to the Malay-Islamic based political party. Third, this organisation needs to remark Islam in its objective and mission in its entirety.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, the organisations which are listed in the study are UMNO,<sup>17</sup> PAS,<sup>18</sup> ABIM<sup>19</sup> and IKRAM.<sup>20</sup> The efforts of all these organisations are expected to influence the Malays middle and low-income classes' religiosity.

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<sup>14</sup> Such as Al-Arqam, Jamaat Tabligh, Sufism and Tarekat groups.

<sup>15</sup> IKRAM emerged and formed one to another in different names before as IRC and JIM.

<sup>16</sup> The organisation must covers politics, economic, social and educational aspects.

<sup>17</sup> UMNO has mentioned "Islam" in the basic and objective of its foundation stated in Article 3, "as a political party which strives for the goal of Malay nationalism towards strengthening Malays' dignity and respect, religion and the country". In addition, it aims "at upholding, preserving and spreading Islam, the official religion of the country and respects the national principle of religion". Perlembagaan UMNO, United Malays National Organization, Register No. 676/88 (Wilayah Persekutuan), 1988, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> In comparison, PAS from its early formation has clearly stated that its principle is Islam and its objectives twofold, striving for the existence of a society and rule, which implements the Islamic values of life and legislations in line with Allah's will; and preserving the Islamic purification and independence and the dignity of the state. Refer to Perlembagaan Parti Islam SeMalaysia, (Amendment 2001), Batu Caves: PAS's Headquarter, Center of Educational Training (Markaz Tarbiyah PAS Pusat), Selangor, 2002, p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> ABIM was formed with the aims of upholding, spreading and struggling for Islamic ambitious which in tandem with fundamental teaching of Quran and the traditions (*Sunnah*) of the Prophet SAW. Refer to Perlembagaan ABIM, Registration No. 1161 (Selangor), Kuala Lumpur: Kampung Baru, 1981, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> IKRAM is a comprehensive Islamic organisation which works to uphold and advocate Islam in Malaysia. See, Undang-Undang Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM), Seri Kembangan: IKRAM, Selangor Darul Ehsan, 20 January 2012, p. 1.

Third, this study analyses the relationship between the efforts of Islamic organisations in the Islamic Resurgence 1977-2014 and the contemporary Malay middle and lower income classes' religiosity in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. The religiosity of the Malay Muslim middle and low-income classes is determined by looking at the three main dimensions of Islamic religiosity: Islamic thoughts, practices and lifestyles. The results of the Malay Muslims middle and low-income classes' religiosity are correlated to the efforts of Islamic Resurgence in order to view a significant correlation between these two independent variables quantitatively and in the qualitative description.

Two classes of the Malays are chosen as target groups in this study based on their role and position in the society. Even though the Malay middle and low-income classes may differ according to monthly income, accessibility to the mainstream education and occupation, the two groups are urban residents. They share similar identity as the Malay Muslims (similar ethnic group and religion) and have equal chance to access free educational system provided by the government.<sup>21</sup> These attributes may come with some differences and similarities can also influence their level of understanding in religion and their commitment towards religious teaching and practices.

Second, since the indicator used to measure the religiosity of the Malays is based on Islam, the concept of social status in Islam must be applied to the study. Islam does not discriminate its adherent by race, colour, gender, property ownership or other such criteria by human being or modern practice in measuring social class. Islam advocates equality and universal brotherhood among its devotees. Islam extremely condemns the concept of social stratification practised in the modern society.<sup>22</sup> Islam encourages its

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<sup>21</sup> Malaysian government has taken the responsibility of providing free pre-tertiary education to its citizens. By offering free education, more people are given access to education which in the long term had increased the quality of workers. See, R. Ramesh Rao and Rohana Jani, 'Spurring economic growth through education: The Malaysian Approach', *Educational Research and Review*, Vol. 4 No. 4, April 2009, pp. 135-140; Malaysian government also has made major investments in education and this could allow the growth of literacy rate among youth (age 15–24 years old) to 98 per cent. Adult literacy rates are influenced by youth literacy which rise up to 92 per cent. Government also provided in functional literacy programs and income generation programs such as skill classes for those have not complete secondary education. Between 130,000 and 150,000 individuals participated in these programs from 2000 to 2005. See, for example, *Malaysian Education for All: Mid-Decade Assessment Report 2000-2007*, Putra Jaya: Ministry of Education, 2008.

<sup>22</sup> Md. Intekhab Hossain, 'Social Stratification and Muslim Society: Some Empirical Observations on West Bengal', *Islam and Muslim Societies: A Social Science Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2013, pp. 96, 85-99.

believer to acquire knowledge<sup>23</sup> and possess the highest level of *taqwa* (piety or fear and obey Allah SWT).<sup>24</sup>

Standing for the basis that the Malay Muslims in Malaysia are all equal in the viewpoint and perspective of Islam (except the disparity in terms of household income), the difference level of income class which is applied in the modern measurement of social class in Malaysia is primarily used in the study in order to compare and discover does the difference in economic status or the social income class contribute to the level of Islamic thoughts, practices and lifestyles.<sup>25</sup>

The Malay middle class was chosen because they are an affluent class, reflected in particular by their income levels, well-educated and agents of social change who introduced reformations and become a “pressure group” in struggling to the issues pertaining social change, socio-economic development and Islamic values. Moreover, activists of the Islamic movements who revitalised Islamic Resurgence in the late 1960s and early 1970s had involved the Malays middle class particularly those of university students in the urban area and then later extended to graduates of higher institutions from local universities and abroad. They are well educated, motivated individuals, young professionals in science and technology, and Islamic studies either from Western, Middle East or local universities.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> The important of knowledge in Islam is manifested in the first Quranic verses revealed to the prophet of Muhammad. Allah says: “Proclaim! (or read). In the name of thy Lord and Cherisher who created man out of a (mere) clot of congealed blood. Proclaim! And thy Lord is most bountiful. He who taught (the use of) the pen, taught man that which he knew not.” (Surah Al ‘Alaq, 96: 1-5). Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Meaning of The Holy Qur’an*, Maryland USA: Amana Corporation, 1992, pp. 1672-1673.

<sup>24</sup> Naail Mohammed Kamil and his colleagues cited Ibn Kathir’s work, that Ali Ibn Abi Ṭalib RA described a brief meaning on the characteristics of the believers who possess *Taqwa*. The Muttaqeen (the believer who possess the characteristic of *Taqwa*) is “those who possess *Taqwa* are the people with inherent good manners, they tell the truth, they dress decently, and they walk with humility, they forbid to glance at whatever Allah has made forbidden to them, they concentrate their ears on beneficial knowledge. Their souls have been patient with every trial just as it is contempt with every goodness, and if not for the decree Allah has willed for them in their lives, their souls will never be destabilized in their bodies, from yearning to gain more rewards by enjoining more good deeds and the fear of punishment (of Allah)”. Naail Mohammed Kamil, Mohamed Sulaiman, A Ahad M. Osman-Gani, Khaliq Ahmad, ‘The Measurement Model of Social Responsibility Construct From An Islamic Perspective: Empirical Analysis of Malaysian Business Organizations’, *Bilgi Ekonomisi ve Yönetimi Dergisi*, Cilt: VII Sayı: II, 2012, 86, 81-91; Ibn Kathir Al-Qurashi Al-Damashqi, A. I., *Tafsir Al-Qur’an Al-Kareem*, Darul Taibati Printing Press: Madina, 1999.

<sup>25</sup> The use the *taqwa* concept as main indicator to place Muslim’s status in Islam does not mean that economic factor is not important in Islam. Hence, economic aspect is not a prerequisite for the validity of a marriage but *mahar* is encouraged and need to give to the wife as a symbol of respect and love of husband to his wife. Islam also makes a compulsory to every Muslim to pay zakat which can help to strengthen the *Ummah* economic position. Islam also encourages the rich people to help the needy and the poor. However, the economic ownership is not the prior mean to place Muslim in his beliefs.

<sup>26</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia: Dakwah among the Students*, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1987.

The political and economic forces in Malaysia have shaped a pragmatic political culture among the rising middle class. The role of middle class is not only as political or social actors, but also as agent of political change within the Malaysian context and also for the region as a whole.<sup>27</sup> As a social agent and pressure group who leads for social change this group may receive the impact of religious revival which later grows support to such religious elements to other people within the middle class community as well as influence others in the Malay society. This group is also expected to give significant impact to the public which includes the low-income class.

Reasons for choosing the low-income class are due to their social status which ranks in the lowest position than the other two classes; they are the high and the middle incomes. Any other reformation and social revival introduced in the society, the low-income class are parts of public and social development concerns. For example, elevating the livelihoods of the bottom 40 per cent has become the main focus of the Malaysian government, where raising the living standards of low-income households is one of six the National Key Result Areas (NKRA). The programmes do include increasing their incomes, providing more equitable access to education and upgrading social welfare and services.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, by focusing on the study of religious development in the low-income class may reflect the social reality that mirrors a real situation of this social class, in terms of their acceptance towards the efforts of Islamic Resurgence, its impact and changes on this class.

The Malays have also become the main focus group of the study based on three reasons. First, because they are dominant community of Muslims in Malaysia particularly in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, Islamic Resurgence has significantly related to the development of the Malays ethnic group, while Islam is also a religion of the

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<sup>27</sup> See analysis on the role and characteristic of the Asian middle classes in particular, Malaysia in Tamio Hattori, Tsuruyo Funatsu, and Takashi Torii, 'Introduction: The Emergence of The Asian Middle Classes and Their Characteristics', *The Developing Economies*, XLI, No. 2, June 2003, pp. 129-139; T. Victor King, "The Middle Class in Southeast Asia: Diversities, Identities, Comparisons And The Vietnamese Case", *IJAPS*, Vol. 4, No. 2, November 2008, pp. 73-109; Abdul Rahman Embong, *State-led Modernization and the New Middle Class in Malaysia*, p. 1-3.

<sup>28</sup> *Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015*, Putrajaya: The Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, 2010, pp. 149-164.

others, such as Indian and Chinese. Department of Statistics Malaysia reported that by 2010, the Malay Muslims represent 90 per cent or 2,814,597 out of 3,161,994 of Muslim populations in Selangor and 679,236 of 776,958 in Kuala Lumpur.<sup>29</sup> Second, Islamic development in Malaysia is always referred to the growth of the Malay Muslims as a respond to socioeconomic status and it is used as a mechanism to solve the Malays' problems in education, economic, politic and social aspects.<sup>30</sup> Third, the Malays have a dominant political position in the country. With their political power in hand, the development of the country is re-engineered an Islamic approach parallel to religious status of Islam in the Constitution. Struggle to political Islam in Malaysia is also associated to dominant power of the Malay Muslims leadership.<sup>31</sup>

Field work study is conducted in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, the most advanced states with a high level of urbanization.<sup>32</sup> Selangor and Kuala Lumpur are also the most densely populated states. Selangor is being the most populous state and only ranked fifth in terms of population density with 674 persons per square kilometre, while W.P Kuala Lumpur is the most densely populated state with 6,891 persons per square kilometre.<sup>33</sup> In line with its rapid development, both states are centres of administration, occupation and business activities, industrialisation and settlement of the Malays middle and low-income classes.

Because of its strategic locations, most of the Islamic Resurgence actors namely, government and Islamic movements or Islamic NGOs organisations operated their activities in the heart of city, which centralised in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor.<sup>34</sup> In the early formative years of the Islamic Resurgence and years after, Selangor and Klang Valleys have been chosen as centres and locations for starting *da'wah* activities by the

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<sup>29</sup> Report on Population Distribution and Basic Characteristics of Demography 2010, pp. 94-96.

<sup>30</sup> See Hussin Mutalib, *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1990.

<sup>31</sup> Edmund Terence Gomez and Surinder Kaur, 'Struggling for Power: Policies, Coalition Politics and Elections in Malaysia', Paper presented at the conference on "Dominant Party Systems", University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, May 9-10, 2014, pp. 1-17.

<sup>32</sup> Kuala Lumpur has achieved 100 per cent level in urbanisation and Selangor has reached to 91.4 per cent level of urbanisation. Population Distribution and Basic Characteristics of Demography 2010, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> See, Population Distribution by Local Authority Areas and Mukims 2010, Putrajaya: Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2011, pp. 181-201, 213-217.

Islamist groups.<sup>35</sup> For this reason, this study aims to explore Islamic Resurgence and its impact on the Malays middle and low-income classes' religiosity in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

Al-Arqam is excluded in the study because it was banned by the Malaysian Government in 1994, despite the fact that this group has played considerable role in designing their Islamic identity and introducing the concept of "Islamic Village". Jamaat Tabligh on the other hand, predominantly gives emphasis on personal spiritual development of the Muslim and discards discussing Islamic politics. Moreover, Malaysian Muslim Welfare Organisation (*Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia - PERKIM*) that was established in 1964 and YADIM as a *da'wah* organisation financially supported by the government, underlines its main activities in the field of preaching Islam respectively to new reverts and coordinating the NGOs. Both PERKIM and YADIM do not mean to establish as *da'wah* organisation which covers all aspects of Muslim life in economic, education, welfare, social and political entity.<sup>36</sup> In addition, according to Mohamad Abu Bakar, the foundation of PERKIM was never associated with the religious resurgence in the country.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> For example, Jamaah Tabligh started the foundation of *da'wah* activity in the late 1968 at Masjid India, Kuala Lumpur. Even though, at the beginning its *da'wah* activity circulated among the India-Muslim only, but later starting from 30 Jun 1972, *Ijtima'* Tabligh in Kuala Lumpur decided to activate and spur its program among the Malays. Since 1993, center for Jamaat Tabligh shifted to the new '*markaz*' or headquarter at Masjid Seri Petaling, Kuala Lumpur. It is also the same with ABIM, as an outstanding early Islamic *da'wah* voluntary organisation which was founded in 6 August 1971 and centralized its activities at Kampung Baru, Kuala Lumpur and later moves its headquarters at many places such as, Bangunan UDA, Jalan Pantai Baru, Kuala Lumpur which later shifted to Anjung Rahmat Complex, Gombak, Kuala Lumpur and the latest at Taman Cemerlang, Kuala Lumpur. It is also the same with ABIM, as an outstanding early Islamic *da'wah* voluntary organization which was founded in 6 August 1971 and centralized its activities at Kampung Baru, Kuala Lumpur and later moves its headquarters at many places such as, Bangunan UDA, Jalan Pantai Baru, Kuala Lumpur which later shifted to Anjung Rahmat Complex, Gombak, Kuala Lumpur and the latest at Taman Cemerlang, Kuala Lumpur. Darul Arqam, a grassroots Malaysian Islamic *da'wah* movement founded in 1968 by Ashari Muhammad, started its early operation at Kampung Keramat, Setapak, Kuala Lumpur, and then continued build up the Islamic Village at Sungai Pencala, Selangor. See, Abdul Rahman Abdullah, *Gerakan Islam Tradisional di Malaysia: Sejarah Pemikiran Jama'at Tabligh dan Darul Arqam*, Shah Alam: Karisma Publications Sdn Bhd, 2007, pp. 4- 9, 43 – 55; Refer to Perlembagaan Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM), Registration No. 1161 (Selangor), Kuala Lumpur: Pejabat ABIM Kampung Baru, 1981; Perlembagaan Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM), Registration No. 1161 (Selangor), Kuala Lumpur: Pejabat ABIM Jalan Pantai Baru, 1985 with amendments 14 August 1985, Perlembagaan ABIM (*The Constitution of Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia*), Kuala Lumpur: Pejabat ABIM Anjung Rahmat, Jalan Gombak, 2000.

<sup>36</sup> YADIM aims at coordinating activities by *da'wah* organizations, especially the NGOs as they should in line with national policy, and synergizes efforts in spreading Islamic *da'wah* in Malaysia. PERKIM in contrast, was not including in the sample population due to its operational activities mostly concern on the welfare of the new converters especially among the non-Malays, even though this organization stated its omnipresent Islamic preaching to Muslims and non-Muslims. See, 'Penubuhan', YADIM'S Official Website, 16 January 2013, [http://www.yadim.com.my/kenali\\_kami/penubuhan.asp](http://www.yadim.com.my/kenali_kami/penubuhan.asp). See the objectives of the establishment of PERKIM in its official website at Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia (PERKIM) - Muslim Welfare Organization Malaysia, Retrieved on 11 April, 2012, <http://www.perkim.net.my/content.cfm?ID=CCE1CFD6-D674-FDA4-6F9E6E063215970E>.

<sup>37</sup> See, Mohamad Abu Bakar, 'Islamic Revivalism and the Political Process in Malaysia', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 21, No. 10, 1981, pp. 1045, 1040-1059.

The study has also excluded Malaysia Islamic Economic Development Foundation (YaPEIM) and Malaysian Microfinance Institution (AIM) as both have been established by federal government as foundations assisted in generating and supporting Muslims' socio-economic development collectively.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, all these organisations have been mentioned in the study, although with less significance in the resurgence.

For this reason, the focus of this research is to study the impact of Islamic Resurgence on religiosity of the Malays middle and low-income classes in the urban areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.<sup>39</sup>

## 1.5 Definition of Terms

A few terms have been used in this study to depict the Islamic Resurgence phenomenon in Malaysia.

### 1.5.1 Islamic Resurgence or Revival

Islamic Resurgence can be defined as a description of efforts and attempts to regenerate Islamic way of life guided by the Divine source of the Quran and Sunnah through creating the awareness of Islamic practices, Islamic values, and Islamic social order in the daily lives of Muslims. As an effort towards the establishment of an Islamic society, this religious movement has tried to re-establish Islamic laws, Islamic institutions and have included Islam in social, economic and political entities as a reflection to its complete system of life (*Nizam al-Hayah*). It is the endeavour to revitalise the truth in

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<sup>38</sup> Siti Suriani Othman, 'Amal jariah dan menyebarkan peranan YaPEIM', *Utusan Malaysia*, 20 November 2011; 'YaPEIM tambah perkhidmatan baru', *Berita Harian*, 7 January, 2013; Amanah Ikhtiar Malaysia, 'The Role of Microfinance in Poverty Alleviation: AIM's Experience', AIM's Corporate Power Point Slide, 2012. <http://wief.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Datuk-Hajah-Zabidah-Ismail.pdf>.

<sup>39</sup> Location of the study is divided into urban and suburban (rural) areas of Selangor. The areas based on municipality include Gombak, Klang, Kuala Langat, Kuala Selangor, Petaling, Sabak Bernam, Sepang, Ulu Langat, Ulu Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

the teaching of Islam sent by the Prophet Muhammad SAW and to remind Muslims to perform their obligation to serve God and govern the Earth as His vicegerent.<sup>40</sup>

Islamic Resurgence can also be described as a phenomenon where there are increasing responses on the religious physical ritual observations such as, mosque attendance, prayer and fasting, production of religious activities, programmes and publications. However, more emphasis is given on Islamic dress and values, and the renaissance of *Sufism* (mysticism). This broader-based revival has also been complemented by Islam's reaffirmation in public life: like an increasing effort in Islamically oriented governments, organisations, laws, banks, social welfare services and educational institutions. Based on the features of Islamic Resurgence elaborated by Esposito, this study includes the religiosity of the Malay middle and low-income earners as a reflection of Islamic religious phenomenon characteristics in the urban settings.<sup>41</sup>

It is important to point out reasons for using the term 'resurgence' instead of others.<sup>42</sup> According to Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, it defines resurgence as a new increase of activity or interest in a particular subject or idea which had been forgotten for some time. In other words, it is a description of a certain activity which becomes increasing again, or becoming popular again.<sup>43</sup> Based on this definition, there are a few ideas to support the argument. First, 'increasing again, or becoming popular again' proposes that phenomenon has occurred before. It is a clue that there are

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<sup>40</sup> See for example, Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, *Islamic Resurgence in the Arab World*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982; Ahmad, Khurshid, 'The Nature of Islamic Resurgence', In John L. Esposito (editor), *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983; Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti, 1987; Jomo Kwame Sundaram and Ahmed Shabery Cheek, 'The Politics of Malaysia's Islamic Resurgence', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Issue: Islam & Politics, April 1988, pp. 843-868; John L. Esposito, *The Straight Path*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 163; Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996, p. 109; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'New Trends of Islamic Resurgence in Contemporary Malaysia: Sufi-Revivalism, Messianism and Economic Activism', *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1999, pp. 1-74.

<sup>41</sup> John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*, 2nd ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 10.

<sup>42</sup> The term the 'Islamic resurgence' has been used by many scholars, refer to Hillal Dessouki (1982), Khurshid Ahmad (1983), Chandra Muzaffar (1987), Sundaram, Jomo Kwame and Ahmed Shabery Cheek (1988), Esposito, John L. (1991), Huntington (1996) and Ahmad Fauzi (1999). Refer to Ali E. Hillal Dessouki, *Islamic Resurgence in the Arab World*, Khurshid Ahmad, 'The Nature of Islamic Resurgence', Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, Sundaram, Jomo Kwame and Ahmed Shabery Cheek, 'The Politics of Malaysia's Islamic Resurgence', pp. 843-868, John L. Esposito, *The Straight Path*, p. 163; Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, p. 109, Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'New Trends of Islamic Resurgence' pp. 1-74.

<sup>43</sup> Kate Woodford, and Guy Jackson (editors), *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Electronic Edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.



characteristics in the present consciousness of Islam which has been related to the past glory of Islam by Prophet Muhammad SAW and his companions.

Second, the thinking of 'Islam is the way of life' in a way that many Muslims view the growing impact of Islam on themselves, expresses the mark that Islam influences its adherents' beliefs and thoughts, practices and the way they see their daily life (worldview). With that respect and prestige, Islam is becoming popular and important again. Third, resurgence is a term that symbolizes a belief that there is a challenge to dominant social system for those who believe that Islam is an alternative of a current worldview. On the other hand, people outside the groups of Islamist, also find that the rise of Islamic appeal as a threat to them. As mentioned by Chandra, resurgence indicates the reality of views from both sides.<sup>44</sup>

### **1.5.2 The Malays**

The word "Malay" used in this study refers to the definition of Malay as stated in Article 160 (2) of the Malaysian Constitutional as "who professes the religion of Islam, habitually speak the Malay language, [and] conforms to Malay custom".<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to note that the above definition of Malay, no reference whatsoever is made to the ethnic and racial elements of Malay. Thus, it implies to the fact that Malay is cultural entity not ethnic neither racial.<sup>46</sup> The term Malay is referred to only the Malaysian Malays and not the Malays in other places like in Indonesia, Brunei, South Thailand, Africa and the Malay Archipelago.

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<sup>44</sup> See also, Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>45</sup> See *Laws of Malaysia, Federal Constitution*, Kuala Lumpur: The Commissioner of Law Revision Malaysia Under The Authority of The Revision of Laws Act 1968 In Collaboration With Percetakan Nasional Malaysia Bhd., 2006, p. 149. Refer also to C.J. Wang-Ling Wee, *Local Cultures and the "New Asia": The State, Culture and Capitalism in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 2002, p. 187.

<sup>46</sup> Refer to the definition of Malay by Hashim Musa, 'The Evolution of Islamic-Cultural Fusion, Identity, Islamic Resurgence and Current Challenges in the Malay Life', *Jurnal Pengajian Melayu*, Vol. 20, No. 20, 2010, p. 4.

### 1.5.3 The Concept of the Middle Class

The concept of class is closely related with Marxist and Weberian traditions. A central discussion of the social class always focuses on the exploitation, class conflict and equality, but the researcher does not focus on sociological debate in social class and status as analysed by Marxist and Weber.<sup>47</sup> This study however, considers certain concepts used by Weber who describes social class as associated by privileges, status, honour and social prestige involving a specific positive or negative life style that can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle and might also be transformed into power.<sup>48</sup> Honour and prestige can be associated by family lineage which could undermine the status order. For Weber, economic determination does not exhaust the conditions of group formation. Group formation can be based on shared religious ideas engendered by status interest which still becomes a reflection of material interests.<sup>49</sup>

For the purpose of the study, the terms class and status are used to refer to social status or rank which is associated with social prestige, honour and privilege as suggested by Weber. However, the study consistently uses class to refer to other terms associated with it that has been used by Weber. Looking at the sociological development of the Malays and Islam in Malaysia, Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor bin Nawawi has also suggested that these terms proposed by Max Weber that can be accommodated with Islamic culture in the Malay society. For the Malays, those who have already

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<sup>47</sup> The central idea of Marxist class analysis stresses on the ownership of the means of production and class exploitation in which Wright, a neo-Marxist sees class as a basic determinant of conflict and social change, with the non-owning class struggles against the owning class. Max Weber emphasises the idea that social class is a function of differential status, wealth and political power. Kenneth A. Bollen, Jennifer L. Glanville, and Guv Stecklov, 'Socioeconomic Status and Class in Studies of Fertility and Health in Developing Countries', *Annual Reviews Sociology*, No. 27, 2001, p. 158. See for example, Abdul Rahman Embong, *State-led Modernization and the New Middle Class in Malaysia*, p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> See, social class and other aspects of social organization under Weber's revision of Marx's class theory in Irving M. Zeitlin, *Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1981, p. 160-161.

<sup>49</sup> Julien Freund in his book, *The Sociology of Max Weber*, described that Weber distinguished between three types of classes: the property class, characterized by the possession of the monopoly; the acquisition class, whose common bond is its desire to do business in the various sectors of commerce, industry or agriculture; and finally the social class, which is defined primarily by its rank in the social hierarchy (working class, middle classes, etc). The class according to Weber is an associative relationship based on interest arising out of the situation in which individuals find themselves and regard themselves as having a common position in relation to those outside their class, common destiny, because they control –or not, economic goods. In the economic aspect in particular, Reinhard Bendix cited that Weber clarified class and social status or *Stand* (status group) as: "The term "class" refers to any group of people [who have same] typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal experiences, insofar as this chance is determined by the power to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order. "Class situation" [status situation] is in this sense ultimately "market situation". Some scholars criticised Weber short's explanation on classes which consider as doubtless because his *Wirtschaft* and *Gesellschaft* was claimed never completed. See, Julien Freund, *The Sociology of Max Weber*, London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1968, pp. 167-168; Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber an Intellectual Portrait*, London: Heinemann, 1960, pp. 105-107.

performed *hajj* in Makkah would be recognised and placed at the higher position and status in the society attributable to religious merits.<sup>50</sup>

The social class is a status of people which is indicated by jobs or professions, income, economic, political position and level of education. Sociologists frequently use educational attainment, income, wealth and occupation as indicators of socioeconomic status and class. Due to the limitation in each of these indicators, several writers and scholars have used combination indicators of income, occupation and education or using one of these indicators to define middle and lower classes.<sup>51</sup>

There are three or four social classes informally recognised in many societies. They are upper class, middle class, working class and the lower class. However, some scholars categorise working and the lower class in the same social class. This study considers three social classes for the reason that some scholars and writers, such as Warner (1949), Coleman and Rainwater (1978), William Thompson and Joseph Hickey (2005) categorise lower and working class in the same social group.<sup>52</sup>

Based on the latest measurement of the social class status in Malaysian perspective, this study utilises a combination of the occupational categories and household income to differentiate middle and low-income class. The occupational model of Abdul Rahman Embong,<sup>53</sup> and the household income range used in the Government Transformation Plan 2011-2015<sup>54</sup> and Wan Nor Azriyati et al.,<sup>55</sup> are adapted as a guide to conduct this study.

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<sup>50</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor bin Nawawi, second interview was conducted at Universiti Selangor (UNISEL), Shah Alam, Selangor on 12 July 2013, 10.00am (Dean of Centre for Graduates Studies, UNISEL).

<sup>51</sup> It is not easy to measure and record wealth. However, data on income must be supported by information on the number of people (or household) associated with the income, and on other assets such as property, investment and savings. *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia*, 2011. <http://www.answers.com/topic/class-structure#ixzz1eVdoOATr>.

<sup>52</sup> In 1949, Warner categorized social class into three groups, namely upper, middle and lower class, while sociologists William Thompson and Joseph Hickey in their 2005's sociology textbook, *Society in Focus*, present a five class model in which the middle class is divided into two subgroups. In 1978, Coleman and Rainwater have divided "Metropolitan Class Structure" into three main social classes, each with a number of subgroups. See for example W. Lloyd Warner, et al., *Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status*, 1949; Thompson, W. and Hickey, J., *Society in Focus*. Boston, Massachusetts: Pearson, 2005; Richard P. Coleman, and Lee Rainwater, *Social Standing in America: New Dimensions of Class*, New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1978.

<sup>53</sup> Abdul Rahman Embong, *State-led Modernization and the New Middle Class in Malaysia*, New York: Palgrave Publishers Ltd., 2002, p. 41.

<sup>54</sup> Based on the Tenth Malaysian Plan 2011-2015, the household income range according to social class in 2009, for middle 40 per cent of the households is between RM 2,300 to RM 5,599, while the top 20 per cent of the households is greater than or equal to RM

Household income range according to social class is determined by referring to Economic Planning Unit and Department of Statistics - Household Income Survey 2009 which is reported in the Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015.<sup>56</sup> From this household income range, three categories of social income classes are the low-income who earns the monthly households' incomes below than RM 2,300, the middle class with the middle income or the middle-middle income class who earns between RM 2,301 to RM 5,599, and the middle class with the high income or the upper-middle income who earns between RM 5,600 and above than RM 10,000. Underpinning this, middle class then refers to professionals, technical, administrative, managerial workers, clerical and service sector who earn minimum household incomes between RM 2,300 to RM 10,000 and above per month.

A household is defined as consists of related and/or unrelated persons who usually live together and make common provisions for food and other essentials of living.<sup>57</sup> This study also takes into consideration significant structural changes in Malaysia modern family in the last three decades, due to a large scale participation of married women into the labour force.<sup>58</sup> Household income is primarily determined by permanent income as suggested by Friedman.<sup>59</sup>

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5,600. The Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015, Putrajaya: The Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, 2010, pp. 149-150.

<sup>55</sup> A study conducted by Wan Nor Azriyati, Noor Rosly Hanif and Kuppusamy in 2011 indicated that the lower-income category are those earned RM1000 or less; the lower-middle income category are those earned between RM 1501 and RM 2000; the middle-middle category are who earned between RM 2001 and RM 4000; the upper-middle income are those earned between RM 4001 and RM 6000; and the high income group are those earned RM 6001 and RM 8000. Wan Nor Azriyati Wan Abd Aziz, Noor Rosly Hanif and Kuppusamy a/l Singaravello, 'Affordable Housing Within the Middle Income Households in Malaysia: Challenge to Enter Homeownership', *Australian Journal of Basic and Applied Sciences*, Vol. 5, No. 8, 2011, pp. 263-264.

<sup>56</sup> According to this economic plan, households can be clustered into: the lower-income category are those who earn RM1000 or less (poor), RM 1001 and 1499 (middle-lower) and RM 1,500 and 2300 (lower) income range; the lower-middle income category are those who earn between RM 2301 and RM 3000; the middle-middle category are those who earned between RM 3001 and RM 4000; the upper-middle income are those earned between RM 4001 and RM 5,599; and the middle class with the high income are those who earned RM 5,600 and above than RM 10,000. The Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015, pp. 149-150.

<sup>57</sup> It commonly involves two adults with or without children living together. Population Distribution by Local Authority Areas and Mukims 2010, p. 438; Ahmad Hariza Hashim, 'Residential Satisfaction and Social Integration in Public Low Cost Housing in Malaysia', *Pertanika Journal of Social Science & Humanities*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2003, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> See for example Wan Nor Azriyati Wan Abd Aziz et al., 'Affordable Housing within the Middle Income Households', p. 261.

<sup>59</sup> M. Friedman, *A Theory of Consumption Function*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 57; Kenneth A. Bollen, Jennifer L. Glanville, and Guv Stecklov, 'Socioeconomic Status and Class in Studies of Fertility and Health in Developing Countries', *Annual Reviews Sociology*, Vol. 27, 2001, p. 159.

#### 1.5.4 The Low Income Class

The low-income class are workers of rural sectors in agriculture, livestock, forestry, fisheries and hunting as well as working class in service and production sectors with the mean monthly household income of less than RM 2,300.00.<sup>60</sup>

#### 1.5.5 Religiosity

Religiosity is often defined as the holistic life of an individual associated with religious beliefs, tenets, rituals and practices.<sup>61</sup> Religiosity is bound up with attitudes, behaviour and values; therefore, according to most social psychologists it can be quantified.<sup>62</sup> Religiosity is defined as beliefs, feelings and practices which are bound to religion.<sup>63</sup> It can be divided into extrinsic and intrinsic religious orientations.<sup>64</sup>

Islamic religiosity can be defined as the condition of someone's belief in Allah SWT, categorised by his religious enthusiasm and devotion. Religiosity is reflected through one's belief, practices, religious lifestyles, as well as feelings and commitment.<sup>65</sup> For the purpose to achieve the objective of this study three main dimensions of Islamic religiosity are analysed: Islamic thoughts and belief, Islamic practices and lifestyles.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> The low-income class used in this study are the combination of lower and working class in Malay Muslim society. In tandem with the definition of the middle class, this study takes a combination of the occupational approach and household income to define the lower class. For the purpose of measuring classes quantitatively and objectively a combination of the occupational approach, household income and educational level are used and correlated to the dimensions of religiosity.

<sup>61</sup> Religious values in general are complex and represent a construct that is very hard to measure from different perspectives. Kamil Md Idris, Zainol Bidin and Ram Al Jaffri Saad, 'Islamic Religiosity Measurement and Its Relationship with Business Income Zakat Compliance Behavior', *Jurnal Pengurusan*, No. 34, 2012, pp. 3-10.

<sup>62</sup> Siobhan McAndrew and David Voas, 'Measuring Religiosity Using Surveys', *Survey Question Bank*, Topic Overview, No. 4, February 2011, p. 2.

<sup>63</sup> D. Y. F. Ho, and R. T. H. Ho, 'Measuring Spirituality and Spiritual Emptiness: Toward Ecumenicity and Transcultural Applicability', *Review of General Psychology*, No. 11, 2007, pp. 62-74.

<sup>64</sup> Intrinsic religiosity is the extent to which individuals participate in religious activities, while the extrinsic religiosity is an individual's inclination of taking part in religious activities as a way to improve spiritual and emotional desire or social interactions. Swanson J. L. and K. R. Byrd, 'Deaty Anxiety in Young Adults as A Function of Religious Orientation, Guilt and Separation-individuation Conflict', *Death Studies*, No. 22, 1998, pp. 257-268.

<sup>65</sup> According to Muhammad Syukri Salleh, the higher someone's devotion or piety and religious enthusiasm are, thus the stronger his belief in God, the higher his religiosity is. See, Muhammad Syukri Salleh, 'Religiosity in Development: A Theoretical Construct of an Islamic-Based Development', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 2, No.14, Special Issue - July 2012, p. 266.

<sup>66</sup> Religiosity of the Malays Muslim middle and low-income class can be measured by looking at four main dimensions of Islamic religiosity: Islamic thoughts and belief, religious practices, lifestyles and consumerism, and feelings and commitment.

## 1.6 Significance of the Research

Presently, the debates on Islamism and Islamic Resurgence in the context of the modern world have been discussed by scholars from different points of view. Islam has been described in the negative aspects relating to the elements of fanaticism, extremism and fundamentalism. From this study, the following outcomes could be anticipated. A very little wisdom and just discussion has been made in viewing its facts, origins, internal and external contributing factors which influence the rise of Islamic Resurgence. Therefore, this study attempts to describe the participation of Islamists in the *da'wah* movements, Islamic political parties and the ruling regime in the formation of Islamic consciousness in the Malay society.

This study is important to clarify and refute the current theory of Islamic Resurgence which relates this religious revival with deprivation, frustration, poverty, class conflict and extremism. The historical and the current perspectives of Islamic Resurgence in the urban areas of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor can also be described the reality of this phenomena among the Malays, despite their social economic status. Thus, this study contributes to the theoretical basis of the Islamic Resurgence that the resurgence involves creative and innovative ways to upsurge Islam by the middle class.

From a practical aspect of the development of Islam in the global context, Malaysia has been recognised amongst the best example for other Islamic countries in terms of its implementation and management. Through the contribution of the government, Islamists of the political Islam, the NGOs and *da'wah* movements, Islam is spread successfully in the society which includes the middle and the low-income classes.

There are diverse trends of Islam which have been stimulated by many groups in promoting Islamic values and cultures amongst the Malays. Some of them used moderate and pragmatic approaches and some are extreme in highlighting the political

and social aspects of Islam. The findings of the study enable us to understand the existence of diversity of the Islamist groups and the variety of sources and patterns of Islamic thoughts among the middle and low-income classes as receivers of the impact of Islamic Resurgence. The study has also contributed to a new knowledge on the active role and contribution of the Malay middle class in propagating Islam through their enthusiastic activism in the voluntary *da'wah* organisations, like ABIM and IKRAM which then reactivate Islamic Resurgence in the public spheres.

Amongst a unique characteristic of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia is it has been formed in a multicultural society. In a multi-ethnic society like Malaysia, the issues pertaining to Muslim affairs and problems have affected the non-Muslims as well. In this situation, issues and problems faced by the Malays, such as the *Hudud* laws and the use of the word Allah, contribute to their collective reactions to protect Islam. Thus, a mixed method research approach which combines quantitative and qualitative methods is needed to analyse the past efforts of Islamic Resurgence which affect the current trends in the development of Islam and its relation to the level of religiosity of the contemporary Malay middle and the low-income classes. An in-depth exploratory study is needed in order to view the natural phenomenon of Islamic Resurgence and efforts of various groups which have created the Islamic consciousness in the Malay society.<sup>67</sup>

Outcomes of this research would contribute to the knowledge about the dynamic approach of Islamic Resurgence through strengthening Islamic values and teaching in practising this complete way of life as a response to the current problems in the Malay Muslim society. In this context, Islam has been adopted by the Malay ethnic community in shaping their identity. It is also hoped that this research can help policy makers to improve national policy which aims at upgrading Malays' economic position and social status by using Islamic approaches and values. Suggestions proposed in the research

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<sup>67</sup> Islamic approach is used by the Malay as a solution to overcome societal problems, and their reactions of Western modernisation to rejuvenate the worldview of Islam as the way of life.

may help to enhance policy pertaining to Islamic development among the Malays in Malaysia.

## 1.7 Literature Review

A great variety of studies on Islamic movements and Islamic Resurgence have appeared in the past three decades. Rapid development of Islamic Resurgence as a result of several efforts which have been done to re“Islamise” the Malays in particular, and purify their belief, have concerned many contemporary Western and the Middle East scholars, such as Judith Nagata,<sup>68</sup> John L. Esposito,<sup>69</sup> David Camroux,<sup>70</sup> William R. Roff,<sup>71</sup> Kikue Hamayotsu,<sup>72</sup> N.J. Funston,<sup>73</sup> Jan Stark,<sup>74</sup> on the discussion of Islamisation in Malaysia. Some local writers have embarked the discourse on this religious social change in observing Malaysian Malay Muslims’ commitment on the Islamic belief, such as Mohamad Abu Bakar,<sup>75</sup> Shamsul Amri Baharuddin,<sup>76</sup> Zainah Anwar,<sup>77</sup> Chandra Muzaffar,<sup>78</sup> Husin Muttalib,<sup>79</sup> Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid,<sup>80</sup> Sharifah

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<sup>68</sup> Judith Nagata, ‘Religious Ideology and Social Change: The Islamic Revival in Malaysia’, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Autumn, 1980), pp. 405-439; Judith Nagata, *The Reflowering of Malaysian Islam: Modern Religious Radicals and Their Roots*, Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1984; Judith Nagata, ‘How to be Islamic without Being an Islamic State’, In Akbar S. Ahmed, Donnan Hastings (editors), *Islam, Globalization and Postmodernity*, London: Routledge, 1994.

<sup>69</sup> John L. Esposito (editor), *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

<sup>70</sup> David Camroux, ‘State Responses to Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia: Accommodation, Co-Option, and Confrontation’, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 36, No. 9, September 1996, pp. 852-868.

<sup>71</sup> William R. Roff, ‘Patterns of Islamization in Malaysia, 1890-1990s: Exemplars, Institutions and Vectors’, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1998, pp. 210-228.

<sup>72</sup> Kikue Hamayotsu, ‘Islam and Nation Building in Southeast Asia: Malaysia and Indonesia in Comparative Perspective’, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 3, Autumn 2002, pp. 353-375.

<sup>73</sup> John Funston, ‘Malaysia’, in Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (editors), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), 2006.

<sup>74</sup> Jan Stark, ‘The Crescent Rising over Nusantara Discourses of Re-Islamization in Malaysia and Indonesia’, *Internationales Asian Forum, International Quarterly for Asian Studies*, Vol. 39 No. ¾, November 2008, pp. 281-304.

<sup>75</sup> Mohamad Abu Bakar, ‘Dakwah dan Pengislaman Masyarakat Melayu Masakini: Satu Analisa Pengenalan’, In Khoo Kay Kim, *Tamadun di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980; Mohamad Abu Bakar, ‘Islamic Revivalism and the Political Process in Malaysia’, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 21, No. 10, October 1981, pp. 1040-1059; Mohamad Abu Bakar, *Without Locke or Lenin: the Impact of Resurgent Islam on International Politics*, Kuala Lumpur: Bahagian Komunikasi Korporat, Universiti Malaya, 2005.

<sup>76</sup> Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, ‘A Revival in the Study of Islam in Malaysia’, *Man, New Series*, Vol. 18, No. 2, June 1983, pp. 399-404.

<sup>77</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia: Dakwah among the Students*, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1987.

<sup>78</sup> Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti, 1987.

<sup>79</sup> Hussin Muttalib, *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990; Hussin Muttalib, ‘Islamic Revivalism in ASEAN States: Political Implications’, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 30, No. 9, September 1990, pp. 877-891; Hussin Muttalib, *Islam in Malaysia: from Revivalism to Islamic State?*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, National University of Singapore, 1993.

<sup>80</sup> Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘Islamic Resurgence in the Periphery: a Study of Political Islam in contemporary Malaysia with special reference to the Darul Arqam movement 1968-1996’, Ph.D Thesis, United Kingdom: University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1998; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘Islamist Realignments and the Rebranding of the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 2008, pp. 215-40. In this paper, Ahmad Fauzi discovers the changing patterns of Islamism in Malaysia, concentrating on Islamic development during Dr Mahathir Mohamad’s final period of administration (1999-2003) and since Abdullah Ahmad Badawi started the premiership of the country on 31 October 2003. This period showed the construction of a blossoming Islamist civil society through rebranding and realignments in its efforts to reach a stable support within



Zaleha Syed Hassan,<sup>81</sup> Muhammad Syukri Salleh,<sup>82</sup> Mohammad Redzuan Othman,<sup>83</sup> Siti Hamisah Manan,<sup>84</sup> Mohd Jamil Mukmin,<sup>85</sup> Joseph Chinyong Liow,<sup>86</sup> and many others.

Many studies which discuss Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia have reviewed this religious phenomenon based on various scopes of the discussion. Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia is always linked with the growth of students' *da'wah* movement in campus life. One of the earliest academic works which have discussed students activism is a book entitled "*Mahasiswa Menggugat*" (The Student Revolt), published by Pustaka Antara, Kuala Lumpur, in 1973. This critical exploratory analysis which was written by Mohamad bin Abu Bakar has been recognized as the earliest work that discovered university students' involvement in the national social and political issues. Even though students voices on the issues pertaining social justice and politics were regarded as a symbol of frustrations and was said to be caused by the Malay's socioeconomic status, at the same time it was regarded as a threat to the establishment.

This work is based on internal observations, interviews and critical analysis and has briefly discussed on the reasons behind the university students' actions in such radical activities. Students' appeal has close relations to social and political issues at the tertiary level and at one time it may consider to 'threaten to national security'. As a pioneer work which has revealed student politics in Malaysia, it provides useful information on the student involvements in the national policy, socioeconomic

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non-Islamist groups. Since its official founding in 1971, the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia (ABIM) has made an effort to revive its prevailing place as a prominent and legitimate voices of the Malay-Muslim masses; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'Islam and Violence in Malaysia', RSIS Working Papers, Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Vol. 123, No. 7, 2007, pp. i-36; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'Politically Engaged Muslims in Malaysia in the Era of Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (2003-2009)', *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2010, pp. 154-176.

<sup>81</sup> Sharifah Zaleha Syed Hassan, 'Islam, State and Civil Society in Malaysia: The Case of the Al Arqam', *NIASnytt Asia Insights*, No. 4, 2005, pp. 8-9.

<sup>82</sup> Muhammad Syukri Salleh, 'Reformasi, Redikalisasi dan Kebangkitan Islam di Malaysia', *Pemikir*, April-Jun 2000, pp. 35-50.

<sup>83</sup> Mohammad Redzuan Othman, *Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu: Peranan dan Pengaruh Timur Tengah*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 2005.

<sup>84</sup> Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, Kuala Lumpur: JI Media, 2009.

<sup>85</sup> Mohd Jamil Mukmin, *Gerakan Islam di Malaysia: Kesenambungan, Respond an Perubahan (1957-2000)*, Shah Alam: Pusat Penerbitan Universiti (UPENA), Universiti Teknologi Mara, 2009.

<sup>86</sup> Chinyong Liow, Joseph., *Piety and Politics: Islamism in Contemporary Malaysia*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

problems, and social justice and in determining vision in nation building through radical vocal actions.

Another study on the university's students and its relation to *da'wah* activities was conducted by Zainah Anwar in 1987. This study has focused on Islamic revivalism among the youth in the university campus from the moment it began in the middle of 1969 to 1980s.<sup>87</sup> The study utilised interviews and observations to analyse phenomenon of *da'wah* among students. Relying on in-depth interviews with students and young professionals who formed the backbone of the movement, she displays some limitations when conducting the study.

Zainah also confesses that the study has faced a scarcity of data based on interviews and observations to explain on the various Islamic groups in the universities, their origins, activities and ideologies. As amongst the earlier study which described in detail on factors and the nature of the Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia, this study seems to put a negative perspective of the resurgence. Thus, participational observations and extensive data are needed to cover the weaknesses of the study. As a researcher of the social sciences, she should give just and fair evaluation on the contributions of the Islamic Resurgence in the development of spiritual awareness of the Malays, in particular and Muslims in Malaysia, in general, and views the resurgence in the holistic picture, and should not depict *da'wah* movement as an enemy of the modern life.

In contrast to Zainah's study on Islamic revival amongst local students, Siti Hamisah's writing discovered "*Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*" – "The Upsurge Resurgence of *Da'wah* in the Campus" that has opened up the reality of religious resurgence amongst the circle of the Malaysian government-sponsored students overseas.<sup>88</sup> The book is a product of a master's research in history from the National University of Malaysia. This book explores the historical background of the

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<sup>87</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia: Dakwah among the Students*, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1987.

<sup>88</sup> Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, Kuala Lumpur: JI Media, 2009.

Islamic Representative Council (IRC)<sup>89</sup> which was formed in April 1974 in United Kingdom.

The study considers printed documents, like magazines, records and interviews as primary sources because the nature of IRC as an “underground” organisation and limited access to this organisation’s documents as the members keep silent and refuse to share their experiences in organising its activities. Nevertheless, this study helps to provide literature on *da’wah* activism among western-oriented Malay students who studied abroad, their activities during studying and after returning to homeland as well as revealed their contributions in propagating Islam. However, this study did not relate the resurgence and its impact on religiosity of the Malay students, except a few success story of *da’wah* by this group which has changed the physical appearance and religious practices among new *da’wah* group followers.

In the early stage of Islamic Resurgence, there is a tendency among researchers to explore the nature, factors and organisations involved in propagating Islamic awareness in Malaysia. For example, a local academician, Chandra Muzaffar published his writing in 1987, which worked on *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*.<sup>90</sup> This book attempts to understand Islamic Resurgence from the sociological perspectives. As an academician who has been studying Islamic Resurgence since 1979, Chandra looks at the resurgence as a social phenomenon which is very significant from the perspective of ethnic relations. He explains in general about the sources, the resurgent either the non-electoral actors or the electoral actors as well as their ideologies.

Besides providing descriptive analysis on the development of Islamic groups and movements, Chandra closely observes conflict and reactions between UMNO and PAS as the only political parties that represent the Malays and this may impact upon ethnic relations especially the non-Muslims. Even though this book briefly discusses on

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<sup>89</sup> It is also known as *Majlis Syura Muslimum* (MSM).

<sup>90</sup> Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti, 1987.

factors, thoughts and the phenomena of the Islamic Resurgence, the scope of the discussion is only limited between the period of 1970s to 1987, and this needs to be updated with the current changes of time and trends in the *da'wah* movements. Therefore, the extensive study on factors that contribute to the resurgence which may guide to its development is needed, especially that concerns on *da'wah* activities which are mostly centralised in urban areas.

In the context of modern democracy, the emergence of Islamic political struggle leads to an active participation of the moderate Islamists in the Islamic world. Malaysia in particular, is amongst the moderate countries which received democracy as a means to form Islamic society in the moderate and democratic approach. Shahrudin has written in his ample academic work on “Democracy and the Changes of Political Action in Malaysia: A Study on Approaches of Islamic-based Organisations Struggle, 1981-2008” in which he attained his doctorate in 2011.<sup>91</sup> This Ph.D thesis focuses on the changes in political activism among the Islamic-based organisations in the period of 1981 to 2008.

This study discusses the strategies taken by the Islamic-based organisations since 1980's in managing the Islamic politics.<sup>92</sup> This study has utilised qualitative research methodology and interpretation of historical and contemporary data. Even though this study analyses the rise of Islamic Resurgence and its relation to the existence of Islamic based organisations in Malaysia, it has given more emphasis on the struggle and approaches used by these organisations in the political aspect and have not discussed on their *da'wah* activities and its impact on Malaysians' religiosity.

Islamic Resurgence has had a profound impact not just in the individual's spiritual life, but also the Malays and Malaysia as a whole politically, socially and economically.

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<sup>91</sup> Shahrudin Badaruddin, 'Demokrasi dan Perubahan Aksi Politik di Malaysia: Kajian Terhadap Pendekatan Perjuangan Pertubuhan Berlandaskan Islam, 1981-2008', Ph.D Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, 2011.

<sup>92</sup> It is started with the confrontational approach, followed by the accommodative actions and later with the strengthening of the strategy of institutionalization of Islamic programs. It also involves the participation of Islamic civil society, predominantly by ABIM and JIM in giving the pressure to the establishment relating to the issues of Islam.

A study on Islamic revival as an agent and symbol of many rapid social changes which is now occurring in Peninsular Malaysia has been conducted by Judith Nagata.<sup>93</sup> Nagata discovers that Islam is not only a source of identity for various elements in Malaysian society, distinguishing Malays and non-Malays, but it also lies at the centre of a crisis of legitimacy which emerges among the various elites of the Malay society.

Nagata's article on "Religious Ideology and Social Change: The Islamic Revival in Malaysia" in 1980 revealed that the current appeal to Islamic consciousness had impact on many areas of Malaysian life – in economic, political, educational and ethnic relations. *Da'wah* is undoubtedly a force which continues to shape many events in the late 1980s. The remarkable impact of *da'wah* movement gave significant changes in understanding Islam comprehensively, introducing the Islamic terms and diminishing the un-Islamic traditions, which for a long time has taken place in Muslim practices. This article has also discussed on *da'wah* movement of ABIM, Darul Arqam, Jamaat Tabligh and responses of PAS and UMNO for such religious awareness. The article explains the impact of Islamic Resurgence in the socio-religious culture of the Malays in general and does not uncover nor give special attention to study its impact on different groups of the Malays in particular the middle and low-income classes. Moreover, reforms made by the *da'wah* groups must not be synthesised in a bias perspective, even though their idea and actions are "strange" to the western culture.

Malaysian Islamic movements have depicted a unique and dynamic trend and pattern along the development of Islamic Resurgence in the Malay society. Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid in his article describes the dynamic patterns of the state interaction with the Islamic movements in Malaysia, especially during the formative years of Islamic Resurgence. He discloses that unlike Muslim nation-states affected by Islamic Resurgence, Malaysian Islamic movements have tended to be equated with moderation

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<sup>93</sup> Judith Nagata, 'Religious Ideology and Social Change: The Islamic Revival in Malaysia,' *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Autumn, 1980), p. 405; Judith Nagata, 'How to be Islamic without Being an Islamic State,' In Akbar S. Ahmed and Donnan Hastings (editors), *Islam, Globalization and Postmodernity*, London: Routledge, 1994.

and tolerance, which in turn have invited an accommodative response from the state. The relatively and friendly interaction between the state and the resurgent Muslims in Malaysia has been in stark contrast to the disorder and violence that have often characterised similar relationships in the Middle East and South Asia.<sup>94</sup> Ahmad Fauzi has also published his scholarly views in more than 50 articles of the international journals and conferences such as, *Studia Islamika* (Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies), *Southeast Asia Studies Bulletin* and *Humanomics* and many others, but his preference analysis which has favoured al-Arqam *da'wah* movement, besides his critical analysis on the tendency of militancy in Islamic movement, in particular Malaysia, could mark his credibility as a professional academician.<sup>95</sup>

The unique status and the rise of the middle class in the modern society of Malaysia have concerned many writers to study on this social group. A few studies have been conducted by foreign and local researchers on the Malays middle class in Malaysia. The earliest study on the middle class was conducted in 1968, by James Scott who investigated the position of MSC elites in the government sector. Eight years later, Nordin Selat in 1976, collected a data of 105 respondents of the Malay administrative middle class in Kuala Lumpur. He then, published this work entitled “*Kelas Menengah Pentadbir Melayu*” (The Malay Administrative Middle Class), which has been published by *Utusan Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur. This work has studied the emerging

<sup>94</sup> See Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘Patterns of State Interaction with Islamic Movements in Malaysia during the Formative Years of Islamic Resurgence’, *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 4, March 2007, p. 444.

<sup>95</sup> Some of Ahmad Fauzi’s popular articles are Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘New Trends of Islamic Resurgence in Contemporary Malaysia: Sufi-Revivalism, Messianism, and Economic Activism’, *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1999, pp. 1-74; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘Transnational Issues in Islamic Revivalism: Southeast Asian Response to A Malaysian-Based Islamic Movement’, *Southeast Asia Studies Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 1, October-November 2001, pp. 14-24; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘Religion, secularism and the state in Southeast Asia’, in Arlene B. Tickner and David L. Blaney (editors), *Thinking International Relations Differently*, New York: Routledge, 2012, pp. 253-257; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘Development In The Post-Colonial State: Class, Capitalism and The Islamist Political Alternative In Malaysia’, *Kajian Malaysia*, Vol. XVII, No.2, December 1999, pp. 21-57; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘The Making of Nation-States in The Arab World: The Roles of Oil, Islam and Arab Nationalism’, *IKIM Journal*, Vol. 7, No.2, July-December 1999, pp. 19-43; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘Diverse Approaches to Rural Development in Malaysia: The FELDA and Darul Arqam Land Settlement Regimes’, *Humanomics*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2000, pp. 51-73; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘Islamic Resurgence: An Overview of Causal Factors, A Review of “Ummatic” Linkages’, *IKIM Journal*, Vol. 9, No.1, January-June 2001, pp. 15-47; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘Pemerintah dan Gerakan Islam di Malaysia’, *PEMIKIR*, Bil. 23, Januari - Mac 2001, 111-158; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘An Islamacist’s View of An Islamic State and Its Relevance to A Multi-Racial Society’, in Harold Crouch, Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, Carmen A. Abubakar, Yang Razali Kassim (editors), *Islam in Southeast Asia: Analysing Recent Developments*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2002, pp. 9-12; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, ‘The Formative Years of The *Dakwah* Movement: Origins, Causes and Manifestations of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia’, *IKIM Journal*, Vol. 10, No.2 July/December 2002, pp. 87-124.

characteristics of Malay western oriented administrative middle class and their lifestyles which involved 105 respondents in the high ranking level of administrative officers.<sup>96</sup>

Nordin Selat's study on the Malay middle classes has emphasised and treated exclusively on the nature and lifestyles of this group from the sociological perspective rather than describing on their beliefs, religious practices and commitments towards teaching of Islam. Although the Malay British administrative middle class has been exposed to the western lifestyles, their traditional values remain to preserve in the name of their children. This study has described the Malay middle class's lifestyle in 1970s which is totally contrasted to the emergence of middle class after the era of Islamisation in the government policy, subsequently to the Islamic Resurgence.

The other studies related to the Malay middle class have been intensified in the 1980s and 1990s by a proceeding of the International Conference of Modernisation and National Identity and those writings that have been published are the work of Syed Husin Ali in 1984,<sup>97</sup> Gomes in 1990<sup>98</sup> and Joel S. Kahn between 1992 and 1996.<sup>99</sup> The other researchers who also focus on the Malay middle class are Saravananmattu,<sup>100</sup> Fatimah Abdullah,<sup>101</sup> Rahimah Abdul Aziz,<sup>102</sup> and Abdul Rahman Embong.<sup>103</sup>

The emergence and political nature of a Malay middle class is a fundamental feature of Malaysia's Vision 2020. Literally 'the New Malay', an image suggested by

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<sup>96</sup> Nordin Selat, *Kelas Menengah Pentadbiran Melayu* (The Malay Administrative Middle Class), Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Melayu, 1976.

<sup>97</sup> Syed Husin Ali, 'Social Relations: The Ethnic and Class Factors', In S. Husin Ali (editor), *Ethnicity, Class and Development in Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Social Science Association, 1984.

<sup>98</sup> Edmund Terence Gomez, *Politics in Business: UMNO's Corporate Investments*, Kuala Lumpur: Forum, 1990.

<sup>99</sup> Joel S. Kahn, 'Class, Ethnicity and Diversity: Some Remarks on Malay Culture in Malaysia', In Joel S. Kahn and Francis Loh Kok Wah (editors), *Fragmented Vision: Culture and Politics in Contemporary Malaysia*, Sydney: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin, 1992; Joel S. Kahn, 'Growth, Economic Transformation, Culture and the Middle Classes in Malaysia', In Richard Robison and David S. G. Goodman (editors), *The New Rich in Asia: Mobile Phones, McDonalds and Middle-Class Revolution*, London: Routledge, 1996; Joel S. Kahn, 'The Middle Class as a Field of Ethnological Study', In Muhammad Ikmal Said and Zahid Emby, *Malaysia: Critical Perspectives: Essays in Honour of Syed Husin Ali*, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia: Persatuan Sains Sosial Malaysia, 1996.

<sup>100</sup> J. Saravanan, 'Kelas Menengah dalam Politik Malaysia: Tonjolan Kaum atau Kepentingan Kelas', *Kajian Malaysia*, Vol. 7 No. 1 & 2, 1989, pp. 106-107.

<sup>101</sup> Fatimah Abdullah, 'Urbanisasi dan Keluarga: Satu Kajian Kes Kelas Menengah Melayu di Kuala Lumpur', Ph.D Thesis, Kuala Lumpur: University Malaya, 1994.

<sup>102</sup> Rahimah Abd.Aziz and Abdul Rahman Embong, 'Kelas Menengah: Perkembangan dan Peranannya di Malaysia', Final Report IRPA Project, UKM, 1996-97.

<sup>103</sup> Abdul Rahman Embong, 'Social Transformation, the State and the Middle Class in Post-Independence Malaysia', In Zawawi Ibrahim (editor), *Mediating Identities in a Changing Malaysian Society*, London: ASEAN Academic Press, 1998; See also, Ahmad Sunawari Long, 'Islamic Resurgence and its Impact of on Middle Class Malaysian Muslim's Religious Thoughts and Practices in Klang Valley,' In Arts and Literature, Directory of Research Projects: Fundamental Research Grant Scheme (FRGS), Phase 1/2006, Putra Jaya: Department of Higher Education, Ministry of Higher Education Malaysia, 2010, p. 22.

Prime Minister Mahathir in 1991 that denotes a Malay population prepared to engage in new technologies and modernisation, while also maintaining a positive moral position and dedication to the social obligations.<sup>104</sup> Shamsul Amri in his writing, “From Orang Kaya Baru to Melayu Baru: A Construction of the Malay “New Rich”, discusses on a construction of the Malay “New Rich” in the modern development of Malaysia.<sup>105</sup>

Shamsul also mentions the influence of Islamic Resurgence or *da'wah* group which was initiated in 1969 by members of new middle class, some of whom were cabinet's ministers, senior administrators, corporate figures and academic bureaucrats. It began at local university and then spread to Malaysian students who studied abroad, joined many different types of overseas *da'wah* groups and later returned to Malaysia to enter higher positions in private and public sectors.<sup>106</sup> In addition to Syamsul's view, both Rustam A. Sani<sup>107</sup> and Siddiq Fadil appreciate Mahathir's effort to form a new “Malay New Rich” or “*Melayu Baru*” who are characterised by inculcation of the Islamic values. Siddiq refers the new Malay class as a corporate group who can integrate religious values and principles with holistic aspects of development and committed with Islamic aspiration.<sup>108</sup>

Based on the studies above, only one study was done by Ahmad Sunawari Long in 2010 on the impact of Islamic Resurgence on the Malay Muslim middle class's religious practices and commitments in Klang Valley. This Ph.D thesis focuses on the quantitative methodology by distributing 630 sets of questionnaires to respondents who resided or worked in Klang Valley. It has also employed analysing primarily on secondary sources of data like books, academic articles and content analysis of

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<sup>104</sup> Audrey E. Mouser, ‘Maintaining Middle-Classness: Urban, Middle-Class, Malay Single-Mothers of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia’, Ph.D Thesis, Brown University 2009.

<sup>105</sup> He explains about the emergence and cultural construction of the ‘new’ Malay, new rich or *Melayu Baru*, in reference to key social, political and economic forces at work in the Malaysian society. Shamsul Amri Baharudin, ‘From Orang Kaya Baru to Melayu Baru: A Construction of the Malay “New Rich”, in Pinches, Michael., *Culture and Privilege in Capitalist Asia*, New York: Routledge, 1999, pp. 87-111.

<sup>106</sup> Shamsul A. B., ‘The Economic Dimension of Malay Nationalism: The Socio-Historical Roots of the New Economic Policy and Its Contemporary Implications’, *The Developing Economies*, Vol. XXXV, No. 3, September 1997, pp. 240–61.

<sup>107</sup> Rustam A. Sani, *Melayu Baru: Beberapa Persoalan Sosio-Budaya*, Kuala Lumpur: Institut Kajian Dasar, 1992.

<sup>108</sup> Siddiq quotations are translated in English as: “The New Malays” were not only scientists or economists, but they were supposed to be Islamists whom able to integrate their religious values and principles with the holistic aspects of the development, and whom committed with Islamic aspiration and loyal to the mission of their religion”. See, Siddiq Fadil, *Melayu Baru: Perubahan dan Kesinambungan*, Kuala Lumpur: Institut Kajian Dasar, 1993, p. 15.



television's programs. The study discovers that Islamic Resurgence has delivered both positive and negative impacts on the Malay Muslim middle class's religious practices and commitments. Positively, it contributes to the emergence of the great number of moderate Muslims and to the development of Islam in Malaysia. On the other hand, it also contributes to extremism and the low degree of religious tolerance.<sup>109</sup>

Ahmad Sunawari claims that he has discovered positive and negative impact of Islamic Resurgence on the middle class's religious practices and commitment, but the way he reveals the outcomes is questionable because no measurement and scale is used in the study as the instrument relies on the multiple-choice type of questions. He also refers to the secondary data when analysing factors of the Islamic Resurgence. The study only emphasises on the impact of the resurgence, but no analysis has been done to discover such factors which contribute to increase individual's awareness on religious aspects of life.

Even though Ahmad Sunawari describes that the government has contributed to the current tendency of religious commitment through the Malaysian government's internal and foreign policies, nevertheless he should also acknowledge a significant role played by the prominent *da'wah* organisations which have been led by the middle class. These organisations cannot be denied in assisting the progressive development of Islam in Malaysia. Therefore, the current study tries to fill the gap in the study of the middle classes' tendency on the religious aspects of life and to compare social income classes' Islamic religiosity.

Literature on the religiosity of the lower class and its relation to the rise of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia suggests that a few signs of its relations to the emergence of the resurgence. As mentioned by some scholars, like Zainah,<sup>110</sup> and Syamsul<sup>111</sup> that in the

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<sup>109</sup> See, Ahmad Sunawari Long, 'Impak Kebangkitan Semula Islam Terhadap Pengamalan dan Penghayatan Agama Kelas Menengah Melayu Muslim Malaysia: Kajian Kes di Lembah Klang', Ph.D Thesis, University of Malaya, 2010.

<sup>110</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia: Dakwah among the Students*, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1987, p. 2.

<sup>111</sup> Shamsul, A. B., 'The Economic Dimension of Malay Nationalism: The Socio-Historical Roots of the New Economic Policy and Its Contemporary Implications', *The Developing Economies*, Vol. XXXV, No. 3, September 1997, pp. 240-261.

early formative years of the Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia around the late 1960s to the early 1970s, a call to return to the purer Islamic way of life was fired up by university students, graduates and professionals in arts and social sciences, science and technology either from the local or the Western countries. They come from miscellaneous backgrounds, from upper and middle class to poor rural inhabitants who migrate to urban areas and then, become the new middle class people. Even though, some of the participants of the resurgence were formerly the poor rural people at the beginning, with the chances given to them to pursue their educational level, they are able to upgrade their social and economic status and become the middle class.

In contrast to the previous opinion, Susan E. Ackerman claims that the working class people are not definitely influenced by the *da'wah*'s orientation. Based on her six months research in the Malay village in Alor Gajah, Malacca in 1978, she found that the young Malay female factory workers involved in a vital section of the working class were employed in the private sector and were lagged from the total impact of the *da'wah*-oriented Malay middle and the upper class.<sup>112</sup> She has observed that until the mid-1980s, these Minah Karan women rarely cover their heads and have never adopted other characteristics of *da'wah* dressing style.<sup>113</sup> The secular orientation of factory women sharply distinguishes them from the middle class people who are working in the public sector.<sup>114</sup>

Ackerman also discovers that the difference of both social classes is not just traced in terms of physical appearance, but also identified in other aspects like belief or thoughts and behaviour. The factory female workers believed in the pre-Islamic

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<sup>112</sup> Susan E. Ackerman, 'Dakwah and Minah Karan: Class Formation and Ideological Conflict in Malay Society', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkund*, Vol. 147, No. 2-3, 1991, pp. 193-215.

<sup>113</sup> Minah Karan depicted the image of a young, sexy and attractive Malay factory woman expressing her independence with tight-fitting Western-style dressing and heavily applied cosmetics.

<sup>114</sup> The features attire of the factory women were totally contrasted with the description of the *da'wah* people by Chandra Muzaffar. Chandra said that the Malay female students and civil servants have expressed their Islamic consciousness via wearing variety types of *tudung* or veils, covering their chest and extending a shoulder length to dress totally cover up the face and body including gloves and socks which is known as *pardah*. In the mid-1970s, veiled female students started to emerge on the local campuses in small number, and by the mid-1980s it is estimated around 60 to 70 per cent of Malay female students were covering themselves in the various forms of veils. Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, p. 3.

superstitions or supernaturalism, spirit possession when attacking by hysteria and involved in ethics and moral problems, compared to the *da'wah* women.<sup>115</sup>

The above reviews of the past studies on the Malay middle class have indicated that there is a tendency and committed participation of this group towards religious and spiritual activities relating to Islam. However, the previous researches have not extensively studied on the impact of Islamic Resurgence on various aspects of religiosity towards both Malay middle and the low-income classes with a special reference to the metropolis settlers. The Malaysian middle classes are at the forefront of this process of social transformation and their wired lifestyles serving as a model for society and could influence the low-income class as well.

Religion is an important factor that drives human life. It has significant influence on human's values, feeling, thinking, attitudes and behaviours at both personal and social levels.<sup>116</sup> As a subject that can be measured according to the quantitative measurement, religiosity can be defined and conceptualised according to its dimension.<sup>117</sup>

Several attempts have been made to construct instrument for Islamic religiosity. In 1997, for example, Wilde and Joseph did attempt to develop a measurement of Muslim religiosity through a measurement they named as "Muslim Attitudes towards Religion Scale" (MARS).<sup>118</sup> However, their emphasis is more on psychological aspect of human attitudes and the experiential dimension rather than on the actual Islamic beliefs and practices.

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<sup>115</sup> Ackerman's study on the factory women life in 1978 in Alor Gajah, Malacca, even though it was located in the industrial area, but findings of this research cannot be generalized to other places and situations because different study may result different findings and avenue of conclusion. Rapid and progressive changes in the urban areas due to the modernization process may give any possibility of response and feedback from the receiver of development and modernization projects.

<sup>116</sup> Safiek Mokhlis, 'Relevancy and Measurement of Religiosity in Consumer Behavior Research', *International Business Research*, Vol. 2, No. 3, July 2009, pp. 75-84.

<sup>117</sup> According to Wulf, scholars have identified three designs of the term religiosity. First, religiosity is a supernatural power to which individuals must respond. Second, religiosity is also referring to a feeling in the individual who conceives a power. Third, the ritual acts carried out in respect to that power. These three designs in the definition of religion guide to the dimension of religiosity used by scholars to measure religiosity. D.M. Wulf, *Psychology of Religion: Classic and Contemporary*, (2nd ed.), New York: Wiley & Sons, 1997.

<sup>118</sup> A. Wilde and S. Joseph, 'Religiosity and Personality in a Moslem Context', *Personality and Individual Differences*, Vol. 23 No. 5, 1997, pp. 800-900.

In 1998, Abdul Aziz Abdur Rahman AlBelaikhi forwarded his study aims at the construction of a new scale to measure Islamic religiosity. A sample of 169 (108 male, 61 female) Saudi Arabian Muslim college students was employed. Six religious dimensions of practice, societal value of religion, belief in central tenets, personal need for religion, reliance on practical guidance and unquestioning acceptance were extracted. The study has found that students of Islamic studies are more religious than students of Arts and Humanities, females are on average more religious than males.<sup>119</sup> In addition, Puente also tries to propose a manifestation of Islamic religiosity, but only limits it to prayer upon the Prophet Muhammad SAW called *tasliya* alone.<sup>120</sup>

The efforts of Wilde, Joseph, Abdul Aziz and Puente in understanding the religiosity in Islam have then been continued by Muslim social scientists such as, Nizar al Ta'i and Ibrahim al Sani'. They have tried to trace dimensions of Islamic religiosity and constructing comprehensive scale in their works.<sup>121</sup> With some sixty or more items to represent an individual's overall religiosity, the items may perhaps be considered with two interrelated dimensions, which are the belief and the conduct dimensions. Abdullah H.M. Al-Khalifah has also used the same dimension in his study.<sup>122</sup>

An endeavour to develop a more comprehensive measurement of Islamic religiosity has also been undertaken by Tiliouine and Belgoumidi. Besides preserving the above religious belief and the religious practice, another two dimensions namely religious altruism and religious enrichment have been proposed. Embracing all these four dimensions, Tiliouine and Belgoumidi have named their measurement as

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<sup>119</sup> AbdulAziz Abdurrahman AlBelaikhi, 'Development of a Muslim Religiosity Scale', Ph.D Thesis, University of Rhose Island, 1997.

<sup>120</sup> Cristina de La. Puente, 'The Prayer upon the Prophet Muhammad (*Tasliya*): A Manifestation of Islamic Religiosity', *Medieval Encounters*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1999, p.121.

<sup>121</sup> Nizar al Ta'I, *Miqyas al Suluk al Dini*, Kuwait: Sharikat al Rubiyah li al Nashr wa al Tawzi, 1985; Ibrahim al Sani', *Al Tadayyun 'Ilaj al Jarimah*, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Jamia'at al Imam Muhammad Ibn Sa'ud al Islamiyah, al Majlis al 'Ilmi, 1993.

<sup>122</sup> According to Abdullah, the belief (or covert) dimension represents an individual's full and sincere belief in God as the Creator of the universes and as the only One worthy of worship, and one's belief in His Angels, Books, Messengers, the Day of Judgment and the Hereafter, and in fate. Secondly, the conduct (or over) dimension, which emphasizes the degree to which the belief dimensions of religiosity is reflected throughout the believer's daily behaviour and actions via the full obedience and compliance to God's commands and the avoidance of those acts and behaviour forbidden by God. Abdullah H.M. Al-Khalifah, 'Religiosity in Islam as a Protective Mechanism against Criminal Temptation', *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1994, pp. 1-12.

Comprehensive Measurement of Islamic Religiosity (CMIR), a specially designed scale for measurement of Islamic religiosity.<sup>123</sup>

In total, the CMIR offers a total of 60 items to measure one's individual religiosity.<sup>124</sup> As criticised by Muhammad Syukri Salleh, the dimensions used in their CMIR seem not to be much difference from the dimensions of the belief, practice, experience and knowledge as suggested by the scholars of the conventional religiosity study. However, at least the CMIR attempts to construct and measure Islamic religiosity which is different from the conventional contents, both in their meanings and concepts.<sup>125</sup> Thus, a study on the religiosity of Muslims has to be embarked and undertaken through the Islamic measurement scale, not to blindly follow the conventional religiosity measurement scale.

Realising the importance of constructing the Muslim religiosity scale for the national development, a group of Malaysian researchers represented by Azimi and his colleagues have conducted a study on Muslim religiosity and personality. The mixed method approaches were used by combining qualitative in-depth interviews with Islamic scholars to develop the instrument called "The Muslim Religiosity and Personality Inventory" (MRPI) for quantitative method. Their samples are focussed on youth aged 16 to 35.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> In their research, Tiliouine and Belgoumidi explored the relationships between religiosity, Meaning in Life and Subjective Wellbeing (SWB) in a sample of 495 Muslim students (330 females, and 165 males) from Algeria. Habib Tiliouine and Abbes Belgoumidi, 'An Exploratory Study of Religiosity, Meaning in Life and Subjective Wellbeing in Muslim Students from Algeria', *Applied Research Quality Life*, No. 4, 2009, pp.109-127.

<sup>124</sup> The CMIR consists of four "domains" or dimensions namely, Religious Belief, Religious Practice, the Religious Altruism, and the Religious Enrichment. The Religious Belief comprises 17 items related to the subject of faith, such as believing in God (Allah SWT), the Prophet, Judgment Day, Hell, Paradise and Sacred Books. Then, the Religious Practice encompasses 20 items that cover practical aspects, such as Islamic five times daily prayers, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, voluntary or optional practices, avoidance of Islamic prohibited deeds such as alcoholic drinks and sexual relationships out of marriage or adultery, respect restrictions on attire and physical appearance. The religious altruism encloses 12 items related to human relations, such as to be good to parents, relatives, neighbours, and advising others. Finally, the religious enrichment contains 11 items dealing with activities that improve and widen religious knowledge and spiritual experiences, such as reading of the Qur'an, reading religious books, attending religious assemblies and following or enjoy either watching or reading or listening to religious TV/radio programmes.

<sup>125</sup> Islam has a distinctive meaning and concept of God, Prophets, *Sunnah*, Shahadah, Books, the Day of Hereafter, the Paradise, the Hell, Human Destiny, Haram, Halal, and etc. The answers to the questions on these items thus would be definitely different from the answers to the questions on the items of the conventional study on religiosity. Muhammad Syukri Salleh, 'Religiosity in Development: A Theoretical Construct of an Islamic-Based Development', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 2, No. 14, [Special Issue - July 2012], p. 269.

<sup>126</sup> A combination of random, cluster and stratified methods was conducted and three age cohorts had been recognized: early youth (16-20), middle youth (21-24) and older youth (25-35). About 1,692 Muslim youths involved in the study which represented six cluster or groups: IPTA youth; youth organization members; Serenti drug rehabilitation members; Political party members; youth at-large (non-affiliated youth); and youth factory workers. Azimi Hamzah, Krauss, Steven Eric., Sidek Mohd Noah, Turiman Suandi,

The findings indicate that the Malay Muslims have scored the highest on the overall Islamic dimensions (mean= 216.36), followed by Indian Muslims (mean= 216.36) and Chinese (mean= 216.36). Overall, however all the three groups have registered a 'moderate' score for Islamic Worldview. There are significant differences among the groups like Serenti youth, who have scored the lowest on the social dimension and the highest on the risk behaviour dimensions. It can be concluded that risk behaviour among young people is a threat to nation building. Likewise, those groups of youth that scored high on the social dimension and low on the risk behaviour dimension such as factory workers, political party members, IPTA youth, and youth organisation members have the greatest potential for positively contributing to present and future well-being of the nation.<sup>127</sup>

A Malaysian scholar in Islamic development, Muhammad Syukri Salleh proposed a theoretical construct for Islamic Religiosity in his five dimensions of religiosity based on the characteristics of Islamic development. They are Divinistic, Dogmatic, Holistic Integration, Transitory, and Instrumentalistic.<sup>128</sup> Muhammad Syukri also takes into consideration the tangible factors for indicators of development such as, the income and the economic factors. However, the intangible factor from soul and the unseen spiritual

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Rumaya Juhari, Jamiah Manap, Khairul Anwar Mastor, Azma Mahmoud and Hasnan Kassan, *Muslim Religiosity & Personality Assesment: Prototype for Nation Building*, Serdang: Institute for Social Science Studies (IPSAS), Universiti Putra Malaysia, 2007.

<sup>127</sup> In further support of the literature, Spearman Rho correlation results indicated a significant negative relationship between family religiosity and risk behaviours (p = -.343). Therefore, strengthening families must be seen as key factors in the effort to keep youth on track and away from at-risk behaviours. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-137.

<sup>128</sup> According to Muhammad Syukri Salleh, Divinistic refers to the acquiescence to and the inclusion of the Creator, the God, the One and the Absolute in one's dealings. Dogmatic refers to the acquiescent acceptance to a set of dogmas embedded in one's belief system, particularly in religion. Holistic integration refers to the amalgamation of three all-embracing aspects of one's relationship, viz. the vertical God-man relationship (*hablum-minallah*), the inward man-inner-self relationship, and the horizontal man-man-nature relationship (*hablum-minannas*). Transitory refers to one's journey of life, living in this world as a temporary stop-over before embarking on the eternal world, the Hereafter. Instrumentalistic refers to the usage of all one's actions as tools of worship, undertaking man's function as servants ('*abd*) and Vicegerent (*khalifah*) of God.

The Divinistic worldview is deep-rooted in three components. The components are firstly the faith (*iman*); secondly, the rules and regulations (*syari'ah*); and thirdly, the commendable good attributes (*akhlaq*). The definition of the development has to be aligned nicely with God's words, revealed through His Divine Books and the sayings and deeds (*Hadith* and *Sunnah*) of His Prophets. The development could not be defined within the confine of the tangible factors *per se*, but also must take into consideration the intangible factors. The revelations of God and the sayings and deeds of the Prophets were full of religious elements that are unseen, such as God himself, Angels, the world after death, The Day of Judgment (the world Hereafter), Heaven and Hell. Within the development actors too, there are the unseen faith (*iman*) and desires (*nafs*) which determine the quality of their soul (*ruh*). According to these theoretical assumptions, the lower the faith and desires, the lower the quality of the soul is. Likewise, the higher the faith and desires, the higher the quality of the soul is. In other words, the determinant of the development has to include the quality of the development actors' soul itself. The higher the quality of their soul, the lower the level of their wants, hence the lesser the level of their needs, consumptions and expenditure are. Likewise, the lower the quality of their soul, the higher the level of their wants, hence the higher the level of their needs, consumptions and expenditure. Muhammad Syukri Salleh, 'Religiosity in Development: A Theoretical Construct of an Islamic-Based Development', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 2, No.14, Special Issue - July 2012, pp. 266-274.

dimension could not be neglected in the development of Islamic religiosity measurement. The reason for this argument from Muhammad Syukri's point of views is because a real development is defined through a system of categorisation based on the consideration of both the tangible and the intangible factors. Therefore, both aspects of development have been taken into account.<sup>129</sup> However, this theoretical construct has not being tested yet. The author hopes that the characteristics embedded in his theoretical construct will clearly manifest such a positive outcome of the development in which the dimensions of religiosity are deep-rooted definitely.

The impacts of Islamic Resurgence can be seen in the transformation process of the Malay society in many ways and aspects of politics, economic, education, culture and practices. The rise of Islamic popular culture has dramatically gained popular support in contemporary Malaysia. Tan Soo Beng's study has found that *nasyid* has been pluralised and globalised for the past two decades. Pop *nasyid* appeals a younger generation of Muslims who are eager to merge their religious belief with the call of modernity and pop music.<sup>130</sup> Zulfiple and Sarkissian also precisely discuss the growth of contemporary *nashīd* groups in Malaysia in their studies.<sup>131</sup>

Mosques and *surau* have been recognised as the legitimate institutions of religious expression especially in the resurgence process of the 1980s and 1990s and as the point of departure for revivalisation of the whole Muslim society. A case study conducted by Sharifah Zaleha in 1999 at Bandar Baru Bangi has discovered the relationship between *surau* construction and Islamisation, currents affecting the character and important of *surau* for communal place of prayer, *da'wah* and its relation to politics in Malaysia. A mushrooming of mosque and *surau* is described by Sharifah Zaleha as the state and society respond to the resurgent's call to accord Islam and Muslim identity greater

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 272-274.

<sup>130</sup> Tan Soo Beng, 'Singging Islamic Modernity: Recreating Nasyid in Malaysia', *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, Issue 8 ©Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, March, 2007.

<sup>131</sup> Zulfiple Abd. Ghani, 'Islamic Popular Culture: Emerging of Nashid Groups in Malaysia', *'Ulum Islamiyyah*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2006, pp. 51-63; Margeret Sarkissian, 'Religion Never Had It so Good: Contemporary Nasyid and the Growth of Islamic Popular Music in Malaysia', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, No. 37, 2005, pp. 124-152.

prominence in the country. Sharifah Zaleha also noticed that one important outcome of the impact of the Islamic Resurgence process in 1970s and 1980s is that most Malays no longer take Islam or being Muslim for granted.<sup>132</sup>

Islam also gives a significant impact on the Malay Muslim consumptions' culture. Johan Fischer examines the political and cultural effects of the Islamic opposition's call to boycott US goods in Malaysia in the wake of 9-11. He shows how this issue has stirred up a wide range of contestations and paradoxes in the everyday lives of suburban Malay Muslim middle-class families. Most of all, the boycott confronts divergent Malay middle-class groups with the problem of how to translate intentionality into practice.<sup>133</sup> Fisher's post-doctoral research<sup>134</sup> and Loong Wong's<sup>135</sup> study both conducted in 2007 also found that since the wake of Islamic Resurgence, halal markets are emerging as a result of public awareness as well as the state policy concerning of the halal productions, trades and consumptions.

The development of Islamic culture is not merely manifestation of physical symbol, but also as spiritual devotions and belief. Interesting outcomes from observational research conducted by Berger and Hefner has revealed that spiritual capital has significant relation with the Islamic Resurgence.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Sharifah Zaleha Syed Hassan, 'Surau and The Urban Ummat: The Case of Bandar Baru Bangi', Second International Malaysian Studies Conference, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 2-4 August, 1999.

<sup>133</sup> Johan Fischer, 'Boycott or Buycott? Malay Middle-Class Consumption Post -9/11', *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 72, No. 1. 2007a, pp. 29 – 50.

<sup>134</sup> Johan Fischer, 'Feeding Secularism: The Halal Market in London', Department of Society and Globalisation. Roskilde University, 2007b, p. 6.

<sup>135</sup> Loong Wong, 'Market Cultures, The Middle Classes and Islam: Consuming The Market?', Stream 24: (Re) *Investigating Class in Service and Consumer Society, Consumption Markets & Culture*, Newcastle: University of Newcastle, Australia, 2007.

<sup>136</sup> Berger and Hefner illustrated Islamic Resurgence and have reached into three conclusions. First, the Islamic Resurgence is a social event which represents a great increase in the spiritual capital dedicated to religious education and expression. Second, in the post 9-11 incidents, the resurgence was neither particularly anti-democratic nor anti-capitalist. In most countries, the great majority of Islamists and Muslims are interested in heightening public devotion, affirming an identity as Muslim, and asserting the relevance of Islam for modern life. From both two researchers points of view, the key symbols and practices of the resurgence are not political but pietistic: learning to read Arabic, reciting the Qur'an, wearing the veil (for women), keeping the annual fast, and otherwise giving an Islamic hue and variety to daily life. Thirdly, the resurgence has created new solidarities and networks in Muslim societies with serious political problems and few avenues for citizen participation. This situation reflects religious awareness, spiritual and God's consciousness and commitment towards Islamic teaching and practices amongst Muslims. Overall, Berger and Hefner concluded that the Islamic Resurgence offers two general lessons for any comparative reflection on spiritual capital. First, it demonstrates that the political and economic consequences of an expansion in spiritual capital can be varied – sometimes democracy and market-friendly, other times not. Second, the Islamic example indicates that, rather than attributing a single form of spiritual capital to a particular religion, (as Weber did), ones should recognize that there are competing varieties of spiritual capital operative within each religion or civilization. The future of modern democracy and capitalism will be as much determined by the outcome of rivalries among the bearers of different forms of spiritual capital in the same society as it will any clash of civilizations. Peter L. Berger, Robert W. Hefner, 'Spiritual Capital in Comparative Perspective', Paper presented at the Spiritual Capital Planning Meeting, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 10-11 October 2003, pp. 5-6.



Based on the previous literatures and area of studies, there is a gap of knowledge on the past writing. This research aims to deepen the understanding and contribution to the knowledge about Islam Resurgence in Malaysia. The study explores historical perspective of Islam Resurgence in Malaysia from 1977-2014 and analyses its impacts on the Malay middle and low-income classes' Islamic religiosity in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

## **1.8 Research Methodology**

This study was primarily conducted based on historical research approach which integrated qualitative and quantitative methodologies in a single study. A mixed method research designs which combined qualitative and quantitative research were utilised in order to describe historical phenomenon and correlate impact of current situation with the previous historical phenomenon. This study utilised the mixed methods research as introduced by Creswell and Plano Clark.<sup>137</sup> As an Exploratory Sequential Mixed Method Research Design which discovers historical religious phenomenon, this study had a qualitative emphasis and implemented it within both constructivist and pragmatism paradigms. Pragmatic stance is a philosophical paradigm utilised in this study as the best worldview for the mixed methods research. These paradigms used were matched to the objective of the study. The methodology employed in this study is demonstrated in Figure 1.1.

Rationales for the choice of the mixed methods in this study were due to several reasons.<sup>138</sup> According to Creswell, the combination of qualitative and quantitative data

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<sup>137</sup> According to Creswell and Plano Clark, Mixed methods research is “a research design with philosophical assumption as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative data approaches in many phases in the research process. As a method, it focuses on collecting, analysing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problem than either approach alone”. See, J. W. Creswell and V. L. Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*, California: Sage Publications, 2011, p. 5.

<sup>138</sup> Recent trends in empirical mixed methods studies have employed two or more different types of data or data collection techniques. Amongst those employed the mixed methods can be categorised in to three criteria: namely, motivations to combine different types of data for confirmation or complementarity, the extent of sequencing of data collection and the level of nesting of the multiple data sources. For the purpose of this study, I choose and refer to Creswell's mixed methods definition and design which

provides a comprehensive picture and understanding of the phenomenon and noting trends and generalisations as well as in-depth knowledge of interviewees' or participants' perspectives.<sup>139</sup> In the context of this study, it combined qualitative and quantitative data which gathered a complete understanding of the historical religious phenomenon and remarked religious trends as well as recorded in-depth knowledge of interviewees' perspectives.

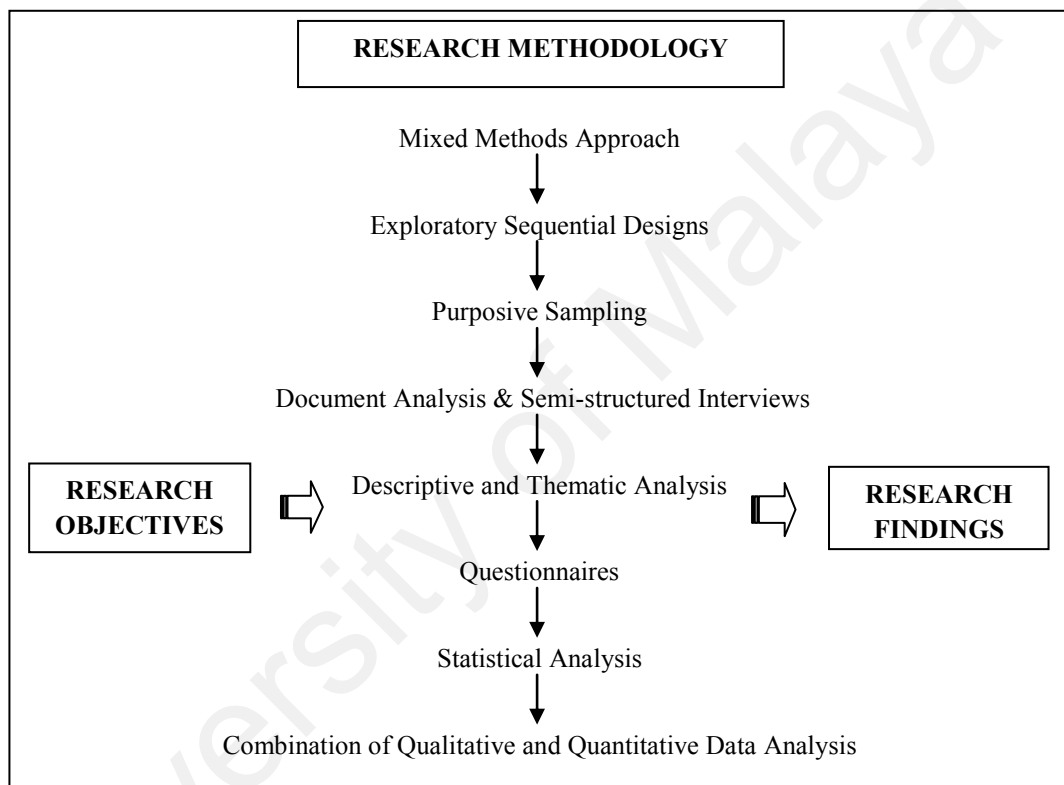


Figure 1.1 Research Methodology and Processes

Moreover, mixed methods research is the best way to address the complex research questions and these approaches allow the researcher to measure trends, prevalence and outcomes and at the same time examine meaning, context and process.<sup>140</sup> In the context of the study, mixed methods research was the best methodological approach to report and answer different research questions on the study

match to the nature and purpose of the study. See, Mario Luis Small, 'How to Conduct a Mixed Methods Study: Recent Trends in a Rapidly Growing Literature', *Annual Review Sociology*, Vol. 37, 2011, pp. 57–86.

<sup>139</sup> J. W. Creswell, and Plano Clark, V. L., *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*, p. 32-33.

<sup>140</sup> V. L. Plano Clark, 'Cross-Disciplinary Analysis of the Use of Mixed Methods In Physics Education Research, Counseling Psychology and Primary Care', *Doctoral Dissertation*, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2005, p. 66; J. W. Creswell, and V. L. Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*, p. 175.

of the Islamic Resurgence and its impacts on the Malays middle and low-income classes' religiosity. The researcher believes that mixed methods strategies can result in enhancing and enriching understanding of the phenomena and better comprehend the process and development of the Islamic Resurgence, with more rigorous methodology.

Bloomberg and Volpe stress that choice of research approach is directly attached to research problem and purpose. In other words, research approach is chosen based on research problem; which is the best fits with the research problem.<sup>141</sup> Using the mixed methods, the researcher could understand the research problems in the study, and relate the impact of the Islamic Resurgence phenomenon on the certain groups of people, and in the context of this study are the Malays middle and lower income class, especially in the aspect of religiosity. In addition, according to Teddlie, Tashakkori and Greene, the mixed methods provide a variety of paths, or ideal design types to accomplish the goals of the study which is to discover the trends of Islamic Resurgence and its impact on the Malays middle class and lower class's religiosity.<sup>142</sup> The nature of this research applied both constructivist and pragmatism paradigms which practise a practical philosophical assumption in more diverse and innovative ways to answer the research questions. In line with Rocco et al., views, they view conducting the mixed methods in the study would able to see the phenomenon which "reflects social realities".<sup>143</sup>

Briefly, this study employed the mixed methods approach due to its comprehensiveness in understanding the historical phenomenon and the current trends, completeness in understanding and answering research questions, the ability to explore and understanding research problems, the ideal design types to accomplish the goals of the study and its ability to see the phenomenon which reflected social realities.

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<sup>141</sup> Linda Dale Bloomberg, and Marie Volpe, *Completing Your Qualitative Dissertation: A Roadmap from Beginning to End*, London: Sage Publications. Inc., 2008, p. 7-8.

<sup>142</sup> Refer to J. C. Greene, V. J. Caracelli, and W. F. Graham, 'Toward a Conceptual Framework for Mixed-Method Evaluation Designs', *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, Vol. 11, 1989, pp. 255-274; Charles Teddlie, and Abbas Tashakkori, 'A General Typology of Research Designs Featuring Mixed Methods', *Research in the Schools*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2006, p. 12.

<sup>143</sup> T.S. Rocco, L.A. Bliss, S. Gallagher, A. Perez-Prado, C. Alacaci, E.S. Dwyer, J.C. Fine, and E. Pappamihiel, 'The Pragmatic and Dialectical Lenses: Two Views of Mixed Methods Use in Education', In A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie (editors), *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2003, pp. 597.

### 1.8.1 Data Collection Procedure and Sampling in the Qualitative Phase

This research utilised Exploratory Sequential Mixed Methods Design which combined the qualitative and quantitative methods suitable to the nature of research problem as well as to understand the problem.<sup>144</sup> It involved 2 phases of the study's methods.<sup>145</sup> First phase begins with multi-qualitative methods: documents analysis, semi-structured interview and observations. Meanwhile, the second phase involves quantitative method to generalize and test outcomes of the exploration based on variables and theoretical framework developed in the qualitative phase. The procedures used in this exploratory mixed methods design can be seen in Figure 1.2.

Three data collection techniques used in qualitative methodology are parallel with what Davies says that was the most likely techniques used in qualitative research.<sup>146</sup> Primary data, archives and official records were collected from government institutions, NGOs and *da'wah* organisations and the National Archive in Kuala Lumpur. They were analysed through content analysis.

The selection of multiple collection techniques was to ensure the research could triangulate different data source and using it to build a coherent justification for themes.<sup>147</sup> Gibson and Brown also stress that triangulation is common in qualitative research and it can check trustworthiness of different data source and also to examine the same phenomenon from different points of views.<sup>148</sup> Based on the above reasons, the researcher used triangulation strategy in this research to strengthen the study by constructing a logical justification for themes, checking trustworthiness of different data source and examining the same phenomenon from different points of view.

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<sup>144</sup> J. W. Creswell, and V. L. Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2007.

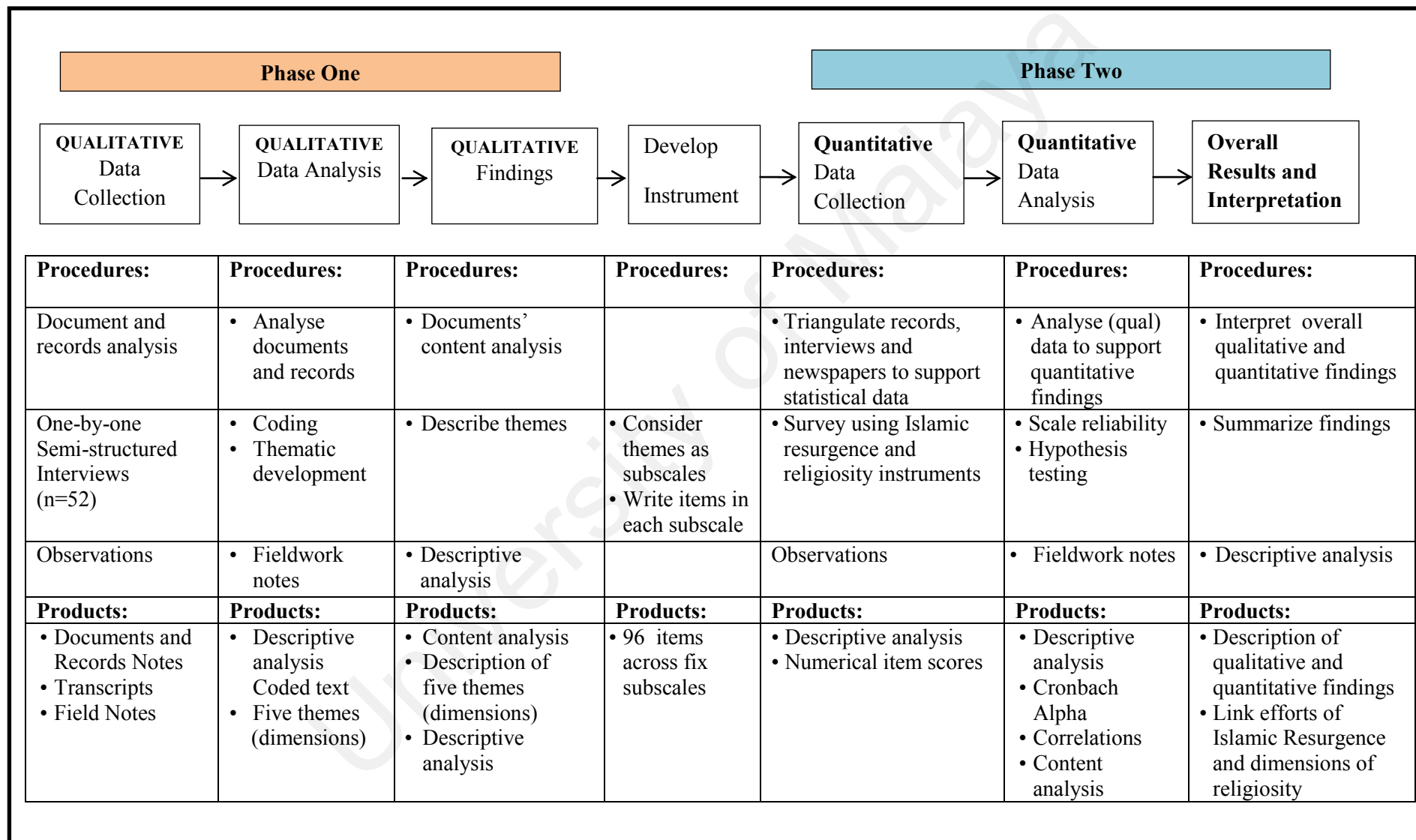
<sup>145</sup> See Ibid., K. K. Myers, & J. G. Oetzel, 'Exploring the Dimensions of Organizational Assimilation: Creating and Validating a Measure', *Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 51, 2003, pp. 438-457.

<sup>146</sup> The techniques were document analysis, interviews and observations. M. B. Davies, *Doing a Successful Research Project: Using Qualitative or Quantitative Methods*, Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

<sup>147</sup> J. W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, (Second ed.), Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003, p. 8; Pickard, A.J., *Research Methods in Information*, London: Facet, 2007, p. 86.

<sup>148</sup> Willian J. Gibson, and Andrew Brown, *Working with Qualitative Data*, London: Sage, 2009, pp. 82-83.

Figure 1.2 Visual Diagrams of the Mixed Qualitative and Quantitative Methods Research Design Procedures



The purpose of interviews was to develop knowledge and explore the phenomenon of Islamic Resurgence. Semi structured interview was done in order to gain in-depth view of the problem. This is in line with the constructivist paradigm to enter an interview with no preconceived questions, but has some general questions prepared so that the ice can be broken and both the interviewer and interviewee can start to relax with each other.<sup>149</sup> Alternatively, Sampson suggests that a semi-structured approach to in-depth interviews also allows the researcher to include a specific list of subject and topics, with the time allocated to each topic in accordance with the interviewer's preference.<sup>150</sup>

The semi-structured interview sessions were conducted with six experts in the area of Islamic Resurgence and Muslim religiosity,<sup>151</sup> 19 leaders of ABIM, IKRAM, UMNO and PAS and 17 selected Malay middle income earners and eight Malay low-income classes and three representing agents of Islamic Resurgence in getting their insights and opinions on Islamic Resurgence and its impacts on the Malays middle and the low-income class's religious thoughts, lifestyles and practices.<sup>152</sup> Some informants were represented at least as two positions in the study due to their role as either expert, leader or the Malay Muslim middle class.<sup>153</sup> A question guide was developed and refined for the use in the interview sessions.<sup>154</sup> The interviews were taped and conducted in a mixture of languages, Malay language and English; as such mixture is common among the urban educated Malays. However, interview sessions with the lower classes were conducted in Malay as a common communication language for such

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<sup>149</sup> T. Morris, *Social Work Research Methods: Four Alternative Paradigms*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006.

<sup>150</sup> P. Sampson, 'Qualitative Research and Motivation Research', in Worcester, R.M. (editor), *Consumer Market Research Handbook*, McGraw-Hill, London, 1972, pp. 7-27.

<sup>151</sup> See list of experts in Bibliography.

<sup>152</sup> Name list of 19 selected leaders of Islamic organisations, the Malay middle and low-income informants is documented in Bibliography.

<sup>153</sup> Dato Dr. Siddiq Fadhil and Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor bin Nawawi represented as both experts and leader of Islamic *da'wah* NGOs and the Malay middle classes respectively, while Dato' Mohd Nakhaie Ahmad and Tuan Hj Saari Sungip represented as leaders and the middle-income informants.

<sup>154</sup> Interview guide was constructed based on literature review and the interview process was recorded using a digital recorder. Data in the interviews were also gathered through note taking and were transcribed later for the purpose of data analysis and coding. Strauss also advises that data coding should be done frequently and early within the research schedule and data analysis should be undertaken immediately once all the interviews sessions have ended. A. Strauss, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. See also, Denise G. Jarratt, 'A comparison of two alternative interviewing techniques used within an integrated research design: a case study in out-shopping using semi-structured and non-directed interviewing techniques', *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, Vol. 14, No. 6, 1996, pp. 9, 6-15.

group. Data from the semi-structured interviews were used to develop a questionnaire in a quantitative method.

Sample in this qualitative phase was selected purposefully. According to Patton, purposeful sampling technique used to keep information-rich cases for study in-depth.<sup>155</sup> Using purposeful sampling would understand the phenomenon of the Islamic Resurgence and how its influence on the middle and low-income classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Strategy for purposeful selecting information-rich cases based on criterion sampling. According to Patton, the purpose of criterion sampling is to pick all cases that meet some criterion.<sup>156</sup> In the context of current study, the use of criterion sampling in which sampling came across certain criteria. Justification for the choice of sampling in this study was based on four criteria.<sup>157</sup>

To complete the first phase of qualitative technique, participational observations on current situation of social religious changes were conducted in selected urban and sub-urban areas. The researcher managed to visit some of mosques and *surau* in Kuala Lumpur, Shah Alam, Bangi, Sepang, Kuala Selangor and Gombak and attended several talks, seminars or *ceramah* which were organised by the government Islamic institutions, Islamic political parties, and Islamic NGOs to observe efforts made by these groups to revitalise Islamic consciousness and recorded the impacts of these efforts from their audiences. Observational visits to fieldwork places took about twelve months from 1<sup>st</sup> May 2013 to 30<sup>th</sup> April 2014. Field notes of observational visits were collected and analysed in descriptive and narrative styles of writing.

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<sup>155</sup> Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, London: Sage Publications, 1990, p. 169.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

<sup>157</sup> First, sampling was chosen through categorical selection which represented by experts, Islamic *da'wah* NGO's and Malays Islamic-based political parties (UMNO and PAS) and the Malay individuals of different social income class. Second, individuals or organisations live or operate and work in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Third, individual or organisations selected are those who involved in and contributed to or not in Islamic *da'wah* in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Fourth, those individuals or organisations witnessed, participated, contributed to and have knowledge on Islamic consciousness activities among the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

### 1.8.2 The Development of Islamic Resurgence and Religiosity Instrument

In the development process of Muslim religiosity scale, several steps have been undertaken in the study. First, interview sessions were conducted with experts to construct a scale for Islamic religiosity, determining the concept of social class and Islamic Resurgence. According to Prof. Dr. Badlihisham Mohd Nasir, Professor in *Da'wah* and Leadership Management, Faculty of Islamic Studies, the National University of Malaysia (UKM), Islamic religiosity can be measured and identified physically through tangible and intangible outcomes by looking at Islamic fundamental teaching which lies from the three primary principles of Islam which are Islam, *Iman* and *Ihsan*. This opinion is also supported by other Muslim scholars including Distinguished Professor Tan Sri Prof. Dr. Mohd Kamal Hassan, International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM); Prof. Datuk Paduka Mohammad Bin Abu Bakar, University of Malaya; Prof. Dato' Dr. Ismail Ibrahim and Dato Dr. Siddiq Fadzil.<sup>158</sup>

The basis and argument for the development of Islamic religiosity instrument and dimensions were extracted from the Prophet Muhammad's SAW Hadith by referring to the second hadith of "The Forty Hadith by Imam al-Nawawi". The first level, Islam has been identified as obedience to and worship of Allah. Islam includes external actions or behaviours both in speech and actions. The second level, *Imān*, is faith or belief and is constructed in Islamic creed (*aqīdāh*). The final level or *Ihsān* (excellence) is also known as spiritual excellence and consists of the features of *murāqabah* (knowing that Allah is watching over us) and *musyāhadah* (striving to purify one's self or heart).<sup>159</sup>

Muslim scholars also consider Islam, *Imān* and *Ihsān*, the three stages in the path towards Allah SWT. The first path is Islam whereby someone should force and bring

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<sup>158</sup> Interview with Tan Sri Prof. Dr. Mohd Kamal Hassan, at ISTAC, International Islamic University of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 28 May 2013; Interview with Prof. Dato' Dr Ismail Ibrahim, at Majlis Universiti Islam Malaysia, Bangi Selangor, 13 September 2013. He is Chairman of the Baitulmal's Professional Institute, the first Director of IKIM; Interview with Prof. Dr Badlihisham Mohd Nasir, at the Department of *Da'wah* and Leadership, Faculty of Islamic Studies, the National University of Malaysia, 15 January 2013; and Interview with Dato' Dr. Siddiq Fadzil, at Kolej Darul Hikmah Kajang, Selangor, 9 October 2012.

<sup>159</sup> Azimi Hamzah, Krauss, Steven Eric., Sidek Mohd Noah, Turiman Suandi, Rumaya Juhari, Jamiah Manap, Khairul Anwar Mastor, Azma Mahmoud and Hasnan Kassan, *Muslim Religiosity & Personality Assesment: Prototype for Nation Building*, Serdang: Institute for Social Science Studies (IPSAS), Universiti Putra Malaysia, 2007, pp. 28-29. Muhammad Uthman El-Muhammady, *Tasawuf dan Kedudukannya di Nusantara*, n.p.: n.p., 2003, pp. 1-13.



himself/herself to do those actions which he/she knows that Allah wants him/her to do. The second level is *Imān* where someone is not only doing those actions, but he/she is strengthening his or her relationship with Allah SWT and he/she is beginning to taste the sweetness of his/her relationship with Him. The third level is the level of *Ihsān*, which is to worship Allah SWT as if someone sees Him, and even if he/she cannot see Him, to know that He sees him/her. Therefore, he/she is moving in this path, this journey, towards the Divine.<sup>160</sup>

An adaptation on the previous instrument of Muslim religiosity is made to construct measurement of religiosity in the study. The new added and selected items constructed in the instrument were retested in the pilot study.<sup>161</sup> This study also refers to the latest well-established measurement and instrument of the World Values Survey (WVS) version 2010-2014 and it is adapted to the current study. Acknowledgment should be given to Jamiah et.al., whose research provides foundation for this study. Their findings revealed seven assumptions or foundational principles for Islamic religiosity which has guided this study.<sup>162</sup>

### 1.8.3 Data Collection Procedure and Sampling in Quantitative Phase

Data was gathered in two phases of data collection, namely qualitative and quantitative methodology. Findings of the qualitative methods, contents analysis of the documents and interviews were used to develop the instrument of the quantitative method. 750 sets

<sup>160</sup> <http://www.40hadithnawawi.com/index.php/the-hadiths/hadith-2>. Retrieved on 27 January 2013.

<sup>161</sup> The items are extracted and adapted from the well-established inventory and instruments. An adaptation and adjustment was made on a few selected items in the 2007 Muslim Religiosity and Personality Instrument (MRPI) by Azimi Hamzah et. al., the Comprehensive Measure of Islamic Religiosity (CMIR) by Tiliouine & Belgoumidi (2009) and suggestion proposed in the Theoretical Construct of an Islamic-Based Development by Muhammad Syukri Salleh (2012). See for example, Habib Tiliouine & Abbes Belgoumidi, 'An Exploratory Study of Religiosity, Meaning in Life and Subjective Wellbeing in Muslim Students from Algeria,' *Applied Research Quality Life*, No. 4, 2009, pp. 109-127; Azimi Hamzah, Krauss, Steven Eric., Sidek Mohd Noah, Turiman Suandi, Rumaya Juhari, Jamiah Manap, Khairul Anwar Mastor, Azma Mahmoud and Hasnan Kassan, *Muslim Religiosity & Personality Assesment: Prototype for Nation Building*, Serdang: Institute for Social Science Studies (IPSAS), Universiti Putra Malaysia, 2007, pp. 28-29; Muhammad Syukri Salleh, 'Religiosity in Development: A Theoretical Construct of an Islamic-Based Development,' *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 2, No. 14, Special Issue - July 2012, pp. 266-274.

<sup>162</sup> Based on in-depth the interview with Islamic scholars, their study revealed that religiosity from the Islamic perspective is measurable. The study was guided by seven principles of religiosity measurement which are: first, judgement or religiosity evaluation from an Islamic perspective can be based on external aspects only; second, Islamic religiosity can be measured but one's true religiosity level is known only to Allah SWT; third, manifestation of *Islam*, *Iman* and *Ihsan* is the basis of Islamic religiosity measurement; fourth, *Iman* must be proven by *amal soleh*; fifth, good character results from the perfect internalisation of *syariah*; sixth, religiosity symbols are different among different people; and seventh, the standard of Islamic religiosity measurement is based on Al-Quran and the Sunnah. See, Jamiah Hj. Manap, Azimi Hamzah, Sidek Mohd. Noah and Hasnan Kassan, 'The Principles of Islamic Religiosity and Religious Personality Measurement,' *Jurnal Akademik*, 2 January 2007, p. 1.

of questionnaires were distributed to the respondents based on the ratio 2:4:4 respectively for the upper-middle income or middle class with high income, middle-middle income, and low-income classes in urban and suburban areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.<sup>163</sup> A combination of stratified, random and cluster samplings were employed. Then, questionnaires were distributed by cluster in 9 districts of Selangor.<sup>164</sup> Five clusters have been determined which were represented by the government sector, Islamic NGOs, political party, factory and agricultural sectors, public people at large and questionnaires were distributed randomly based on social income class and districts.

Target groups of this study are the Malays middle and low-income class adults aged 20 to 39, 40 and 65 years old in urban and suburban areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.<sup>165</sup> Definition of “the urban areas” which is used in the 2010 Population and Housing Census is utilised to guide this study.<sup>166</sup>

According to Cohen (1969), Krejcie and Morgan (1970), Azimi Hamzah (2007), as well as Uma Sekaran and Roger Bougie (2009), population of over 100,000 require a sample size of at least 384 respondents.<sup>167</sup> Therefore, a sample size of at least 500 was required for overall samples representing both middle and lower income classes. Salkind argues that the larger sample size, the smaller sampling error and thus, are more representative of the population.<sup>168</sup> Isaac and Micheal also share the same idea saying that a large sample size is essential when the total sample is to be sub-divided into sub-

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<sup>163</sup> A ratio of 2:4:4 for 20 per cent of the high class households: 40 per cent of the middle class households: 40 per cent of the bottom class households by the Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015 were used to estimate proportions of the Malays middle and low-income class. Different sample groups in the quantitative data collection are chosen based on the following criteria: (1) households monthly income of RM2301 and above for the middle class, and RM2300 or less for the low-income group, (2) the age of those who witness Islamic Resurgence in the period of 1970 and 2014, and (3) living or working in the urban and suburban areas. In 2009, about 9.8 per cent out of 2.4 million households in the bottom 40 per cent households were evenly distributed between urban and rural areas in Selangor. Based on this statistics, about 235,200 households were categorized in the lower income class in Selangor. The Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015, pp. 149-150.

<sup>164</sup> Nine districts of Selangor are Gombak, Klang, Kuala Langat, Kuala Selangor, Petaling, Sabak Bernam, Sepang, Ulu Langat, Ulu Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

<sup>165</sup> The age range of the respondents is divided into five cohorts between 13 to 17, 18 to 24, 25 to 39, 40 to 59 and 60 to 83 years old and they are living and/or working in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

<sup>166</sup> The 2010 Population and Housing Census had defined urban areas as follows: “Gazetted areas with their adjoining built-up areas which had a combined population of 10,000 persons or more. Built-up areas were defined as areas contiguous to a gazetted area and had at least 60 per cent of their population (aged 10 years and above) engaged in non-agricultural activities. *Population Distribution and Basic Demographic Characteristics 2010*, Department of Statistic Malaysia, 28 June 2011, pp. 121.

<sup>167</sup> J. Cohen, *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*, New York: Academic Press, 1969; Krejcie R.V. & Morgan, D. W., ‘Determining sample size for research activities,’ *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, No. 30, 1970, pp. 607-610; Azimi Hamzah, Krauss, et.al, *Muslim Religiosity & Personality Assesment*, p. 52; Uma Sekaran and Roger Bougie, *Research Methos for Business: A Skill Building Approach*, United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2009.

<sup>168</sup> Neil J. Salkind, *Exploring Research*, Canada: Pearson Education Ltd., 2006, p. 94. See also John M. Lachin, ‘Introduction to Sample Size Determination and Power Analysis for Clinical Trials,’ *Controlled Clinical Trials*, No. 2, 1981, pp. 93-113.

samples to be compared with one another. They also add that there is a risk to miss or misrepresent those differences, when the parent population consists of a large range of variables and characteristics.<sup>169</sup> Due to these reasons the study has adds the number of samples to at least 500 to 750 to represent the Malay middle and lower class.

#### **1.8.4 Data Analysis**

Interviews had been tape recorded, transcribed and analysed. The researcher carried out themes or dimensions from interview transcripts, content analysis of official records and documents, and observations field notes. The themes and dimensions created were analysed in descriptive and chronological order. This would help the researcher to construct variables in developing the instrument of the questionnaires. In the quantitative phase, researcher managed the data using Statistical Analysis Software (PASW) programme. Kruskal-Wallis and Mann-Whitney U test were used to store, categorise, retrieve and compare the quantitative data to mine statistical findings from the raw data. About 734 sets of received questionnaires were analysed by mean, percentage and correlation using descriptive analysis.

#### **1.8.5 Reliability and Validity**

Internal consistency of each item measures in the survey was conducted and tested through Cronbach's Alpha which reached a significance level of .82, while Cronbach's Alpha based on standardised items is .89. It is also essential in establishing confidence in the findings of qualitative research.<sup>170</sup> According to Nahid Golafshani and Johnson, applying multiple methods in a qualitative paradigm, such as observations, interviews and content analysis of documents and records can also lead to a more valid, reliable

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<sup>169</sup> R. Hill, 'What Sample Size "Enough" in Internet Survey Research?,' *Interpersonal Computing and Technology: An Electronic Journal for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* 6, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1998.

<sup>170</sup> Y. S. Lincoln and E. G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1985.

and diverse construction of realities.<sup>171</sup> In line with this view, this study utilised multi-methods in a qualitative phase and validated internal consistency through Cronbach's Alpha in the quantitative phase.

## 1.9 Conceptual Framework

Islamic Resurgence is a socio-religious phenomenon evolving mainly in a reaction to the current situation in the Muslim world. Islamic Resurgence is not only a modern phenomenon, the product to a large extent, but also of modern conditions which ironically enable it to use Islamic symbols to face new situation. Since the emergence of the contemporary wave of global Islamic Resurgence which traced its root in 1970s, there are many theories described on the historical phenomenon of Islamic Resurgence, by Western thinkers and Islamic scholars. Some put skeptical views on the Muslim resurgence for Islamic cause, but the others gave moderate analytical assumptions.

The Western practice of placing Islamic Resurgence under the rubric of "fanaticism" is singularly dysfunctional to a balanced and dispassionate analysis of the subject. A surplus of Western theorists, including Durkheim, Max Weber, Karl Mark and Berger have persuasively argued that social and economic deprivation produce an increase tendency in religious commitment.<sup>172</sup> For many decades the study of social change dynamics has been dominated by an evolutionary theory in which "progress" in civilisation has occurred as the natural product of competitive struggle and the "survival of the fittest". According to this theory, the change processes in social systems involved

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<sup>171</sup> See for example, Nahid Golafshani, 'Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research', *The Qualitative Report*, Vol. 8, No. 4, December 2003, p. 600; B. R. Johnson, 'Examining the Validity Structure of Qualitative Research', *Education*, Vol. 118, No. 3, 1997, p. 284.

<sup>172</sup> Dale W. Wimberley, 'Socioeconomic Deprivation and Religious Salience: A Cognitive Behavioral Approach', *The Sociological Quarterly*, No. 25, Spring 1984, pp. 223-224; R. Hrair Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab World*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1985, pp. 7-8. See also, Jean-Paul Carvalho, 'A Theory of The Islamic Revival', *Research Paper*, Oxford: University of Oxford, 2009; Christine Binzel and Jean-Paul Carvalho, 'Education, Social Mobility and Religious Movements: A Theory of the Islamic Revival in Egypt', *IZA Discussion Paper*, No. 7259, March 2013, pp. 1-48.

sequential patterns caused by dissatisfaction, manifest unrest, search for solutions and others which are based on material.<sup>173</sup>

Without denying the salience of socioeconomic causality, this study proposes to adopt multidimensional framework to analyse the contemporary Islamic Resurgence as a continual process of social and religious reform in Muslim society. While Western and Marxist materialism tend to underestimate and dismiss the regenerative capability of Islam, thus, intellectual valid approach requires a culturally and historically indigenous perspective based on Islamic history, theology and the writings of Islamist theorist. Therefore, this study seeks to focus on local and Islamic perspectives on the phenomenon of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia, while supported by relevant insights from Western and Islamic social theory.

Not all Western scholars neglected the dynamic nature of religious resurgence in the Muslim World. Ira M. Lapidus for example, evaluated contemporary Islamic movements as both a response to Muslim conditions while facing the process of modernity and “a cultural expression of modernity”. Even though there is an effort to return the past era of Islam, but the emphasis upon Islamic values represented in its practical form to deal with contemporary problems by renewing commitment to the basic principles.<sup>174</sup>

In line with this view but pointing it in a different angle and understanding, Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, a Syrian born Professor of the History of Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations at Georgetown University has tried to understand revivalist call and idea for resurgence from the perspective of its supporters. Resurgence from its devotees’ point of view is a crucial means of instilling life into Muslim community that is mired in centuries-old traditions whose emphasis on imitation of the past has led to

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<sup>173</sup> The other two patterns are formalisation of patterns, and legitimation and institution. See, Bryce F. Ryan, *Social and Cultural Change*, New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1969, pp. 9-16.

<sup>174</sup> Ira M. Lapidus is an Emeritus Prof. of Middle Eastern and Islamic History at The University of California at Berkeley. He wrote many book on Islam and Muslim Society, and the author of *A History of Islamic Societies*, and *Contemporary Islamic Movements in Historical Perspective*, among other works. Ira M. Lapidus, ‘Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms’, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1997, p. 444.

ossification of Islamic society, restraining its ability to move quickly into the modern world. However, based on her observation on Islamic history, in the way to reach the ideal, Muslim community has had to wrestle with the pressure and conflict between the belief in the prophetic model and the relevance for contemporary times.<sup>175</sup>

In fact, the call for a return to the ideal life of the early Muslim century does not necessarily mean that Muslims are inherently “conservative” or “reactionary” and should oppose to modernise without being critical to innovation. The Islamic religious movements are not in fact back looking.<sup>176</sup> On the other hand, “the ideal” means to reaffirm the position, authenticity and purification of the Quran and the *Sunnah* as complete guides for humanity and they apply at all times and places. It also means a long-lasting energising tradition within Islam as a source to solve Muslim problems and the reformist of the resurgence must serve the objective of fulfilling God’s will rather than human practicality alone.<sup>177</sup> Haddad, however, acknowledges dynamic responses of Islamic Resurgence to the conditions created by historic change in Muslim society through the concept of *tajdīd*, the term which has played a role in the discourses of renewal in the pre-modern and contemporary eras.<sup>178</sup>

Contrary to Haddad’s claim, Khurshid Ahmad, a Pakistani economist and Islamic activist of the *Jamaat-e-Islami* has highlighted that the contemporary Islamic Resurgence should be seen as a positive reaction of the Islamic *Ummah* to recover its the position after losing it because of the Western domination. For him, the rise of Islamic awakening is a creative and positive response to the challenge of modernity where people find their identification with Islam as a source of personal ethics and dominant inspiration for the socioeconomic order. The nature of the Islamic Resurgence is a continued response of the Muslims to seek its relevance in space and time guided by

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<sup>175</sup> Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, ‘The Revivalist Literature and the Literature on Revival: An Introduction,’ in Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck and John L. Esposito (editors), *The Contemporary Islamic Revival: A Critical Survey and Bibliography*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991, p. 4.

<sup>176</sup> Ira M. Lapidus, ‘Islamic Revival and Modernity’, p. 447.

<sup>177</sup> John O. Voll, ‘Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: Tajdid and Islah’, in John L. Esposito, *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 32-33, 40-43.

<sup>178</sup> Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, ‘The Revivalist Literature and the Literature on Revival’, p. 24.

the original source of Islam. Therefore, Islamic Resurgence is not merely a product of certain specific contemporary challenges, but it also must be viewed in the context of historical continuity as Khurshid states, that the Islamic Resurgence is “a built-in mechanism for change, innovation and meeting the exigencies of time”.<sup>179</sup>

Two schools of thoughts have emerged in reviewing historical pattern of the contemporary Islamic Resurgence. The present phase of Islamic Resurgence is viewed by Hrair Dekmejian as conforming to the cyclical historical pattern when it meets times of crisis and the resurgence movements seek their way return to the Prophet’s SAW era. Such a dialectical approach, which is inherited from Ibn Khaldun, claims that this pattern is dictated not only by historical reality, but also by the worldview of recent Islamist movements. Reviewing the causal relationship between spiritual-socio-political turmoil which has been a recurrent pattern in Islamic history, Dekmejian illustrates the chronological diagram of this cyclical dynamic resurgence and crisis in various historical periods.<sup>180</sup>

According to this theory, each phase of decline would trigger a revivalist response, a movement turn to Islamic roots led by charismatic individuals. This concept of charismatic individual is also in line with Max Weber’s concept of charismatic personality which will be applied to a certain quality of an individual by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with super human, or at least specifically exceptional power or qualities.<sup>181</sup> According to this cyclical dynamic resurgence of Islam by Dekmejian, some of these leaders would assume the role of *mujaddīd* (renewer) of the faith, while the others would seek to effect a radical socio-political reformation through militant movement as *Mahdi* or a liberator sent by God. By appealing the Quran, the Prophet’s traditions (*sunnah*) and historical models turn

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<sup>179</sup> Khurshid Ahmad, ‘Islamic Resurgence: Challenges, Directions and Future Perspectives’, In Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi’ (editor), *Islamic Resurgence: Challenges, Directions & Future Perspectives*, Florida: World and Islam Studies Enterprise, 1994, pp. 49-51.

<sup>180</sup> See Table 1.1, p. 54. R. Hrair Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab World*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1985, pp. 9-10.

<sup>181</sup> Max Weber, ‘The Routinization of Charisma’, in Amitai Etzioni and Eva Etzioni, *Social Change: Sources, Patterns and Consequences*, New York: Basic Books, 1964, pp. 53-54.

back to the early times of the Prophetic periods, these leaders have legitimised themselves in their political actions and ideological interpretations.<sup>182</sup>

Table 1.1: Dynamic Cyclical Patterns in Islamic History

<b>Crisis in Muslim History</b>	<b>Islamic Resurgence and Its Charismatic Leaders</b>
Umayyad decline	Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz (d. 720) Abu Hanifah (699-767) Malik (714-798) Shiite/ Abbasid Revolt (750)
Abbasid degeneration	Ibn Hanbal (780-855) Al-Shafii (767-854) Ismaili Shiite resurgence: Qaramitah (c. 890) Ubaydallah al-Mahdi (909)
Umayyad decline in Spain	Ibn Hazm (d. 1064)
Fatimid decline and Crusaders	Salah al-Din (1171-1187)
Abbasid demise/ Turkish and Mongolian conquests	Nawawi (d.1277) Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328) Ibn al-Qayyim (d. 1350) Ibn Kathir (d. 1373)
Mongol /Turkic Invasions and choas	Shiite resurgence : Hilli (d.1325) Mushasha (d.1462) Shah Ismail (d.1524)
Ottoman decline	Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1791) Sanusiyyah (1800s) Mahdiyyah (1880s) Salafiyyah (1890s): Afghani (d. 1879) Abduh (d. 1905) Rashid Rida (d. 1935)
Contemporary Islamic crisis milieux	Muslim Brotherhood (1930s) Hassan al-Banna Mustafa Sibai Sayyid Qutb S. Abul A’la Maududi Sunni Resurgence (1970s) Utaybi Faraj S. Hawwa Hassan Turabi Tilmisani Sadiq al-Mahdi The Iranian Islamic Revolution (1979) Khomeini Baqir al-Sadr Shariati

<sup>182</sup> R. Hrair Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution*, p. 12.



The second school of thought which provides another pattern to the theory of Islamic history is a flux and reflux theory by Akbar Ahmed. Unlike the previous conventional of a cyclical theory by Ibn Khaldun and the linear decline and fall theory which have wide followers amongst the Western historians, Akbar discovers that the growth and development of Muslim history is like a rhythm, a flux and reflux in their attempt to live by the Islamic ideal. While observing the pattern and flow of Muslim history, Akbar interpreted Islamic history as an attempt to live up to and by the 7<sup>th</sup> Century Muslim ideal.<sup>183</sup> The basic foundation of this argument lies on the view that the ideal and golden age of Islamic civilisation is at the early Prophet SAW era as mentioned in the Quran:

“The vanguard (of Islam) the first of those who forsook (their homes) and of those who gave them aid, and (also) those who follow them in (all) good deeds – well-pleased is Allah with them, as are they with Him: for them hath He prepared Gardens under which rivers flow, to dwell therein forever. That is the supreme Felicity.”<sup>184</sup>

Akbar then, supports his view by providing evident based on the hadith of the Prophet SAW who said: “The best of my people are my generation; then they that come after them, then they that come after them.” Afterward, Islamic civilisation would slowly decline but then rise again, and continue this pattern until the end. Meanwhile, Muslim dynasties and empires rise and fall, even never to emerge again, the ideal is constantly renewed by groups and individuals in different places and in different times. The only indicator used in measuring success of Muslim society is how best they are in implementing the ideal and ethos of the Prophet’s SAW life. The farther the Muslims move from the ideal, the farther they are from perfection and the greater tension in society. Muslims are advised to interpret success in worldly endeavours as a sign of divine approval.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Akbar explains the theory as: “A rhythm, a flux and reflux, a rise and fall, peaks and troughs in Muslim society, Islam disintegrating in one place, reviving in another, fading here, growing there; but Islam always a factor, a force providing the dynamics to society.” Akbar S. Ahmed, *Discovering Islam: Making Sense of Muslim History and Society*, New York: Taylor & Francis, Inc. 2003, p. 31.

<sup>184</sup> Al-Taubah: 100; Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Meaning of The Holy Quran*, Maryland, USA: Amana Corporation, 1992, p. 467.

<sup>185</sup> Akbar S. Ahmed, *Discovering Islam*, p. 31.

One of the significant factors influencing the renaissance of Islam throughout Muslim history in all spaces and time is it was guided by the ideal life of the Prophet SAW and the companions. Recently, more realistic assessments of the Prophet Muhammad's SAW life have been made in the West. A Western study by Michael H. Hart places him first among a hundred in a ranking of the most influential persons in history. Besides, the Prophet's SAW name, Muhammad is notably the most popular in the world.<sup>186</sup>

Based on the above discussion on the theory of Islamic history, it is very interesting to address that two great concepts have appeared in the vocabulary of Islamic Resurgence, which are *tajdīd* and *islāh*. *Tajdīd* is usually translated as “renewal” and *islāh* as “reform”. Together both terms reveal a continuing tradition of revitalisation of Islamic faith and practice within Muslim communities. It provides a basis for the conviction that movements of renewal are an authentic part of the working out of the Islamic revelation in history.<sup>187</sup> Thus, Islamic Resurgence is not a new phenomenon in Islamic history, because it has been described as *tajdīd* or renewal which manifested a response of the Muslims to the new challenges.<sup>188</sup> Inspired by a *sahīh* or authentic hadith which is reported by al-Imam Abu Daud, the movements of Islamic Resurgence initiate such reform and motivate attitude and mode of faith to which they refer as “*tajdīd*”. The Prophet SAW said: “Allah will raise for this *ummah* at the end of every hundred years someone who will restore its religion for it.”<sup>189</sup>

Maududi in his writing enlightened the word “someone” who has been debated in different interpretations among the scholars, may imply a single person, a group of

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<sup>186</sup> Michael H. Hart, *The 100: A Ranking of the Most Influential Persons in History*, New York: Carol Pub. Group, 1978; Hart, Michael H., *A View from the Year 3000: A Ranking of the 100 Most Influential Persons of All Time*, New York: Poseidon Press, 1999, p. 26. [http://www.adherents.com/adh\\_influ.html](http://www.adherents.com/adh_influ.html).

<http://www.prophetmuhammadforall.org/webfiles/downloads/MostInfluential.pdf>.

<sup>187</sup> John O. Voll, ‘Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: Tajdid and Islah’, in Esposito, John L., *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 32.

<sup>188</sup> Khurshid Ahmad, ‘The Nature of the Islamic Resurgence,’ in Esposito, John L., *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 220-221.

<sup>189</sup> Reported by Abu Daud in al-Malhim (512), al-Hakim in al-Fitan wal Malahim (4/567), al-Tabarani in al-Awsat (4/522) on the authority of Abu Hurairah. Abu Dawud, S. A., *Sunan Abi Dawud*, Lubnan: Dar ibn Hazm, Beirut, 1998; Yusuf Qaradawi, *Islamic Moderation and Renewal*, Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), 2013, p. 208.

persons or even organisations of people. Therefore, *mujaddīd* may not necessarily be a man, but may be accomplished by a number of persons or groups of persons in the same century.<sup>190</sup> However, Associate Prof. Dato' Dr. Mohd Asri Zainul Abidin, a Malaysian young scholar and Mufti, says that whatever the meaning refers to, it is more important to derive from this hadith that *tajdīd* in Islam is necessary.<sup>191</sup>

Yusuf Qaradawi in his book "Islamic Moderation and Renewal" explains that the true *tajdīd* is based on the fundamentals, connected with the roots, inspired by the Islamic legacy, benefits from history and connects today with tomorrow.<sup>192</sup> *Tajdīd* focuses and covers the entire space of the Muslim *Ummah*, both in knowledge and work as it is an attempt to return to its original status at the time of appearance, the budding stage. Qaradawi has also added that the key to the *tajdīd* of religion is awareness and understanding according to the original sources of the Quran and the *Sunnah* through the moderate (*wasatīyy*) methodology. Hence, *tajdīd* compliments *wasatīyyah*. *Tajdīd* also rejects westernisation, but strives to change the *umma*'s identity under the pretext of modernisation.<sup>193</sup>

Many scholars also agree that Islam does remain as a major force in the temporal world, as described by Akbar S. Ahmed that Islam will continue to be a dynamic force in every aspect of Muslim society in the future. While it grows in certain direction, it will also encourage Muslim progress in other places. Unlike those communities which have referred religion to only the place of worship and marriage ceremony, Islam will continue to manifest in all aspects of life as a system and the way of life in Muslim

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<sup>190</sup> S. Abul A'la Maududi, *A Short History of the Revivalist Movement in Islam*, Lahore: Islamic Publications Limited, 1981, pp. 33-34.

<sup>191</sup> Mohd Asri Zainul Abidin, 'Tajdid: A Necessity to the Ummah', *Minda Tajdid Prof Madya Dato' Dr. Mohd Asri Zainul Abidin*, published on June 21, 2009. [http://drmaza.com/english\\_section/?p=87](http://drmaza.com/english_section/?p=87).

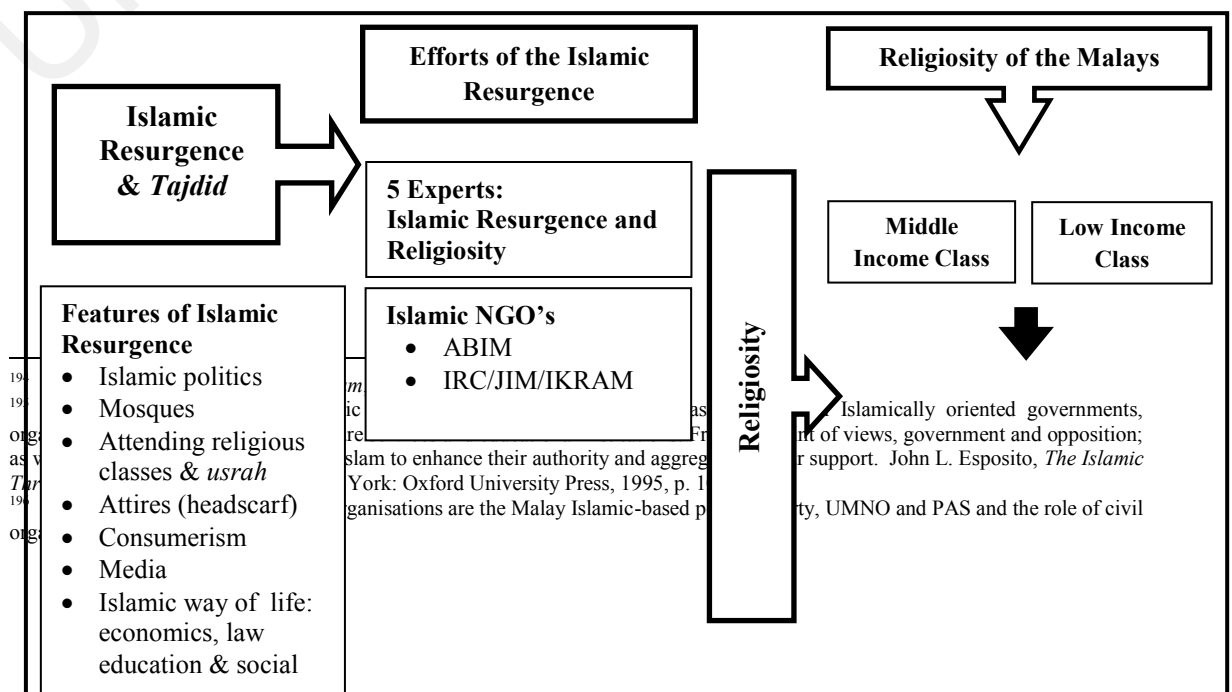
<sup>192</sup> Al-Azizi in his interpretation of Imam al-Suyuti's work *al-Jami' al-Saqhir* quoted al-'Alqami's description on *al-tajdid* is that to revive what had been obliterated from the work that adhered to the Quran and Sunnah, and to pursue their dictates. See, Yusuf Qaradawi, *Islamic Moderation and Renewal*, pp. 204, 220.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 220-221. The characteristics of modernisation listed by several scholars are ultimately dominated by the basic process of development and application of modern science. Industrialisation is after all the accomplishment of modern science based on the use of inanimate power and innumerable inventions. See, Syed Hussein Alatas, *Modernization and Social Change*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1972, p. 23.

societies where Islam is reflected in dress, in character and personality as well as culture and social customs.<sup>194</sup>

Esposito also shares the same view as Akbar. He describes Islamic Resurgence as a phenomenon where there are increasing responses on the religious physical ritual observations such as, mosque attendance, prayer and fasting, production of religious activities, programmes and publications, more emphasis on Islamic dress and values, and the renaissance of *Sufism* (mysticism). This broader-based revival has also complemented by Islam's reaffirmation in public life.<sup>195</sup> Akbar and Esposito's views on the features of Islamic Resurgence and their observations on the manifestations of an Islamic awakening in Muslims' personal life are used to guide the present study in developing the concept of Islamic Resurgence and its relation to the Malay Muslim religiosity in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

Guided by the conceptual framework of *tajdīd*, the flux and reflux of Islamic history, the features of Islamic Resurgence by Muslim and Western scholars and certain concepts which are derived from the Quran and Hadith, this study attempts to explore historical background of the contemporary manifestations of Islamic Resurgence. These manifestations of the resurgence are believed to have strong relationship with the endeavours of many Islamic organisations.<sup>196</sup> These efforts of religious revivalism could contribute to the urban Malay middle and low-income classes' religiosity.



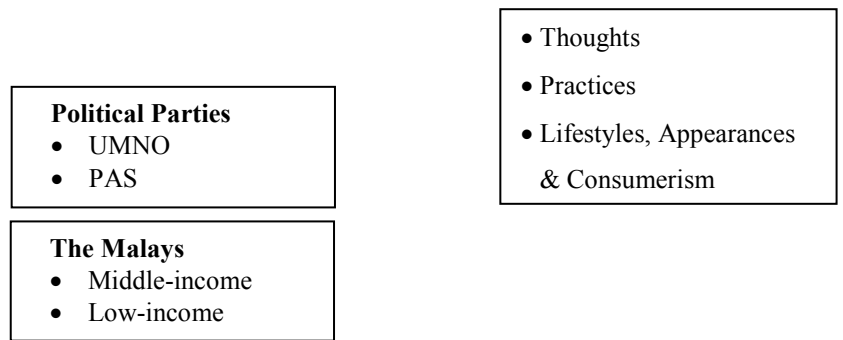


Figure 1.3: Conceptual Framework

### 1.10 Organisation of Chapters

Chapter One describes the background of the research, research questions, research objectives and the scope of the study. This important chapter of the thesis also explains the definition of terms, the significance of the study, literature reviews, research methodology and organisation of chapters which provide an overview of the whole research.

Chapter Two describes the development of Islam and religiosity of the Malays which are reflected in their practices, culture and system of life. This chapter also covers the differences between *Islāh* movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century and Islamic Resurgence in 1970s. The factors which contribute to the rise of Islamic Resurgence in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur are also discussed. Chapter Three explores efforts and approaches used by selected Islamic-based organisations especially UMNO, PAS, ABIM and IKRAM to re-flourishing Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia. Other *da'wah* organisations, like Tabligh and al-Arqam are discussed at a glance.

Chapter Four analyses the Malay middle and low-income classes' thoughts, practices and lifestyles in comparison based on qualitative interviews. Many factors contribute to individual religiosity are discussed through their personal experience in the religious movements, institutions and social communications. The impact of Islamic Resurgence through various efforts and struggle of many Islamic organisations on the

Malay middle and low-income classes' personal life in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur is explained. Meanwhile, Chapter Five analyses the respondents' perception on the efforts the Islamic organisations and agents of the Islamic Resurgence to revitalise Islam in the public spheres in Malaysia. This chapter compares the Malay middle and low-income classes' thoughts related to Islamic beliefs, thoughts and issues pertaining to the position of Islam and Muslims in Malaysia.

Chapter Six analyses the relationship between efforts of the Islamic organisations in Islamic Resurgence and the Malay middle and low-income classes' religious practices. Many aspects of Islamic practices are measured including general and compulsory practices, optional and Islamic cultural practices. This chapter also analyses the respondents' level of Islamic practices. Chapter Seven analyses the Malay middle and low-income classes' physical appearance, lifestyles and consumerism. This chapter compares the Malay middle and low-income classes' practices and awareness of the Islamic consumerism. This study also discusses lifestyles of three different social income classes of the Malay.

Chapter Eight analyses qualitative and quantitative data and sums up all findings of the study. It briefly analyses the development of the Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia and the current trends of religious consciousness which reflect the middle and low-income classes' thoughts, practices, lifestyle and physical appearance. The last chapter is the conclusion which summarises the whole findings. This study also makes recommendations for future research and finds gaps which are not covered by the study.

## CHAPTER 2

### BACKGROUND OF THE ISLAMIC RESURGENCE AND RELIGIOSITY OF THE MALAYS

#### 2.1 Introduction

Islam plays a significant role in Malaysian history, in particular its impact in all angles of the Malay life in this region for centuries. Since the coming of Islam in the Malay World, the spread of Islamic *da'wah* contributes to a great and meaningful impact on the Malay's system of belief, thoughts, diffusion of culture and religious practices. Islam is not just a religion and faith, but also a significant element that shapes Malay's identity, and a central factor which blows a sense of religious consciousness of the Malays who then become relevant nation surviving for modern and contemporary needs.

Islamisation process of the Malays in its first phase is focused on belief, practices, and the formation of ethics and personality through inculcating of Islamic knowledge tradition. The process then complemented with the introduction of Islamic laws. These aspects gradually change the Malay culture and the way they see this world in its meaning and function. *Da'wah* activities which have been done by Muslim intellectuals or *ulama'* are to be continued by the next generations passing through the same process whereby reformation and renewal is always being practised in the endeavour to comprehend the true meaning of Islam in accordance with the Islamic revelation.

The Islah Movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century emerged to purify the Malays' practice of Islamic teaching. Islamic Resurgence in 1970s, however, has its own features compared to Islah Movement in many aspects. Even though both movements originated from the Middle East, Islamic Resurgence in the 1970s onwards can be epitomised in terms of its worldview and Muslim's scope of life, mechanism of restoring Islam in the society and the impact of these appeals in the Malay lifestyles.

## 2.2 Islam and Religiosity of the Malays

As the region is occupied by majority of the Muslim population in the world, the Malay Archipelago has very unique features for the reason that it has become a place and centre that brings together different cultural backgrounds and races. As a meeting point between East and West, the Malay Archipelago in the later century transformed its role as a centre of Islamic culture and at the same time projecting the image of Islam as a dominant element of the Malays.

Islamisation is an instrumental historical episode which has undeniably transformed the Malays' character, behaviour and lifestyles corresponding to the Islamic principle and way of life.<sup>197</sup> The role of Islam, its impacts and impression upon the Malays can be seen in social, cultural, political and economic aspects of life of the present Malaysian Malay Muslims everywhere. Among a noticeable change that Islam offers to the Malays is that it transforms them from animism to Hinduism or Buddhism and from the belief in supernatural forces, and then turns to be devout believers. After professing the Islamic creed 'both with the tongue and with the heart', the Malays change their act to be gradually more profound in terms of insight, knowledge and practices according to the principle of Islam.<sup>198</sup>

An obvious sign after the conversion of the Malays to Islam is the change to Islamic names or titles. For the Malays, name or title as Muslims will reflect their image or identity which needs to be mentioned as recognition that they are in adherence and the Malays are also proud to be entitled as Muslims. *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* for example, has mentioned that Prophet Muhammad SAW appeared to Merah Silu in his

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<sup>197</sup> As mentioned by G. E von Grunebaum that the conversion of the Arabs to Islam starting in the seventh century also intended to transform the Arabs culture. The transformation of the Malay into Islamic culture and way of life is proven gave significant impacts on the Malays because Islam emphasizes not only the correct belief, but also the right conduct. See Mohd. Taib Osman, 'Islamisation of the Malays: a Transformation of Culture', in Khoo Kay Kim, *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980, p. 1.

<sup>198</sup> C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Aspect of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia*, The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1958, p. 39; Moshe Yegar, *Islam and Islamic Institutions in British Malaya: Policies and Implementation*, Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1979, pp. 16-19.



dream and the Prophet gave him the title of Sultan Malikul Saleh.<sup>199</sup> Furthermore, the ruler of Pasai has also used the title of al-Malik al-Zahir as soon as after his conversion to Islam, and this has shown a strong relationship between the Malay kingdom and the Middle East as this title has also been used by the Islamic ruler, Sultan Mamluk in Egypt.<sup>200</sup> Similarly this has been in the case of the conversion of Maharaja Derbar Raja II, the first Kedah's ruler, who became a Muslim in 1136AD. The Kedah ruler then changed his name to Sultan Muzaffar Shah and he was said to be converted by an Arab scholar, Shaikh Abdullah from Yemen.<sup>201</sup>

The conversion of the Malays to Islam has brought this community near to the Middle East, in particular Hijāz, the place that is located two holy cities of Makkah and Madinah. The Malays travel to Makkah to conduct *hajj* and to continue their studies. The Malays' travel to Makkah for these purposes is the most vital and earliest human movement in history before colonisation and this has also contributed to the continuation of the Malays' relationship with the Middle East.<sup>202</sup> Though there is not a certain and accurate evident on the exact date of the Malays to implement the practice of pilgrimage to Makkah, but the historical notes of the Malay literature written in *Hikayat Hang Tuah* and *Tuhfat al-Nafis* at least have proven that the practice of pilgrimage or *hajj* to the Holy Land has been exercised as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries. *Hikayat Hang Tuah* for example, recorded this event starting with the conduct of the pilgrimage by *Hang Tuah's* expedition. This caravan was also participated by *Maharaja Setia* (Loyal Emperor), *Maharaja Dewa* (Emperor Gods), 16 young officers, 42 boats and 1,600 crews. Expedition took about two months and the

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<sup>199</sup> Russell Jones, in his study of *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan dan Penerbit Fajar Bakti, 1999, p. 15.

<sup>200</sup> Mohammad Redzuan Othman, *Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu: Peranan dan Pengaruh Timur Tengah*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 2005, p. 13.

<sup>201</sup> Muhammad Hassan Dato' Kerani Mohd Arshad, *Al-Tarikh Salasilah di Negeri Kedah*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1968, p. 26.

<sup>202</sup> See, William R. Roff, 'Pilgrimage and the History of Religions: Theoretical Approaches to the Hajj', in Richard C. Martin (ed.), *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*, Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1985, pp. 79-80.

*hajj* season cited in the text is in 886AH.<sup>203</sup> *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, is another historical work that has recorded the inaugural pilgrimage travel among Riau Malay aristocracy performed by Raja Ahmad and Raja Ali Haji. Unlike *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the departure of pilgrimage in *Tuhfat* is a major mission and it has been a planned travel in advance.<sup>204</sup>

The travel for conducting *hajj* requires high commitment. For the Malay peasants, for example they need about twenty-five years to save money in order to fulfil their ambition to perform *hajj*. Despite many obstacles faced by the Malays, the number of Malay pilgrims continues to increase every year. Between the years 1921-1930, approximately 50,000 of the two million Muslims in Malaya performed *hajj*. Compared to the ratio of Muslim population from India, Iran and Turkey, the number of Malay pilgrims has shown significant growth.<sup>205</sup>

The number of the Malay pilgrims from Malaysia increased significantly from 5,214 in 1965, to 15,366 in 1974, and then increased to almost double about 30,357 in 1984. However, since 1994, the Saudi Arabian authority has allocated quota of pilgrims from each Muslim country based on 0.1 per cent of the country population which contributed to limit the number of Malaysian pilgrims to 28,000 Muslims in 2012.<sup>206</sup> This has contributed to increase the waiting list to perform *hajj* to Makkah up to 60 years in 2014 which indicates the high demand of Muslims who have registered with the authority to perform *hajj* to Makkah from Malaysia.<sup>207</sup> Thus, the conduct of *hajj* to Makkah is a continuous monumental Islamic practice which binds the Malays with Islam and the place it was revealed, that is Makkah.

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<sup>203</sup> Aiza Haji Maslan @Baharudin, 'Pemergian Menuaikan Haji Dalam Hikayat Hang Tuah dan Tuhfat al-Nafis', *Sejarah: Jurnal Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Malaya*, No. 13, 2005, pp. 2-3.

<sup>204</sup> Raja Ali Haji, *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, Virginia Matheson Hooker (editor), Kuala Lumpur: Yayasan Karyawan dan Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1998, pp. 374-375.

<sup>205</sup> The National Archive of Malaysia, File 1039/24, 'Annual Report on the Pilgrimage During the Year 1924AD (Season 1342AH)', enclosure Director, Political Intelligence Bureau, 10 October 1924; See also Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman: Timur Tengah, Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu, Syarahan Perdana, Dewan Kuliah A, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Malaya, 25 February 2015, pp. 9-10.

<sup>206</sup> Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji (LUTH), Laporan Tahunan 1998, Kuala Lumpur: Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji, 1998, p. 22; 'Kouta 28,000 Jemaah Haji Kekal', *Utusan Malaysia*, 20 April 2012.

<sup>207</sup> '1.5 Sudah Berdaftar tetapi Kouta Rasmi Negara Hanya 22,300 Setahun: Tunggu Giliran Tunai Haji 60 Tahun', *Utusan Malaysia*, 29 August 2014.

Islam has also transformed the Malays from native style of thinking to the scientific and divine thinking, through nurturing knowledge seeking behaviour and traditions. Through these educational traditions, Islam has been delivered to the Malays in this region either in the formal or informal institutions. The evident on the highest respect towards practicing the religious knowledge tradition in the royal palace is verified when *Sejarah Melayu* mentions that Maulana Abu Bakar has brought a theology-sufism book which was written by his Sufis teacher Abu Ishaq, entitled *Durr al-Manzūm* to Sultan Mansur Shah (1459-14477) at the Malacca Sultanate Palace. The sultan then asked him to bring this book to the palace of Pasai to get a comprehensive explanation related to the exegesis of its content before it was returned to the Sultan of Malacca to better understand on its meaning. This book was then elaborated by the Pasai's Muslim scholar Tuan Permatikan. *Sejarah Melayu* has also mentioned on the problem related to the science of Islamic theology (*ilmu kalām*) faced by the Malacca Sultanate which then referred to Muslim scholars in Pasai. This problem was well answered by Makhdum Mua and Tun Hassan of Pasai.<sup>208</sup>

Among the greatest contributions of Islam are to transmute this region as a centre of Islamic cultural and studies, besides the *Haramayn* or Makkah and Madinah being acknowledged as places of the learning for the Malays.<sup>209</sup> Most of the Malay Muslim kingdoms have emerged as a centre of Malay Civilisation and Excellency as well as a meeting point for Malay intellectuals and the *ulama'*. From Samudera-Pasai (1280-1444), to Malacca (1400-1511), and then Brunei (1425), Aceh (1511-1650), Demak (1478-1568), Johor-Riau (1650-1800), Patani (1800-1900) are evidents of Islamic supremacy which constituted Islam in the Malay politics and state legacy.<sup>210</sup> Apart from the Malay political structure and social hierarchy, is the existence relationship between

<sup>208</sup> Ismail Hamid, *Pengantar Sejarah Umat Islam*, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann (Malaysia) Sdn. Bhd., 1985, p. 177.

<sup>209</sup> See, Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2004.

<sup>210</sup> Mahayudin Hj. Yahaya, 'Umran Dan Aplikasinya Di Alam Melayu', *Melayu: Jurnal Antarabangsa Dunia Melayu*, Jilid 6, Bil. 1, 2013, pp. 19-20; Jamie Hj. Hamil, Mohd Mahadee Ismail, Nidzam Sulaiman *et.al.*, 'Budaya Politik Melayu: Kesenambungan Dan Perubahan', dalam Siti Daud & Zarina Othman (ed.), *Politik Dan Keselamatan*, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2005, p. 74.

the ruler and the *rakyat* - being governed. Sultan is placed at the highest position in the political hierarchy with his supreme (*daulat*) power as a symbol of Malay dignity and legacy.<sup>211</sup>

The *da'wah* activities have been carried out extensively as initiated by the royal court and the Malay rulers, and then followed by the masses, a form of official or formal propagation of Islam. From preaching and educational activities, Islam has successfully changed Muslim communities' attitudes and conceptions of religion, culture and knowledge. Transformation of the Malays' attitude towards knowledge has been recorded by al-Attas as the following, "If their first (kings and princes) rapt contemplation of love, fool, imaginary fable, but now they turned to actively organised the writing and interpretation of knowledge and the philosophy of history and *tasawur* Islam (or the Islamic worldview)".<sup>212</sup> The effect of religious feelings and love of knowledge clearly reflected in the soul of the Malay rulers of Malacca. The kings have shown their respect for knowledge, Muslim scholars and books as well as important days in Islamic calendar reflected a deep sense of religious consciousness through religious education that has existed at that time. Sultan Muhammad Shah for example, showed his enthusiasm in glorifying the fasting month of Ramadan, especially on the 27<sup>th</sup> night, when he performed *Tarāwīh* prayers at the mosque together with the *rakyat*, as recorded by Shellabear in his writing, *Sejarah Melayu or the Malay Annals*.<sup>213</sup>

The Malay historical legend, *Sejarah Melayu* has also reported on Sultan Mahmud himself was a disciple of the Maulana Yusuf. He studied Fiqh on the chapter of

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<sup>211</sup> Faisal @Ahmad Faisal bin Abdul Hamid, Hamidah binti Jalani, 'Beberapa Pandangan Mengenai Islam Dari Perspektif Parti Politik Melayu', *Jurnal Al-Tamaddun*, No. 5, 2010, pp. 118-119.

<sup>212</sup> Syed Muhammad Naquib Al Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM), 1999, p. 12; Abdullah Ishak, *Islam di Nusantara (Khususnya di Tanah Melayu)*, Kuala Lumpur: Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam, Jabatan Perdana Menteri, 1992, p. 101.

<sup>213</sup> W.G. Shellabear, *Sejarah Melayu or the Malay Annals*, Singapore: The Malay Publishing House Ltd., 1948. Shellabear said that "If in the month of *Ramadan*, the night twenty-seven, when during the day carry the carpets to the mosque, Temenggong led the elephant. So gentlemen, and all regalia and drums all paraded before the mosque; at night the king went to the mosque, as is customary feast, prayer *tarawikh*".

*Muā'malāṭ* (Islamic transaction).<sup>214</sup> This passionate attitude towards knowledge was reported by Shellaber as follow:

“After coming out of Maulana Yusuf’s door, the Sultan said to the gatekeepers: “Tell *Maulānā* that the poor Mahmud comes”. Then Maulana Yusuf said, “If the poor Mahmud comes, please open the door; the poor as ought to venture a poor home”. Sultan Mahmud then has been brought sitting up to his house. Sultan Mahmud then started studying with Maulana Yusuf on the subject of *muā'malāṭ*”.<sup>215</sup>

All the above evidences suggest that the practice and appreciation of Islam has gained special attention from the Malay rulers and this “top-down” nature on the practice of Islam or Islamic religiosity has been trailed by the chiefs and ordinary people.

The Malay kingdoms have not only grown to be centres for the Malay Islamic politics and culture involved in Islamic teaching activities, but Islam has also turned them to become centres for international trade activities. The Malacca Sultanate was recognised as a famed world-class trade centre with its systematic organisations and social institutions in the economic, political, administrative, and legal, norms and ethos of being organised and competent.<sup>216</sup>

The Malay commitment towards Islam can be reflected not just in their passion of individual worship and knowledge culture, but also their effort in implementing the *syarī'ah* law as a system to strengthen social order. The Malay States administration has also adopted Islamic values and laws, besides using traditional Malay customs which have been practised since generations. The Malay States administration before the arrival of British colonial was governed through the guidance of the Malay local law that was formed from a combination of the Malay Customary Law and Islamic Law.<sup>217</sup>

After the advent of Islam, influence of this religion in the formation of local law can be seen in a few written laws as recorded in *Risalat Hoekoem Kanon* which consists

<sup>214</sup> ‘Sejarah Melayu’, Raffles MS No. 18, *JMBRAS*, vol. XVI, pt. 3, 1938, pp. 82-157.

<sup>215</sup> W.G. Shellabear, *Sejarah Melayu or the Malay Annals*; Abdullah Ishak, *Islam di Nusantara (Khususnya di Tanah Melayu)*, Kuala Lumpur: Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam, Jabatan Perdana Menteri, 1992, p. 102.

<sup>216</sup> See, Hashim Musa, *Merekonstruksi Tamadun Melayu Islam: Ke Arah Pembinaan Sebuah Tamadun Dunia Alaf Ketiga*, Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajian Melayu, 2001, p. 54.

<sup>217</sup> Berhanundin Abdullah, ‘Sejarah Pengaruh Adat dan Barat dalam Pentadbiran Islam di Malaysia’, *Malaysia Dari Segi Sejarah (Malaysia in History)*, No. 27, 1999, p. 82.

of the Malacca Digest, the Malacca Maritime Laws and Customary (*Adat*) Laws in the Malay States.<sup>218</sup> From these groups of laws, the Malacca Digest contains of the earliest Islamic elements as well as Customary Law which gives influence on the other Malay States of Kedah, Pahang, Johor, Riau and Brunei. Moreover, the Malacca Digest itself consists of groups of laws that comprise the Malacca Laws of the original, the Maritime Law, the Islamic Family Law, the Islamic Legal Purchase and Event, the State Law and Johor Law.<sup>219</sup>

The 1303AD Terengganu stone inscription clearly shows some of the important elements in relation to the early period of Islamisation process in the Malay society of Malaysia. An interesting fact on this inscription is that the ability and role of local genius Malays who were able to adapt Arabic writing in order to convey its meaning in Malay. Moreover, it also recorded the legal and Islamic jurisprudence which clearly described that Islam was practised by the local people for centuries, not just as individual faith, but also as a system which governed the society and the state as well.<sup>220</sup>

The development of *Tasawwuf* is apparent in the Malay Archipelago through various efforts of *sufi* scholars. The study of *tasawwuf* and its science is not only thriving among people, but also eminent among princes and rulers. Among the stream of *Tasawwuf* brought from Middle East to the Malay Archipelago in particular, to Aceh are, like *tariqat Nasyabandiyah*, *Qadariyah*, *Satariyah* and others. The emergence of these sufism groups also leads to the rise of prominent figures in this field in the Malay

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<sup>218</sup> According to R.O. Winstedt the Malay Law can be categorised into three groups, namely, the Malacca Digest, The Malacca Islamic Law and the Minangkabau Law. See, R.O. Winstedt, 'A History of Malaysia', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London: Hutchinsonm University Library, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1966, p. 58.

<sup>219</sup> Berhanundin Abdullah, 'Sejarah Pengaruh Adat', p. 82.

<sup>220</sup> Mahyuddin Yahya, *Islam di Alam Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1998, p. 23. The Terengganu stone also noted the impact of Islam which was subtle as mentioned by Kern. The Terengganu stone bears an inscription in the Jawi script. While this has been used time and again as a reference point to mark the immaculate arrival of Islam in the Malay world, few have cared to point out that the inscription itself does not mention the word "Allah" but rather refers to God as "*Dewata Mulia Raya*" - a phrase that is fully Sanskrit in origin. Kern is trying to show that Islam's early arrival did not come as a forceful impact that marked a traumatic break from the past, despite the claims of many an Islamist scholar today. Kern extracts similar observations in his writings on the Islamisation of Aceh, South Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Sulawesi, and the Malay Peninsula, going to great lengths to show the degree of overlap and interpenetration that took place in these diverse social settings at a number of levels. Working within the communicative architecture of the period, Kern explores the etymological roots and development of key concepts in Malay culture like *kuasa* (power), *kewibawaan* (authority), *sakti derhaka* (treason) and others to show just how the formation of Islamic socio-cultural, political, and legal discourse was developed according to the needs and circumstances of the contemporaneous local environment. Kern also points to the local genius of the Malays, who had adapted Islam to their culture and vice-versa, in a process of cultural cross-fertilization enriching Malay culture and Islamic civilisation at the same time. Refer to Farish Noor, 'Rethinking the Islamization of the Malay World', Research and Reports, *IISAS Newsletter*, Vol. 27, March 2002, p. 18.

Archipelago, led by Hamzah Fansuri, Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani, Nuruddin al-Raniri, Abdul Rauf al-Fansuri Singkel, Sheikh Ibrahim al-Shami, Sheikh al-Jailani and others.<sup>221</sup> Due to their stature in defense of faith and their movement; their knowledge is recognised as a scholar of piety and good character that becomes an exemplary or a role model for the Malay society.<sup>222</sup>

The Malay language has been upgraded as a language of the Muslims with the use of Arabic terms that ultimately spark a revolution of *Jawi* characters created by the wisdom of local genius to serve the purpose of teaching and knowledge of Islam in the Malay language. As a result of the extensive call to Islam, *Jawi* letters have been introduced containing a modified Arabic script with several additional letters well-matched to Malay language and pronunciations. The earlier and clear use of *Jawi* in the knowledge transfer process of religious sciences, especially, sciences of Islam have been found in the book of '*Aqā'id al-Nasafī*'.<sup>223</sup> The book illustrates fundamental belief and faith of Islamic teaching, becomes a source of reference in Aceh and the Malay World since the late 16<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>224</sup>

Writing books and manuscript in various fields of Islamic knowledge, such as, *Fiqh*, *Tasawwuf*, *Tafsir*, philosophy, '*ilm al-Kalām*'; literature and language are rapidly increasing in the Malay Archipelago through the role of *ulama'* who uses *Jawi* writing as a medium of conveying Islamic teaching. Works of literatures such as *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah*, *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain*, *Hikayat*

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<sup>221</sup> Despite disagreement between the two groups of Aceh sufism, namely among Fansuri and Shamsuddin Hamzah al-Sumatrani who adhered to the concept *Wahdah al-Wujud*; and with Nuruddin al-Raniri and Abdul Rauf Singkil who stand on the concept of *Wahdah al-Syuhud*, this situation does not disturb the spread of Islam in the region.

<sup>222</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2004, pp. 53-54; Abdullah Ishak, *Islam di Nusantara (Khususnya di Tanah Melayu)*, Kuala Lumpur: Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam Jabatan Perdana Menteri, 1992, p. 119.

<sup>223</sup> Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16<sup>th</sup> Century Malay Translation of the Āqā'id of al-Nasafī*, Kuala Lumpur: Department of Publication University of Malaya, 1988, p. 5.

<sup>224</sup> The development and widened use of *Jawi* lead to the dynamic of Malay language and has been able to replace other local languages as an influential *lingua franca* in the Malay World. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, *Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu: Peranan dan Pengaruh Timur Tengah*, Kuala Lumpur: University Malaya Press, 2005, pp. 14-15; *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

*Nabi Yusuf*, and *Hikayat Nabi Musa* and others which use Islamic characters and figures clearly describe the influence of Islam in the Malay mind and literatures.<sup>225</sup>

This development has increased the Malay vocabulary predominantly the Arabic words that deeply influences the Malay language. Arabic-loanwords are used mainly in the Islamic religious domain, and in everyday speech, especially among the more educated Malays.<sup>226</sup> The widespread use of the Malay language in the knowledge transfer process among the Malay speakers also contributed to progress it as an intellectual language and *lingua franca* to more than 100 million people in South East Asia. The Malay-Indonesia language has been regarded as Islamic language, the second major language which is spoken in the Muslim world.<sup>227</sup> Through the work of literatures and knowledge in various fields of Islamic sciences, it has raised the interest of Malay society to deepen knowledge on Islam. Besides the above, Islam has influenced the Malays in other areas of architecture, social and economic life.

Despite challenges of Western culture through education and Christianity during the colonial periods, Islam continues to give spiritual strength to the Malays in their struggle towards colonialism, in striving for independence of Malaya and survival of the nation state.<sup>228</sup> In the context of contemporary practice of democracy, religious approach in politic is also being used as a mechanism in the struggle for establishing “an Islamic state” by the Malay-Islamic based political parties and the non-governmental organisations, either in its moderate and radical approach.<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> See, R.O. Winstedt, ‘History of Classical Malay Literature’, *JMBRAS*, Vol. 31, Pt. 3, 1958, p. 80; Ismail Hamid, *Perkembangan Kesusasteraan Melayu Lama*, Petaling Jaya: Pearson Education Malaysia Sdn. Bhd., 1987, p. 109.

<sup>226</sup> Moshe Yegar, *Islam and Islamic Institutions*, 14.

<sup>227</sup> Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam Dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1972, pp. 41-42.

<sup>228</sup> After more than a half decade since the end of 19 century till the beginning of the World War II, the effort to Christian the Malays was proven failed due to British’s policy which did not want to interfere in any matters related to Islam and the Malays’ customs, otherwise, British gave more priority to preserve its economic interest on Malaya. British education could only westernize Malay aristocrats who easily imitated western lifestyle but could not change their religion into Christian. See, Siddiq Fadzil, *Islam dan Melayu: Martabat Umat dan Daulat Rakyat*, Kajang: Akademi Kajian Ketamadunan Dar al-Hikmah, 2012, p. 4.

<sup>229</sup> See, Asuki Abas & Nizam Yatim, ‘Malaysia Negara Islam - PM Dr. Mahathir Sahut Cabaran Fadzil Noor’, *Utusan Malaysia*, 29 September 2001; The Presidential Speech of Dato’ Seri Tuan Guru Haji Hadi Awang in conjunction with the Launching of the Document on Islamic State, 12<sup>th</sup> November 2003 or 7 Ramadhan 1424 H; Siddiq Fadhil, ‘Gerakan Islam Dekad 90-an: Visi dan Strategi’, *Ucapan Dasar ke 20*, Kuala Lumpur: ABIM, 1991, p. 10; *Ustaz* Dr. Mohd Parid Sheikh Ahmad, Presiden Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia, ‘Malaysia Menuju Negara Rahmah’, *Ucapan Dasar Presiden IKRAM*, Perhimpunan Tahunan IKRAM (PTI 2014), pp. 1-18.



### 2.3 From the Islah Movement to the Islamic Resurgence

Islamic revivalism in Malaysia is not a new innovative form of actions, but it is an effort that has been generated in the past and reproduced in the social context within the position that Islam has been practised since centuries ago by some citizens in this region and being a core culture of the Malay society.<sup>230</sup> Islamic Resurgence in the 1970s has been an important historical episode in the development of the Malay society. British colonialisation in Malaya abandoned with negative impacts on the position of Islam and the Malays who then reacted to make a possible change to the current challenges for Muslims' survival.<sup>231</sup>

It is interesting to note that religious revival in Malaya has close relationship with the Middle East due to similarity that has existed between these two regions. The influence of the Middle East contributes to a great impact of the emergence of the Islah Movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century and Islamic Resurgence of 1970s, but both religious resurgences have its own characteristics in terms of the Malays' worldview on the function of religion, the scope of life, mechanism of restoring Islam in the modern society and the impact of these appeals in the Malays' lifestyles.

The Islah Movement which was known as the reformists or 'the Young Faction' (*Kaum Muda*), was in conflict with the conservative known as 'the Old Faction' (*Kaum Tua*) that contributed to disunity of the Malays before the World War II. This disintegration, however did not lead to the influence of social and political factions whose school of thought could affect the Malays' development. Steered by Syeikh Mohamad Tahir Jalaluddin, Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha and Sayyid Sheikh Ahmad al-Hadi

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<sup>230</sup> Islamisation in the context of *da'wah* in the modern age is a continual, repeated and constant historical process which has been done since the Prophet Muhammad SAW life time. See, Mohamad Abu Bakar, 'Pengislaman, Pembudayaan dan Pertembungan Budaya di Malaysia', In Wan Abdul Kadir Yusoff, Zainal Abidin Borhan, *Ideologi dan Kebudayaan Kebangsaan*, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya, 1985, p. 72.

<sup>231</sup> The Islamisation process and the function of Islam in the Malay society were aborted during colonial rules. The status of Islam as the prevailing law in the Straits Settlements (consist of Malacca, Penang and Singapore) had declined to a stage where it was only applied as personal law and was limited to family law and some other aspects of the religion. Muslihah Hasbullah, and Najibah Mohd Zin, 'Historical Developments of Financial Rights after Divorce in the Malaysian Islamic Family Law', *Asian Culture and History*, Vol. 1, No. 2, July 2009, pp. 152, 148-157; Ibrahim, A. & Joned, A., *Sistem Undang-Undang di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2002, p. 51. See also, R. J. Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects, Law Part I*, Kuala Lumpur: F.M.S Government Press, 1922, p. 49.

who was influenced by Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida's school of thoughts, the *Kaum Muda* started to criticise traditional practices and Islamic institutions which inherited the pre-Islamic cultures (*jahiliyyāh*).<sup>232</sup>

The publication of newspapers and periodicals magazines and establishment of *madrasah* were used as medium to deliver the reformists' ideology. They were located at the Strait States so as to ensure that their activities could be well managed without many disturbances by the religious office which was protected under the sultans.<sup>233</sup> Through *al-Imām* which was first published in 1906, the reformists critiqued immoral lifestyle and irresponsible attitude of elites and the Malay rulers, the importance of education while the teaching of the conservative *ulama*, was claimed to cause the deterioration and backwardness of the Malay Muslims.<sup>234</sup>

The reformists also expended their educational approach by establishing Egyptian model of *madrasah* to disseminate their school of thought. The history of *madrasah* education which offered both modern and religious subjects began with the establishment of Madrasah al-Iqbal al-Islamiyah, Singapore under the patronage of Raja Ali Kelana Riau.<sup>235</sup> This type of educational system was regarded to be an exemplary model of Arabic school which then contributed to the foundation of other *madrasah* in Malaya. Madrasah al-Hadi, which was located at Banda Kaba, Malacca, and Madrasah al-Mashoor in Penang, as both were founded by Sayyid Sheikh Ahmad al-Hadi respectively in 1908 and 1917 with the objective to provide modern religious education

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<sup>232</sup> Abdullah Jaafar, 'Al-Imam', in Khoo Kay Kim, Jazamuddin Baharuddin, *Lembaran Akhbar Melayu*, Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980, pp. 7-8.

<sup>233</sup> Most of the early press concentrated in Singapore, Penang and on a smaller scale, in Perak. Singapore and Penang were the focal point for the press for the whole Malaya and the Straits was due to their economic prosperity and cultural melange. In addition, Section 19b, Islamic Act 1904, Amendment Act 1925 mentioned that those who want to print and publish reading materials related to Islam without written permission by the Sultan will be penalized for \$200 or imprisoned. This restriction led the reformists to relocate most of their publication activities to the Straits which had no Religious Council and the sultan. *Al-Imam* was first published in 27 July 1906 owned by Syekh Muhammad bin Salim al-Kalali and assisted by Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin, Abbas Mohd. Taha and Haji Mustafa Ismail. The publishing house was located at No. 17-18, Weld Street, Singapore. Educated and well Malays, Malay local-born (*Jawi Peranakan*) and Arabs in the cities grew to become good readers of the press. In other parts of the Malays were typically illiterate. See, Nik Ahmad Nik Hassan, 'The Malay Press', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 1963, p. 43; W. R. Roff, *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic Periodicals: Published in the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malay States 1876-1941*, London: Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 3; Abdul Aziz Mat Ton, *Pengislahan Masyarakat Melayu: Perbincangan al-Imam* (1906-1908), Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2006, p. vii-viii.

<sup>234</sup> *Al-Imam*, Volume I & II, July 1907, pp. 5-6; *Al-Imam*, 23 July 1906, pp. 15-20; *Al-Imam*, 25 November 1908, p. 234.

<sup>235</sup> Madrasah al-Iqbal offered both modern subjects, such as mathematics, geography, Malay and English, Arabic and religious studies as well. To ensure that the *madrasah* used Egyptian model of education, an Egypt 'Uthman Effendi Raf'at was elected as its head master.

to the Malays. Under his leadership, Madrasah al-Mashoor succeeded to emerge as a centre for Islamic education and a foundation to produce the Malays with a good spirit of religious educational consciousness and reformation.<sup>236</sup>

The Islah Movement did not make significant changes of the Malay's political structure nor give any negative effect to the British as the movement mainly concerned the internal revolution to purify religious practices and understanding of the Muslims in accordance to the Quran and Sunnah.<sup>237</sup> For the reformists, the weaknesses of the Malay Muslims was believed to have been contributed by their Islamic practices, mixed with additional (*bid'ah*) and superstitions (*khurafāt*),<sup>238</sup> their ignorance of the true principle in Islamic teaching and their strong reliance on the other ethnic efforts in economic which then led to their backwardness.<sup>239</sup> Thus, that made the movement's scope of struggle strongly relevant during its time. Their main objective was to preserve the Muslims' faith, concerned with Islamic practices, but did not cover much on social, even less politically and economically.<sup>240</sup>

In contrast to the Islah Movement which grew in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century and was stirred by those who were directly related to Egypt, the Resurgence of Islam in 1970s was being moved by the local university students. Though it did not directly come from the Middle East, in particular Egypt, the resurgence was being inspired by the ideals and

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<sup>236</sup> Rahim Osman, 'Madrasah Masyhur al-Islamiyyah', in Khoo Kay Kim, et al. (editors), *Islam di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980, pp. 75-85. See also Adibah Sulaiman @Mohamad, 'Syed Shakh Ahmad Alhadi's Concept of Knowledge and The Transformation of Education of The Malays', Ph.d Thesis, International Islamic University, 2011, pp. 212-215.

<sup>237</sup> The reformist movement in Malaya flunked to change structural thoughts and culture of the Malay Muslim. Wilfred Cantwell Smith forwarded two important factors contribute to the failure of the reformist plights for Islamic revival. The main factor was caused by their failure to deliver Islam in its appropriate method. They put emphasis on responds to the decline of Islam but, overlooked to grasp opportunity on the advancement of Western's technologies and neglected the colonial power expansion. The discourse merely focused on answering western accusation on Islam which seems to be more defensive. Therefore, Islamic modernist movement acted to be a movement of 'not to rethink Islam but to rethink its defences'. Second, the imprecision of the modernist to use newspaper and magazines as tools of reformation, as the message cannot be delivered to the mass due to the high level of poverty and illiterate. Moreover, the modernist at the same time could not give "secure feeling and promise" to the Malay when facing with an abundance migration of Chinese and Indian immigrants to Malaya as a result of their anti-aristocrat and anti-Malay tradition attitude. See, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.

<sup>238</sup> *Al-Imam*, Edition 1 June 1908, p. 374 stated that "some of them (the Malays) had mix their children's wedding event with immoralities, evils, gambling, hen fighting contest (*sabung*), *ceki* and *pakau* and serving food". *Al-Imam* also criticized Kaum Tua and conservative ulama as those spectacle old men with a big turban, an amulet or charm (*tangkal*) sellers walking with their prayer rosary (*tasbih*) and long stick (*tongkat*), but deceivers of the Malays. This conservative group disagreed with a new modern schooling system introduced by the reformists. See also, *Al-Imam*, Edition 1 June 1908, p. 390 which described that "Al-Imam began to be cruel enemy for *deviations* (*bida'ah*), heresies (*khurafāt*), and blindly imitation and despicable customs which included in the religious practices".

<sup>239</sup> The country's colonialisation surroundings and the role of religious institution which was under the patronage of the Sultan contributed to the backwardness of the Muslims. *Al-Imam*, 17 September 1906, p. 75.

<sup>240</sup> See, William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967, p. 57; Abdul Aziz Mat Ton, 'al-Imam Sepintas Lalu', *Jurnal Sejarah*, Jilid XI, 1972/73, p. 30, pp. 29-40; Abdullah Jaafar, 'Al-Imam', p. 32; Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman', pp. 31-32.

the works of the Egyptian figures of *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, such as Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb, Khurshid Ahmad and many others. The ideals of the resurgence stress on the development of Muslims' lifestyle based on the worldview that Islam is the comprehensive way of life and criticises Western values and modern ideology, in comparison to the subject matters in the Islah Movement which give more concentration to correct the Malays' religious practices and purify their rituals from deviations and superstitions.<sup>241</sup>

The Islamic Resurgence and the Islah Movement share similar ideas on the importance of knowledge and the role of education as mechanism to upgrade Muslims' social status despite contemporary challenges. For the reformist of the Islah Movement they use *madrasah* to disseminate their thought and ideology. The Islamic Resurgence which began in the early 1970s too manages to utilise educational institution to promote Islamic consciousness. Realising to the current needs and circumstances, the establishment of the private educational institutions is needed as a model to deliver the comprehensive message of Islam in the holistic manner, besides an adjustment made to the existing education system. The front-runners and also teachers of these private schools were former university students who were actively involved in Muslim students' associations in campuses. Some students of these schools succeeded to pursue their study in the local university, dominated the campus leadership and pioneered in the Islamic physical appearance with the *hijāb* or veil culture which has now become a trendy Muslim women fashion in the urban areas.<sup>242</sup>

Islamisation of knowledge which emphasises on a new concept of the intergrated education system has contributed to the existence of a systematic intergrated education institution pioneered by ABIM with the establishment of the first pre-school education TASKI (known as *Taman Asuhan Kanak-Kanak Islam*) in 1979, Islamic Primary

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<sup>241</sup> Siddiq Fadzil, *Islam dan Melayu*, p. 118.

<sup>242</sup> Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman', p. 38.

School (SRI - *Sekolah Rendah Islam*) in 1988, Islamic Secondary School (SMI- *Sekolah Menengah Islam*) in 1988.<sup>243</sup> The introduction of Islamic education then became the national education policy when the National Education Philosophy was implemented in 1987 as a result of ABIM activists' effort to bring ABIM's philosophy in education at the mainstream level.<sup>244</sup>

The utmost distinction between the Islah Movement and the Islamic Resurgence is the mechanism of restoring Islam in the modern society in terms of the role played by the organisations. From the beginning of its propagation, the Islah Movement emphasised on the individual's ideals and foresight but did not end these ideals with the formation of the structured organisation. The 1970s Islamic Resurgence on the other hand, succeeded to translate its worldview of "Islam as the complete way of life" into a systematic structure of organisation. As the front-runner to the Islamic Resurgence in 1970s, ABIM headed the other structured organisations to revive the Malays' religious consciousness in Malaysia. Other than ABIM, the efforts to reawaken Islamic consciousness have been contributed by the role of Jamaah Tabligh, al-Arqam, al-Rahmaniyah, PERKIM and Islamic Representative Council (IRC). In 1974, a few *da'wah* organisations emerged including, Institute of Islamic *Da'wah* and Training (INDAH) and Foundation of Islamic *Da'wah* of Malaysia (YADIM) managed under the Prime Minister Department.<sup>245</sup>

The greatest impact which contributes to the success of the Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia compared to the Islah Movement is its success to interpret Islam as the comprehensive way of life, and then to transform it into a practical solution of life within the public spheres and through the state's national agenda. The impacts are extensive in changing the Malays individually and socially. With the admission of

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<sup>243</sup> Mahyuddin Ashaari, 'Sejarah Pendidikan ABIM', *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, Vol. 10, No. 4, Februari 2004, pp. 1, 15-16, 'ABIM Terus Melangkah', *Risalah*, No. 5, December 1987, p. 6.

<sup>244</sup> Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman', p. 38.

<sup>245</sup> Ahmad Zaki Abd. Latiff, *Transformasi Gerakan Islah dan Dakwah Di Timur Tengah dan Malaysia*, Shah Alam: Pusat Penerbit Universiti (UPENA), 2006, p. 108.

Anwar Ibrahim into UMNO in 1982 he turned the resurgence ideas into the government agenda. He also assisted Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, the Fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia to project pro-Islamic policy or Islamisation programme which began with the Inculcation of Islamic Values Policy that was initially announced in the 1982 UMNO Annual Assembly and followed by the establishment of many Islamic institutions.<sup>246</sup>

Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad (BIMB) was founded in 1983, Takaful Malaysia, Islamic pawnshops, and an Islamic insurance were set up in 1984 and the Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia (IKIM) was established in 1992. In addition, the Islamic Civilisation was also introduced as a compulsory subject for all undergraduates in the local universities and Islamic programmes are significantly increasing over both state and private's broadcasting stations.<sup>247</sup> In fact, the institutionalisation of Islam and the recent wide-spreading of the Islamic Resurgence signs in the public are contributed by internal and external circumstances.

## 2.4 The Islamic Resurgence in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur

Malaysia has witnessed a very significant change in the development of Islam when in the early 1970s, the Islamic Resurgence occurred in the city centre of Kuala Lumpur.<sup>248</sup> After the Independence of Malaya, there was a decline phase in the understanding and practising Islam, as the focus of the federal government was to give emphasis on the nation development driven by the Western orientation and model of thinking.<sup>249</sup> The

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<sup>246</sup> Mohd Rumaizuddin Ghazali, *Pembangunan Islam di Malaysia dal Era Mahathir*, Nilai: Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia, 2011, p. 89.

<sup>247</sup> Aziz Zariza Ahmad, *Mahathir Paradigm Shift: The Man Behind the Vision*, Taiping: Firma Malaysia Publishing, 1997, p. 67. See also, Shanti Nair, *Islam in Malaysian Foreign Policy*, Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 34–35; Wan Hashim Wan Teh, *Race Relations in Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Asia, 1983, pp. 87–90; Hussin Mutalib, *Islam in Malaysia: from Revivalism to Islamic State*, Singapore: Singapore University Press, National University of Singapore, 1993, pp. 32–33; William R. Roff, 'Pattern of Islamization in Malaysia, 1890s-1990s: Exemplars, Institutions and Vectors', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1998, p. 219.

<sup>248</sup> See Judith Nagata, 'Religious Ideology and Social Change: The Islamic Revival in Malaysia', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 53, No.3, Autumn, 1980, pp. 405-439; Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sd. Bhd., 1987, p. 5; Hussin Mutalib, *Islam in Malaysia: From Revivalism to Islamic State*, Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1993, pp. 27-28.

<sup>249</sup> This situation was a continuation of pre-independent period whereby the graph of the Islamic awareness dropped due to the rise of nationalism in the Malays struggle for independence.

direction of the Malay struggle was changed from the *Kaum Muda* reformism in the Islamic traditions<sup>250</sup> to the ethnic-based struggle in the form of nationalism which was led by the groups of the non-religious educated background. Two main groups have led the struggle for independence; they are the Malay radical graduates of the Sultan Idris Training College and the English-educated aristocrats.<sup>251</sup>

The Malay aristocrats, Dato' Onn Jaafar and Tunku Abdul Rahman are responsible in shaping the future of the country and Islam in Malaysia. Tendency towards the domination of nationalism spirit was beyond the Islamic intensity that was shown when the ulama' such as, Ahmad Fuad, Abdullah Pahim, Syed Nasir Ismail and Syed Salim were being isolated in the UMNO struggle for independence. Though there was an Islamic scholar wing within the party, they had limited role in addressing the aspirations of Islam.<sup>252</sup>

After all the above, Islam has been revived and has become a significant factor for progress in the Malay society. Islamic Resurgence in 1970s has clearly shown that Islam is not only religion which consists matters relating to religious ritual practices, symbols in the official ceremonies, but it is a forcing factor in the quest pertaining to political power and Islamic rule which leads to major changes of the Malays' cultural life and social transformation.

#### **2.4.1 Internal Factors of the Islamic Resurgence**

As the Islamic Resurgence is not a unitary phenomenon, many factors have contributed to the resurgence of Islam in the contemporary Malaysian society, namely integration of internal and external influences. Four internal factors have been identified to trigger the Islamic Resurgence in 1970s onwards; there are tendency to understand and return to

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<sup>250</sup> The *Kaum Muda* reform was to purify the Malay traditions in accordance to Islamic practices and teaching.

<sup>251</sup> Ahmad Sunawari Long, *Impak Kebangkitan Semula Islam Terhadap Pengamalan dan Penghayatan Agama Kelas Menengah Melayu Muslim Malaysia: Kajian Kes di Lembah Klang*, PhD Thesis, Academy of Islamic Study, University of Malaya, 2010, pp. 145.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

the holistic framework of Islam, paradigm shift for Muslim identity and solutions, political will of Islamisation and the emergence of charismatic leadership in the struggle towards the Islamic Resurgence.

### **Tendency to Comprehend and Return to the Holistic Framework of Islam**

The 1969 race riot was the darkest period of ethnic relations in the national history. It has also been attributed to the socioeconomic disparities that exist between ethnic Malays and non-Malays. Consequently, numerous policies have been launched having the pro-Bumiputra emphasis to assist the Malays upgrading their social and economic status, the same as social mobility encountered by the non-Malays economic position in the country. In 1971, the New Economic Policy (NEP) was launched which led to sizeable numbers of Malay youths and students receiving scholarship to further their education up to the tertiary level, both in national and overseas institutions of higher learning.<sup>253</sup>

The role of these educated Malay youths is important for the reason that their learning in these universities has also led to an increase in their commitment to Islam. The religious resurgence began in the personal life and then only manifested itself in the political life.<sup>254</sup> The university students who worked for the Islamic consciousness consisted mainly of youths educated in Malay and English Western orientation. In Malaysia, the undergraduates and graduates of local universities whose knowledge of Islam was rudimentary in comparison to the religious educated group, generally possessed a fair understanding of Islam as a *dīn* or system of life. To overcome this lack

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<sup>253</sup> Between 1959 and 1969, the student population was largely non-Malay compared to the Malays. Starting from the 1965/66 academic session, the students' population structure began to change when the first time Malay students from the Malay medium secondary schools were admitted into the Faculty of Arts. The enrolment of the Malay students drastically increased its number from 19.4 per cent of the student populations in 1959 to 51.5 per cent in 1971/72 session and 53 per cent in 1972/73 academic session. See, Registrars Office, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1973, Report of the Committee Appointed by the National Operations Council to study Campus Life of Students of the University of Malaya, Government Printers, Malaysia, 1971, p. 67; Raghavan, R., A Study of the Political Attitudes of Students from the University of Malaya, PhD Thesis in Political Science, Rutgers University, The State University of New Jersey, 1975, pp. 145-146; Hussin Mutalib, *Islam in Malaysia: From Revivalism to Islamic State*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>254</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia: Dakwah Among The Students*, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1987, p. 9.



of knowledge, they read widely in Islamic subjects, regularly attended a small group discussion called *usrah* which is conducted by their *ustaz* or mentor in the Islamic courses.<sup>255</sup>

Table 2.1: Student Given Scholarships/Bursaries from Public Funds In the University of Malaya 1969/70 Session

<b>Ethnic groups</b>	<b>Number of Students Receiving Scholarships</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Malays	2,103	69.2
Chinese	804	26.4
Indians	100	3.3
Others	34	1.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,041</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Report of the Committee Appointed by the National Operations Council to study campus life of students of the University of Malaya, Government Printers, Malaysia, 1971, p. 67.

The Malay student leaders began to study Islam seriously. Under the leadership of Anwar Ibrahim, the books of prominent figures of Islamic Resurgence from Egypt and sub-continent have been discussed in an *usrah*. Writings of Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Abul A'la al-Maududi have taken place as spiritual religious inspirations and sources to understand Islamic teaching in its complete form. These books have been translated from English or Arabic to Malay and the writings have been cyclostyled and disseminated all over campus.<sup>256</sup>

One of the major contributors who has instilled in students the source of idea to this religious consciousness in the initial stage of the resurgence is the role played by Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, a Professor and later Dean of Faculty of Arts, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM).<sup>257</sup> He has identified himself with the Islamic group and its cause. He has been referred by the Malay students, holding lengthy and deep discussions with students on Islam in his lecture room, office and at home. Islam has been regarded as a force of change in all aspects and a source of modernism and

<sup>255</sup> Mohammad Abu Bakar, 'Islamic Revivalism and the Political Process in Malaysia', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 21, No. 10, October 1981, pp. 1040-1041, 1040-1059.

<sup>256</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, p. 13.

<sup>257</sup> *Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia* (The National University of Malaysia), 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Report 1971-1972, 1972, p. 24.

modernisation. With this new consciousness came in understanding of the comprehensiveness of Islam as the way of life (*ad-dīn*), a persuasive appeal that has inspired the students.<sup>258</sup>

The neighbourhood linkage with Indonesian revivalists also added values to the impulse of the Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia. Imaduddin Abdul Rahim, an Indonesian engineering lecturer from Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), the centre of student political and Islamic activities in Indonesia, was in early 1970s, teaching at *Institut Teknologi Kebangsaan* (ITK) (now known as Universiti Teknologi Malaysia - UTM) in Kuala Lumpur.<sup>259</sup> In 1971, Imaduddin began to conduct religious discussions and leadership training for selected groups of Malay students whom he felt had talent to be quality leaders at different campuses in Kuala Lumpur. He educated students on the holistic structure of Islam where there is the need for Muslims to return to the basis foundation in the Quran. Through the *Latihan Kader Da'wah* (LKD), the Muslim students and the university staffs were exposed to Islamic faith (*tauhīd*), practices and the importance of brotherhood in Islam in a collective nature of programme which have then brought to unification.<sup>260</sup>

Imaduddin also developed a core group of about hundred followers at UTM. The LKD training programme was not only popular for the ITK students and staff, but also for students of the other universities through the link of the National Association of Muslim Students Malaysia or known as PKPIM. They would attend the training during the university break.<sup>261</sup> Many of them later further their studies to Britain and continued

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<sup>258</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, p. 13.

<sup>259</sup> Imaduddin was a famous preacher and engineering lecturer of ITB which being borred to ITK. He is a son of ulama of the Langkat Royal descendent, at Sumatra and a cousin of a famous Indonesian Sufism poet, Amir Hamzah. He brought new idealism in understanding Islam and keep Islam as a powerful strength of ideology. Fatini Yaacob, *Ainuddin Pejuang 'Degil' Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, 2011, p. 176.

<sup>260</sup> Each group consists of forty individuals in a week tightly training course which began with the Maghrib talk, training in group, *Qiāmullail*, *Subuh* talk and a light exercise. Military training approach was introduced as a methodology to prevent the evils. Interview with Prof. Dato' Ir. Dr. Azhari Md. Salleh, 20 November 2011; *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>261</sup> Fatini Yaacob, *Ainuddin Pejuang 'Degil' Melayu*, p. 178.

their *da'wah* activities there. After returning home, these students have become more committed to Islam, and even serve at different institutions.<sup>262</sup>

The overseas students involved in Islamic Resurgence were mainly undergraduate science students. Like their counterparts at home, they studied Islam, and practised the faith. In England, Scotland and Ireland, thousands of Malay students come together to study at various schools and universities, the Federation of the Students' Islamic Societies (FOSIS) was largely responsible for instilling in them a sense of Islamic awareness. Many Islamic societies founded by Malay students affiliated with FOSIS were involved in its activities.<sup>263</sup> FOSIS's Annual Winter gathering illustrated hundreds of students to such places as Swanwick and Manchester where the discussions and readings to enhance the spiritual understanding of Islam were conducted.<sup>264</sup>

While attending to such gatherings, the Malay students had close contact with Muslims from the Egyptian *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* and *Jamaat Islami* of Pakistan. Islamic movements and the fundamentalist organisations had been fighting for the establishment of the *syarī'ah* in their countries. In the United States and Canada, the Islamic activities were carried out by the Muslim Students' Association of America (MSA). In Australia, Islamic activities for Muslim students including Malaysians were organised by the Australian Federation of Muslim Students Association (AFMSA). The Malay students overseas dedicated a great deal of their time to inculcating a full

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<sup>262</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>263</sup> The Malaysian Islamic Study Group (MISG), Islamic Representative Council (IRC) and the Voice of Islam group are of the Malaysian Malay students' societies established in United Kingdom. The MISG is founded in 1963 by the Malaysian Middle East graduates, Razali Nawawi and Mohd Dahlan Arshad. It was established to ease the Islamic based activities organised by Malaysian students in United Kingdom and Eire through a moderate approach. IRC or *Majlis Syura Muslimum* (MSM) was a council of Malaysian students associations which initially got the idea of its foundation after the FOSIS Winter Gathering in December 1974. While, "*the Voice of Islam*" is a periodical monthly magazine and always refer to a group of Islamic revolutionists emerged in 1975 to study the form and trend of Islamic movement suite to Malaysia setting. The *Voices of Islam* aimed at forming an Islamic movement that able to change the whole structure of Malaysian society through a revolution in nature. This revolution began with faith (*Aqidah*), which from it may nurture to human views, legal and system of life. Even though it was being participated by a small number of students, who had admired by Javed Ansari, a visiting lecturer of Economic and Social Sciences in UK, but they received encouraging numbers of readers due to the magazine publication. They also able to vocally deliver their idealism, views and struggle had been seen and felt by the other groups. *Angkatan Belia Islam: 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, p. 15; Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, Kuala Lumpur: JIMedia, 2009, pp. 89-94

<sup>264</sup> Kalim Siddique, 'FOSIS Tenth Annual Winter Gathering', *The Muslim*, Vol. XI, No. 2, December 1973-January 1974, p. 47; Mohammad Abu Bakar, 'Islamic Revivalism', pp. 1042-1043.

understanding of Islam among their fellow Malay students abroad. This sort of Islamic activities began to be highlighted in the Malaysian newspaper headlines in 1976.<sup>265</sup>

Many changes had taken place in the appeal for Islam and the *da'wah* influence was prevalent on the university campus. The term of '*da'wah*' was being extended to include the task of making Muslims better Muslim. In the name of Islam, seminars, forums, lectures and community programmes were conducted to create students concern on the plight of the people and Muslim society. The slogan of "Islam is the way of life" has been extensively used and inspired *da'wah* organisations and preachers to convey the message of Islam.<sup>266</sup> This new approach in studying Islam with its holistic emphasis on Islam as a system of life has brought a new dimension to the Malay worldview on their faith. Political dimension of Islam has been recognised whereby the installation of *syarī'ah* has been discussed in many publications replacing western concept of modernisation.<sup>267</sup> The western un-Islamic function such as Halloween parties, balls, ragging of freshies during the orientation period were officially dismantled and have been switched to congregational prayers, talks and forums on Islam. Western style of attire for female like skirt was turned to wearing headscarves.<sup>268</sup>

The increasing number of Malay Muslims has transformed themselves from naïve to committed learners. There are remarkable impetuses in the study of Islam.<sup>269</sup> Many of English-educated youths in particular have become entangled in some form of Islamic learning process. English version of the *tafsīr* or exegesis of the Quran written by A. Yusuf Ali, Abu Ala Maududi and Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall become the most popular basic reference texts for the Malay youths.<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Mohamad Abu Bakar, 'Islamic Revivalism', pp. 1043. Controversy issues in relation to *da'wah* activities abroad were underlined in the Malay dailies. See, *Mingguan Rakyat*, May 15, 1976; *Berita Minggu*, May 2, 1976 and *Utusan Melayu*, June 7, 1976.

<sup>266</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, pp. 14 - 15.

<sup>267</sup> Mohammad Abu Bakar, 'Islamic Revivalism', p. 1044.

<sup>268</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, p. 34.

<sup>269</sup> Many individual Muslims were keen to comprehend Islamic teaching and returned to study Quran and Hadith for guidance and towards the perceived efficacy of Islam as a result of the spread of *da'wah* activity.

<sup>270</sup> Mohammad Abu Bakar, 'Islamic Revivalism', p. 1044.

## Paradigm Shift for Muslims Identity and Solutions

One significant dimension to the present resurgence of Islam in Malaysia is that the westernising model and elite have decisively failed to construct Muslim progress; and thus, returning to the fundamental sources of Islam is an effort to reconstruct society in search of a new social order. Muslims psychologically change their response to the challenge of modernity and regain the position they lost because of Westernisation. They want freedom with strength, friendship with honour and cooperation without dependence on the non-Muslim world. Therefore, they make their turn to Islam and form an Islamic movement as alternative to reconstruct their identity.<sup>271</sup>

The Malay Muslims' life in the late 1960s and early 1970s was coloured by the Western culture, modernisation and rapid urbanisation based on materialistic ideology and capitalist approach to development. The impact of westernisation penetrated rural and urban settings, but more apparent in urban area like capital city of Kuala Lumpur. Prof. Dr. Razali Nawawi describes that the Malay Muslims lifestyle in 1960s to 1970s was shaped by western trendy fashion as man wore shorts and woman dressed in skirts. No social restriction was enforced between genders, and no headscarf woman appeared in the public either in the urban or the rural areas.<sup>272</sup>

The uneven capitalist development inherited from the colonial system leaves the whole segments of Malaysian society with no equal access to tangible and intangible services and goods that make life meaningful. The wealth and power is circulated to those in the upper rank of the society.<sup>273</sup> The life city in Kuala Lumpur is compartmentalised and dichotomised from the larger meaning of life. This fragmentation of life leads to the inevitable separation of human's inner self from his

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<sup>271</sup> Khurshid Ahmad, 'The Nature of the Islamic Resurgence', In Esposito, John L., *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983, 218-225.

<sup>272</sup> Interview with Prof Dr. Razali Nawawi, on 10 May 2012, 9.59am-1.15nn at Akademi Quran Medik, Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor. Prof Dr. Razali Nawawi is the first President of ABIM.

<sup>273</sup> Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd., 1987, p. 16. Refer to Anwar statements' quoted by Zainah Anwar as: "The leaders were condemning corruption, but they were enriching themselves. They talked about Malay nasionalism but they were alienated from the Malay masses." Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, p. 11.

outer being; the modern city tends to create a spiritual vacuum in man. To fill the spiritual vacuum in life, as well as to discover a purpose in life which gives meaning to the existence, ones seek out religion as the best solution to the fragmentation of secular and western life.<sup>274</sup>

Modernisation was very apparent around the time after Independence of Malaya. It has brought previously traditional and largely rural people in closer contact with Western culture and the modern economic sector. Western-style of clothing such as, short skirts was common in Kuala Lumpur. Muslims felt free to eat in the non-Muslim restaurants and houses. Adherence to such requirements as praying five times per day and weekly Friday prayer was not rigorous. Islamic programmes made up only a small part of radio and television fare, and Malay films and other forms of entertainment were very westernised. Alcohol was often served at government functions, which seldom opened with prayers.<sup>275</sup>

More Western lifestyle was noticeable in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. As a result of the colonial rule, a number of leisure places was established such as, *Paramount*, *Ruby* and *Sentosa* cinemas located in Petaling Jaya, while in Kuala Lumpur more cinemas were built like *Federal*, *Capitol*, *Cathay* and *Rex*.<sup>276</sup> Several musical trends and Western social dance dominated the 1970s. More jazz-influenced sounds of Western pop and rock music becoming popular culture. Western dance fads such as a-go-go and disco found acceptance in Malaysia and influenced many local singers. Moreover, discos and night-clubs generally replaced the *joget* clubs of old. By the late 1970s, pubs featuring live music were also becoming more common in the cities.<sup>277</sup> For the Malays who were strongly inclined with Islamic teaching and traditional values, the modern city development did not benefit their soul. Life in the city portrayed as centre of evil

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<sup>274</sup> Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, p. 14.

<sup>275</sup> John Funston, 'Malaysia', in Grey Fealy and Virginia Hooker, *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006, p. 56; Interview with Prof Dr Razali Nawawi, on 10 May 2012.

<sup>276</sup> *Universiti Malaya, 1978/1979*, Kuala Lumpur: University Malaya, 1979, p.25.

<sup>277</sup> Craig A. Lockard, 'Reflections of Change: Sociopolitical Commentary and Criticism in Malaysia Popular Music Since 1950', *Crossroads*, No. 6, 1991, p. 34.

activities, against traditional values, surrounded with the un-Islamic elements and immoral corrupted values which could destroy individual behaviour and their commitment on religion; hence the *ulama*' attack on "yellow culture".<sup>278</sup>

Rapid urbanisation replaced traditional Malay rural homogeneity with a new urban-based pluralism. The rising volume of Malay migration from village into new land schemes, industrial estates and urban centres upset the traditional values and institutions of the Malays. The *da'wah* group criticised the employment of women in factories and shopping centres; elders and parents complained of declining morality; and the workers themselves complained of low wages, poverty and alienation.<sup>279</sup>

Reviewing the impact of Western culture, modernisation and urbanisation to the Malay Muslims, the Islamists began to seek to modernise without compromising on the Islamic principle and values.<sup>280</sup> Since the period of Islamic Resurgence in 1970s, a major transformation began to unfold. Khoo Kay Kim, Emeritus Professor of Department of History, University of Malaya has recorded his memoir note out of his academic life in University of Malaya.<sup>281</sup> Apart of that, Khoo describes the impact of the Islamic Resurgence on the Malay students' life, where they started to be reminded of the prohibitions in Islam. Liquor and pork could no longer be served in the UM campus. Western dancing was also banned. The Arts Concourse which is normally used to be venues for the Convocation Ball each year ceased to be the centre for social activities. The female Muslim students and women were encouraged to wear *tudung*. The Muslim Students Association University Malaya (*Persatuan Mahasiswa Islam Universiti Malaya* - PMIUM) progressively marched to the forefront of student

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<sup>278</sup> Wan Abdul Kadir, *Budaya Bandaran: Perubahan Budaya Populer Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Pustaka Ilmu, 2002, p. 87; Fred R.von der Mehden, 'Islamic Revivalism in Asia: Malaysia and Indonesia', In Shireen T. Hunter, *The Politics of Islamic Revivalism*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988, p. 257.

<sup>279</sup> Mehmet, Ozay., *Islamic Identity and Development: Studies of the Islamic Periphery*, Petaling Jaya: Forum, 1990, p. 110.

<sup>280</sup> Khurshid Ahmad, 'The Nature of the Islamic Resurgence', p. 224.

<sup>281</sup> Khoo Kay Kim wrote his note in a chapter of book entitled "Glimpses of the Past" dedicated to Royal Prof. Ungku A. Aziz.

activities especially among the Malay Muslims which were ever represented and prevailed before by the Malay Language Students' Union (PBMUM).<sup>282</sup>

Islam is also presented as basis of struggle to solve social problems and justice as well as the Muslims survival issues which replaced the Socialist Club's position as the winner of the poor and oppressed.<sup>283</sup> The Malay Muslim ethnic condition in economy, the social problem and issues also gained special attention of the educated group of Malays in particular the Malay Muslim youths in the local campus. Challenges faced by the Malay community in the urban area have prompted to fill the spiritual space. Its effect is the tendency of new residents in the city to participate actively in politics to defend Islam, searching for Muslim identity and serve to find solution to the Malay Muslim community's problem and their welfare.<sup>284</sup>

The unresolved issues related to the Malays such as language, education, rural-urban imbalances and Malay identity and rights could not be described as a stream with a strong ethnic and a class base to express narrow sectional frustrations as argued by Nagata.<sup>285</sup> Even though these issues were incidentally circulated amongst the Malay Muslim community in Malaysia, they could not be claimed on ethnic basis. The issues addressed are rather appealing for social justice in Islam under the flag of Islamic *da'wah* movement. Thus, Islam has become the banner for a number of social requests and is believed as the best solution to whatever difficulties and situations that Muslims

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<sup>282</sup> Khoo Kay Kim, 'From Bukit Timah to Lembah Pantai', In Abu Bakar A. Hamid et.al. (editor), *The University at Pantai Valley: Glimpses of the Past*, Kuala Lumpur: University Malaya Press, 2009, p. 95.

<sup>283</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, p. 34.

<sup>284</sup> See, Hussin Mutalib, *Islamic Revivalism In Malaysia*, p. 29.

<sup>285</sup> Nagata argues that the emergence and consolidation of *da'wah* among the Muslim Malays are directly related to these issues. By adopting the leading role in returning to Islam, the young, well-educated and urban-based Malays provided the much-needed renewed sense of identity for Malays as the whole under the label of Islam as a way of restoring Malay unity and integrity. Hence, Nagata called *da'wah* "the urban challenge". She claimed that religious slogans and ideology, expressed within *da'wah* organisations, are thus used to restore ethnic unity. See Judith Nagata, 'The New Fundamentalism: Islam in Contemporary Malaysia', *Asian Thought & Society*, No. 5, 1980, pp. 128-141. Nagata claimed that religious group have championed any causes of deprived sectors of population (as in Baling) – such as peasants and rural and urban squatters, and they used the language of Islam masks a class base or structure. Without critically examined the Malay Muslim causes of religious resurgence, Nagata argued that internal class divisions threaten Malays unity as Muslim, thus, whether or not Islam is explicitly used as the ideology to mobilise class sentiment. No class awareness existed in the Malay community as claimed by Nagata, as well as an internal differentiation of the Malay community, but the religious awareness was rather a result of the Malay Muslim reflection on their understanding on the religion of Islam as a solution of life. Judith Nagata, 'Religious Ideology and Social Change: the Islamic Revival in Malaysia', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 3, Autumn, 1980, pp. 437-438, 405-439.



face.<sup>286</sup> Lack of socioeconomic justice combined with official corruption and failure of political elites to mould strong identities through socialisation has produced a crisis of legitimacy, where the moral bases of authority are in question.<sup>287</sup>

As a result of intensified modernisation, westernisation and industrialisation where Islamic Resurgence has taken place, it has caused certain segments of the urban-based Malay middle class to seriously consider issues arising in rapid economic growth and the state-building, and subsequently formulate responses to them by restudy to Islamic teachings and philosophy.<sup>288</sup>

### **Political Will of Islamisation in the State Policy**

In the initial years after the Independence, the federal government had very limited involvement in Islamic affairs.<sup>289</sup> Islam was not more than a symbol for ceremonial purposes and ritual practices, but Islam was still considered important by the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) at a superficial level to counter Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS). Such activities at least have attached Malays with their faith. Under the ruling party of UMNO, the first national mosque was built in 1961; the National and International Quranic Competitions have been organised and Islamic

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<sup>286</sup> For example, in 22-25 November 1974 inspired by the movement led by the university students, thousands of poor peasants made a hungry demonstration to protest the uprising price of daily basic needs and the decline of rubber price. Riduan Mohamad Nor, *Sejarah Gerakan Mahasiswa dalam Cerminan Dekad*, Kuala Lumpur: Jundi Resources, 2012, p. 80.

<sup>287</sup> Very often, Malay elites are viewed by the Islamists as people who are corrupt and greedy. These high-living elites are also chased for not caring for religion when they neglected regular daily prayer, consuming liquor, indulged in gambling activities and are lax about sexual conduct. For Islamic resurgents, personal morality related to matters such as sex, liquor, gambling and clothes has always been a crucial concern. It is recorded that a Malay member of Tunku Abdul Rahman Cabinet exalted the drinking of alcohol, without considering its prohibition stated and regulated in the Quran. See, R. Hrair. Dekmejian, 'Islamic Revival: Catalysts, Categories, and Consequences', In Shireen T. Hunter, *The Politics of Islamic Revival*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988, p. 8; Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, p. 20. Fred R. Von der Mehden, 'Religion and Politics in Malaya', *Asian Survey*, No. 3, 1963, p. 614.

<sup>288</sup> Sharifah Zaleha Syed Hassan, 'Islamization and the Emerging Civil Society in Malaysia: A Case Study', In Nakamura Mitsuo et.al. (editors), *Islam & Civil Society in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001, p. 78.

<sup>289</sup> In the ten years time after independence, nothing much change has been made to the position Islam in Malaysia. The progress of Islam concentrated on celebrating the Islamic festivals, limited *da'wah* activity through PERKIM, collecting donation and mosque administration. Changes in Islamic development could be seen in its visible tangible form such as, the construction of 2,000 mosques and surau within the period of 1957 to 1966; the national and international Quranic competition which started in 1960, reviewing the management of Islamic laws for all states (1957-1967) and financial assistance in performing haj through subsidy or wage deduction for the government servants. S. Ahmad Hussein, 'Muslim Politics in Malaysia: Origins and Evolution of Competing Traditions in Malay Islam', *Foundation for Global Dialogue Paper*, No. 15, 1998, p. 17; Ahmad Sunawari Long, 'Impak Kebangkitan Semula Islam', p. 147.

ceremonial functions such as, the Prophet Muhammad's birthday celebration has been widely held by the government.<sup>290</sup>

With a limited authority in Islamic affairs whereby this matter should be placed under the sultans of the Malay states, the federal government has instructed that the Islamic education must be taught in school which consisted of fifteen Muslim students.<sup>291</sup> By and large, UMNO adopted Islamic policies that were largely nominal and symbolic in nature, primarily to placate the pro-Islamic elements in political arena and in particular to weaken the Islamic appeal that PAS might use over it.<sup>292</sup> In other ways, the type of Islam adopted by UMNO has been consistent since the time of writing the Constitution which it recommended that Islam be made the religion of the Federation, but within a secular state.<sup>293</sup>

In January 1974, an Islamic research centre and Islamic Preaching Foundation (YADIM) were established. The secretariat in the Office of Prime Minister was upgraded to a Division of Religious Affairs and further expansion as the Division of Islamic Affairs in 1984 and finally became the Malaysian Department of Islamic Development (*Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia* - JAKIM) in 1997. An important development in this context is the appointment of a deputy minister in 1973 to supervise its activities and of the full minister from 1997.<sup>294</sup>

A major concern of the government was to ensure that Islamic laws are consistent across the states. Furthermore, a National Fatwa Committee was established in 1970 to standardise the *ulama'* consensus on Islamic rule and issues relating to Muslim affairs. In another move towards centralisation, Department of *Syarī'ah* Law (*Jabatan Kehakiman Syariah Malaysia*) has taken over the *syarī'ah* courts from the states and

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<sup>290</sup> Hussin Mutalib, *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 35.

<sup>291</sup> Education Ministry also gave financial assistance to the Public Islamic Religious Schools (*Sekolah Agama Rakyat*) through its special scheme. More than half million ringgit had been credited every year to benefit more than half million students in these religious schools. *UMNO: 20 Tahun*, Kuala Lumpur: Ibu Pejabat UMNO, 1966, p. 23.

<sup>292</sup> Fred Von der Mehden, 'Religion and Politics in Malaya', p. 614.

<sup>293</sup> N. J. Funston, *The Malay Politics in Malaysia: A Study of the United Malays National Organisation and Party Islam*, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd. 1980, p. 146.

<sup>294</sup> John Funston, 'Malaysia', in Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (editors), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), 2006, p. 55.

these courts were restructured under the department in the Office of the Prime Minister.<sup>295</sup> As stated in its initial plan to expand Islamic education, MKI has also decided to establish School of Quranic Memorisation (*Ma'had Tahfiz al-Qurān Wa al-Qirāat*) and The Board of Islamic Learning Moderator and Education (LEPAI), Islamic Teaching College (*Maktab Perguruan Islam - MPI*) and Sarawak Islamic Secondary School.<sup>296</sup>

Serious attention to the role of Islam in the administration of the country has been given when Mahathir Mohammad took the position as prime minister. He has distinguished himself from previous UMNO leaders in his vigorously planning and implementing various government driven programmes towards Islamisation. The International Islamic University, the Islamic Bank and Takaful Company and introducing the Islamic civilisation subject are some projects which have taken shape under him.<sup>297</sup>

Through the government policy of institutionalisation of Islam in 1980s, the Islamisation of society has started to be enforced seriously by Mahathir with the implementation of Nurturing of Islamic Values Policy to inculcate the universal values of Islam in the government service. A further important effort in enhancing Islamic understanding was the founding of Malaysian Institute for Islamic Understanding (*Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia - IKIM*).<sup>298</sup> IKIM is a prestigious think-tank that hosts high level conferences on Islam; writers of regular columns in both Malay and English newspaper, runs television and radio programmes and is generally responsible for articulating government policy on Islamic affairs.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>296</sup> *JAKIM 35 Tahun: Sambutan 35 Tahun (1968-2003) JAKIM*, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia, 2003, pp. 23-24.

<sup>297</sup> Aziz Zariza Ahmad, *Mahathir Paradigm Shift: The Man Behind the Vision*, Taiping: Firma Malaysia Publishing, 1997, p. 67.

<sup>298</sup> Prof Dato' Ismail Ibrahim was elected its first director by Prime Minister Mahathir. Yusof Othman, 'Kata Pengantar', in Ismail Ibrahim, *Oktober yang Dinantikan*, Bangi: Institut Islam Hadhari, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2011, p. i.

<sup>299</sup> Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (editors), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006, pp. xxiv- xxix; John Funston, 'Malaysia', p. 56.

Under the leadership of Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, he has given special attention to Islamic development in his internal and international policy. Malaysian government national policy has started introducing for the nation building in the name of Civilizational Islam “Islam Hadhari” and this remarks the reaffirmation stage of Islam in public life which allows space for Islam to be expanded. His successor, the Sixth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato Seri Najib Tun Razak has continued showing government’s commitment on the development of moderate Islam in the country through his concept of ‘*Wasatīyyah*’.

As a result of Islamic expansion and approaches used in spreading and preaching Islam, Islam today is rapidly growing and affecting the lives and religiosity of the Malays in Malaysia. Islamisation process has upheld its strong position in the government policy in economics, social, and politics in the form of the establishment of institutions. The recent development of Islam should be traced reflecting on the nature of Islam and the state initiative to respond to the request of Islamic *da’wah* movements.

### **The Emergence of Charismatic Leadership**

One of major factors responsible for the rise of the Islamic Resurgence in 1970s to 1980s is the emergence of the Malay university student leadership in the local university and abroad, who then have become national leaders. Through PBMUM and PMIUM, the two student societies led by Anwar Ibrahim,<sup>300</sup> Kamaruddin Muhammad Nor and other members of the Islamic groups, a new course for student activities along with the Islamic path was being planned. The students started to form small groups where they

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<sup>300</sup> Anwar Bin Ibrahim was born on 10 August 1947, in the middle class of UMNO family in Penang. He is one of nine children born to Che Yan Abdul Hamid Hussain (1926-2001) and Ibrahim Abdul Rahman (c. 1922 -). His mother of Malay origin and his father is both Indian and Malay descent. In the late 1950’s, Anwar’s father was a medical assistance and hold the position of Member of Parliament (MP) for Seberangperai from 1959-1969, and parliamentary secretary to the ministry of health from 1964-1969. His mother became formally involved in state and federal politics, joining UMNO and representing Penang as the Chief of *Kaum Ibu* of Seberang Perai from 1961-1967. Anwar started his Malay-medium primary school followed by an English education. Though, Bukit Mertajam was popular to religious schools, but Anwar’s education was “secular”, with his attendance to “Quranic Class” provided in the afternoons and evening sessions. He was the Malay College Kuala Kangsar (MCKK) graduate who then further his study at UM in 1971. He also led many students’ societies, such as, The Malaysia Muslim Student Association, President of the University Malaya Malay Language Society and the Third President of ABIM. Charles Allers, *Anwar Ibrahim: Evolution of A Muslim Democrat*, Singapore: Monsoon Books Pte Ltd, 2014, pp. 31-38.

held discussions on the teachings of the leaders of Islamic Resurgence and they began to formulate a plan of action to put their newly reasserted thoughts of faith into practice.<sup>301</sup>

After dominating the UM Student Union (*Persatuan Mahasiswa Universiti Malaya* - PMUM) in 1974, the Islamic group under the influence of ABIM began to manage new Malay student orientation with full Islamic-oriented tentatives. Starting from congregational *subuh* prayers, listening to religious lectures and wearing small headscarves students had been introduced to beauty of Islam as the way of life. Credit is due to Anwar Ibrahim for being at the forefront to the foundation of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia, the fact that cannot be denied by everyone for his efforts to inspire the Malay society, in particular their obligation as Muslim that has been neglected by the Malay leaders.<sup>302</sup> This appeal has also brought together universal values like social justice in handling poverty, exploitation and oppression; integrity of country's leadership (corruption) and the nation rights for unity. Hence, this has united the Islamist Malays and the socialists' requests for the betterment for social order in the country. As a charismatic student leader during that time, Anwar has emerged in appropriate time of national crisis with a powerful message for social and spiritual deliverance.<sup>303</sup>

The role played by National Union of Malaysian Muslim Students (PKPIM) as earlier Islamic student organisations has turned out to be an aggressive platform for Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia. PKPIM is the main body of national Muslim students'

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<sup>301</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>302</sup> See, M. Kamal Hassan, Zainah Anwar, SeyyedVali Reza Nasr and Charles Allers who call Anwar the person "who could be credited for giving the foundation and rises of the Islamic Resurgence movement in Malaysia. Fred R. von der Mehden called Anwar Ibrahim as charismatic leader of ABIM which has become involved in many issues characterised as political by the government. See, M. Kamal Hassan, 'The Influence of Mawdudi's Thought on Muslims in Southeast Asia: A Brief Survey', *The Muslim World*, Vol. 93, No. 34, July-Oct. 2003, p. 433; Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, p. 11; SeyyedVali Reza Nasr, *Islamic Leviathan: Islam and the Making of State Power*, Oxford: University Press, 2001, p. 87; Fred R. von der Mehden, 'Islamic Revivalism in Asia: Malaysia and Indonesia', in Shireen T. Hunter, *The Politics of Islamic Revivalism: Diversity and Unity*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988, p. 251; Charles Allers, *Anwar Ibrahim: Evolution of A Muslim Democrat*, p. 46. While his parents were ritualist of Islam – pray and oblige to Quranic Laws, Anwar pursued a more modern interpretation of Islam, activated in Islamic activism as he and other students formed "The Revolutionary Religious Body" in 1965, with his strong religious convictions. The concept of the revolution (not as anarchist) was not only of his search for an comprehending of Islam but also his sense and his life experience at MCKK was considered as not common to ordinary Malay society. Interview with Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim, at PKR Headquarter, Damansara, Petaling Jaya, Selangor, on 20 November 2013, 12.15 noon.

<sup>303</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, pp. 11- 14.

movement to cater the needs of hundreds of thousands of Muslim students throughout the Peninsular and East Malaysia.<sup>304</sup>

Important efforts of PKPIM which succeeded in gaining public attentions, are its “action oriented”, “mission oriented” and “issue oriented” approaches in delivering many local and international issues. PKPIM had forwarded many important constructive suggestions which brought significant growth in the progress of Islam in Malaysia.<sup>305</sup>

With an advance initiative taken by PKPIM, the Congress of Islamic University was organised to discuss the establishment of Islamic university based on the holistic concept of *ad-dīn*.<sup>306</sup> This congress was organised after resolutions of the biggest congress of “the Pan-Malaysian Congress of Islamic Progress” which was held in University of Malaya in 1966.<sup>307</sup>

Besides sending proposals and suggestions for the sake of the ummah, PKPIM has also played significant role in the establishment of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) and at the same time has actively been involved in all activities pertaining to the process of Islamisation and issues of social justice.<sup>308</sup> After realising the need to expand the Islamic consciousness to all levels of youth and the masses, PKPIM initiated the

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<sup>304</sup> It was founded in March 21, 1961 at the Second College of University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur and was originally named *Persatuan Kebangsaan Pelajar Islam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu* (National Union of the Federation of Malay States Muslim Students). It acquired its present name and structure after the formation of Malaysia in 1965. The formation of PKPIM was an initiative of a group of Muslim students from five institutions of higher education, namely, University of Malaya (UM), Kuala Lumpur Technical College, Serdang College of Agriculture, the Islamic College and Teachers Training College in Kuala Lumpur. In addition, there was also an associate membership of bodies participating in PKPIM such as, *Angkatan Nahdatul Islam Bersatu Sarawak* (BINA), Students' Welfare Association, for the district Chenor Pahang and Confederation of Terengganu Religious Students (*Gabungan Pelajar-Pelajar Agama Terengganu* - GPAT). PKPIM also received membership from Muslim Students Association of the Kelantan Teachers College, Student Council of RIDA Training College, Muslim Students Association of Technical Teachers College, Kuala Lumpur, Students Association of the MARA Institute of Technology and the Johor Muslim Students Association. *National Union of Malaysian Muslim Students' Silver Jubilee*, Kuala Lumpur: National Union of Malaysian Muslim Student (PKPIM), 1988, p. 2; Mohd Jamil Mukmin, *Gerakan Islam di Malaysia: Kesenambungan, Respons dan Perubahan (1957-2000)*, Shah Alam: Pusat Penerbitan Universiti (UPENA), Universiti Teknologi MARA, 2009, pp. 24-25.

<sup>305</sup> In 1965, PKPIM organised the Conference of Religious Teachers and Students of Federated Malay States which brought important resolutions to press forward that the federal government should take over the administration of the public religious school from the state government, introducing Islamic education subject in the government school, restructuring religious books, establishing Islamic Teaching Training College and recognising Malaya Islamic College as a university college. Fuad Hassan (President of PKPIM), ‘Garis-Garis Tindakan PKPIM’, Simposium Pimpinan Pelajar PKPIM Kedua-1978, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Lembah Pantai, Kuala Lumpur, 1978, p. 3.

<sup>306</sup> Many papers were presented in this congress represented by academicians of higher learning institutions and political parties. UMNO was represented by Dasuki Hj Ahmad, member of its Religious Bureau.

<sup>307</sup> Mohd Jamil Mukmin, *Gerakan Islam di Malaysia*, p. 28.

<sup>308</sup> Out of these issues are anti Tunku issue (1969), the oppression of Thanom Kitikachorn regime on Muslims in the South Thailand (1971), the University Acts issue (1971) as well as United States participation in the Middle East (1973), the logging issue in Bangi (1971), as well as Hungry and Poverty demonstration in Baling (1974). Through discussion, sending memorandum and negotiation efforts with the related institution and parties, PKPIM initiated an active role in solving social and international issues. However, demonstration is the last action taken by PKPIM after the failure of previous diplomacy efforts. Mohd Jamil Mukmin, *Gerakan Islam di Malaysia*, pp. 29-30; *National Union of Malaysian Muslim Students' Silver Jubilee*, p. 2.

formation of the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia (ABIM) during its 1971's Annual General Meeting.<sup>309</sup>

The student organisations in 1970s played a very significant role in criticising the government as well as in generating the national awareness as they represented the voice of educated group and the plight of people; until it was considered as a threat for the ruling party, government and national security.<sup>310</sup> With the support by PKPIM, ABIM and PBMUM, Anwar stirred up students union from the anti-Tunku campaign and social appeal to the new path of Islam.<sup>311</sup> Through seminars, forums, lectures, community projects, and demonstration, students were encouraged to be more concerned with the plights of the people in the name of Islam.<sup>312</sup>

The domain of moderate ABIM and PKPIM position in the local university students' leadership and associations provided a basis for other *da'wah* groups such as, the Islamic Republic or the pro-Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party and Islamic Representative Council have also struggled to dominate students' societies in the early 1980's to 1990's. These *da'wah* groups have frequently been competing to dominate the students' council in each local university as a platform to win students' and their group's inspiration, besides their main objective to serve for students welfare.

### **Kuala Lumpur and Selangor as Centres for *Da'wah* Activities**

After the Independence of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, as the capital city of Malaysia has received massive growth of urbanisation and modernisation. As a typical premier city in

<sup>309</sup> *National Union of Malaysian Muslim Students' Silver Jubilee*, p. 2.

<sup>310</sup> See, Muhammad Abu Bakar, *Mahasiswa Menggugat*, Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1973, pp. 145-148.

<sup>311</sup> Many issues have been addressed in relation to moral degradation and ethics, struggling for socio-economic justice, Malay rights and problems, over the question of poverty, national language and new education system that turn backward of Muslims in understanding Islam and the survival of the *ummah* across the globe.

<sup>312</sup> Many series of students' campaign, talks, speaker corners, students' community project and demonstrations have been arranged to stimulate students' alerts on social, community and religious issues. On Jun 14, 1971, a students' demonstration was held attending by approximately 2,000 students gathered in the Speaker Corner which organised by PMIUM and with a support of PMUM and the Socialist Club to show their protest on the oppression of Thailand government on the Malay Muslim in South Thailand. PKPIM in his official newsletter, *Suara Siswa*, Volume 2, No. 2, Disember 1970 edition, described in detail historical chronology and facts on the struggle of the Malay Muslim against efforts of Thailand police and army to devastate characteristic of the Muslim-Malayness identity of the people. This newsletter then was banned by the government few days after its dissemination. See, Muhammad Abu Bakar, *Mahasiswa Menggugat*, pp. 145-148. Other program organised by the students' association is The Conciousness Raising Campaign (GKK- *Gerakan Kempen Kesedaran*) had launched in 1968 to establish a closer relationship between students and society, create justice, honesty, truth and understading among the rural community to ensure their educational political economic and social development are associated with Islam. Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia*, pp. 12, 14-16.

a post-colonial state and the political heart of the nations, a lot of the nation's development centred on Kuala Lumpur. There is, therefore, a tendency within the Malay community to look at Kuala Lumpur which can provide opportunity, mobility, employment and education to them. Capitalist and Western style of living in the federal capital has disturbed the Malay educated middle class and young Malays, who then turn to religion for solace and solution.<sup>313</sup>

The strategic location of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor does impact the religious activities where most universities and learning centres are centralised in these two urban and populous states. Comparing the other religious traditionalist and conservative states of the Northern and East-Cost of Peninsular Malaysia, the rapid changes of modernisation in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor do contribute to the renaissance of religious movements, in particular the emergence of religious *da'wah* organisations in the urban area. As mentioned by Huntington, modernisation has given rise to the loss of local and traditional identities and this emptiness has been filled by religion. In this context, the emergence of Islamic Resurgence is a process of "re-Islamisation" which seeks to shape Malaysian society, as cited in Huntington's words "in a non-Western way" or in Islamic way of life.<sup>314</sup>

Before the boom of the Islamic Resurgence was initiated by University Malaya's students, a few *da'wah* organisations started to emerge in Kuala Lumpur. Among the earliest *da'wah* organisations that emerged in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur was Jam'iyah Dakwatul Islamiyah (*Persekutuan Seruan Islam Selangor dan Wilayah Persekutuan*) established on 20 June 1950.<sup>315</sup> Since its inception, Jam'iyah has actively played an important role in organising *da'wah* activities in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Among those who initiated its foundation are Maulana Shah Muhammad Abdul Aleem Saddiqi,

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<sup>313</sup> Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>314</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996, p. 110.

<sup>315</sup> It is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) registered under Registrar of Society (ROS) (*Pendaftaran Pertubuhan*) with its registration number PPM54 (Selangor). See, <http://www.amaljariah.org.my/pengenal/>.



*Ustaz Pateh Akhir* (President of Selangor Islamic Religious Department), Syed Nordin (Kuala Lumpur District Officer), Mr. Mohamed Baba (the First Judge of Kuala Lumpur Court), Mr Mohd Ali Taib, Mr. Yahya Samad and Mr. Osman Basha.<sup>316</sup>

In the early stage of its formation, Jam'iyah Selangor was known before as 'the Federation of the Pan-Malaya Islamic Call' (*Persekutuan Seruan Islam Se-Malaya*) and acted as a branch for Jam'iyah Singapore based in Geylang. Later, Jam'iyah Selangor was officially registered on June 12, 1950 to centralise its official activity at Masjid Jamek in the Mountbatten Road, Kuala Lumpur. After the establishment of Jam'iyah Singapore, other branches were established in Penang, Malacca and Perak.<sup>317</sup>

The Jam'iyah Selangor's organisation and activities however, began to be interjected when it was apparently dominated by the Indian Muslims, and most *da'wah* activities and assemblies were arranged at Masjid India, Jalan Melayu.<sup>318</sup> Meanwhile, the Malay members of Javanese and Boyanese communities formed their own group's activities at the mosque in Java Road.<sup>319</sup> Only after the early 1960s when Tuan Haji Abdul Rashid Abdullah became Secretary of Jam'iyah and at the same time he was elected Secretary of Masjid Jamek Kuala Lumpur, all religious community's activities were held at Masjid Jamek Kuala Lumpur. Currently, the headquarters of Jam'iyah is located at Jalan Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur.<sup>320</sup>

Through its active participation in the *da'wah* and welfare services in the state and the national levels, Jam'iyah has received many awards from the state Islamic institutions and the Federal Government. It was awarded "the oldest and very active association" on 12 January 2002 by the Registrar of Society (ROS) where its structure

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<sup>316</sup> The effort to establish Jam'iyah Selangor was initiated after a gathering held at the Masjid Jamek, Kuala Lumpur on January 24, 1949. Official Website of Jam'iyah Dakwatul Islamiyah or Persekutuan Seruan Islam Selangor dan Wilayah Persekutuan, Retrived on 12 January 2012, [http://jamiyah.org.my/?page\\_id=14](http://jamiyah.org.my/?page_id=14), p. 1.

<sup>317</sup> With an effort of a scholar who came from Meerut, India named Maulana Shah Muhammad Abdul Aleem Siddiqi Al Qaderi, Jam'iyah was first established in 1932 in Singapore under its first name as '*Persekutuan Seruan Islam Se-Malaya*'. See, Official Website of Persekutuan Seruan Islam Selangor dan Wilayah Persekutuan, Retrived on 12 June 2012. [http://jamiyah.org.my/?page\\_id=19](http://jamiyah.org.my/?page_id=19).

<sup>318</sup> At that time, it was in wooden block structure.

<sup>319</sup> Previously, it was located at the recent site of the Masjid Jamek LRT station building.

<sup>320</sup> The Jam'iyah office is located at No. 25, Lot 203, Jalan Rahmat off Jalan Ipoh, 50350 Kuala Lumpur. [http://jamiyah.org.my/?page\\_id=19](http://jamiyah.org.my/?page_id=19), p. 1-3.

and administration was under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, “the Best Award of *Da’wah* Organisation” in conjunction of the 1428H/2007AD Maal Hijrah Celebration by the Islamic Religious Council of the Federal Territory<sup>321</sup> and “the Selangor Voluntary *Da’wah* Organisation” in 1432H/2010AD.<sup>322</sup>

The Islamic Resurgence was also closely linked to the role of higher learning institutions in Kuala Lumpur, as the capital city of Malaysia. The first *da’wah* organisation that combines Western and Islamic disciplines was al-Rahmaniah or *Badan Da’wah dan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia* (Malaysian *Da’wah* and Islamic Welfare Organisation) which was established in 1963 and led by the Malay Muslim students and Islamic scholars from University of Malaya, Malaya Islamic College and other universities nearby Kuala Lumpur.<sup>323</sup> Al-Rahmaniah was participated by the Muslim middle class and intellectuals predominantly the Malays as specified in its objectives, and was less opened to the ordinary public. Its activities gave more concentration at the higher learning institutions as it aimed at gathering Muslim intelligentsias into the *da’wah* movement. However, this group is expected to guide the public.<sup>324</sup>

The role of the educated middle classes including administrators, academicians, government officers, businessmen and students either through their moral and financial supports helps to magnify al-Rahmaniah as a platform for *da’wah* in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor.<sup>325</sup> Many Malay intellectuals joined al-Rahmaniah later, such as Wan Muhammad Ali, Mohd Kamal Hassan, Ali bin Haji Ahmad, Arifin bin Suhaimi, Muhammad Nakhaei bin Hj Ahmad, Faisal bin Haji Uthman, *Ustaz* Hasan bin Salih, Daeng Sanusi bin Daeng Mariok, Mukhtar Syafie, Syarifah Zainab bin Syed Mohd Khalid, educated Malays from Malaya Islamic College and University of Malaya.

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<sup>321</sup> *Majlis Agama Islam Wilayah Persekutuan*.

<sup>322</sup> [http://jamiyah.org.my/?page\\_id=19](http://jamiyah.org.my/?page_id=19), p. 1-3.

<sup>323</sup> Zulkifli Dahalan, ‘*Al-Rahmaniah: Sejarah dan Peranan yang Pernah dimainkannya dalam Aktiviti-aktiviti Dakwah Islamiah di Malaysia*’, *ESTEEM*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2008, pp. 133-150.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>325</sup> Among its founding committees are Muhammad Uthman el-Muhammady (tutor in the Islamic Studies Department, University of Malaya), Miskin bin Fakir Muhammad (University of Malaya student), Abdul Ahad (the Indian Muslim who received a title of Malaysian citizenship and worked as engineer in the British company, Harper and Gill Film), Wan Yusof bin Wan Ismail (the economist), Haji Muhammad Din bin Ali (Secretary of Kuala Lumpur *Municipal Council*), Sulaiman bin Nor, Jamil Mukmin, Nik Mustafa bin Syafie and many others. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

Fathiyah Abdul Kadir and Fauziah Thani were recorded as female students also attached to al-Rahmaniah.<sup>326</sup>

The establishment of al-Rahmaniah was also a starting point to a paradigm shift in the dimension of *da'wah* in Kuala Lumpur, when it attested that the message of Islam can be delivered not only by the educated Islamic studies backgrounds, but also by those who come from the Western background and of those with an English secular orientation. As a voluntary *da'wah* organisation, al-Rahmaniah worked as an important religious organisation in the initial development of Islamic consciousness and had positively created confidence within the circle of Islamic scholars and students that Islam is a system that governs the entire structure of life. Al-Rahmaniah began its activities at Masjid al-Rahman and received a warm support from the earlier Muslim students' society, such as PKPIM and Muslim Students Association of Malaya Islamic College.<sup>327</sup>

Though the suggestion of its foundation was opposed by PERKIM as its existence would be a competitor to PERKIM, al-Rahmaniah has managed to serve as a remarkable *da'wah* organisation which meets the social and the current needs, and has successfully acted as an alternative religious body which involved the Muslim middle class. It also emerged to fill a vacuum in the Malay society that has faced challenges by the socialists and secularists ideas which seek to influence students during that time.<sup>328</sup>

Despite concentrating its activities at the higher learning institutions nearby Kuala Lumpur and Selangor,<sup>329</sup> al-Rahmaniah also expanded series of talks in Malacca, Kedah, Perak and Kelantan. The Malay College Kuala Kangsar (MCKK) and Sultan Idris Teachers College of Perak have also received religious speakers from al-Rahmaniah presenting their discourse on Islam. Al-Rahmaniah was represented by

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<sup>326</sup> Ibid., pp. 134-135.

<sup>327</sup> Through mobilising skills and knowledge amongst its devotees, al-Rahmaniah managed to strengthen the Islamic *da'wah* undertaking. Ibid., p. 135.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid.

<sup>329</sup> Al-Rahmaniah actively sent its speakers in *da'wah* programmes which were organised by the Agriculture College of Serdang, the National Institute of Technology, the Language Institute and Victorian Institution of Kuala Lumpur.

Anwar Ibrahim who actively led its programme at MCKK. Meanwhile, most of the *da'wah* programmes in Kuala Lumpur were centralised by Uthman el-Muhammady.<sup>330</sup>

Through its official publication of *An-Nur* and *Suara Ar-Rahmaniah*, and dissemination of pamphlets, posters and magazines, it worked to spread Islamic thoughts in the society. Besides having relationship with PERKIM, al-Rahmaniah has also made attachments with international networks and other foreign Islamic movements such as *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, Masyumi and Jamaat Islami of Pakistan. Tan Sri Prof. Dr. Mohd Kamal Hassan, Datuk Nakhaei Ahmad, *Ustaz* Dr. Muhammad Uthman el-Muhammady and Daeng Sanusi Daeng Mariok were some figures who actively participated in al-Rahmaniah.<sup>331</sup>

However, by the late 1969, al-Rahmaniah as a *da'wah* organisation began to deteriorate when some of its figures left due to many reasons.<sup>332</sup> In addition, in the early 1970s, al-Rahmaniah began to be forgotten and being replaced by the emergence of new and more energetic *da'wah* groups such as ABIM and al-Arqam. An initiative was made to synergise its function as an energetic *da'wah* organisation; however, due to its financial and manpower problems such effort was not able to realise its dream to become a successful *da'wah* platform in Malaysia.<sup>333</sup>

PERKIM is amongst the earliest *da'wah* organisation established by the Malaysian government after the Independence of Malaya. PERKIM, is an acronym for *Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Se-Malaya* (at that time), or the All Malaya Islamic Welfare Organisation,<sup>334</sup> was founded in 19 August 1960 with the initiative made by late YTM Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, the First Prime Minister of Malaysia as a non-government organisation. The increasing numbers of new reverts among public

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>331</sup> It was invited to attend international Islamic conferences abroad. Zulkifli Dahalan, 'Al-Rahmaniah: Sejarah dan Peranan', pp. 134-135.

<sup>332</sup> As a result of pursuing their studies, lack of confidence on al-Rahmaniah as a platform of *da'wah*, personal problems, and commitment on the worklife and searching for other alternatives for *da'wah* have contributed to paralysation of al-Rahmaniah.

<sup>333</sup> Ibid., pp. 148-149.

<sup>334</sup> PERKIM office is located in No. 16 Road 9/3, Petaling Jaya, Selangor; and officially registered at the Registrar of Societies, Federation of Malaya under The Societies (Registration) Rules 1953 (Rule 6) on 1 May 1961. Its registration reference is Ref: R of S. 76/61/10 ARS/Sel/17/61.

figures and Muslim Brothers (*Saudara Muslim*) after the Independent of Malaya has made an urge to the need for the establishment of a centre that could monitor and utilise manpower as an effort to enhance understanding of Islam and its practices.<sup>335</sup> With the support and financial assistance received from the government, private institutions and individuals, PERKIM began its operation at the first headquarters in Petaling Jaya and then shifted to its second office at Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur (until 1964).<sup>336</sup> PERKIM's office has been transferred for many times until it finally moved to its own building in 1973.<sup>337</sup>

As an Islamic *da'wah* organisation in Malaysia, PERKIM has been playing a major role in *da'wah* activities among new converters of Chinese and Indian Muslims. PERKIM conducts various programmes and activities for new reverts to enhance and strengthen their Islamic understanding and practices. It also organises Islamic class at its headquarters in Kuala Lumpur. PERKIM also contributes in the socioeconomic development activities especially in relating to the development of the indigenous people or *Orang Asli* community in Malaysia. Besides its core *da'wah* activities for the new reverts, PERKIM also provides physical and spiritual aids to orphans and children suffering from abnormalities. It has its own day-care centre known as Tasputra, the first of its kind in the country. As a structured plan to produce talented preachers in propagating the Islamic message, PERKIM formed the Institute of Islamic *Da'wah* known as *Institut Dakwah Islamiah PERKIM (IDIP)*.<sup>338</sup>

However, PERKIM as a *da'wah* organisation is only familiar to those who have intention to convert to Islam and among new reverts who normally show their passion

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<sup>335</sup> Ishak Othman, 'Pengenalan Ringkas Sejarah Penubuhan PERKIM (1960-2010)', *Suara PERKIM*, No. 1, 2010, pp. 5-8.

<sup>336</sup> PERKIM was placed at No. 16 Road 9/3, Petaling Jaya, Selangor and was relocated at 4th floor, Gurucharan Singh Building or Selangor Supermarket in Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman (TAR), Kuala Lumpur (until 1964).

<sup>337</sup> After shift to the second office Jalan TAR, PERKIM's operational activities were relocated to Petaling Jaya at No: 32 Jalan Othman Petaling Jaya, (till 1967) before transferred to the fourth office at 2nd floor, Selangor Mansion, Jalan Masjid India, Kuala Lumpur (until 1973). Finally, after moving for many times, PERKIM moves to its own building sited at Balai Islam, 5th floor, 250D, Jalan Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur (1973). Recently, its official office is located at Jalan Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur. The 27 level PERKIM's building was launched on 22 October 1983 by the Fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad. The cost to build it was sponsored by the Federal Government through Islamic Centre which approximately reach to RM 350 milion. Ishak Othman, 'Pengenalan Ringkas Sejarah Penubuhan PERKIM (1960-2010)', p. 5.

<sup>338</sup> 'PERKIM Holds Iftar', RISEAP (the Regional Islamic *Da'wah* Council for Southeast Asia and the Pacific) Official Website, 7 September 2012. <http://www.riseap.org/2012/08/14/perkim-holds-iftar/>

in studying Islam.<sup>339</sup> The Malay Muslims by origin otherwise, are not familiar with PERKIM and its activities in 1960s. Even though it was founded in the early 1960s, its substances have less significant to the Malays and was never associated with the Islamic consciousness in the country.<sup>340</sup>

In the early formative period of the Islamic Resurgence and the years after, Selangor and Klang Valleys have also been chosen as locations which unified *da'wah* activities by the Islamist groups. Jamaah Tabligh for example, started its foundation of *da'wah* in the late 1968 at Masjid India, Kuala Lumpur. Even though at the beginning its *da'wah* activities circulated among the Indian-Muslims only, later starting from 30 June 1972, Ijtima' Tabligh in Kuala Lumpur decided to spur its programmes among the Malays. Since 1993, the centre for Jamaat Tabligh shifted to the new '*markaz*' or headquarters at Masjid Seri Petaling, Kuala Lumpur.<sup>341</sup>

ABIM, as an outstanding Islamic *da'wah* organisation (NGO) was founded in 6 August 1971 and centralised its activities at Kampung Baru, Kuala Lumpur and later moved its headquarters at many places such as, Bangunan UDA, Jalan Pantai Baru, Kuala Lumpur which later shifted to Anjung Rahmat Complex, Gombak, Kuala Lumpur and the latest at Taman Cemerlang, Kuala Lumpur.<sup>342</sup> Moreover, al-Arqam too, an early Islamic *da'wah* movement started to be active in 1968 and steered by Ashari Muhammad. Al-Arqam began its early operation at Kampung Keramat, Setapak, Kuala

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<sup>339</sup> After their conversion, they usually offer their voluntary service at PERKIM to help new reverts like them and to continue support to *da'wah* activities in their surroundings. Moreover, its operational activities are mostly concern on the welfare of the new converters especially among the non-Malays, even though this organisation has stated its omnipresent Islamic preaching to Muslims and non-Muslims. Interview with *Ustaz* Amran Abdullah, at PERKIM's Headquarter, PERKIM's Building, Jalan Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur, 28 June 2013. *Ustaz* Amran is an Indian Muslim who was elected as the *Da'wah* officer of PERKIM. See also the objectives of the establishment of PERKIM in its official website at Pertubuhan Kebajikan Islam Malaysia (PERKIM) - Muslim Welfare Organization Malaysia. <http://www.perkim.net.my/content.cfm?ID=CCE1CFD6-D674-FDA4-6F9E6E063215970E>. Retrieved on 11 April, 2012.

<sup>340</sup> PERKIM continues to receive a cool support from the Malay Muslims as PERKIM is not familiar to them. Mohamad Abu Bakar, 'Islamic Revivalism and the Political Process in Malaysia', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 21, No. 10, 1981, pp. 1045, 1040-1059.

<sup>341</sup> Abdul Rahman Abdullah, *Gerakan Islam Tradisional Di Malaysia: Sejarah Pemikiran Jama'at Tabligh dan Darul Arqam*, Shah Alam: Karisma Publications Sdn. Bhd., 2007, pp. 4-6.

<sup>342</sup> Refer to Perlembagaan (the Constitution of) Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM), Registration No. 1161 (Selangor), Kuala Lumpur: Kampung Baru, 1981; The Constitution of Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, Registration No. 1161 (Selangor), Kuala Lumpur: Jalan Pantai Baru, 1985 with amendments 14 August 1985, Perlembagaan ABIM (The Constitution of Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia), Kuala Lumpur: Anjung Rahmat, Jalan Gombak, 2000.

Lumpur, and then continued to develop their Islamic Village at Sungai Penchala, Selangor.<sup>343</sup>

Most of *da'wah* organisations in Malaysia are unprofitable voluntary religious movement and most of these *da'wah* movements are the non-governmental organisations by its nature of establishment. For instance, ABIM, Al-Arqam (before the ban), Jamaat Tabligh, IKRAM<sup>344</sup> and the two main Malay-Islamic based political parties, PAS and UMNO are among the organisations that play a significant role in nurturing the Islamisation process in the public spheres through their active participation in various Islamic programmes at domestic and international levels. Although there are differences between one organisation to another in terms of *da'wah* approach, ideology and the volume level in voicing the interests of Islam, which are being the backbones of their struggle, but these organisations could be aligned on many issues for the sake of Islam and Muslims' affairs in Malaysia.<sup>345</sup>

Despite the fact that there were a few Islamic *da'wah* organisations founded around Kuala Lumpur in the early 1970s. Undeniably, the intense and vocal call for Islamic consciousness had taken place at the campus city of University Malaya Kuala Lumpur that remarked the inauguration of the Islamic Resurgence in the late twentieth century. Kuala Lumpur and Selangor continue to be centres of Islamic Resurgence and cultures that could be sketched through many religious functions, seminars and programmes organised with active participation from the Malay middle class.

#### **2.4.2 External Factors of the Islamic Resurgence**

Contemporary Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia should not be seen in isolation from the Islamic world. Historical facts have also shown that Islam which has been embraced by the Malays originated from the Arab land. The Malays continue to be more responsive

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<sup>343</sup> Abdul Rahman Abdullah, *Gerakan Islam Tradisional Di Malaysia*, pp. 45-47.

<sup>344</sup> It was known before as Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM) and Islamic Representative Council (IRC).

<sup>345</sup> Osman Bakar, 'Implikasi Gerakan Dakwah Ke Atas Sistem Pendidikan Negara Kini', in *Gerakan Dakwah dan Orde Islam di Malaysia: Strategi Masa Depan*, Petaling Jaya: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1993, p. 46.

to foreign influences than before, predominantly with the role of the mass media and the ease of accessing sophisticated communications. The phenomenon of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia has received a sprinkle of religious revival in the Middle East and other Islamic countries. Four external factors have been largely responsible to shape the growth and direction of Islamic Resurgence among the Malay Muslims in the last four decades. They are the spread of Islamic literatures and thoughts from Middle Eastern and Indian Sub-Continent, the role of returning overseas Malay students; the impact of Arab-Israeli War 1967 and the Iranian Revolution; and participation in the international organisations.

### **The Spread of Islamic Literatures and Thoughts from Middle Eastern, Indian Sub-Continent and Neighbouring Countries**

The impact of the writings of the Middle Eastern and Indian Sub-Continent on the local Islamists is predominant in the contemporary Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia than earlier Islamic revival by the *Islah* Movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, in the early 1940's to 1960's.<sup>346</sup> Nowadays, the impact of Islamic Resurgence among the Malay Muslims has been the result of their re-studying of Islam through the Middle Eastern and South Indian Islamists writings. The Malay Muslims have started to acquire knowledge about Islam during *usrah* or group discussion and religious classes. As never before, the Sayyid Qutb's *Ma'ālim Fil Tarīq* (Milestone), the exegesis of the Quran *Fil Zilāl Qurān* (Under the Shade of the Quran) and *al Mustaqbāl Lihāzā al-Dīn* (Islam: the Religion of the Future); and Abu Ala Maududi's *Islamic Way of Life* are important

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<sup>346</sup> For a long time, the Malays have been introduced to the thoughts and ideas of Egyptian scholars and ideologies, especially through the publication of *Pengasuh*, *al-Islam*, *Dian* and the monthly *Qalam*. However, because of the nature of social problems that the Malays face and their religious education, this external Islamic idea has flunked in to spur any revolution in their religious attitude and viewpoint.



references for those who have been twisted to revive Islam in a perfect and ideal forms.<sup>347</sup>

Similarly, Hassan al-Banna's description of Islamic way of life and his promotion of Islamic thoughts and philosophy, Sayyid Qutb's clarification on Islamic justice and his talk on the "*Jil al-Qurān*"<sup>348</sup> or the generation of the companions of the Prophet SAW has attracted the growing number of local students and improved their understanding on Islam. Hassan al-Banna, the founder *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* of Egypt, Abu A'la al-Maududi, the leader of *Jamaat Islami* of Pakistan are of the prominent Muslims thinkers and Islamic movement leaders whose works are passionately recited by the Malay Islamists. Other writings of member of *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* such as, Sheikh Muhammad al Ghazali, Maryam Jameelah, an adherent of al-Maududi and Said Hawa, a leader of *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* of Syrian branch have become popular reading and have been widely discussed of their contents by young Malay students. Briefly, inspired with the writings of the Middle East and Indian Sub-Continent Islamic leaders, the local and overseas Malay Muslims have stimulated to activate themselves in *da'wah* undertakings.<sup>349</sup>

### **The Role of Returning Overseas Malay Students**

Returning of the Malay students constitute a diverse kind of external factor. Their interaction with foreign Islamic movements and thoughts which have widely spread in both the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (US), where there were large participants of Malay students. These Malay youths, in contrast to their predecessors, were able to accustom themselves better to Islam, after having undergone the process of re-studying Islam as their Muslim brothers and sisters at home.<sup>350</sup> Some of these students have even experienced the Islamic Resurgence phenomenon at home,

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<sup>347</sup> Mohamad Abu Bakar, 'External Influences on Contemporary Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 13, No. 2, September 1991, p. 222.

<sup>348</sup> In Malay language it is translated as "*Generasi Quran*".

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.

before they continued searching for Islamic re-educating effort when pursuing study abroad.<sup>351</sup>

The Malay Muslim overseas students in the period of 1970s to 1980s can be divided in three groups. First, a group of Malay students who studied at the UK and the US and had openly attached themselves to international Islamic movements. According to M. Kamal Hassan, two overseas students namely Anwar and other students began to examine their faith; Abdul Wahab bin Abdullah, who studied economics in the UK, and Razali Nawawi, who studied Islamic Law at Al-Azhar University of Egypt, and upon their graduation in 1967 enrolled in the London School of Oriental and African Studies. Anwar was closely active with Razali in the dissemination of Islamic literature upon the latter's return to Malaysia in 1970. Both also finally became partners with Anwar organisationally for the formation of ABIM in August 1971.<sup>352</sup>

More noticeable of those Malay students who returned from the US was a group of American universities graduates influenced by Ismail Faruqi, Syed Hossein Nasr and Fazlur Rahman and had a tendency to bring the idea of Islamisation of knowledge and the development of Islam and knowledge traditions in Malaysia. Ahmad Sunawari called them as a group of American Islam.<sup>353</sup> Despite of not using political path to inculcate their teachers' ideas, two approaches have been used to put their aspiration into a practical framework; first through their efforts to be acquaintance to politicians, in particular to establish an institute to expand their school of thoughts, and second through their participation in ABIM.<sup>354</sup>

Ahmad quoted Osman Bakar's nine indicators to prove the existence of American Islam's impacts on the Malaysian Muslims in the form of their outstanding scholarly

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<sup>351</sup> Azhari Salleh, for example, who is a founding member to initiate the establishment of Islamic Representative Council (IRC) or *Majlis Shura Muslimun*, had already been fed by Islamic consciousness when he was in ITK. Interview with Prof Dato Ir. Dr. Azhari Bin Md. Salleh at Perdana School of Science, Technology and Innovation Policy, UTM International Campus, Jalan Semarak 54100 Kuala Lumpur on 20 November 2013.

<sup>352</sup> M. Kamal Hassan, 'The Influence of Mawdudi's Thought', pp. 432-433.

<sup>353</sup> Ahmad Sunawari Long, 'Impak Kebangkitan Semula Islam', p. 183.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

works and producing excellent students.<sup>355</sup> Compared to other American scholars, Faruqi has contributed in the more visible and tangible impact to Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia, in the aspects of vast dissemination of his works and adherents. Three of his thirteen writings have been published in Malaysia and four of his writings have been translated to Malay language.<sup>356</sup> His influence became very strong in Malaysia when in 1982, he sincerely arranged to transfer the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) which was established in the US to Kuala Lumpur.<sup>357</sup>

Less influential than Faruqi is Syed Hossein Nasr who inspired Malaysia students in 1960s following an initiative taken by a few students of Osman Bakar to study and comprehend four of his writings at the Malaysian Student Centre of London. Osman was also one of his Ph.D students in Temple University. Other Malay Muslims scholar like a former Very Distinguished Fellow of International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation (ISTAC), the late Uthman Muhammady took a serious effort to analyse Hossein Nasr's works in the University Mosque. Five of his books gave great impact on the discourse of Islamisation of knowledge when these original works were published in Kuala Lumpur.<sup>358</sup> Hossein Nasr also had produced five Ph.D students who are currently academicians in the local university, three of them graduated when he served at Temple

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<sup>355</sup> Ahmad cited Osman's nine indicators of American Muslim Scholars' impact on the Muslim World as listed in his writing are the following. First, a total number of their works was to be well-known by the public in the form of its original works or their translations. Second, total number of their scholarly works was being used as references or teaching materials in the local higher learning institutions. Third, total number of Ph.D and Master's students who have been supervised and then they continued to pose as academicians in the local universities. Fourth, total of their speeches given in Malaysia. Fifth, the frequency of their appearance which have been translated in the local media. Sixth, total of their experts being elected as external examiners or external evaluators in the promotion of the institute of higher learnings. Seventh, total of those who were being elected as consultants to private and the government sectors. Eighth, their contribution in the non-governmental organisations was noticeable. Finally, there are numbers of writings describe their works and contributions. Osman Bakar, 'The Intellectual Impact of American Muslim Scholars on the Muslim World with Special Reference to Southeast Asia', A paper of The Centre for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, June 2003, pp. 1-3.

<sup>356</sup> Two of these books were published by ABIM, there are *Islam and Culture* (1980) and *Divine Transcendence and Its Expression* (1983). Book entitled "*Tawhid: Its Implications for Thought and Life*" was published by IIIT in 1982. The four of Faruqi's writings which have been translated into Malay language are: *The Cultural Atlas of Islam (Atlas Budaya Islam)*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa & Pustaka, 1992; *Tawhid: Its Implication for Thought and Life (al-Tawhid: Kesannya Terhadap Pemikiran dan Kehidupan)*, Kuala Lumpur: Thinker's Library, 2000; *Islam and Culture (Fikiran dan Budaya Islam)*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1990 – This book has been used as a main source for ABIM in the study circles conducted by its members; *Islamization of Knowledge: the Problem, Principles and the Workplan*. This scholarly work is extensively referred and gave significant impact on the discourse on Islamisation of knowledge in Malaysia.

<sup>357</sup> Throughout his profession at Temple University in the period of 1981 to 1986, he succeeded to attract more Malaysian and Indonesian Muslim students pursuing their study in Temple University. Moreover, he succeeded to produce four Ph.D students from Malaysia under his supervision, in which three of them have ever employed as lecturer in the National University of Malaysia and one of them holds the high-level post in the government agency.

<sup>358</sup> These books are *Science and Civilization* (1984), *A Young Muslim's Guide to the Modern World* (1984), *Man and Nature: The Spiritual Crisis of Modern Man* (1986), *Islam and the Plight of Modern Man* (1987) and *Traditional Islam in the Modern World* (1989).

University and another two students graduated when he was a professor at Washington University.<sup>359</sup> Hossein Nasr was an outstanding Muslim scholar and being an expert to moderate Islamists in Malaysia, especially through his works and series of speeches in the 1980s to 1990s.<sup>360</sup>

The second group of the Malay overseas students started the foundation of their Islamic activities in the UK when they formed their proper official organisation called Islamic Representative Council (IRC) or *Majlis Syūra Muslimūn* (MSM) by December 1975.<sup>361</sup> Associated with other Malay Muslim students who intensified themselves with *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*'s school of thoughts from Australia, Egypt and the United States of America, a group of what they called as '*Jamaah*' was formed by the former members of IRC as a platform to activate their existence in the society after returning home.<sup>362</sup>

Unlike ABIM which is prominent for its vocal tone for Islamic cause, the existence of *Jamaah* members at that time was not seemly be bothered by the public. The former member of IRC and the *Jamaah* members have decided not to form any organisation but to participate in the existing Islamic movements such as, PAS and ABIM as part of their contribution to stimulate Islamic consciousness in the Malaysian society.<sup>363</sup> Within 14 years since their return, they tried to act as contributing members in the organisation that they participated. After facing challenges and receiving unpleasantly presence by some members of ABIM and PAS, and their existence in these

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<sup>359</sup> They are Emeritus Prof. Dato' Dr. Osman Bakar, Prof. Salleh Yapar, Associate Prof. Zailan Moris, Associate Prof. Baharuddin Ahmad and Dr. Fatimah Ali. Prof. Zaini Ujang is S.H. Nasr's follower of philosophy of environmental study in Malaysia. See, Ahmad Sunawari Long, 'Impak Kebangkitan Semula Islam', p. 187; A. Khalil, 'Ismail Faruqi: Sarjana Warisan', *Risalah*, No. 5, December 1987, pp. 28-29.

<sup>360</sup> Osman Bakar, 'The Intellectual Impact of American Muslim Scholars', pp. 1-5.

<sup>361</sup> Because of its representative-based structure, the shura members were formed represented by Abang Abdullah Abang Ali and Fuad Hassan from Brighton, Nordin Bakti from MISG London and Wan Abu Bakar from Glasgow. Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*. Kuala Lumpur: JIMedia, 2009, p. 102.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>363</sup> Interview with Hj Zaid Kamaruddin, at IKRAM's Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor, 26 Sept 2012; *Ibid.*, pp. 154-158.

organisations are being queried, they finally decided to form a new platform for *da'wah* in Malaysia named as *Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia* (JIM) in 27 July 1990.<sup>364</sup>

Table 2.2: Total of Malaysian Students Overseas<sup>365</sup>

Year	Total
2002	42,780
2003	42,109
2004	43,279
2005	56,609
2006	53,924
2007	54,915
2008 <sup>366</sup>	59,107
2009	58,963
2010	79,254

Table 2.3 : Total of Malaysian Student Overseas, 2002-2010<sup>367</sup>

Years	United Kingdom and Ireland	United States	Egypt
2002	11,970	7,395	4,664
2003	11,860	7,611	4,330
2004	11,041	5,519	5,768
2005	15,189	6,411	6,256
2006	12,569	6,142	5,780
2007	11,490	5,281	6,898
2008	11,810	5,281	6,912
2009	5,265	5,942	8,611
2010	13,796	6,100	8,611

The third group of overseas Malay students are those who were concerned on the struggle for the establishment of an Islamic state by replacing the secular state and Western government when coming back to the country. This group tends to involve and join PAS to fulfil the objective of establishing the Islamic state. In November 1983, following the Iranian endeavours to export revolution to Malaysia through PAS, high-level sources of Malaysian government also discovered such active Iranian involvement in “subverting the minds of Malaysian students abroad”, especially those in the US, Australia and Britain.<sup>368</sup> Consequently, in 1985, Tun Mahathir directly alleged PAS of

<sup>364</sup> Saari Sungip, *Ramadhan al Mubarak, Coretan Perjalanan Seorang Da'i 2*, Sg Buloh; Focus Approach Sdn Bhd., 2002, p. 99.

<sup>365</sup> ‘Education Marketing Division, Higher Education Department’, *Statistic of Higher Education of Malaysia 2010*, Ministry of Higher Education of Malaysia, 2011, pp. 198-199.

<sup>366</sup> *Statistic of Higher Education of Malaysia 2008*, Putrajaya: Planning and Research Division, Ministry of Higher Education of Malaysia, 2008, p. 74.

<sup>367</sup> *Statistic of Higher Education of Malaysia 2010*, pp. 198-199.

<sup>368</sup> For example, the Chairman of the Kedah State Education Committee has made a serious accusation on a local opposition party leader who has encouraged Kedah students to participate in an Islamic revolutionary group and prompted anti-government activities in Cairo, Egypt.

“fermenting trouble” among students studying abroad.<sup>369</sup> Some of *Suara Islam* (Islamic Voice) with more radical ideas and had ever made their more aggressive denunciations of the government’s “unIslamic” character joined PAS to uphold their struggle for the supremacy of the *syarī‘ah* and establishment of Islamic state.<sup>370</sup>

Upon their return to Malaysia, Malay students continued to exhibit their concern on Islam and its sentiments and many joined the various *da’wah* groups in order to support their Islamic struggle. Influenced by many different types of overseas *da’wah* groups when returning home they entered higher positions in private and public sectors.<sup>371</sup> Unlike their predecessors, they embrace Islam in full and try to arouse Islamic values in their daily social interactions and relations, showing great concern on the anxiety of Islam by secular ideology. Their ideological thinking has been in the direction towards the establishment of an Islamic State. Instead of embracing Western ideology and be a Western oriental devotees, secular-minded intellectual or modern thinking administrators, these young graduates, have then emerged as a product of “new Malay middle class”, accommodated to the Islamic course and do not face much difficulty in promoting their Islamic ideas, hence the Malay community increasingly attaches themselves to such Islamic renewal.<sup>372</sup>

### **The Impact of Arab-Israeli War 1967 and the Iranian Revolution**

For the Arab world and the Malays, the Six Day War with Israel in 1967 generated a period of soul-searching and self-criticism as Muslim tried to comprehend why and how they had reached this resurgence in their history. From its creation in 1948, Israel and its Arab neighbours have been at odds over the issue of a Jewish state in Palestine. However, the 1967 war transformed an Arab and Palestinian problem into an Islamic

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<sup>369</sup> Shanti Nair, *Islam in Malaysian Foreign Policy*, pp. 158-159.

<sup>370</sup> Among leader of *Suara Islam* who jointed PAS to achieve the objective of upholding the *shariah* is Khalid Samad, who now is Member of Parliament for Shah Alam constituency. See Shanti Nair, *Islam in Malaysian Foreign Policy*, p. 72.

<sup>371</sup> Shamsul, A. B.. ‘The Economic Dimension of Malay Nationalism: The Socio-Historical Roots of the New Economic Policy and Its Contemporary Implications’, *The Developing Economies*, XXXV-3, September 1997, pp. 240–61.

<sup>372</sup> Mohamad Abu Bakar, ‘External Influences on Contemporary Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia’, p. 225.

issue and this embarked Muslims, in particular the Malays in Malaysia to Islamic sentiments.<sup>373</sup> Aware with the events in the Middle East, the Malays were upset due to the Arab-Israel War in 1973.<sup>374</sup>

The Arab oil embargo of 1973 was a second major external factor which advocated Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia. Major oil power like Saudi Arabia, Libya and the United Arab Emirates used their petrol dollar and revenue to foster Islamic Resurgence out of conviction and to expand their political influence. They assisted other Muslim governments, supported Islamic organisations and movements, and financed the publication and distribution of Islamic literature and building of mosques, hospitals and schools.<sup>375</sup>

In Malaysia, through *Rabitah Alam Islami*, Saudi gave its financial assistance in *da'wah* projects of PERKIM, scholarships to pursue studies in Saudi Arabia and sponsored many fundamentalist groups who used this fundamental approach in comprehending Islamic doctrine and actively involved in the formation of Islamic state. *Rabitah* also played important role in providing preachers who inculcated the Wahabis school of thoughts in the society.<sup>376</sup> Some Muslim individuals sincerely provide financial assistance for *da'wah* activities in Malaysia.<sup>377</sup>

Realising on the strength of their economic power to benefit Muslims and eliminating Western domination over their natural resources, the Arab countries turned to their new attitude and role as oil producers and powers. For the first time since the emergence of colonialism, the West seemed reliant on the Muslim world. Due to

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<sup>373</sup> John L. Esposito, *Islam The Straight Path*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 158.

<sup>374</sup> The dishonourable Arab defeat of 1967 was reversed, in the eyes of many Muslims, by the October War of 1973. While the Israeli army was ultimately victorious, many in the Arab world felt vindicated by the Egyptian successes in the war. Anwar Sadat's use of Islamic symbols to mobilise and motivate Egyptian forces gave a decidedly religious impetus to its battles and led to its being regarded as an Islamic war and moral victory. John L. Esposito, *Islam The Straight Path*, p. 160.

Before the defeat of Arab on Israel 1967, President of United Arab Republic (UAR) launched the six day Arab-Israel which then contributed to the rise of Islamic sentiment among the Malays in Malaysia. In May 29, 1967, the government of Malaysia had offered transportation service for volunteers who want to join the war. Until Jun 7 1967, the UAR representatives announced that there approximately 2,000 volunteers had registered themselves to participate in the battle field. *Mideast Mirror*, Vol. 19, 17 June 1967, p. 17; 'Cairo Grads Pledge Support for Arabs', *The Straits Times*, June 1, 1967, p. 13.

<sup>375</sup> John L. Esposito, *Islam The Straight Path*, p. 161.

<sup>376</sup> Bary Desker, *Islam and Society in Southeast Asia after September 11*, Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, 2002, p. 3; Ahmad Sunawari Long, 'Impak Kebangkitan Semula Islam', p. 170.

<sup>377</sup> Syekh Taufik al-Towil, a Syria former Minister of Health and Sheikh Ibrahim Bawani have always aided al-Rahmaniah and have presented a cycostyle machine for printing its official magazine, *an-Nur*. Zulkifli Dahalan, 'Al-Rahmaniah: Sejarah dan Peranan', p. 141.

psychological impact of the Arab oil embargo and crisis, the Arabs felt that they were the world economic power and no longer consumer states. These new signs of power and wealth were a source of pride and a sign that Allah's blessing has been returned. Remembering their past glorious history, the Muslims believed the return of Allah's favour and a new reawakening seemed at their hand.<sup>378</sup>

On behalf of the Iran revolutionary government, Chairman of the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC), Hassan Nasih announced that the Iran government decided to retain maximum control over its oil resources by expelling international companies which previously marketed most of its oil. His statement was seen as directed warning to the British, Dutch, French and US members who had a large portion of stake in the country consortium. As the world's second-biggest exporter after Saudi Arabia, Iran was strongly confident with its capability of producing six million barrels of oil without the assistance of the hundreds of foreign technical experts.<sup>379</sup> Several of 13 Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) nations also took advantage of the supply squeeze caused by the cut-off of Iranian oil, and have raised prices on their own. This led to the oil prices on the free market to raise up over US22 or RM47 a barrel level or 60 per cent above the official price of OPEC.<sup>380</sup>

The initial impact of the Iranian revolution went far beyond Iran to Kuala Lumpur. In the Malaysian context, even though the Iranian revolution was far behind the early age of Islamic Resurgence in 1970s, it left significant impact to spur the resurgence. This revolution caused the Islamists to be proud of the first revolution in the modern Muslim history which succeeded to topple the 450 years of monarchical rule and replaced it with the Islamic rule. The success of the Khomeini-led revolution to dethrone the regime of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi in February 1979 gave

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<sup>378</sup> Daniel Pipes, 'This World of Political!!!: Islamic Revival of the Seventies', *Orbis*, Vol. 24, No. 1 1980, p. 21; John L. Esposito, *Islam The Straight Path*, p. 161.

<sup>379</sup> 'West Oil Firms Will Be Expelled', *The Straits Times*, 1 Mac 1979.

<sup>380</sup> 'Oil Prices Go Over \$47 A Barrel Level', *The Straits Times*, 1 Mac 1979. Kuwait had raised prices for all grades of its oil by nearly 10 per cent. Abu Dhabi, Qatar and the Libyan Jamahiriyah had taken similar steps. The Arab decision to raise oil prices and started campaign on oil embargo worried the US because it would cost the US several billion dollars. 'Problems in Iran may cost the U.S. billions', *The Straits Times*, 1 Mac 1979.



remarkable impulse to the Malays' support for the revolution, sparking implementation of Islamic laws and restricting the Islamist struggle and organisation.<sup>381</sup>

The Iranian revolution impacted on ABIM's confidence for a bright future of Islam in Malaysia. Following attending the three days visit to Tehran, as representative of World Association of Muslim Youth, (WAMY) and ABIM President, Anwar Ibrahim took a moderate stand and view on the revolution. He decided to observe the March 16, 1979 event as "Solidarity Day" in commemoration of the "liberation" of Iran from Malaysia. Rather than attending this celebration in Iran, ABIM preferred to organise exhibitions, briefings and distributed flyers explaining the Muslims' struggle in Iran.<sup>382</sup>

With the success of the revolution, ABIM optimises that it has provided with tangible proof that Islam is, after all, a possible alternative for a modern Islamist struggle.<sup>383</sup> In its official periodical magazine, *Risalah*, the first edition of 1982, ABIM remarked the model of the Islamic Republic of Iran which succeeded in solving the problem of drug abuse through Islamic approach.<sup>384</sup> The English daily newspaper, *The Straits Times* dated March 1<sup>st</sup>, also reported that ABIM President, Anwar Ibrahim in a few days after his visit to Tehran on February 1979, called for a serious effort to put Islamic laws into effect.<sup>385</sup> Thus, ABIM's suggestion for serious implementation of Islamic laws can be translated as its belief that Islam could govern the country and establish a state in modern times based on the Islamic principle.

The dramatic impact of the Iranian revolution can be seen in the leadership attitude, the structural organisational changes and principle of Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS). Some of PAS leaders tend to continue their support of Ayatollah

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<sup>381</sup> Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, pp. 35- 36.

<sup>382</sup> 'March 16 Will Be Solidarity Day', *The Straits Times*, 1 Mac 1979.

<sup>383</sup> Chandra Muzaffar observed that for the Malaysian Islamist, the revolution of Iran show that Islamic state has its own identity and dignity without have to follow any set of example. To the resurgents, this revolution also provided a proof that Islam could establish a state in modern times. See, Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, p. 36.

<sup>384</sup> During the reign of the Shah regime, young people were involved in the drug abuse, but after a few years that the new Islamic rule has taken place, they succeeded in solving problems of drug abuse, gambling, alcoholism, prostitution and other such problems through emphasising the faith approach. 'Salahguna Dadah – Perlu Pendekatan Baru', *Risalah*, No. 1, 1982, pp. 10-11; *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>385</sup> This can be done by setting up of a national committee to plan a programme on the implementation of Islamic laws and ABIM hoped that chance should be given to this youth movement to explain what Islamic laws were and how they could be implemented without becoming a threat to the non-Muslims. 'Set Up A Panel To Implement Islamic Laws', *The Straits Times*, 1 March 1979.

Khomeini. In an article entitled ‘Khomeini: The Limitless Impact of the Ayatollah’s Revolution’, December 31, 1999, the *Harakah* writers wrote an impenitent admiring piece on the life of their role model and hero, Ayatollah Khomeini. They looked upon him as the man who gave them a new confidence and who put Islam back in the driving seat of Muslim history.<sup>386</sup>

The development of Islamic revolution in Iran in which the state was led by the *ulama*’ had influenced PAS direction from the Islamist nationalism to new generation of *ulama*’ leadership. After the defeat of PAS political performance in the 1978 and 1982 elections, *ulama*’ within the party began to act. With the departure of Asri Muda, Yusof Rawa took over the party presidency on 1 May 1983, at the 29<sup>th</sup> PAS *Muktamar* held at *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka* Kuala Lumpur.<sup>387</sup>

This event marked the end of the ethnoreligious-nationalism leadership and the beginning of the *ulama*’ period in the party. The entering of ABIM figures like *Ustaz* Fadhil Noor, *Ustaz* Nakhaie Ahmad and Syed Ibrahim Syed Abdul Rahman into PAS too added to grow the *ulama*’ role in PAS.<sup>388</sup> The *Syura Ulama*’ Council or ‘*Majlis Syura Ulama*’ was established which reflected the aspiration of the Iranian Revolution. This council consists of 12 members and is led by the *Mursyidul Am*.<sup>389</sup>

The position of *ulama*’ in this council is somewhat similar to the concept of a Supreme *Wilāyah al-Fāqīh* (vicegerency of jurist) in Islamic revolution which poses the *ulama*’ as spiritual symbol of Islam superior upon the public.<sup>390</sup> The adoption of this concept has been a recognition upon the challenging efforts of the *ulama*’ in ousting the

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<sup>386</sup> *Harakah*, 31 December 1999; Farish A. Noor, *Islam Embedded: The Historical Development of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party PAS (1951-2003)*, Volume 2, Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 2004, p. 335.

<sup>387</sup> The *Harakah* writers also concluded by given their honours saying that: “The first point that all the comentators make is that Khomeini had led a revolution in the full sense of the word. Nothing can take that achievement from him. He has broken all existing moulds of thought and actions, he has put everything on a high moral and spiritual plane, and he has posed fundamental questions about a Muslim people’s destiny in its own, not alien, term.” Farish A. Noor, *Islam Embedded*, pp. 336-348.

<sup>388</sup> Zulkaffli Daud, ‘ABIM dan Polimik Politik’, in *Buku Cenderamata ABIM Sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, p. 61.

<sup>389</sup> The *Murshidul Am* acted as PAS’s Spiritual Leader of Muslim Scholars. According to the PAS Constitution, (Ammendment of 1987), Article 7.1 the highest legislative power in the PAS belief are the Quran and the Prophet’s *sunnah* (traditions), the *ijmak* (consensus) of *ulama* and *qias*. Perlembagaan Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS), Pindaan 1987, October 1987, pp. 4-8.

<sup>390</sup> A supreme of *wilayat e faqih* in practical terms meant the creation of a clerical dictatorship with absolute power.

Shah regime and the new system based on Islam.<sup>391</sup> As Malaysian Ambassador to Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan (1975-1979) in the PAS-joined BN government under Tun Razak, Yusof Rawa who had witnessed the final days of the Shah Iran, deeply moved by the determination of the Iranian revolutionaries who sacrificed their lives for a political goal when the leadership of the country was ideologically bankrupt. The same ideological bankruptcy was evident in Yusof's party at that time when Asri made constant U-turns on the PAS ideology and the matters of policy.<sup>392</sup>

The influence of the Iranian revolution began to stimulate the local youth to support the installation of the *syarī'ah* and criticising Western power.<sup>393</sup> The government of Malaysia and the Asean neighbours were aware of the Islamic political development in Iran and were worried about the long term possible impact of the revolution on their countries. Even though Kuala Lumpur extended its diplomatic relations with the new Islamic government in Tehran, it always and intensely ensures that the Malay-Muslims confined themselves from such fundamentalist ideas and thoughts.<sup>394</sup>

### **Participation in the International Organisations**

A major strand in the Malaysian Islamic movements is their commitment to Muslim internationalism. ABIM leaders in particular are frequent international travellers. They participate in a number of international Islamic forums and host visits by Muslim leaders to Malaysia. ABIM has established relations with organisations such as, the Islamic Foundation of the United Kingdom, The Aishah Bawany Wakaf of Pakistan, the Rabitah Alam Islami of Saudi Arabia and the Muhammadiyah Youth of Indonesia.<sup>395</sup> ABIM has also made significant relationship with the Masyumi Party and *Dewan*

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<sup>391</sup> Purkon Hidayat, 'Wilayah Faqih, Sebuah Revisi Demokrasi', *Jurnal Al-Qurba*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2011, pp. 55-56, 49-63.

<sup>392</sup> Farish A. Noor, *Islam Embedded*, pp. 343.

<sup>393</sup> The young generation of PAS leaders such as, Mohamad Sabu was said to use the Ayatollah revolutionary rhetoric in his speeches and were convicting the US as 'the Great Satan' that needed to be opposed on all fronts. *Ibid.*

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 342-343.

<sup>395</sup> Mohamad Abu Bakar, 'Islamic Revivalism and the Political Process in Malaysia', p. 1048.

*Dakwah Islamiyah* of Indonesia (DDII) besides its personal attachment with Islamic figures in this region like Hamka and Imaduddin Abdul Rahim. The ideas of these figures have been penetrated into the Islamist movements in Malaysia, particularly PKPIM and ABIM.<sup>396</sup>

Through the extensive link with overseas Muslim countries, ABIM President, Anwar Ibrahim was appointed as the WAMY representative for the Asia-Pacific region. He was invited to Pakistan and Iran where he met with President Zia-Ul-Haq and Ayatollah Khomeini respectively.<sup>397</sup> At least 20 per cent of ABIM's periodical magazine, *Risalah* is concerned with Islamic developments especially in the Muslims countries. Much attention was given to the needs of oppressed Islamic minorities in the Soviet Union, Thailand, China and the Philippines and the struggle of the Palestinians. The other main focus is on welcoming the present strengthening of the Muslim world and looking for further ways to support them.<sup>398</sup> The significant role of external linkage with international Islamic organisations and movements in the Islamic Resurgence of Malaysia was remarked by Anwar in the 10<sup>th</sup> ABIM *Muktamar* in 1981.<sup>399</sup>

As a prominent Muslim students' society in Malaysia and predecessor to ABIM, PKPIM has actively been involved in Muslim student society in this region when it made closer attachment with the South East Asia Muslim Students Association or *Persatuan Pelajar Islam Asia Tenggara* (PEPIAT). At the international level, PKPIM

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<sup>396</sup> Siddiq Fadzil, 'Jaringan Amal Islami di Alam Melayu: Menusuri Jejak Pengaruh Da'i Indonesia di Malaysia', Seminar Pra Silaturahmi Nasional (Silatnas) Dewan Da'wah Islamiyyah Indonesia (DDII) – Dewan Da'wah dan Pendidikan at Jakarta, Indonesia on 25 September 2010, p. 2.

<sup>397</sup> Mohamad Abu Bakar, 'Islamic Revivalism and the Political Process in Malaysia', p. 1048; Report on the Asian Muslim Youth Seminar on Da'wah, 6-10 Rabialawal 1397, 24 – 28 February 1977, Kuala Lumpur, 1977, p. 29.

<sup>398</sup> John N. Funston, 'The Politics of Islamic Reassertion: Malaysia', in Ahmad Ibrahim et. al. (editors), *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990, p. 172.

<sup>399</sup> The original Malay text was recorded in Malay language. His speech can be translated in English as below. "The Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia is not to be seen as a revival which is separated from the network of the Islamic movement entirely. Influence and thoughts of the past and to date has outrun the great share of this growth so as to set up a strong movement. The fundamental movements such as, the Muslim Brotherhood and the Jamaat Islami, make our common experience. The views of the great figures like Imam Hassan al-Banna, Maulana Abu 'Ala al-Maududi, Uthman and Fodio and others we learn. The experience of the Masyumi movement in Indonesia; Milli Selamat Partisi of Turkey and the Islamic Revolution in Iran have been made as our subject of study and a comparative study materials. The study should also not be restricted to the movement and the current figure, but it should be raised to honor scholars and try to imbue them and to recognise figures like the *Hujjatul Islam* Imam al-Ghazali, Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Sina, Shah Wali Allah Dahlawi, Muhammad Iqbal and etc. This is in line with our stance that a dynamic and successful movement is a movement that is open and ready to study the development of surrounding areas. However, we have always felt forced to move with wisdom, especially in determining the method and direction of our movement." See Anwar Ibrahim, 'Membina Generasi – Satu Gagasan', Ucapan Dasar ABIM ke 10, at Dewan Tunku Cancellor, Universiti Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 9 August 1981.

has actively participated in the International Islamic Federation of Student Organisations (IIFSO). IIFSO is an international youth and student federation involving more than sixty countries.<sup>400</sup> IIFSO which has been participated by ABIM and PKPIM also joined the United Nations as NGO with a special consultative status in the economic and social council since 1977.<sup>401</sup>

The University Malaya Muslim Students Association (PMIUM) has also made an engagement with many international students' societies. PMIUM also reported that it had international link with Yaqeen Association and the *Islamic Jamiat Talaba* of Pakistan, the Thailand Muslim Students Society, Association of Indonesian Muslim University Students (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia* - HMI) and England Islamic Foundation.<sup>402</sup> Through its Secretariat of International and Foreign Relations, PMIUM had planned to launch the "Grand Forum" that invited outstanding international speakers including Prof. Ismail Faruqi.<sup>403</sup> Therefore, the extensive linkage with international Islamic organisations provided a meaningful relationship between local *da'wah* activists and organisations and their Muslim counterparts which sparked the dramatic changes into the Malays' religiosity and concern of their faith as the focal receivers of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia.

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<sup>400</sup> It was officially founded in 1969 in Achen Germany after initiative taken by the international student gathering at the Nigerian University of Abadan in 1966.

<sup>401</sup> As an international Muslim students federation, IIFSO initiated to publish books on Islam and more than 1,000 books were published in more than hundred languages predominantly to spread thoughts and works of famous Islamic thinkers namely, Abul 'Ala al-Maududi, Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb. It also has organised hundreds of capacity-building trainings to youth activists to promote youth commitment and expand Islamic and humanitarian values. IIFSO has also contributed in several intellectual conferences related to subjects of social development, human rights, women rights, Islamophobia and terrorism. Mustafa Kamil Ayub, *Gerakan Pelajar – Mahasiswa: Misi dan Visi*, Petaling Jaya: Budaya Ilmu, 1991, p. 16: The Union of Non-Governmental Organisations of Islamic World Official Website. 16 March 2011/19 Rabi' al-Akhir 1432, UNIW, Retrived on 5 May 2013.

[http://www.theunity.org/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=491:iifso-visits-theuniw&catid=1:haberler&Itemid=2](http://www.theunity.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=491:iifso-visits-theuniw&catid=1:haberler&Itemid=2)

<sup>402</sup> PMIUM also received abundance of reading materials from such organisations, particularly, Yaqeen Association which sent series of its periodical magazine, *Yaqeen*. In addition, PMIUM has also received collections of HMI publication on Islam. Laporan Mesyuarat Agong Tahunan PMIUM Ke-16, di Dewan Kuliah A, Fakulti Sastera, Saturday 7 Ramadhan 1395, 13 September 1975, p. 9.

<sup>403</sup> He was Professor at Temple University, the United States of America. However, due to certain circumstances and tensions involving students' activities in campus, this forum was cancelled. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

## 2.5 Conclusion

As a multi-dimensional phenomenon, the contemporary Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia was contributed by a combination of internal and external causes. The resurgence is more domestic by its cause, deeply triggered by the urban Malay Muslims' inclination to comprehend and revert to the holistic framework of Islam, the paradigm shift for Muslim identity and solutions, the political will of Islamisation, the emergence of charismatic leadership as well as the centralisation of *da'wah* activities at Kuala Lumpur and Selangor.

The Malay Muslims' interaction and participation in the international organisations contributed to factors of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia. Since the late 1960s, the local Malay students have connected and made a relatively close relationship with international organisations and fundamentalist movements of the Middle Eastern and Indian Sub-Continents. Visibly, four main external factors have been largely responsible for shaping the direction and growth of Islamic Resurgence among the Malay Muslims in the last four decades: they are the extensive coverage of Islamic literatures and thoughts from Middle Eastern and Indian Sub-Continent, the role of returning overseas Malay students; the effect of Arab-Israeli War 1967 and the Iranian Revolution; and the participation in international organisations.

The Islamic Resurgence has affected Malay Muslims in most aspects of society and politics in Malaysia. As the efforts to achieve the goal of recommitment to Islam many organisations namely the Islamic-Malay based political party of PAS and UMNO; civil society of ABIM and IKRAM have initiated their Islamic-based programmes and become aware of the potential strength of Islam to solve human problems and muster the popular support.

**CHAPTER 3**  
**EFFORTS AND APPROACHES OF THE ISLAMIC ORGANISATIONS**  
**IN THE ISLAMIC RESURGENCE**

**3.1 Introduction**

The causes of Islamic Resurgence clearly divulged that the phenomenon of the religious consciousness may not occur without extensive efforts of the contributors, either the electoral or the non-electoral actors. Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia posed diverse roles amongst the Malay-Islamic based organisations which reflected their responses to the stream of Islamic consciousness in the early 1970s.

Following the intensification of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia, major transformations have been made and have continuously grown to flourish the dynamic restoration of Islam in the practice of Muslims' belief, in particular the Malay society. Serious actions have taken place to fulfil the Muslims' contemporary social demands and the needs for the Islamic cause. The progressive endeavours by the voluntary *da'wah* organisations, namely ABIM and IRC-JIM-IKRAM, the Islamic political party of PAS and the responsive approach of the ruling party of UMNO have contributed to these major transformations in the Islamic Resurgence.

After 1970s, major changes were undertaken which emphasised on instilling the request of the resurgence in the form of restoring more religious-based programmes, restructuring the internal and external government's policies and increasing more spaces for Islam in the public spheres. These Islamic activities have leaned to comprehend the essence of Islamic way of life which put a socio-cultural transformation into practice.

### 3.2 From Submissive to Proactive Role of UMNO

United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) was founded on 11 May 1946 following the First Malay Congress which was held on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1946 as the Malay responds to the establishment of the Malayan Union by the British administration.<sup>404</sup> As the Malay-based political party, UMNO strives to achieve national aspirations and underlines its directions towards six main targets which one of them mentions its role for the cause of Islam.<sup>405</sup> However, the first two directions of UMNO are subjected to place it as the ultra-nationalist Malay party by its political opponent, PAS.<sup>406</sup>

The commitment of UMNO as a ruling party on Islamic affairs is less visible in the early period after the independence of Malaya.<sup>407</sup> The progress of Islam from the perspective of the government led by UMNO intensely deliberated on celebrating Islamic ceremonial functions and festivals such as, the Prophet Muhammad's birthday celebration; reciting the *do'a* (prayer) in its official general gathering;<sup>408</sup> organising the national and international Quranic competitions;<sup>409</sup> building mosques and *surau* and

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<sup>404</sup> This historical event in the Malay struggle upon the British rule had successfully gathered 107 representatives from 41 Malay organisations all over the country, besides 56 official observers representing all the Malay states and thousands of public people who flooded at the field of Sultan Sulaiman Royale Club to hear the discussion of the Malay representatives concerning the Malay fate in the country. Tan Sri Syed Ja'afar Albar, 'Sa-Layang Pandang Sejarah Perjuangan UMNO 20 Tahun', in *UMNO: 20 Tahun*, Kuala Lumpur: Ibu Pejabat UMNO, 1966, pp. 31-37.

<sup>405</sup> Article 3.3 of UMNO constitution clearly states the party direction to uphold, protect and propagate Islam as the official religion and respect the principle of religious freedom. However, this mission is mentioned in the third direction of the party, followed after the first two nationalist aspirations of the party. UMNO Constitution, United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), 9 May 2013, p. 2.

<sup>406</sup> The first two objects are to uphold and protect the independence and sovereignty of the nation; and uphold and protect the national Constitution, the State Constitution and the Constitutional Monarchy. *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>407</sup> In the ten years' time after independence, nothing much change has been done to uplift the position Islam in Malaysia. No topics discussed on Islam and Muslims welfare as published in the UMNO 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of 1966. Even though, Islam has been installed as the religion of the federation, but nothing much has been done to upgrade the position of Islam in national and foreign policy. A major concentration of the federal government at that time was to activate the national urbanisation guided by the Western's direction in modernisation and in dealing with the international issues. Even after the 20 years of UMNO's formation, this ultra nationalist party still discussed on the subject related to the national physical development rather than Islam; UMNO as a nationalist party and its role in the demolition of the Malayan Union. In addition, UMNO remained focus on the process of the formation of Malaysia as a nation state and its relation with international organisations including the United Nation; and the challenges that Malaysia faced in dealing with its neighbour, in particular confrontation with Indonesia. See, *UMNO: 20 Tahun*, Kuala Lumpur: Ibu Pejabat UMNO, 1966.

<sup>408</sup> Archive records showed that the recitation of *do'a* (prayer) and *tahlil* ceremony in the UMNO's general gathering and assemblies were held in 1971. No earlier written documents and materials recorded these traditions in UMNO before except the record of the UMNO committee meeting No. 5/8 on 7 May 1953 at the Majestic Hotel, Kuala Lumpur stated that the recitation of *do'a* was done by Y.B Tuan Hj Hassan, the Committee Member of UMNO. But it was believed that the recitation of *do'a* has been practiced as the Malay traditional religious customs before. See, Peringatan Mesyuarat Jawatankuasa Kerja UMNO, Bilangan 5/8, di Hotel Majestic, Kuala Lumpur, on 7 May 1953, UMNO/SG-Conf: 6/53, Fail No. 2003/0009131, The National Archive of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 2003; Figure 1 The recitation of *do'a* (prayer) in the 22th of the UMNO General Gathering, January 1971 in Appendix B. The National Archive of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 'United Malays National Organisation (UMNO)', Perhimpunan Agong Kali Ke 22, Upacara Bacaan *Do'a*, 00.01.1971, No. 20010042551g1. Figure 2 the *Tahlil* ceremony at the UMNO Headquarter, Kuala Lumpur on 11 May 1971 in Appendix B. The National Archive of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 'United Malays National Organisation (UMNO)', Majlis Tahlil di Pejabat UMNO, Kuala Lumpur, 11.05.1971, No. 20010042549g1. See, Appendix B.

<sup>409</sup> The International Quranic Recitation Competition held in the capital of Kuala Lumpur was officially launched by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong as an initial exercise to measure Malaysian leadership commitment in the Muslim world, even with little success. It



gave financial assistance to religious schools.<sup>410</sup> In addition, UMNO has also presented its moderate efforts in Islamic development which could be noticed on reviewing the management of Islamic laws for all states (1957-1967) and providing service and financial assistance in performing of *hajj* through subsidy or wage deduction for the government servants. *Tabung Haji* or Pilgrim's Fund, another major state Islamic organisation that supports Muslims performing *hajj* to Makkah was established in 1963.<sup>411</sup>

Since the growth of *da'wah* movements and activities in the urban areas of Kuala Lumpur and Klang Valley (including Selangor), the Malaysian government approach to the Islamic Resurgence could be divided into three forms; co-option, accommodation, and confrontation or coercion.<sup>412</sup> The Malaysian government in particular, the ruling party of UMNO initiates both responsive and proactive approaches in dealing with the *da'wah* movements. The responsive approach is used by UMNO in the sense that it should facilitate the symbolic traditional affairs to Islamic identifications.<sup>413</sup>

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also helped to publicise Malaysia in the eyes of the Middle East Nations. In his speech of the opening session, the Yang di-Pertuan Agong called for closer co-operation between Muslim nations. At the same time, the Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman proposed the idea of a "Muslim Commonwealth" aimed at fostering a stronger bond brotherhood among Muslims in the world. *Malaysian Digest*, 30 November 1969, p. 1.

<sup>410</sup> Within the period of 1957 to 1966, Malaysian Government under the ruling and the leadership of UMNO, initiated to build approximately 2,000 mosques and *surau*; and to give attention to limited *da'wah* activity through the foundation of PERKIM, and to manage administration of the mosques. In 1966, Education Ministry also gave financial assistance to the Public Islamic Religious Schools (*Sekolah Agama Rakyat*) through its special scheme. More than half million ringgit had been credited every year to benefit more than half million students in these religious schools. *UMNO: 20 Tahun*, Kuala Lumpur: Ibu Pejabat UMNO, 1966, p. 23.

<sup>411</sup> Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, *Trends in Southeast Asia: Islamisation Policy and Islamic Bureaucracy in Malaysia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015, p. 3; Hussin Mutalib, *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 35; S. Ahmad Hussein, 'Muslim Politics in Malaysia: Origins and Evolution of Competing Traditions in Malay Islam', *Foundation for Global Dialogue Paper*, No. 15, 1998, p. 17; Ahmad Sunawari Long, 'Impak Kebangkitan Semula Islam Terhadap Pengamalan dan Penghayatan Agama Kelas Menengah Melayu Muslim Malaysia', Ph.D Thesis, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 2010, p. 147.

<sup>412</sup> Unlike other ASEAN governments whose response to Islamic Resurgence fluctuated between suppressions and support which are subject to the circumstances, the Malaysian government, however, proposes a more multifaceted and convoluted process in which a number of different approaches on this continuum are practised concurrently. A former Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Musa Hitam in a 1984 speech to American audience visualised some insights of the Malaysian edges in dealing with Islamic fundamentalism. He claimed: "Through a complex process of accommodation (where this is fully justified), co-option (where this is required) and confrontation (where this is necessary), we Sunni Muslims in Malaysia will remain well on top of the situation. We see absolutely no contradiction between Islam and modernisation. Indeed, the Islam of the 21<sup>st</sup> century must be a core element of our modernisation programme. See, David Camroux, 'State Responses to Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia: Accommodation, Co-Option, and Confrontation', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 36, No. 9, Sep., 1996, p. 857; Musa Hitam, 'Malaysia's Strategic Vision Into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century', in Institute of Strategic and International Studies, *Malaysia: Past, Present and Future*, Kuala Lumpur: ISIS, 1987, p. 6; Hussin Mutalib, 'Islamic Revivalism in ASEAN States: Political Implications', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 30, No. 9, September, 1990, pp. 880-882.

<sup>413</sup> UMNO has continued its previous efforts for example, the number of mosques and the prayer rooms (*surau*) would be increased, the celebration of the major festivals in the Islamic calendar and the promotion of Islamic courts as yardsticks of the ruling party's Islamic identifications concern with an appeal to traditional affairs would be continued. See, UMNO planned to celebrate The Prophet Muhammad's Birthday (p.b.u.h.) in 1972. See, an invitation letter to attend the fifth meeting of The Religious Bureau of UMNO by the General Secretary of UMNO, Mohd Adib Haji Mohd Adam, Mesyuarat Biro Ugama UMNO Malaysia Yang Ke-V, UMNO/SUA – 6/71/94, 12 April 1972; David Camroux, 'State Responses to Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia', p. 857.

UMNO had increased its momentum in the field of *da'wah* when PAS decided to join the Alliance in the early 1973. The cooperation with PAS was highly welcomed by UMNO as this was regarded as a “tactical” turning point to unite both Malay-based parties and strengthen the struggle for Islam and Muslim in this country.<sup>414</sup> PAS became closely connected with ABIM at the early stage of the resurgence. However when PAS was brought into the governing coalition, *Perikatan* (then Barisan Nasional- BN), where it remained from 1973 to 1977, this could control the threatening partnership.<sup>415</sup> The Federal Government then continued to promote a split in the PAS government in Kelantan and finally put the state under the control of the Federal administration.<sup>416</sup>

UMNO also realised that the *da'wah* phenomenon in urban areas of Klang Valley had attracted the Muslim students and youth to the Islamic activities. Between 1972 and 1981, ABIM obtained its greatest popular support in urban and rural areas and was seen to be a champion in struggling social and religious issues. To counter the second threat to the establishment, the government applied confrontation approach through putting restrictions on campus political campaign to curb ABIM and students' activities and penalised ABIM supporters in the government offices.<sup>417</sup>

The government does not want to be left behind in other voluntary Islamic movements like ABIM to contribute to the Islamic Resurgence although its involvement in the early stage was less significant. With the growing tendency to study Islam in the urban community, Tun Abdul Razak set up Foundation of Islamic *Da'wah* of Malaysia

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<sup>414</sup> UMNO highlighted that this cooperation was a tactical plan with the objective to unite UMNO and PAS aimed at struggling for the similar cause of Islam. Refer to Minit Mesyuarat dan Keputusan-Keputusan Biro Ugama UMNO Malaysia, Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu, UMNO/SUA – 6/71/PT.1/155, 24 February 1973, p. 1; Peringatan Mesyuarat Kali Pertama 1973, Biro Ugama UMNO Malaysia, Ibu Pejabat UMNO Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 9 February 1973, p. 4.

More individuals who have the Islamic studies background and academicians were invited to share their expertise and cooperate with the Religious Bureau of UMNO to increase the progress of Islam in Malaysia. The Religious Bureau of UMNO was led by Datuk Wan Abdul Kadir Ismail and the Secretary, Mr. Dasuki Haji Ahmad, followed by its thirteen members including Tan Sri Syed Jaafar Albar, Tuan Hj Muhammad Yaakub, Senator Aishah Abdul Ghani, Tan Sri Dr. Abdul Jalil Hassan, Dr Mohd Zain Othman, Senator Haji Othman Abdullah, Datuk Haji Ghazali Abdullah, Datuk Hj Ismail Panjang Aris, Ustaz Haji Nik Mohyiddin Musa, Ustaz Omar Othman, Mr Ainudin Abdul Wahid, Osman Ishak, Datuk Dr. Omar Din, Mr. Ali Talib, Mr. Ikhwan Nasir and Mr. Nakhaie Ahmad. See, An Invitation Letter to attend 'Mesyuarat Biro Ugama UMNO Malaysia yang Ke-VI', Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu, UMNO/SUA – 6/71/152, 30 January 1973, p. 2.

<sup>415</sup> David Camroux, “State Responses to Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia”, p. 859.

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 859.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 859.

(YADIM) on 1 Muharram 1394, or January 25, 1974.<sup>418</sup> Islamic Research Centre was established in 1971.<sup>419</sup> In 1974, Islamic *Da'wah* and Training Institute (INDAH) was established under the initiative taken by the National Council of Islamic Affairs of Malaysia to activate *da'wah* in the society.<sup>420</sup> In conjunction with progressive *da'wah* attempts in the urban area, Selangor Religious Department issued the policy on Islamic *da'wah* activities in Selangor on July 18, 1975 as a guideline to clarify the meaning and the perspective of *da'wah* in Islam.<sup>421</sup>

A secretariat for the National Council of Islamic Affairs of Malaysia was upgraded to Division of Religious Affairs and further expansion as Division of Islamic Affairs in 1984 and finally renamed to Malaysian Department of Islamic Development (JAKIM) in January 1997. An important development in this context is the appointment of a deputy minister in 1973 to supervise its activities and of the full minister from 1997 when the Mahathir administration decided to display Islam as a federal priority in the administration of Islam.<sup>422</sup>

UMNO under the leadership of Tun Hussein Onn continued to encourage the expansion of *da'wah* activities in the country, besides its struggle for national unity due to communist threat and political change in Southeast Asia.<sup>423</sup> The Prime Minister has

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<sup>418</sup> It aimed to coordinate the activities by the *da'wah* (Islamic preaching) bodies and the NGOs; and to work together with them in line with the national policy as catalyst in the spread of the *da'wah* movement in Malaysia. YADIM is a trust deed registered under the Trust Incorporation Ordinance 1952, which reports directly to the Prime Minister. YADIM management begins with the first president, the late Tan Sri Datuk Syed Nasir bin Ismail (Tun), followed by some of the dedicated President of YADIM, such as the late Dato' Seri Hj. Kamaruddin bin Hj. Mohd. Isa, Dato' Dr. Yusof bin Mohd Noor (Tan Sri), Hon. Tan Sri Dato' Abdul Wahid bin Aiuuddin, Dato' Hj Dusuki Ahmad, Dato' Dr. Abdul Hamid bin Othman (Tan Sri), Datuk Hj. Mohd. Nakhaie bin Hj. Ahmad, YBhg Datuk Dr. Hj. Aziz Jamaluddin bin Mhd Tahir and Major Gen. Dato' Seri Jamil Khir bin Baharom (B). Currently YADIM was led by Senator Dato' Dr Asyraf Wajdi Dato' Dusuki, Mohd Nazri Ibrahim, Mohd Zulkifli Husain and Noraina Noraini, et.al., *Perspektif Islam di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Pengajian Media Universiti Malaya, 1998, p. 93; *Yayasan Da'wah Islamiah Malaysia Official Website*, retrieved on 1 September 2013. <http://www.yadim.com.my/v1/index.php/home/penubuhan>.

<sup>419</sup> The proposal to establish Centre for Islamic Research has been firstly presented by Tuan Syed Zainal Abidin bin Syed Abdul Mutalib Jamalullail and Atan bin Long in Persidangan Islam Sa-Malaysia, Kementerian Luar Negeri, Wisma Putra Kuala Lumpur, 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> March, 1969 refer to Kertas Kerja No. 7 (1), Laporan Persidangan Islam Sa-Malaysia, Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur, Secretariat of Persidangan Islam Sa-Malaysia, Kementerian Luar Negeri, Wisma Putra Kuala Lumpur, 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> March, 1969, pp. 79-81. Another proposal was forwarded by Mohd. Nakhaie Ahmad in The Religious Bureau of UMNO's meeting under the subject of "Cadangan Menubuhkan Akademi Penyelidikan Islam Negara", after Tun Abdul Razak delivered the speech in Seminar Memperbaiki Semangat Sikap dan Dedikasi, at Mara Institute of Technology (ITM), on 10 January 1973, in the File of Biro Ugama UMNO Malaysia, Perayaan Maulud Nabi, Kuala Lumpur: The National Archive of Malaysia, Reference No. 1998/0025645.

<sup>420</sup> Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, *Trends in Southeast Asia*: p. 4; History of JAKIM, see <http://www.islam.gov.my>.

<sup>421</sup> Dasar Kegiatan Da'wah Islamiah di Negeri Selangor, Kelang, 18 July 1975, Kuala Lumpur: National Archive of Malaysia, No. 2006/0053756.

<sup>422</sup> John Funston, "Malaysia" in Fealy, Greg and Hooker, Virginia (ed.), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), 2006, p. 55.

<sup>423</sup> Tun Hussein Onn repeatedly stressed on the importance on national unity in particular among UMNO members. He proposed that UMNO members should unite to curb any elements which can harm and made the internal troubles within the party. He said

been invited to launch the Asian Muslim Youth Seminar on *Da'wah* (*Seminar Dakwah Belia Islam Asia*) on February 23<sup>rd</sup>-28<sup>th</sup>, 1977 initiated by ABIM and World Association of Muslim Youth (WAMY) and collaboration with the Islamic Centre and YADIM.<sup>424</sup> The government also realised that it must also contribute and increase its efforts in *da'wah*. YADIM later published its official magazine, *Dakwah* in March 1977, followed by the great launching of Malaysian *Da'wah* Month (*Bulan Dakwah Se-Malaysia*) in early December 1978 to January 1979. This *da'wah* month was the first in Malaysian history which demonstrated the government religious agencies working closely and collaborating with the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) with the goal to help the people to better understand the Islamic messages and teachings.<sup>425</sup>

Dusuki Ahmad, as Secretary of *Da'wah* Month and member of UMNO Religious Bureau reported that this extensive coverage of *da'wah* campaign received the unprecedented warm response from Muslims in the urban and rural areas, the office of government and private agencies. From the Parliament the call for *da'wah* extensively reached the mosques and *suraus*, houses, offices and public halls.<sup>426</sup> The voluntary Islamic organisations, for example ABIM, PKPIM, Jamiyah Da'wah Islamiah, *Persatuan Ulama*, Religious Teachers Association and youth societies also

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that UMNO will be strong and firm while its leaders are honest and sincere. In the UMNO General Assembly 1976 and 1977, he repeatedly mention about the communist threat in the Southeast Asia. See The Speech of UMNO President in UMNO General Assembly at Hilton Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, 2-4 July 1976 and The Speech of UMNO President in UMNO General Assembly at Hilton Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, 1-3 July 1977 in Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz, *Amanat Presiden: Demi Agama, Bangsa dan Negara, 1976-1981 Tun Hussein Onn*, Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Sdn Bhd., 2009, pp. 1-35.

<sup>424</sup> Issues on the Muslims commitment towards Islam as *ad-Din*, the ummatic integration and ethnic unity through Islamic formula have been addressed by the invited speaker of *da'wah*, Anwar Ibrahim, ABIM President and as representative of WAMY for Asia Pacific region. During the seminar, the participants delivered their high expectation and hope towards ABIM's role in *da'wah* to upsurge social awareness. See, Laporan Seminar Dakwah Belia Islam Asia, in Laporan Tahunan 1976/77, Muktamar Sanawi Keenam, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, Kolej Islam Kelang, Selangor, 28 – 31 July 1977, p. 11. Refer to Ucapan Saudara Anwar Ibrahim, Presiden ABIM merangkap wakil WAMY bagi Kawasan Asia Pasifik Sempena Upacara Perasmian Seminar Da'wah Belia Islam on 6 Rabiulawal 1397 (24<sup>th</sup> February 1977); Laporan Tahunan 1976/1977 Muktamar Sanawi Keenam Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, at Islamic College, Kelang, Selangor, 28 – 31 July 1977, p. 2.

<sup>425</sup> The *da'wah* campaigns promoted *nasyid*, religious talk by Ustaz Abdul Wahab Ahmad, lecturer of Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (UTM), religious articles were published in popular newspapers, radio and television programmes, exhibition, seminars and distribution of more than 60,000 pamphlets on Islam. 'Kesan Bulan Dakwah', *Dakwah*, February 1979, p. 5; 'Selaras Pembangunan Rohani', *Dakwah*, No. 23, January 1979, p. 27; Osman Bakar, 'Identifying the Islam-Policies of the Predecessors of the Najib Administration: Has He Abandoned Tradition?', *Islam and Civilisational Renewal*, Vol. 2, No. 4, July 2011, pp. 725, 723-726.

<sup>426</sup> *Da'wah* songs and the programme's official song, '*Islam Menjamin Keselamatan Ummah*' was on air at the beginning of every each television programme. Not less than fifty papers were presented in the seminars which covered all spectrums of Muslims' life while approximately a million posters and handouts were distributed to the public. The national artists were encouraged to create works which could revive spiritual soul of the Muslims and the musicians were supported to compose songs which can promote the listeners towards meaningful spiritual life and to be near God. Dusuki Ahmad, 'Kesan Bulan Dakwah', *Dakwah*, No. 23, January 1979, p. 28; Ramli Ibrahim, 'Perkembangan Agama Islam Mengorak Langkah', *Dakwah*, February 1979, p.2; 'Kesan Bulan Dakwah: Ada yang Ambil Kesempatan', *Dakwah*, February 1979, pp. 5-6.

participated in the *da'wah* campaign and flourished in the activities. In brief, the appeal for returning to fundamental teachings of Islam has been voiced out everywhere.<sup>427</sup>

An immediate impact of this campaign reported by YADIM's official magazine, *Da'wah* was that the meaning of *da'wah* was pervasively understood and accepted by the public, not as related to suspicious element of fanaticism, such as "*da'wah songsang*" and negative perceptions towards this religious propagation. The interest of the public on religious reading materials were increasing and the sales of Islamic magazines, namely *Dakwah*, *Al-Islam*, *Utusan Qiblat*, *Dian*, *Pengasuh Hikmat*, *Warta Johor*, *Al-Ihsan* and but not least, *Risalah*<sup>428</sup> were the best sellers. The 1978/79 UMNO's Annual Report also recorded that the party began to conduct '*usrah*' amongst its religious and political leaders in 1979. Three organising committee members of *Usrah* had been elected and chaired by Datuk Haji Wan Mokhtar Ahmad, Chairman of the Religious Bureau of UMNO.<sup>429</sup>

As the leading party which dominates the Malay vote in the national elections since the Independence, UMNO has also taken a proactive approach to establish "an Islamic university".<sup>430</sup> A founding committee for the establishment of the Islamic university was formed and chaired by Tan Sri Syed Jaafar Albar with participation of experts in the field of Islamic education.<sup>431</sup> In fact, the suggestion for the establishment of the Islamic University has been voiced out in several conferences since 1950s,<sup>432</sup> and

<sup>427</sup> Dusuki Ahmad, 'Kesan Bulan Dakwah', p. 28.

<sup>428</sup> *Risalah* which was owned by ABIM was not given the permit of publication by the Home Ministry.

<sup>429</sup> See, Report of the Religious Bureau of UMNO in *Penyata UMNO 78/79* presented in the 30<sup>th</sup> UMNO General Assembly, at Kuala Lumpur Hilton, 6-7<sup>th</sup> July 1979, pp. 7-8.

<sup>430</sup> This draft discussed in detail the historical background of the foundation of the Islamic higher institution in Malaysia which at first began with the establishment of Malaya Islamic College, the concept of "an Islamic University", the implementation of the university, and the efforts towards the realisation of the establishment of the Islamic university. In 21 to 22 February 1950, The All Malaya Muslim Scholars Congress that held at Muar and was sponsored by UMNO had fully supported the establishment of Malaya Islamic College. PAS too, backed the idea and aspirations of the Malay Muslims and the rulers to develop the higher learning institution for Muslims.

See, "Universiti Islam Di Antara Cita-cita dan Perlaksanaan", in the Fail Biro Ugama UMNO, Perayaan Maulud Nabi, Fail No. 1998/0025645, The National Archive of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 1998, pp. 6-10. 'Kertas Kerja Penubuhan Universiti Islam Malaysia', Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu, Bil. 1.04.6/50, 26 September 1973.

<sup>431</sup> The founding committee consisted Dr Zain Osman, Tuan Hj Nik Mohyeeidin Musa, Tan Sri Abdul Jalil Hassan, Dr Abdul Halim Ismail, Prof Ahmad Ibrahim, Mr. Abdullah Salleh, Tan Sri Syed Nasir Ismail and Tuan Hj Lokman Musa. Prof. Tan Sri Abdul Jalil Hassan was the Dean of Faculty of Islamic Studies, National University of Malaysia (UKM). *2nd Annual Report 1971-1972, National University of Malaysia*, Bangi: the National University of Malaysia, 1972, p. 8.

<sup>432</sup> The initial idea to establish an Islamic university started with the establishment of Islamic College (24 February 1955), the Congress of Religious and Muslim Students and Educators Conference, at Malaya Islamic College, Kelang (1965); The Pan-Malaysian Congress of Islamic Progress at University of Malaya (1966), Congress of Islamic Education at Malaya Islamic College

brainstormed by the National Association of Muslim Students Malaysia (PKPIM) in the Pan-Malaysian Congress of Islamic Progress held at University of Malaya in 1966.<sup>433</sup> The main reason for the establishment of the Islamic university from UMNO perspective is to fulfil the Malaysian Muslims demand in the development of knowledge in various fields including, the sciences of Islam.<sup>434</sup>

The Malaysian government under the leadership of Tun Mahathir (1981-2003) had stressed on the accommodation approach to deal with the Islamic development in a dynamic new strategy for both domestic and foreign policies. Serious attention to the role of Islam in the system and the administration of the country has been given when Mahathir Mohammad took the prime ministership.<sup>435</sup> During his rule, Islam has been institutionalised in a systematic structure which characterised Islamic Resurgence in this decade differs from the Islah reformist movement in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The early period of Mahathir's rule has always been referred by writers as a signal to the phase of expansion in the Islamic Resurgence.<sup>436</sup>

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(1967); and in Congress of the National Education at Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur (1971) and in the First World Conference on Muslim Education which was organised by the King Abdul Aziz University and the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in Makkah from 31 March to 8 April 1977. Ruzita Mohd. Amin, Selamah Abdullah Yusof and Mohamed Aslam Haneef, 'The Effectiveness of an Integrated Curriculum: The Case of the International Islamic University Malaysia', Paper presented in the 8th International Conference on Islamic Economics and Finance, 11 December 2011, organised by Centre for Islamic Economics and Finance, Qatar Faculty of Islamic Studies, Qatar Foundation, pp. 1-20.

<sup>433</sup> *National Union of Malaysian Muslim Students' Silver Jubilee*, Kuala Lumpur: National Union of Malaysian Muslim Student (PKPIM), 1988, p. 2; Mohd Jamil Mukmin, *Gerakan Islam di Malaysia: Kesenambungan, Respons dan Perubahan (1957-2000)*, Shah Alam: Pusat Penerbitan Universiti (UPENA), Universiti Teknologi MARA, 2009, p. 28.

<sup>434</sup> Religious Bureau of UMNO also viewed that although the Faculty of the Islamic Studies was guaranteed by the government to be a foundation for Islamic university, nevertheless no concrete plan and signs that it would move towards establishing the Islamic university by itself. The committee also stressed on the importance of the Islamic University for Malaysia in the six reasons: First, it is the reflection of The Malaysian Constitution, the Rukun Negara, and the nation's personality. Second, the government is allowed according to the Constitution and the law of the country to spend the country's income to the expansion and the progress of Islam. Third, its establishment aims at instilling and encouraging the development of knowledge in various fields including the Islamic sciences. Fourth, the need of Muslim society and the country for the service of the wise-knowledgeable scholars in the management and professionals is in demand. Fifth, the establishment of the Islamic University targets to fulfill the request of the graduates of the religious schools every year. Sixth, it means to fulfil the demand of the majority of Malaysian Muslims. "Penubuhan Universiti Islam di Malaysia", pp. 1-3. The Fail of Biro Ugama UMNO, No. 1998/0025644, The National Archive of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 1998, pp. 1-4.

<sup>435</sup> He has distinguished himself from previous UMNO leaders in his intelligently and dynamically planning and implementing various programmes in the government driven towards Islamisation in many aspects of economics, social and politics.

<sup>436</sup> After Mahathir took office as Prime Minister in July 1981, however, the government response gradually changed; it selected the Islamic 'core leader' into the government and UMNO leaders apparently decided that the only way to meet the Islamic challenge was to show that "the party is more Islamic" approach than PAS. UMNO leaders began working on upgrading the party's Islamic credentials. The nature of the concessions to Islam under Mahathir administration has also changed so that many are no longer be considered just symbolic. Mahathir announced in September 1982, that the government had three major projects – the Islamic bank, the international Islamic University and compulsory Islamic civilisation studies at the tertiary level which all scheduled to be implemented in 1983. He said "I am confident from time to time, other Islamic aspects will be introduced into national activities. These will be done without jeopardizing the position of other religions protected by the Constitution". *New Straits Times*, September 11, 1982. Refer to Diane K. Mauzy, and R.S. Milne, 'The Mahathir Administration: Discipline through Islam', in Bruce Gale, *Reading in Malaysian Politics*, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications (M) Sdn Bhd., 1987, p. 87-90; Abdul Rahman Embong, *South East Asian Middle Class: Prospects for Social Change and Democratisation*, p. 64.

The invitation of Anwar to join UMNO and his decision to participate in the Mahathir led-government renewed Islamic appeal and helped UMNO to strike PAS ideologically and pushed this Islamic party into a more conservative direction.<sup>437</sup> The entry of Anwar into UMNO can benefit the government in two areas, namely the co-option of a talented and high profile individual would consolidate UMNO's Islamic records and credentials; and it weakened the credibility of ABIM as a driven force for Islamic request to the establishment. Implication of this new development, Anwar has in turn elected a huge number of socially mobile young Malays into the UMNO-operated state machine.<sup>438</sup> Inviting the Islamists in the Islamisation programmes which were believed to give more advantages to the regime's legitimacy. Consequently, this has resulted in vocal Islamists, in particular ABIM activists, to discard their anti-establishment views and have tended to be associated with tolerance and moderation, which in turn invited an accommodative response from the ruling party to pursue the state ambitions in developing the country through religious approach. This also allows the dynamic response of the state-Islamists relations which finally resulted in more progressive efforts in the development of Islam in Malaysia.<sup>439</sup>

Islamisation policy in this period began with the pronouncement of an Islamic Consultative Body (ICB) in March 1981, to ensure that the domestic development plan was consistent with Islamic values.<sup>440</sup> Mahathir legacy had also witnessed that more Islamic institutions were established to demonstrate the ruling party high commitment in struggling for the Islamic cause. The International Islamic University was

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<sup>437</sup> Interview with Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim, at PKR Headquarter, Damansara, Petaling Jaya Selangor on 20 November 2013, 12.15nn. Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim is a former President of ABIM, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, and a former Chief of Opposition in Malaysian Parliament.

<sup>438</sup> 'Anwar warns of new Islamic clergy', *New Straits Times*, 14 September 1985; Camroux, David. 'State Responses to Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia', pp. 859-860.

<sup>439</sup> Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'Patterns of State Interaction with Islamic Movements in Malaysia during the Formative Years of Islamic Resurgence', *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 44, No.4, March 2007, pp. 444-445.

<sup>440</sup> Wan Sulaiman Bin Wan Yusoff Alfattani, 'Malaysian Experiences on the Development of Islamic Economics, Banking And Finance', The 7th International Conference on Islamic Economics and Finance, atKing Abdul Aziz University, Makkah, Saudi Arabia, 1-3 April 2008, p. 405, pp. 405-418.

established, Islamic banking was given priority by the central bank,<sup>441</sup> and *Takāful* Malaysia, Islamic pawnshops, and Islamic insurance were set up in 1984. YaPIEM was then re-founded on 20 July 1984, Islamic programmes were increased over the state's television and radio, and Islamic civilisation was introduced as a compulsory subject for all undergraduates in local universities. Malaysia also issued the world's first sovereign *Sukuk*, an Islamic bond in 2002 and recently has been recognised as the world's largest *Sukuk* market.<sup>442</sup> These were major projects which had taken shape under Mahathir's rule.<sup>443</sup>

In education, the philosophy of national and Islamic education has been introduced to help students to develop their intellectual, spiritual, emotional as well as physical potentials in comprehensive and integrated manner (JERI) in accordance with the belief in God.<sup>444</sup> Under Anwar as the Minister of Education, the government also introduced the New Primary School Curriculum (*Kurikulum Baru Sekolah Rendah - KBSR*) in 1983 and the Integrated Curriculum for Secondary Schools (*Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah - KBSM*) in 1988 to integrate moral values into the curriculum.<sup>445</sup> In dealing with constructing the national identity, in November 1987,

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<sup>441</sup> The formation of an Islamic Bank (Bank Islam Malaysia) was approved by Parliament in late 1982 when it passed the Government Investment Act and Islamic Bank Act, 1982 and the bank commenced operations in July 1983.

<sup>442</sup> Ijlal Ahmed Alvi, 'A Comprehensive Study of the International Sukuk Market', *Sukuk Report*, International Islamic Financial Market, 2010, p. 8; Mohd. Edil Abd. Sukor, Rusnah Muhamad and Alwin Yogaswara Gunawa, 'Malaysian *Sukuk*: Issues in Accounting Standard', *Shariah Journal*, Vol. 16, No.1, 2008, pp. 65, 63-74.

<sup>443</sup> Aziz Zariza Ahmad, *Mahathir Paradigm Shift: The Man Behind the Vision*, Taiping: Firma Malaysia Publishing, 1997, p. 67. See also, Nair, Shanti., *Islam in Malaysian Foreign Policy*, Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 34-35; Wan Hashim Wan Teh, *Race Relations in Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Heinemann Asia, 1983, pp. 87-90; Hussin Mutalib, *Islam in Malaysia: From Resurgence to Islamic State?*, pp. 32-33; Roff, William R., 'Patern of Islamisation in Malaysia, 1890s-1990s: Exemplars, Institutions and Vectors', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1998, p. 219. See also, <http://yapeim.net.my/pengenalan/>.

<sup>444</sup> Che Noraini Hashim and Hasan Langgulung, 'Islamic Religious Curriculum in Muslim Countries: The Experiences of Indonesia and Malaysia', *Bulletin of Education & Research*, Vol. 30, No. 1, June 2008, pp. 12, 1-19.

<sup>445</sup> The curriculum stressed on the importance of instilling in the students on the noble values which can be nurtured through strengthening Islamic and moral education curriculum at the primary and secondary level of education. ABIM had organized a National Symposium which discussed in detail the implementation of Integrated Curriculum for Secondary Schools (*KBSM-Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah*) on 19<sup>th</sup> September 1987 with many resolutions have been made in Workshop of Islamic Education, Workshop of Science, Workshop of Mathematics and Workshop of Malay Language. See, 'Resolusi Simposium Kebangsaan Cadangan Pelaksanaan KBSM (Anjuran ABIM, PKPIM, PUM, MBM dan Assasi', *Risalah*, Vol. 13/88, No. 5, May & June 1988, pp. 27-28; 'Simposium Cadangan Pelaksanaan KBSM', *Risalah*, No. 4, November 1987, p. 33; Centre for Curriculum Development (CDC), 1997. See also, Wan Zahid Mohd. Noordin, 'Reformasi Pendidikan dan Kurikulum Bersepadu Sekolah Menengah; Strategi, Cabaran dan Harapan', in *Gerakan Dakwah dan Orde Islam di Malaysia: Strategi Masa Depan*, Petaling Jaya: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1993, pp. 55-57.



Islam was included as a significant element which shaped the National Culture Policy.<sup>446</sup>

As a result of high demand of the Muslims for Islamic agendas, more Islamic institutions have been set up in 1990s.<sup>447</sup> The Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), was founded in 1987<sup>448</sup> and was officially launched in 1991 by Tun Mahathir.<sup>449</sup> On 18 February 1992, the Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia (IKIM) was established as a limited company by guarantee under the Companies Act 1965.<sup>450</sup> The pro-Islamic policy in Mahathir premiership was exemplified in the Inculcation of Islamic Values Policy into the working culture of the government sectors.<sup>451</sup> The policy aimed to inculcate the core positive values in the government bureaucrats, leaders and workers towards achieving an excellent quality in public service.<sup>452</sup> The essence of these values has been penetrated to be implemented in various sectors of the federal and state governments.<sup>453</sup> *Jurnal Dakwah* was published to inculcate Islamic values and knowledge tradition among the *Pemuda* (Youth) Wing of UMNO when Anwar led this extension of nationalist idealism.<sup>454</sup>

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<sup>446</sup> Other non-Malay cultures can be accepted and such cultures cannot be contradicted to the teachings of Islam *Straits Times*, February 6, 1988, p. 12.

<sup>447</sup> The institutions were initiated by either by the government, the NGOs and individual. The need for more systematic action plan for Islam in education, research on issues in Islamic society and economic has been addressed in seminars and conferences. More Islamic institutions and systems have been introduced during Mahathir era.

<sup>448</sup> It was founded by the world-renowned Muslim thinker and scholar, Professor Dr. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas. In 1987, ISTAC was known as an institution of postgraduate teaching and research under the establishment of the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM).

<sup>449</sup> Mohd. Zain Abd. Rahman, 'Postgraduate Research In Islamic Thought and Civilization at The International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), Malaysia', *Malaysian Journal of Library & Information Science*, Vol. 10, No.1, July 2005, pp. 49-64.

<sup>450</sup> IKIM was founded as a think tank of the government that functioned to promote the understanding of Islam among Muslims and non-Muslims in the country. Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia (IKIM), 2013 Annual Report, Kuala Lumpur, Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia (IKIM), 2013, p. 4.

<sup>451</sup> Adopted with a set of eleven to sixteen Islamic values which are characterised by universal values and acceptable to all individuals for public service, these values include sincerity, responsibility, discipline, trustworthiness, dedication, co-operation, moderation, morality, diligence, cleanliness and gratitude to God.

<sup>452</sup> Pেকেলiling Am Bil. 2 Tahun 2001, 'Garis Panduan bagi Mengadakan Ceramah Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam dalam Perkhidmatan Awam', Putrajaya: Jabatan Perdana Menteri Malaysia, 18 May 2001; Panduan Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam, Kuala Lumpur: Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam, Jabatan Perdana Menteri, 1985, pp. 1-9.

<sup>453</sup> The Religious Affairs Division of the Prime Ministry Department in which its vice minister at that time was YB Senator Dato' Dr. Yusuf Noor also published separate guideline on how to inculcate these values in the agriculture and Act National Land in a practical manner for farmers and Law practitioners. See, Ismail Mat, Faisal Othman, Razali Nawawi, Wan Zaidi Wan Teh, *Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam dalam Bidang Pertanian*, Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam, Jabatan Perdana Menteri, 1986, p. 1-20. See also, Laporan Mesyuarat Panel Kajian/ Perundangan Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam dalam Kanun Tanah Negara, Nov 1989.

<sup>454</sup> The cooption of Anwar into UMNO was believed to inject Islamic values and policy in the government administration. For example, *Jurnal Dakwah* was published after the decision was made in the Da'wah Bureau of the Pemuda Wing of UMNO held in 3th December 1982. Anwar Ibrahim at that time was elected as Chief of Pemuda Wing of UMNO, Malaysia and advisor of the journal. See, *Jurnal Dakwah: Ke Arah Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam*, Vol. 1, August 1983, pp. i-v.

UMNO also took the co-option approach in contesting its traditional rival, PAS to win the Malays' support. A significant number of Islamic-oriented professionals and *ustazs* were invited to fulfil important positions in UMNO either as the front-runner or adviser to the government besides its aims to counteract PAS in the subject of Islam.<sup>455</sup> Dr. Yusuf Noor and Dr. Abdul Hamid Othman, both are Al-Azhar University graduates who were being elected as Minister in the Prime Minister's Office for Religious Affairs alternately in 1987-1990 and 1995-1999 respectively.<sup>456</sup> In 1999 and 2004 general elections, UMNO assigned a popular religious television speaker, *Ustaz* Fadzil Hanafi for the State Legislative Assembly in Alor Mengkudu constituency and Chairman for Kedah Islamic Religious Affairs Committee.<sup>457</sup>

UMNO continued its strategy to co-opt religious figures either contesting in the national election or being elected to assist the party. A former Imam of National Mosque, *Ustaz* Pirdaus Ismail, contested in the 2004 and 2008 elections,<sup>458</sup> while Dr. Mashitah Ibrahim, a prominent religious speaker was elected to the position of Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's Department for Religious Affairs. Meanwhile, Dr. Abdullah Mohd. Zain also an al-Azhar University graduate precedes currently as Minister in the Prime Minister's Office for Religious Affairs.<sup>459</sup> Lately, UMNO under the leadership of Najib is in favour to groom Dr Asyraf Wajdi as a dynamic and young UMNO leader characterised by his professional-religious personality. Asyraf was appointed as Senator in the National Assembly of Malaysia and then as Deputy Minister

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<sup>455</sup> The fragmentation between Mahathir and Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah-Datuk Musa Hitam's bloc was partly caused by the entry of Islamists into the party, being increasingly supported by top leadership, and to a certain extent contributed by disagreement within the party over the countless attention to the subject of Islam. Muhammad Haniff Bin Hassan, 'Explaining Islam's Special Position and the Politic of Islam in Malaysia', *Muslim World*, Vol. 97 Issue 2, April 2007, pp. 287-316.

<sup>456</sup> In 1995 General Election, Dr Abdul Hamid won in the Parliament of Sik, Kedah but lost to PAS's candidate, Prof. Datuk Shahnon Ahmad who was firstly contested in this constituency with 13,504 votes compare to Dr Abdul Hamid who attained 13,026 votes. See, Aziz Ishak, 'Dimensi Baru Politik', *Utusan Malaysia*, 1 December 1999.

<sup>457</sup> In 2013 General Election, Fadzil contested in the same constituency as Independent candidate after BN put unfamous woman candidate, Sharifah Maznah Syed Kassim Barakbah to represent the party. Fadzil is reported to frust on the party decision and acted to contest in the election as independent candidate. See, 'Bekas Exco Agama Tanding Bebas', *Sinar Harian*, 19 April 2013. 'Bukan 22 Tetapi 58 Calon Bebas UMNO', *Harakah*, 22 April 2013.

<sup>458</sup> During the 2004 and 2008 General Election, UMNO put up a former imam of National Mosque, Dato' *Ustaz* Pirdaus Ismail who contested at the Permatang Pauh parliamentary seat, but he lost twice to Dr. Wan Azizah of Parti Keadilan Nasional. Muhamad Mat Yakim, 'Protes Calon Boleh Bawa Bala!', *Sinar Harian*, 19 April 2013.

<sup>459</sup> Muhammad Haniff Bin Hassan, 'Explaining Islam's Special Position and the Politic of Islam in Malaysia', *Muslim World*, Vol. 97 Issue 2, April 2007, pp. 287-316.

in the Prime Minister's Department (Religious Affairs) on 29 July 2015.<sup>460</sup> This appointment specifically aimed to upsurge UMNO struggle for the Islamic cause and to assist the party's plan to take over Kelantan from PAS in the next election.<sup>461</sup>

The main goal in Mahathir's Islamisation policy was modernisation and economic development. UMNO as the leading party in the government has also taken proactive and accommodative approaches that are to convince that a Malaysian model of modernisation which has no conflict to Islam as a dominant belief in the country.<sup>462</sup> Despite Mahathir progressive initiation on Islamic programmes, he also used confrontational approach to handle its main competitor, PAS. He announced that UMNO was the biggest Islamic party in Malaysia; and repeatedly labelled PAS as undesirable characteristics as Islamic fundamentalist, extremist and radical.<sup>463</sup> Unlike other prime ministers before him, Mahathir bravely proclaimed that Malaysia is "an Islamic State" in July 2001 in his speech at the BN Convention in Kuala Lumpur. This statement contradicted with what has been asserted by Tunku Abdul Rahman, the First Prime Minister of Malaysia in his memoir, that "Malaysia is a secular State, it has its official religion, Islam".<sup>464</sup> PAS, on the other hand, consistently considered that what has been announced by UMNO's President still did not comply with the characteristic of the Islamic state in its real meaning according to PAS' interpretation.<sup>465</sup>

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<sup>460</sup> In June 4, 2013, Asyraf was elected as the Yang Dipertua of YADIM, continued with his appointment as member of High Council of UMNO on 3 December 2013. Dr. Asyraf Wajdi terajui Yayasan Dakwah Islamiah Malaysia', *Utusan Malaysia*, 5 June 2013; 'Asyraf Wajdi dan Kui Hian dilantik Senator', *Utusan Malaysia*, 27 May 2014; 'Angkat Sumpah Simpan Rahsia', *Utusan Malaysia*, 30 Julai 2015, p. 4; 'New Minister, deputies sworn in', *New Straits Times*, 30 July 2015, p. 11.

<sup>461</sup> Muhammad Haniff Bin Hassan, 'Explaining Islam's Special Position', pp. 287-316.

<sup>462</sup> It was designed to seal and impede the ideological debate of the Islamists in which they have no reason to accede the government's model of development. This modernisation epitome and model was to some extent featured within secular paradigms, for example, the Tun Mahathir's Look East policy in which Malaysians are advised to admire the work ethics and practice in Japan and East Asia. However, at the same time, his Vision 2020, a project to transform Malaysia to a fully industrialised modern country in the year 2020, is not neglected spiritual and religious aspects similar to economic, politics, social, cultural and psychological qualities in designing the Malaysian model of development. See, *Vision 2020*, Kuala Lumpur: Department of The Prime Minister, 1991, p.2; Zahid Emby, 'Wawasan 2020', in Asnarulkhadi Abu Samah, Jawan J.A., *Kenegaraan Malaysia*, Serdang: Universiti Putra Malaysia, 1997, p. 254. Osman Bakar, 'Identifying the Islam-Policies of the Predecessors of the Najib Administration', p. 726.

<sup>463</sup> Mahathir also warned PAS not to confuse the Malays with their ideological understanding of the Islamic belief. See the Speech of UMNO's President, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad In The 1982 UMNO's General Gathering Held At Hilton Hote., Kuala Lumpur On 10 September 1982 in Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz (editors), Mustapa Kassim, *Amanat Presiden: Demi Agama, Bangsa and Negara, 1981-2003 Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad*, Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Sdn. Bhd., 2009, p. 31.

<sup>464</sup> He also reconfirmed and made a similar statement in his speech at the Gerakan Party Annual Conference in Kuala Lumpur on 29 September 2001 and on 27 August 2007. Tunku Abdul Rahman, *May 13 Before & After*, Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Melayu Press, 1969, p. 38; 'Malaysia Laporan Hak Sivil dan Politik 2007 Tinjauan Umum', *Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SUARAM)*. December 2007.

<sup>465</sup> The Presidential Speech of Dato' Seri Tuan Guru Haji Hadi Awang in conjunction with the Launching of the Document on Islamic State, 12<sup>th</sup> November 2003 or 7 Ramadhan 1424 H.

At the same time, Mahathir also drove actively to use coercive approach and suppress any act of religious or political movements which from the interpretation of the government could endanger national security.<sup>466</sup> The Internal Security Act (ISA) was used to eradicate all apparent obstructions rising in the way of the government's Islamisation policies and its broader political agenda, even when some of Islamists were suspects in committing any activities that jeopardised the national interest and security. The detention of several prominent political figures, in many cases demonstrated that the government would not tolerate in dealing with the so-called "enemies" identified by the state.<sup>467</sup>

Despite all undemocratic actions which were taken placed in Mahathir's rule, undeniably he also gave more spaces to Islamic *da'wah* and development. The top-down approach to Islamisation process has taken place to apply the ideal concept of Islam as the best way of Muslim life into a practical and the real-world solution. From Mahathir's point of view, the major contribution of UMNO in the progress of Islam in Malaysia was that Islam was used to be an essential mechanism for national development, in particular the Malays. UMNO struggle to uphold the nation (*bangsa*), religion (*agama*) and homeland (*tanahair*) also led to Muslims' success.<sup>468</sup>

If Mahathir is recognised through his Islamisation policy even with conservative authoritarian style of leadership, his successor, Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi on the

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<sup>466</sup> 'Malaysia', *World Almanac of Islamism*, American Foreign Policy Council, July 2013, p. 10; pp. 1-14.

<sup>467</sup> Many Islamic figures in particular from PAS was detained in the 1987 Operasi Lalang, the banning of Al-Arqam in 1994, the arrest of *Reformasi* activists in 1999, the Al-Ma'unah arms rebellion in Grik, Perak, in July 2000; and the discovery of revolutionary cells which involved the Mujahidin Group of Malaysia (KMM) in 2001. Wong Chin Huat, book review on '*Old v New Politics in Malaysia: State and Society in Transition*' by Francis Loh Kok Wah, Petaling Jaya: SIRD and Penang: Aliran Kesedaran Negara, 2009, *Kajian Malaysia*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2010, pp. 134-138.

The major mechanism or apparatus used by the state in suppressing the state challenges is the Internal Security Act (ISA), which allows for any detention without trial. The state persistently preserves that the ISA served to protect national security, but critics have constantly accused the state of abusing the ISA. These detentions however, in most situations, were considered as undemocratic according to human right. Islamists see that their activities were always being curious and closely watched by the ruling party or the state without democratic justification to allow the regime's actions. Refer to See "ISA terhadap pelampau agama ancam keselamatan," *Utusan Malaysia*, 10 June 2004; Wan Nordin Wan Yaacob, 'Anwar kecam PM guna ISA selesai kes Hindraf', *Harakah*, 14 December 2007; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'Patterns of State Interaction with Islamic Movements in Malaysia during the Formative Years of Islamic Resurgence', *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 44, No.4, March 2007, pp. 444-445.

<sup>468</sup> He also believed that national unity, political stability and social justice were important remedies to determine the success in the development of Islam in Malaysia by utilising democratic approach. For him, to progress, the Malays (nation) and Malay nationalism means to lead the success of the Muslims because no Islam (Muslims) without the Malays as the majority Muslims in the country. Mahathir also acknowledged that UMNO endeavours in the progress of Islam contributed to create Muslims' awareness on their role as the true believers and to better understand Islam in its holistic picture as the way of life. Interview with YBhg. Tun Dr. Mahathir Bin Mohamad at Perdana Leadership Foundation, Putrajaya, 10 April 2013; Mahathir's Speech delivered at the International Conference on Religious Studies: Meeting The Millenium in Kuala Lumpur, on December 30, 1999; Mahathir Mohamad, *Islam & The Muslim Ummah*, Subang Jaya: Pelanduk Publications Sdn, Bhd. 2001, pp.75-80.

other hand, took neo-conservative approach of leadership. He introduced a new Islamic policy known as *Islam Hadhāri*<sup>469</sup> as an approach which seeks to revitalise specific components of the Islamic civilisation and strengthening the development of human capital; and de-emphasise Islamic politics.<sup>470</sup> Besides public criticism that this concept was formulated to respond to PAS challenges over its proposed introduction of Islamic state in Malaysia, Abdullah came up with a comprehensive plan and interpretation of Islam, continued his pro-Islamic outlooks in the concept of integrity and introducing J-QaF curriculum to enhance Muslim students' achievement in Arabic, Islamic and Quranic studies.<sup>471</sup> It was also proposed to encounter misconception on Islam and to counter religious extremism.<sup>472</sup> Moreover, *Islam Hadhāri* Institute at National University of Malaysia was established in 2007 to expand research on Islamic civilisation and Professor of Physics, Prof. Dato' Dr. Mohd Yusuf Othman was elected as its first director.<sup>473</sup> Abdullah also promoted Malaysia as the Global *Halāl* Hub for Muslim industry which includes foods, products and services.<sup>474</sup>

Even though Abdullah proved that there were more strengths than weaknesses in his rule and tried to deviate his administration from the shadow of Mahathirism, upon the most significant weakness in his legacy due to the lack of support from his cabinet and sharp criticism by his predecessor, Tun Mahathir, Abdullah's tenure came to an end

<sup>469</sup> Mohamad Hashim Kamali, *Civilizational Renewal: Revisiting the Islam Hadhari Approach*, Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Advanced Islamic Studies Malaysia, 2008, pp. 1, 6.

<sup>470</sup> Neo-conservative approach is used by Tun Abdullah to diverge from traditional nationalist conservative style of UMNO legacy. Neo-conservative is referred to a new trend in Islamic movement towards challenge in the policy of progressive and liberal Islam. It began in the early 1980s until the era of Abdullah legacy. He expressed *Islam Hadhari* is an approach of 'progressive' or 'civilisation' Islam in his landmark speech at the 55<sup>th</sup> UMNO General Assembly in September 23, 2004 that gave emphasis on Muslims' development, which was consistent with the tenets of Islam. It concentrated on enhancing the quality of life to achieve 'the great nation' through its ten principles. See for example, 'Anwar warns of new Islamic clergy', *New Straits Times*, 14 September 1985; Muhamad Takiyuddin Ismail, 'Abdullah Ahmad Badawi: Legasi Neokonservatif', *Phd. Thesis*, Penang: Universiti Sains Malaysia, 2012, pp. 32-46. Ahmad Atory Hussain, 'Islam Hadhari: Suatu Kesenambungan Dasar Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam selepas Era Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad', *REKAYASA – Journal of Ethics, Legal and Governance*, Vol. 2, 2006, pp. 1 – 10.

<sup>471</sup> Abdullah explained that *Islam Hadhari* is an approach that emphasises development, consistent with the tenets of Islam, and focuses on enhancing the quality of life. It aims to achieve this via the mastery of knowledge, the development of the individual and the nation, the implementation of a dynamic economic, trading and financial system, and the pursuit of integrated and balanced development of people to become pious and capable, with care for the environment and protection of the weak and disadvantaged'. Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, *Islam Hadhari: A Model Approach for Development and Progress*, Petaling Jaya: MPH Publishing, 2006, p. 3.

<sup>472</sup> *New Straits Times*, 19 July 2005, p. 19, Md. Shukri Shuib, 'Cetusan Pendekatan Islam Hadhari Bagi Menangani Ekstremism Islam', Laporan Penyelidikan, Universiti Utara Malaysia, 2007, p. 7.

<sup>473</sup> Mohamad Hashim Kamali, *Civilizational Renewal: Revisiting the Islam Hadhari Approach*, p. 76; 'Tun Abdullah: Pengajian Islam perlu diperluas kepada pelbagai cabang ilmu', *Sinar Harian*, 21 February 2012.

<sup>474</sup> Malaysian International Halal Showcase (MIHAS) 2006 was recognised by Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) as the world's largest showcase of halal products and services with 505 booths taken up by participants from 20 countries and attracted 27,523 visitors from 60 countries including Malaysia. 'Halal Market – Branding Malaysia as Global Halal Hub: Call to Action', *Marketter*, Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Marketing Malaysia, 2006, pp. 6-7, 6-8.

and evolved in line with his fate.<sup>475</sup> Abdullah then withdrew and became the shortest serving Prime Minister of Malaysia.<sup>476</sup>

Under the leadership of the Sixth Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, UMNO still continues its proactive and accommodative approach in Islamic development. Similar to his predecessor, Najib popularised his own promotion on the concept of *wasatīyyah* (moderation in Islam) to present his own political identity and strong commitment in Islam.<sup>477</sup> To encourage more scholarly participation, Najib also created the Chair of the *Wasatīyyah* functioning under University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.<sup>478</sup> Despite all critics received from the opposition, UMNO-led government also tries to prove that they are serious in fulfilling the *wasatīyyah* concept.<sup>479</sup>

An interesting approach used by the government in leading its transformation programme was the use of the word '*Islah*' (Islamic transformation) together with the word *wasatīyyah*, which both are coined in the Quran and the Hadith, to guide nation to greatness. The Prime Minister also claimed that "the *Islah* approach was instrumental in changing Malaysia's economic status from a low-income agriculture-based nation to a medium-income industrial country".<sup>480</sup>

To upsurge UMNO and the government role in Islamic *da'wah*, YADIM which was led by Dato' Asyraf Wajdi, member of UMNO High Council, inaugurated the

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<sup>475</sup> See, Muhamad Takiyuddin Ismail, Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'UMNO dan Konservatisme', In Haris Zuan & Rizal Hamdan (editors), *Wacana Baru Politik Malaysia: Perspektif Ruang Awam, Budaya dan Institusi*, Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre, 2012, p. 110-111; 'Islam Hadhari mengelirukan: Tun Dr Mahathir', *Siasah*, 3-9 February 2008; 'Abdullah takes aim at Mahathir in new book', *The Straits Times*, 9 August 2013.

<sup>476</sup> Zulkifli Sulong, 'A Special Relationship': PAS and Abdullah Badawi, in Bridget Welsh and James U.H. Chin (editors), *Awakening The Abdullah Badawi Years in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and research Development Centre, 2013, p. 161.

<sup>477</sup> The term *wasatīyyah* as an approach was first mentioned by the Prime Minister (PM), Dato Seri Najib Tun Razak in the Gathering between Scholars (*Ulama'*) and Leaders (*Umaru'*) held on February 5th, 2010 at Putrajaya International Convention Centre. The general concept of moderation was later introduced in his visits overseas. The PM in this special gathering which brought together the two important groups in Islamic society suggested that Muslims should practice and actualize the *wasatīyyah* approach as the best practice in Islam. Abdullah Md. Zin, '1Malaysia: Konsep Wasatīyah dan Keadilan Sosial di Malaysia', in *Menjana Negara Sejahtera dan Bahagia Menjelang 2020*, Kuala Lumpur: Biro Tata Negara Jabatan Perdana Menteri, n.d., p. 63.

<sup>478</sup> See, Najib Razak, *Gerakan Kesederhanaan Global*, Kuala Lumpur: Global Movement of Moderates Foundation, 2012, pp. 97-117.

<sup>479</sup> The state also denies an accusation of the opposition that the *wasatīyyah* concept publicised by Najib is only a rhetoric for political agenda that sounds good but lacking in initiatives to strengthen the Islamic position in the country. The Prime Minister's speech presented in The launch of The *Wasatīyyah* Convention in conjunction with the First Islamic Millennium in the Malay Archipelago, Pullman Hotel, Putrajaya on June 10, 2011, p. 74.

<sup>480</sup> R. Sittamparam, 'Islah guides nation to greatness', *New Straits Times*, 06 August 2012.

National *Da'wah* Programme in 2014.<sup>481</sup> The climax of this national *da'wah* programme was that a few icons of *da'wah* have been selected to receive the National *Da'wah* Award 2015 in order to recognise their active contributions in various aspects of *da'wah*.<sup>482</sup> By utilising all experience and experts in the public agencies, the UMNO-led government has also introduced “the Malaysian *Syariah* Index”, the first ever *syariah* index in the world which will serve as a benchmark and yardstick to determine if the country is fulfilling the objectives of Islamic principles.<sup>483</sup>

With the Malaysian government's role in the local and global arena, these efforts could indicate the ruling party's high commitment in the development of Islam. All these actions and approaches were taken to demonstrate that UMNO and its leadership were more “Islamic” than PAS and that UMNO was the true party for the Muslim faithful. Comparing four decades ago, in which UMNO merely showed its tendency in the superficial ceremonial activities of Islam with regard to upholding the Islamic symbols through expanding religious institutions relate the five pillars of Islam in its submissive approach. Since the call for Islamic Resurgence in 1970s, however, UMNO has taken proactive role and actions in the Islamisation process which has contributed to the expansion of Islamic awareness in 1980s onwards at all levels of Muslim's life.

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<sup>481</sup> Many programs have been designed to widespread Islam as a religion which promotes love and unity in all human actions as well as mission of *da'wah* in its holistic perspectives through Seminar on *Hudūd* and *Shariah*, Convention of Islamic Finance, Convention of Young Leadership, *Muamalat* Carnival, the Islamic NGO Congress, Sakinah Discourse, Leadership Assembly, the Regional Islamic Scholar Conference, Discourse on Strengthening the Islamic *Aqidah* and many others throughout the year. It was initially proposed as the National *Da'wah* Month but at last was changed to The National *Da'wah* Program 2014 by the 23th meeting of the Royal Council held on 27<sup>th</sup> February 2014. See, A Letter from Syed Danial, Penyimpan Mohor Besar Raja-Raja to YBhg. Dr. Asyraf Wajdi Dato' Haji Dusuki, Yang DiPertua Yayasan Dakwah Islamiah Malaysia (YADIM), 'Kertas Makluman Penganjuran Bulan Dakwah Negara 2014', dated 20 March 2014; Minute Meeting of Core Committee, Bulan Dakwah Negara 2014, Bil. 1/2014, 21 January 2014; A letter from Datuk Iskandar Mohd. Kaus, Vice Chief of Secretary for the Prime Minister on the PM agreed to be an ex-officio of the *da'wah* program initiated by YADIM, 17 February 2014. Safina Ramli, 'Program Dakwah Negara', *Utusan Malaysia*, 30 March 2014.

<sup>482</sup> Six categories in the 2015 National *Da'wah* Award were the National Preacher Award which was received by Datuk Dr. Abdul Razak Kechik (ABIM), Woman Preacher Award which was received by Prof. Dr. Muhaya Mohamad, the NGO Preacher Award which was awarded to PERKIM, the Young Preacher Award which was awarded to Muhammad Asyraf Mohd. Ridzuan, Saudara Kita Preacher Award was awarded to Shah Kirit Kakulal Govindji and Entertainment Preacher Award was awarded to the Nasyid Group of Raihan. Refer to 'Senarai Pemenang Anugerah Dakwah Negara 2015 Anjuran Yayasan Dakwah Islamiah Malaysia (YADIM)', *Utusan Malaysia*, 7 March 2015, p. 4.

<sup>483</sup> The index will measure objectively and scientifically, Malaysia's commitment in achieving the five aspects of the *Maqasid Syariah* (objective of Islamic principles) which consists of the protection of the religion, life, the mind, the race and property. The benchmarking will cover eight main areas including, economy, education, social, infrastructure and environment, judicial, health, politics and culture. The launching ceremony of the Malaysian *Syariah* Index was held in conjunction with the Premier Assembly of *Ulama'-Umara* 2015 in Putrajaya International Convention Centre (PICC), Putrajaya. The inaugural index which is expected to be released in 2016 will be measured on the government policies, initiatives and programme achievements throughout the year 2015. See, 'Indeks Syariah Malaysia satu kaedah pengukuran saintifik', *Utusan Malaysia*, 10 Februari 2015; 'Malaysia launches First Ever Syariah Index', *The Star*, February 11, 2015; 'Najib lancar Indeks Syariah Malaysia', *Sinar Harian*, 10 Februari 2015, p. 1.

### 3.3 From Exclusive to Inclusive Approach to *Da'wah* of PAS

The role of Pan Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) which emerged before the independent of Malaya had impacted on the struggle for Islamic cause through democratic process in Malaysia. The party's role could be translated from its dynamic approaches in long term strategies to gain the party's policy and objectives.<sup>484</sup> Since the early formation of PAS, the party still believes in the democratic system as mechanism to achieve its goal of broadening Islamic *da'wah* through political process and establishing the Islamic State.<sup>485</sup>

As a persistent effort for the reconciliation of Islamic struggle and establishment of an independent Islamic government, Pan-Malaya Islamic Party or *Persatuan Islam SeMalaya* was formed by groups of Malay *ulama'* on 24 November 1951;<sup>486</sup> it was later changed to *Parti Islam SeMalaysia* in 1972.<sup>487</sup> It was originally born as a subdivision from the *ulama'* group of UMNO, but it finally emerged as the party which was built by its own identity and to be differed from UMNO's principle and ideology.<sup>488</sup>

In the early stages of its formation, PAS stressed on its struggle for the Independence of Malaya,<sup>489</sup> and displayed its Islamic-nationalism approach in

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<sup>484</sup> PAS policy is Islam and its appeal is *Allahu Akbar*. PAS main objectives are to struggle towards the state and society which implement the values of Islamic life and the rules based on Allah's will. PAS also aims to protect the sanctity of Islam, the independent and the sovereignty of the country. See, Perlembagaan Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Pindaan 2011), Kuala Lumpur: Pejabat Agung PAS, 2011, p. 2.

<sup>485</sup> Since 1955 to date, PAS participated in all past general elections and managed to form its own government in the states of Kelantan (1959, 1990), Terengganu (1959, 1999) and Kedah (2004). See, Nasharudin Mat Isa, *The Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS): Ideology, Policy, Struggle and Vision Towards The New Millennium*, Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Party of Malaysia, 2001, p. 2.

<sup>486</sup> *Persatuan Islam SeMalaya* was the name given by a consensus of the Third Conference of the Pan-Malaya Alim Ulama' that was said originally placed under the UMNO sponsorship on 24 November 1951 to replace the first name of *Pertubuhan Ulama' Se-Malaya*. See, Undang-Undang Number 1, Perlembagaan PAS 1951; *Utusan Melayu*, 25 November 1951. According to *Warta Negara* dated 26 November 1951, 200 delegates and about 40 observers including 20 women attended the third ulama' conference at Kelab Melayu Bagan, Butterworth, Seberang Perai on 24 November 1951. According to PAS's record, this conference was very unique because it was not organised under the UMNO administration for the reason that all costs were sponsored by the associations which sent their representatives. The third conference was a continuation of the Kuala Lumpur (23 August 1951) and Muar Club (21-22 February 1950) conferences. No representatives from Maahad Il Ihya Assyariff Gunung Semanggol attended the first two conferences. In the third conference, Il-Ihya Assyariff Association was represented by Ustaz Yahya Abdullah, Ustaz Harun Fahmi Taib, Ustaz Baharuddin Abdul Latif and Ustaz Othman Hamzah as Secretary of Hizbul Muslimin. British source stated that 88 representatives and more than 100 observers attended the third conference. See, CO1022/185, Constitution and Activities of the All Malayan Islamic Association. Othman Hamzah, *Riwayat Penuhuan PAS dan Dewan Ulamak in 36 Tahun PAS Meniti Liku Perjuangan in the conjunction of Mukhtamar Tahunan PAS ke-33, 10-12 April 1987*.

<sup>487</sup> Nasharudin Mat Isa, *The Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS)*, p. 3.

<sup>488</sup> Nakhai Ahmad, 'Sejarah Kelahiran Harakah Islamiyah di Tanah Melayu', in 36 Tahun Meniti Liku Perjuangan, Cenderamata Sempena Mukhtamar Tahunan PAS ke-32, 10-12 April 1987, p. 2.

<sup>489</sup> This has been highlighted in the fifth party's annual meeting held on 23-25 December 1956, among others to ask for full independence of Peninsular Malaya before 1959; nationalism for Malaya was the Malay and the Malay language was the only national and official language; PAS reminded the group of independence tour to London not to neglect the Malays rights and sovereignty in all areas; Islamic teaching must be used as guidance in administration based on the Quran, Hadith and Muslim scholars' consensus; PAS also demanded and supported all attempts to cancel the post of British Advisor. Peringatan Mesyuarat Agung Tahunan PAS ke-5 on 23 - 25 December 1956, n.p.



presenting *da'wah* at the national political mainstream. It established the *Ulama'* Council of PAS as an advisory body for the party's activities and a platform to carry out all responsibilities dealing with the *ulama'* regarding the Muslims affairs.<sup>490</sup> PAS turned to be more nationalist and more inclusive in its appeal to Islam when Dr Burhanuddin al-Helmy (1956-1969) being a front-runner of the party through the invitation made by a few PAS leaders to request him to lead the party together with Professor Zulkifli Muhammad as the then vice president.<sup>491</sup> Many former members of Malaya Malays Nationalist Party (PKMM) joined PAS and the party made an attempt to close to ordinary people, the villagers and respected "the elite" groups.<sup>492</sup> Under Dr Burhanuddin leadership, PAS developed from "a small marginalised and poorly organised body into a national political party" with a broad-based ideological platform that brought together both nationalist and Islamic concerns.<sup>493</sup>

From its image as a party of the exclusive group of *Pak Lebai*,<sup>494</sup> PAS turns to become the mass Islamic political party when the party participated in the national election.<sup>495</sup> The struggle for Islam via political process has been exhibited through PAS performance in the election when it won its first and only Parliamentary seat in the first Federal Election held on 27 July 1955.<sup>496</sup> In the 1959, 1964 and 1969 general elections,

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<sup>490</sup> The PAS *Ulama'* Council was officially formed at Batu 20, Bagan Datoh, Perak in 1957. The *Ulama'* Council also functioned in determining the Islamic rules related to Muslims' daily life and communication. PAS also struggled to standardise Islamic management, the prohibition of lottery, liquor and other practices which could affect the dignity of Islam. See, Dato' Seri Hj Abdul Hadi Awang, 'PAS Untuk Semua', Ucapan Dasar Presiden Parti Islam Semalaysia (PAS), Muktamar Tahunan PAS Ke - 54 2008, 2008, p. 3; Othman Hamzah, *Riwayat Penubuhan PAS*, p. 8.

<sup>491</sup> PAS's leaders represented by Hassan Adli, Baharuddin Abdul Latif and Abdul Wahab Nur met with Dr Burhanuddin requesting him to lead PAS. In the 1956 party's election Dr Burhanuddin won the presidency post. The appointment of Abdullah Zawawi Hamzah who had religious, English and Arabic backgrounds as PAS's Secretary General and Tahu Kalu as PAS Executive Committee contributed to the rise of PAS as an Islamic-nationalist political party. 'PAS Lamar Dr Burhanuddin', *Harakah*, 29 December 2014, p. N.5.

<sup>492</sup> From its commencement as an Islamic welfare organisation headed by UMNO leaders it had, in a few short years, been transformed into a political party which concerns in Islam and the leadership of which predominantly from backgrounds in PKMM, Hizbul Muslimin or anti UMNO groups of the 1950s. N. J. Funston, *Malay Politics in Malaysia: A Study of the United Malays National Organisation and Party Islam*, Kuala Lumpur: Haemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1980, p. 96.

<sup>493</sup> Farish A. Noor's quotation in *Menegak Agama Membela Bangsa: Perjuangan PAS 1951-1970*, Kuala Lumpur: Unit Buku Harakah, 2011, pp. 140-141.

<sup>494</sup> *Pak Lebai* means religious person in the Malay society.

<sup>495</sup> In its early development, PAS emerged as a party which received a warm support from the Malay *ulama'* and the so called religious individuals or known as *pak lebai* of pondok institutions. This religious individuals actively involved in PAS and participated in the election including, Haji Abbas Nasution, Haji Yahya Junid, Haji Abu Bakar Palestin, Haji Hussein Che Dol, Haji Hussein Langgar, Haji Ahmad Kodiang, Haji Othman Yunusi (Kedah), Haji Daud, Haji Che Hassan, Haji Harun, Haji Hussein Rahimi, Haji Nik Abdullah Arshad (Kelantan), Haji Shafie Sulong (Terengganu) and Haji Kadir. PAS registered itself as a legitimate political party on 31 May 1955. See, Ibnu Muslim, 'Dari Parti Pak Lebai kepada Parti Profesional', in *Menjejak Perjuangan*, Merbok: PAS Kawasan Merbok, Kedah, 2000, p. 13; Undang-Undang Tubuh PAS 1951, Fasal 1.

<sup>496</sup> UMNO and British's conclusion that PAS would not receive support from the public was proven shallow, when it gained an encouraging support from the society since the 1955 General Election. This success by Haji Ahmad Tuan Hussain at Kerian

PAS succeeded to win majority votes in Kelantan to enable the party to rule the state government.<sup>497</sup> Moreover, PAS was also able to form its government in Terengganu after it successfully won the 1959 General Election gaining 13 out of 24 seats in the State Assembly. Nevertheless, PAS's rule in Terengganu could only last for about two years as many of PAS representatives (the MPs) left the party and joined UMNO.<sup>498</sup>

PAS entered the new era of political transformation when it “was invited”<sup>499</sup> to form the coalition government with the Alliance (*Perikatan*) led by UMNO on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1973, and joined the National Front (*Barisan Nasional* - BN) on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1974.<sup>500</sup> The impact of the May 13, 1969 incident on the country's political stability and seeking for a significant point of the Malay unity guided PAS to make a critical decision to establish PAS-Alliance coalition in Kelantan and to join BN.<sup>501</sup> Since PAS's entry into these coalitions, UMNO started to deal with new policies towards Islam. As the ruling party in BN, UMNO agreed with the 13 Points of Coalition Agreement in which it required the party to give more recognition to enforce Islamic values in accordance to the constitution as proposed by PAS.<sup>502</sup>

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constituency contributed to the growth of PAS in Perak. Safie Ibrahim, *The Islamic Party of Malaysia*, p. 5; Ismail Said, *Menegak Agama Membela Bangsa*, p. 104.

<sup>497</sup> PAS has been attacked by UMNO leadership, Tunku Abdul Rahman who openly accused PAS as supporter to Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) but such claim was denied by PAS Vice Presidents, Zulkiflee Muhammad who stressed that PAS as Islamic party obliged on the God's rules, had a genuine struggle and ideology and the party did not involve in any illegal struggle against the God's blessing. PAS lost its support in the 1964 election with only gained 9 parliamentary seats compared to 14 seats in 1959. The parliamentary votes that the party won including eight seats in Kelantan and a seat in Terengganu, while in the state assembly, PAS won 21 seats in Kelantan, three seats in Terengganu and a seat in Perlis. See, *Berita Harian*, 13 January 1963; Ramlah Adam, *Burhanuddin Al-Helmy: Suatu Kemelut Politik*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2003, pp. 223-227.

<sup>498</sup> Nik Mustaffa Yusof, *Mengenal PAS*, Kuala Lumpur: The National Archive of Malaysia, No. 2013/0008514, p. 2.

<sup>499</sup> According to Dato' Asri, the idea of Coalition Government PAS-Alliance came from the ruling party's suggestion to PAS to form the coalition. See, Dato Hj Mohd Asri Haji Muda, Pemangku Yang Dipertua Agung PAS, (no title), Ucapan Dasar di Muktamar Agung Khas PAS Mengenai Kerajaan Campuran PAS-Perikatan at Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur on December 1972, in Kamarul Zaman Yusoff, *Perjuangan Penuh Cabaran*, Kota Bharu: Qamar Publishing, 1999, pp. 41-45.

<sup>500</sup> The objectives of the National Front, as outlined in its constitution, were to foster and maintain a united and harmonious Malaysian nation, strive for material and spiritual development and a fair and just society, and promote closer relations between the member parties. See, *Perlembagaan Barisan Nasional, Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur, 1974; N. J. Funston, *Malay Politics in Malaysia: A Study of the United Malays National Organisation and Party Islam*, Kuala Lumpur: Haemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1980, p. 252. Refer to 'Jika Tak Rugikan Mana2 Pehak – PAS: Champoran 'Bukan Mustahil'', *Utusan Malaysia*, 1 May 1972, p. 2; 'Campuran: Rundingan Mungkin di Switzerland – Bakar Hamzah PAS', *Utusan Malaysia*, 4 September 1972, p. 1; Dato Hj Mohd Asri Haji Muda, Pemangku Yang Dipertua Agung PAS, (no title), Ucapan Dasar di Muktamar Agung Khas PAS Mengenai Kerajaan Campuran PAS-Perikatan at Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur on December 1972, pp. 1-5; Dato Hj Mohd Asri Haji Muda, Yang Dipertua Agung PAS, Melangkah ke Suasana Baru dalam Perjuangan, Siaran PAS, Januari 1973, pp. 1-2. See also, PAS's justification to form a coalition government in Abu Bakar Hamzah, *PAS dengan Konsep Tahalufnya*, Kuala Lumpur: Media Cendekiawan Sdn Bhd, 1992, pp. 4-35; Iskandar Muzafar, 'Politik Kompromi Razak-Asri: Mengenang Kerjasama Perikatan dengan PAS pada 1973', *Risalah*, No. 2, April, 2001, pp. 9-10.

<sup>501</sup> The Speech of PAS President, YB Datuk Haji Mohd Asri Haji Muda, 'Sikap Kita Sekarang', in the 22<sup>nd</sup> PAS General Congress at Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur on 4<sup>th</sup> August 1976, pp. 2-3.

<sup>502</sup> On 28 December 1972 Tun Razak and Datuk Asri Haji Muda of PAS signed an agreement to form a coalition government of the Alliance. PAS by origin was a member in the formation of National Front or *Barisan Nasional*. Under this agreement, UMNO must also agree and guarantee that PAS members in the central cabinet, the state exco, parliament and the state assembly were free to object any proposal and rule which contradicted with Islam. See, Alias Mohammad, *Sejarah Perjuangan Parti PAS*, Kuala Lumpur, 1974, pp. 10-11.

The presence of PAS in the BN government enabled the party to hold important posts in the Tun Razak's government.<sup>503</sup> PAS also increased a number of its members in the Parliament from 12 to 14 seats after the 1974 election, while in the State Assembly, PAS gained greater opportunity when it increased the number of seats from 40 between the periods of 1969-1974 to 50 seats in 1974.<sup>504</sup> In the Tun Hussein Onn's reshuffling cabinet, PAS was given an additional minister portfolio and a Parliament Secretary. With the role played by its members in the government, PAS enhanced its scope of *da'wah* covering not only political outlooks, but also economic, social and educational aspects.<sup>505</sup>

PAS'S entry into these coalitions was able to profit PAS as this party could enhance the scope of *da'wah* through political process and promote Islam in its entirety.<sup>506</sup> In the coalition government, PAS played significant role in addressing its proposal to be implemented by the state, which includes asking the government to be careful of the traditional arts in its effort to preserve and form the national cultural identity, so that these arts would not be disputed with Islamic principles. In parliament, PAS successfully addressed a resolution of banning the serving of liquor at official functions,<sup>507</sup> but at the same time unsuccessfully moving Friday be made a national or public holiday for both federal and state governments.<sup>508</sup> From its commencement, PAS continued to urge that a Minister of Religion be appointed to coordinate Islamic

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Lumpur: Gateway Publishing House, 1987, pp. 187-191; see also, Ahmad Fawzi Mohd. Basri, "The United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) 1981-1991: A Study of the Mechanic of a Changing Political Culture", PhD. Thesis, Centre for South East Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1992, pp. 166-167; Mohd Nazeli Ahmad Arifin, *Ustaz Yahya Othman: Murabbi Sepanjang Zaman*, Petaling Jaya: Ilham Centre, 2014, pp. 80-81.

<sup>503</sup> PAS President, Datuk Haji Asri Hj Muda was elected as Minister of Land Development and Special Tasks; Hassan Adli Arshad was elected as Minister of Local Government and Federal Territory; Abu Bakar Umar as Deputy Minister of Health, Mustaffa Hassan Ali as Parliamentary Secretary of Ministry of Finance, Haji Hassan Shukri as Deputy Chairman of Foundation of Islamic Dakwah (Preaching) of Malaysia (YADIM). Mukhtamar Tahunan PAS Ke-23, 23-25<sup>th</sup> July 1977, PAS/PA/27, p. 33.

<sup>504</sup> The Speech of PAS President, YB Datuk Haji Mohd Asri Haji Muda, 'Matlamat Perpaduan Kita', in the 23<sup>rd</sup> PAS General Congress at Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1975, p. 2.

<sup>505</sup> The Speech of PAS President, YB Datuk Haji Mohd Asri Haji Muda, 'Sikap Kita Sekarang', in the 22<sup>nd</sup> PAS General Congress at Dewan Bahasa and Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, on 4<sup>th</sup> August 1976, p. 5.

<sup>506</sup> Asri listed three factors that contributed to the PAS admission into the National Front: First, political survival of the Malays after the May 13, 1969 incident; Second, direct advantages would be gained by PAS in the government including the participation of its members in the legislative, executive and the government link organisations; Third, to expand the inculcation of the Islamic values in the BN which could help to enlarge PAS's political goal and struggle towards Islamic policy. See, The Speech of PAS President, YB Datuk Haji Mohd Asri Haji Muda, 'Sikap Kita Sekarang', in the 22<sup>nd</sup> PAS General Congress 1976, pp. 3-4.

<sup>507</sup> *Straits Times*, 15 September 1960.

<sup>508</sup> *The Malay Mail*, 15 September 1960. The government rejected this proposal on the grounds that this would place Malaya out of line with the rest of the world and thus handicap efforts to sell its exports on the international market. Nevertheless, several Alliance-controlled states made Friday a state holiday. See also, N. J. Funston, *Malay Politics in Malaysia*, p. 148.

activities and pursued opposition to various importations of Western cultures, particularly dancing, wild music, gambling (especially the government-run lotteries) and social consumption of alcohol.<sup>509</sup>

Since the participation of PAS in BN, there was a competition between PAS and the Religious Bureau of UMNO to propose Islamic programmes. Triggered by this competition, a number of Islamic institutions were established, including Islamic Teaching College, YADIM, and the proposal of Islamic Bank which was also addressed when PAS was in the National Front.<sup>510</sup> PAS also suggested the implementation of inculcating Islamic values in the administration and in stimulating the state's role in *da'wah* in a systematic organisation through the establishment of INDAH.<sup>511</sup> PAS members also involved in the formation of YADIM which initiated *da'wah* activities in the government agencies and Islamic organisations. Among its grand programme was the national campaign of 'Da'wah Month' which was officially launched on December 1978.<sup>512</sup>

The presence of PAS in the BN government (1974-1978) also witnessed more Islamists continued their struggle of Islam and began to be active themselves in ABIM.<sup>513</sup> The involvement of ABIM's figures in PAS was apparent after the defeat of PAS in Kelantan in March 1978. The admission of ABIM's former leaders into PAS, like Ustaz Fadhil Noor, Tuan Guru Hadi Awang, Ustaz Nakhaie Ahmad and Syed Ibrahim Syed Abdul Rahman, adopted a more critical stand against UMNO.<sup>514</sup>

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<sup>509</sup> N. J. Funston, *Malay Politics in Malaysia*, p. 148.

<sup>510</sup> Nakhaie Haji Ahmad, 'Gerakan Islam di Malaysia dan Pengalaman Politik', Paper presented in Simposium Politik Islam organized by MISG USA and Canada, November 1986; Ibrahim Ahmad, *Konflik UMNO PAS dan Isu Islamisasi*, Petaling Jaya: IBS Buku Sdn Bhd., 1989, p. 90.

<sup>511</sup> INDAH was founded to aim at providing *da'wah* training to the youth and the students.

<sup>512</sup> See, The Speech of PAS President, YB Datuk Haji Mohd Asri Haji Muda, 'Matlamat Perpaduan Kita', in the 23<sup>rd</sup> PAS General Congress 1975, pp. 8-10; The Speech of PAS President, YB Datuk Haji Mohd Asri Haji Muda, 'Sikap Kita Sekarang', in the 22<sup>nd</sup> PAS General Congress 1976, pp. 2-5.

<sup>513</sup> According to the late Ustaz Yahya Othman, an *ulama'* in PAS, approximately about eight thousand PAS members joined ABIM because they believed that ABIM had taken the possession of PAS for Islamic cause and being an outstanding forcing group against the government in struggling the issues pertaining to Islam and Muslim welfare. In addition, ABIM-PAS close relationship was very clear as ABIM was regarded to be PAS's wing to recruit the party's youth and *da'wah* cadres. Some of ABIM members also presented themselves as PAS candidates in the election. When they were elected to represent PAS as candidate, they would distance themselves from ABIM and left their positions in ABIM. See, Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat et.al, *25 Tahun Kepimpinan Ulama'*, Kuala Lumpur: Nufair Street, 2009, p. 23; Mohd Nazeli Ahmad Arifin, *Ustaz Yahya Othman*, p. 63.

<sup>514</sup> This decision was made following a letter from Pak Muhammad Natsir, Chief Masyumi Party of Indonesia to Dato' Asri asking for ABIM to help PAS. See, Subky Latif, in *25 Tahun Kepimpinan Ulama'*, p. 27.

During Asri presidency (1970-1982), PAS displayed its conservative Malay nationalism coupled with support for the goals of traditional Islam that gave more opportunities for the *ulama'* to rise and lead the party.<sup>515</sup> He failed to move PAS as the front-runner in the era of the Islamic Resurgence even to place PAS which has no different with UMNO in term of the Malay-based idealism. Inspiring with the 1979 Iranian revolution, PAS in 1982, had witnessed the rise of a new generation of *ulama'* who took over the party leadership and overthrown ethno-nationalism idealism.<sup>516</sup> Yusuf Abdullah Rawa (1983-1989) was elected to the presidency (Yang DiPertua Agung).<sup>517</sup> The pinnacle achievement of PAS was the installation of the *Ulama'* Consultative Council (*Majlis Syūra Ulama'*) in 1987 and Ustaz Yusuf Rawa was crowned as the first *Mursyid al-Am* (PAS's Spiritual Leader) till 1989.<sup>518</sup>

Since the dramatic change of PAS into the *ulama'* leadership, PAS seriously defined its identity with the decree that it was both a political party and *da'wah* organisation which call human for the submission to Allah SWT, invited the goodness and prevented the evils. This change of identity had impacted PAS's survival at that

<sup>515</sup> In 1973, Yusuf Rawa was appointed as Malaysian's representative to the United Nations in New York and a year later he was elected to the post of deputy minister in the Primary Industries Ministry. In 1975, Yusuf was appointed as Malaysian ambassador to Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan. Other prominent PAS *ulama'*s, such as Tuan Guru Nik Aziz was also given important position within the party as PAS's Chief Council of *Ulama'* and the state's religious bureaucracy together with Ustaz Fadzil Mohd Noor as Deputy President (*Naib Yang Dipertua*), Ustaz Yahya Othman as Vice Chief Council of *Ulama'* and Ustaz Mohd Nakhaie Ahmad as Secretary of the *Ulama'* Council. Mukhtar Tahunan PAS Ke-23, 23-25<sup>th</sup> July 1977, PAS/PA/27, p. 33; Penyata Tahunan 1978/1979, Dewan *Ulama'* PAS Pusat, in Kertas Bil. 4/ 1979, Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), Mukhtar Tahunan Ke-25, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1979, p. 1; Laporan Tahunan 1980/1981, Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), Pejabat Agung, p. 1; 'Partai Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS)', in Esposito, John L. (editor), *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam, Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, 2014, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1823>.

Asri's practice of nepotism and guided democracy, failed to move PAS as the front-runner in the era of the Islamic Resurgence even to place PAS which has no different with UMNO in term of the Malay-based idealism. PAS representative from Machang has proposed that the keynote speech would not be discussed due to understood reasons ('atas sebab-sebab yang sedia dimaklumi'). Peringatan Mukhtar Tahunan PAS Kali Ke-28 on 23 and 24 Oktober 1982, p. 19.

<sup>516</sup> Yusuf Rawa in his first keynote speech as the acting President of PAS at the 29<sup>th</sup> PAS General Congress demonstrated his enthusiasm and respect to the Islamic revolution in Iran which liberated Iranian Muslims from cruelty of the political elite regime. A few Arabic terms were used to refer to the revolution such as, *maddīyah* (materialistic), *mustakbīrīn* (the arrogant people), *mustad'afīn* (the weak people) and *munafiqīn* (betrayal individuals). PAS manifesto in the 1982 election clearly mentioned the need to install Islamic revolution in Malaysia suited to the nature this country. See, Tuan Haji Yusoff Rawa, 'Ke Arah Pembebasan Ummah', Keynote Speech by the acting PAS President, Kuala Lumpur, 1983, pp. 13-16; 'Bebas Untuk Negara Islam', Manifesto Pilihanraya 1982, Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), 1982, pp. 1-5. Undilal PAS untuk Kedaulatan Islam, Bulan Purnama, PAS dan Pilihanraya Umum 1982, Kuala Lumpur: PAS, Pejabat Agung PAS, 1982, pp. 1-8.

<sup>517</sup> He was assisted by Ustaz Fadzil Nor as Vice of the Yang DiPertua Agung, Ustaz Abd. Hadi Awang and Ustaz Mohd Nakhaie Haji Ahmad respectively elected as the Deputy Yang DiPertua Agung. Peringatan Mukhtar Tahunan PAS yang Ke 29 30 April and 1 May 1983, Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), at Seminar Hall, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, pp. 10-12.

<sup>518</sup> The function of the *Ulama'* Consultative Council and *Mursyidul Am* was at first mentioned in Fasal 7 (1) PAS Constitution (Amendment 1987) and was then reviewed in Article 7 PAS Constitution (Amendment 2001) and in Article 8 (*Majlis Syura Ulama'*) and 9 (*Tugas-tugas Majlis Syura Ulama'*) of PAS Constitution (Amendment 2011) clearly described in detail additional functions of the *Ulama'* Consultative Council, Mursyidul Am, its vice, secretary and members of the *Ulama'* Consultative Council. Tuan Haji Yusof Al-Rawi, 'Ke Arah Tajdid Hadhari', the Keynote Speech of PAS Yang DiPertua Agung at the 33<sup>rd</sup> PAS Annual Congress, 1987, p. 18; Mujahid Yusof Rawa, *Permata Dari Pulau Mutiara*, Kuala Lumpur: Warathah Haji Yusof Rawa Sdn Bhd and Dewan Muslimat Sdn. Bhd., 2001, pp. 80-81; Perlembagaan Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Pindaan 1987), Kuala Lumpur: Pejabat Agung PAS, 1987, pp. 4-8; Perlembagaan Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Pindaan 2001), Batu Caves: Pejabat Agung PAS, 2001, pp. 4-10; Perlembagaan Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) (Pindaan 2011), Kuala Lumpur: Pejabat Agung PAS, 2011, pp. 5-10.

time and it has continued to recent development which does not merely function during the election, but it also realises that the party needs to work across the regional and political boundaries.<sup>519</sup>

PAS took a constructive approach to restructure and strengthen its internal configuration of the organisation, cadre and *tarbiyah* (education), but at the same time persisted with its confrontation approach, showing that PAS was critical towards the ruling party, in particular the government's Islamisation policy which was regarded as a "cosmetic" to Islam and a manipulation which aims at lessening the request of Islamic movements for the holistic change of the state system.<sup>520</sup> A centre of education (*markaz tarbiyah*) has been formed in every branch as to flourish the knowledge culture and being an energetic centre for PAS to build social network with the society.<sup>521</sup>

The involvement of PAS members in education since the formative years of PAS cannot be denied.<sup>522</sup> In 1966, PAS's member of Parliament, Abu Bakar Hamzah had proposed that Malaya Islamic College should be upgraded to Islamic university.<sup>523</sup> An early education programme, known as PASTI (*Pusat Asuhan Tunas Islam*) was established in 1988,<sup>524</sup> continued with the establishment of Terapung Teaching College

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<sup>519</sup> The election of Yusuf Rawa as the fourth President of PAS was a turning point to change PAS orientation from the traditional Islamic nationalism to absolute formal institutionisation of the *ulama*'. PAS at this period tried to create a new identity as the only Islamic movement in Malaysia that placed the *ulama*' at the highest level of the organisation. See, Kamarul Zaman Yusoff, *PAS Dalam Era Kepimpinan Ulama*', 1982-2004, PhD. Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, 2012, pp. 139-141.

<sup>520</sup> See, Tuan Haji Yusoff Rawa, 'Bertindak Menentang Kezaliman', Keynote Speech by the PAS President, Kuala Lumpur, 13 April 1985, p. 13; Tuan Haji Yusoff Rawa, 'Ke Arah Pembebasan Ummah', p. 24.

<sup>521</sup> Riduan Mohamad Nor, *Menerjang Badai: 60 tahun Mempersada Perjuangan*, Kuala Lumpur: Jundi Resources, 2011, p. 50.

<sup>522</sup> Since its inception, PAS predecessors, Hizbul Muslimin made an attempt to form the higher learning institution, similar to MATA continued to suggest the establishment of Islamic university which had been initiated by Ustaz Abu Bakar al-Bakir at Mahaad al-Ihya as-Syarif and Madrasah Idrisiah before the Second World War. Riduan Mohamad Nor, *Sumbangan PAS dalam Bidang Pendidikan*, p. 213; Ramlah Adam, *Burhanuddin al-Helmy: Suatu Kemelut Politik*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2000, p. 313.

<sup>523</sup> He proposed that this university should consist of three faculties, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Language and Faculty of Sociology by looking at its status as the first institution of Islamic education that was fully supported by the Sultan of Selangor. According to Abu Bakar Hamzah, "*Majlis ini berpendapat bahawa kerajaan hendaklah mengisytiharkan Kolej Islam Malaya sebagai Universiti Islam Malaysia pada tahun 1966 dan memberi bantuan khas untuk melaksanakan pengajian di universiti tersebut*". Refer to Perbahasan Parlimen, Parlimen Kedua, Jilid II, Penggal Kedua, Bahagian III, December 1965 – Mac 1966, Kuala Lumpur: Cetakan Kerajaan, 1966, pp. 6599-6610.

<sup>524</sup> In 1970s, ABIM had initiated an early preschool education known as TASKI (*Taman Asuhan Kanak-Kanak Islam*). A symbiosis relationship between ABIM and the Youth Council of PAS in the late 1970s before the admission of Anwar Ibrahim into UMNO, led to many branches of TASKI ABIM were managed under the Youth Council of PAS in Terengganu and Kelantan. The rapid growth of early education schools organised under the Youth Council contributed to the establishment of an early education program, known as PASTI (*Pusat Asuhan Tunas Islam*) for the PAS members in 1988. Peringatan Muktamar PAS Yang Ke-33, 11-12 April 1987, Markaz Tarbiyah PAS Pusat, Lorong Haji Hassan, Taman Melewar, Kuala Lumpur, p. 18.

to strengthen teaching professionalism among PASTI teachers.<sup>525</sup> PAS also initiated a progressive effort to establish its own Islamic primary and secondary schools in urban and sub-urban areas,<sup>526</sup> as an attempt to consolidate Islamic education in Malaysia. Since 2004 the PAS-owned Islamic schools comprising the People Religious Schools (*Sekolah Agama Rakyat - SAR*) have been located almost in every state.<sup>527</sup> PAS Education Council (*Majlis Pendidikan PAS*) was formed to coordinate curriculum and schools under PAS and its members personally.<sup>528</sup>

At the tertiary level, PAS also successfully established *Yayasan Pengajian Tinggi Islam Nilam Puri* (YPTIK) in 1964 and formed a number of private higher learning institutions.<sup>529</sup> Institute of Leadership Training and Islamic *Da'wah* Cadre (*Institut Latihan Kepimpinan dan Perkaderan Dakwah Islamiah – ILHAM*) was established in 1994 under the *Tarbiyah* Bureau of PAS to prove the party's serious effort to provide its members with solid *cadre-tarbiyah* programmes in terms of knowledge, discipline and personality to be an excellent *mujāhid* (fighter) of *da'wah* in facing the challenges of Islamic politics in Malaysia.<sup>530</sup> PAS also realised the importance of strengthening its

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<sup>525</sup> PASTI was formed by the Youth Council of PAS without the need to be endorsed by PAS Central Committee. Haji Abu Bakar Abdullah was elected to be the first director of PASTI on 18 May 1989. See, Riduan Mohamad Nor, *Sumbangan PAS dalam Bidang Pendidikan di Malaysia (1951-2004)*, Kuala Lumpur: Jundi Resources, 2013, pp. 188-190.

<sup>526</sup> Amongst primary schools which were established by PAS including, Sekolah Rendah Islam Darul Ulum (SRIDU) have 10 branches in Kedah, Sekolah Rendah Madinatul Ilmi (Kelantan), Sekolah Rendah Islam al-Ummah, Titiwangsa and Sekolah Rendah Islam Ilmi, Ampang (Wilayah Persekutuan, Kuala Lumpur), Sekolah Islam al-Abqari, Seri Gombak (Selangor), Sekolah Rendah Islam at-Taqwa, Sekolah Rendah Islam al-Islah, Sekolah Rendah Islam Ehsan, Sekolah Rendah Islam Darul Mujahidin, Sekolah Rendah Islam Darul Bayan and many others. Sekolah Rendah Islam Pintar (SRIP) was formed by the Youth Council of PAS under the leadership of Dato' Abu Bakar Chik in urban areas of Melawati, Kuala Lumpur; Shah Alam, and Kuala Terengganu. In Terengganu, the Ulama' Council of PAS at the state level had standardised the Islamic primary schools under the banner of 'DAR'. Four 'DAR' Islamic primary schools are Darul Salam (Kuala Terengganu), Darul Islah (Besut), Darul Ehsan (Hulu Terengganu) and Darul Taqwa (Kuala Nerus). Riduan Mohamad Nor, *Sumbangan PAS dalam Bidang Pendidikan*, pp. 206-210.

<sup>527</sup> Riduan Mohamad Nor, *Sumbangan PAS dalam Bidang Pendidikan*, pp. 211-212.

<sup>528</sup> Dr. Asiah Ali, 'Pendidikan Islam Malaysia: Tajdid Gerakan Islam', Kertas Kerja Konvensyen Pendidikan Islam Malaysia, Hotel Grand Blue Waves, Shah Alam, 26 December 2010, pp. 4-5.

<sup>529</sup> YPTIK was taken over by University of Malaya on 1 April 1981 and is now known as Academy of Islamic Studies. In 1994, Maahad Dakwah Wal Imamah in Nilam Puri, Kelantan was formed which was then upgraded into college known as Kolej Islam Antrabangsa Sultan Ismail Petra (KIAS) on 24 August 1999. Other than that, PAS also established Institut Teknologi Ibnu Sina, Seri Gombak, Selangor, which was managed under Koperasi Siswazah Berhad (KOSIS); Islamiyyah Darul Quran of College University (KUDQI), Kubang Lembek, Terengganu; Darul Ulum Islamic College, Kedah and Islamic College University of Zulkefli Muhammad. See, 'Sejarah', KIAS Official Website, 12 July 2014, <http://www.kias.edu.my/>, official Website of University College of Darul Ulum, 14 January 2014, <http://www.kudqi.edu.my/>, Riduan Mohamad Nor, *Sumbangan PAS dalam Bidang Pendidikan*, p. 222-225.

<sup>530</sup> The Speech of Dato' Fadzil Noor, 'Menyanggah Fikrah Maddiyah', Ucapan dasar Mukhtar Tahunan PAS Ke-41, 25, 26, 27 Ogos 1995, Taman Melewar, Gombak, Selangor in Fadzil Mohd Noor, *Koleksi Ucapan Dasar Mukhtar PAS Kali Ke 36 Hingga 48*, Ledang: PAS Kawasan Ledang, Johor, 2003, p. 164. Institut Latihan Kepimpinan dan Perkaderan Dakwah Islamiyah (ILHAM), pamphlet, n.y., pp. 1-2; *Prospektus Institut Latihan Kepimpinan dan Perkaderan Dakwah Islamiyah (ILHAM)*, Kuala Lumpur: Pejabat Agong PAS, 1996, p. iv.

economic development, and managed to form a free-interest institution, known as Koperasi Al-Hilal Berhad (Kohilal).<sup>531</sup>

To defend its principle related to Islamic affairs, PAS in many cases was forced to use the confrontational approach and its counter-back responses in dealing with the issues which could tarnish its image in the eyes of the Muslims, parallel with its declaration which was specifically mentioned in the 1985/1986 PAS Annual Report.<sup>532</sup>

A sharp hostility between UMNO and PAS reached its climax when the PAS leader was believed to issue and accuse UMNO members as *kāfir* or disbeliever.<sup>533</sup>

In the 1990 General Election, the moderate image of its President, Fadzil Mohd Noor, whose brand of accommodative politics brought PAS to lead a political cooperation in the People's Unity Front (*Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah - APU*)<sup>534</sup> which is consisted of *Parti Melayu Semangat 46 (S46)*,<sup>535</sup> Hizbul Muslimin Malaysian Party (HAMIM)<sup>536</sup> and Barisan Jemaah Islamiah Se-Malaysia (BERJASA).<sup>537</sup> Using the slogan of "Development with Islam" in its manifesto, PAS and APU contested against "the New UMNO", and succeeded to win all 39 state seats in Kelantan which enabled the coalition led by PAS to rule the state government until now.<sup>538</sup> PAS credibility in

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<sup>531</sup> Peringatan Mukhtamar PAS Yang Ke-33, 11-12 April 1987, p. 19.

<sup>532</sup> Penyata Tahunan PAS 1985/1986, p. 32.

<sup>533</sup> *Takfir* is accusing other Muslims of being unbelievers. Influenced by the situation faced by the Islamists in Egypt like *Takfir wal-Hijrah* that determined the black and white of the Muslim practices and labelled Muslim to be Muslim or the non-believers based on their faith and practices in Islam, Abdul Hadi issued his controversial *amanat* (edict) which created a critical condemnation from UMNO leaders accusing PAS of being an extreme fundamentalism political party which practised *takfir*. This issue was frequently being highlighted by its rival, UMNO especially, during the elections to label PAS as extremist and fundamentalist. For Hadi, a quotation of his speech at Kampung Banggul Peradung, Kuala Nerus, Terengganu on 7 April 1981 was being manipulated out of the context with its real meaning which purposefully focussed to attack him and his party. Many terms such as *jihad*, *syahid*, *murtad*, secular were intentionally being interpreted to confuse the public. According to Abdul Hadi, the speech in fact did not mention and address to any individual or party. Nevertheless, he personally satisfied that at the end people understand the relationship between politics and Islam and did not easily play with the rule of Islam and being more careful of Islamic teaching. See, Abdul Hadi Awang, *Amanat Haji Hadi*, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Penerangan PAS Pusat, 2002, pp. 1-2.

<sup>534</sup> Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah was formed based on the acceptance to uphold Islam as the comprehensive way of life or *ad-din*.

<sup>535</sup> Semangat 46 Malay Party was a remnant party of UMNO led by Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah who formed the party after UMNO was banned. It was registered in the midst 1989 and dissolved after the 1996 general election.

<sup>536</sup> HAMIM was formed by the former President of PAS, Mohd Asri Muda in 1983 and then participated in the BN component party. In August 1989, the party withdrew from the BN to join APU. See, Shaharuddin Badaruddin, 'Demokrasi dan Perubahan Aksi Politik di Malaysia: Kajian Terhadap Pendekatan Perjuangan Pertubuhan Berlandaskan Islam, 1981-2008', PhD Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, 2011, p. 234.

<sup>537</sup> BERJASA was formed by the former Chief Minister of Kelantan, Mohamad Nasir in the 1978 State Assembly Election. It joined the BN in 1980 and withdrew from this coalition to join APU in 1989. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>538</sup> PAS won a majority 25 seats, Semangat 46 gained 12 seats and 1 seat respectively for Berjasa and HAMIM. The internal crisis of UMNO in 1987 and the collapse of BN government in Kelantan contributed to the major defeat of BN in the 1990 General Election. In Kelantan, UMNO lost in all seats contested in the state constituency to APU and Tengku Razaleigh was a factor that influenced a major success of this coalition. As a result of mutual understanding between the component members of APU, Nik Abdul Aziz was elected as Chief Minister of Kelantan. Fadzil Mohd Noor, 'Membangun Bersama Islam', Manifesto Politik/Pilihanraya PAS 1990, n. p., 1990, pp. 14, 1-34; Jamaie Hamil, Faris Afiq Ikhwan Saifullah, Muhammad Shaimi et.al., 'Ikhtisar Analisis Pilihan Raya Umum 1978', pp. 43-44.



governing Kelantan had diminished the accusation which claimed that the party could only be able to talk without any capability to administer a state, like Kelantan.<sup>539</sup>

The encouraging electoral performance of PAS in the 1990 election and the PAS-led Government's political stability in Kelantan had enabled the party to propose the *hudūd* bill. PAS presented the *Syarī'ah* Criminal Code II 1993 in the Kelantan State Legislative Assembly on 24 November 1993 and was passed by the assembly on 25 November 1993.<sup>540</sup> This *hudūd* bill however, was rejected by the Malaysian Government.<sup>541</sup> Again, on 19 March 2015, The Kelantan State Legislative Assembly passed the amendments to the *Syarī'ah* Criminal Code II 1993 with the support of 43 assemblymen from PAS and UMNO, while the sole PKR representative withdrew.<sup>542</sup>

PAS transformed into a new episode of its political development after the melodramatic sacking incident of Anwar Ibrahim from his deputy premiership and UMNO's vice president in 1998. The Anwar dismissal incident had transformed a new scenario of Islamic politics in Malaysia when PAS, ABIM and JIM actively involved in at least two of three *reformasi* movements in the late 1998.<sup>543</sup> During this period, the role played by PAS President, Fadzil Mohd Noor to move the mass uprising was significant when he led *Gerakan Keadilan Rakyat Malaysia* (GERAK) to coordinate

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<sup>539</sup> Since the 1990 election, PAS continues its excellent electoral performance in Kelantan to win 6 periods in order namely 1990, 1995, 1999, 2004, 2008 and 2013 general elections and previously ruled Kelantan twice, in the 1959-1978 era and the 1990-recent. All in all, to date, the State of Kelantan has been under the PAS control for more than three decades. Muhammad Syukri Salleh, 'Establishing an Islamic State: Ideals and Realities in the State of Kelantan, Malaysia', *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 37, No.2, September 1999, p. 237, pp. 235-256; Junaidi Awang Besar, Mohd Fuad Mat Jali & Mohd Faiz Mohd Zain, 'Kawasan Dewan Undangan Negeri (Dun) Galas, Kelantan: Analisis Geografi Pilihan Raya', *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, Volume 7, Number 1, 2012, p. 65, pp. 64-74; Wan Abdul Rahman Abdul Latiff, 'Perkembangan Pentadbiran Kerajaan Angkatan 1991-1995: Satu Analisa Sosio Politik', a paper presented at Seminar Pentadbiran Kerajaan Angkatan Negeri Kelantan 1991-1995 organised by Pusat Kajian Strategik Negeri Kelantan at Kota Bharu, Kelantan, 28 January 1995, p. 5; Muhammad Syukri Salleh, 'Establishing an Islamic State', pp. 244-245.

<sup>540</sup> 'Dewan lulus hukum hudūd', *Berita Harian*, 26 November 1993.

<sup>541</sup> The Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad regarded this enactment as unjust, in particular it gave an exemption to the non-Muslim and being cruel to rape victims, which contributed to its rejection by the Federal Government which strongly did not allow Kelantan to implement it. See, 'Kerajaan bertindak jika Hudūd PAS zalim', *Berita Harian*, 10 September 1994; 'Saya tolak hudūd Pas, bukan hudūd Islam - Dr. Mahathir', *Utusan Malaysia*, 28 August 2012.

The Chief Minister of Kelantan, Dato' Nik Abdul Aziz during the presentation of the Shariah Criminal Code II 1993 in Kelantan State Assembly explained that this hudūd law was the greatest responsibility of the party. See, Ucapan YAB Menteri Besar Kelantan ketika membentangkan Enakmen Undang-Undang Kanun Jenayah Syariah II 1993 di Dewan Undangan Negeri Kelantan pada 24 November 1993, in Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat, *Pelaksanaan Hukum Hudūd di Kelantan*, Kota Bharu: Telda Corporation SDn Bhd. 1994, p. 19. See also, 'Hudūd law gets Sultan's consent', *New Straits Times*, 16 May 1994; 'Kerajaan tolak Kanun Jenayah Syariah II', *Berita Harian*, 17 May 1994.

<sup>542</sup> See, Azran Fitri Rahim, Mohd. Hafiz Abdul Mutalib dan Zaain Zin, 'Hudūd diluluskan', *Utusan Malaysia*, 20 Mac 2015; Azran Fitri Rahim, 'Pindaan hukum hudūd, qisas dan takzir diluluskan DUN Kelantan', *Utusan Malaysia*, 19 March 2015; Syed Jaymal Zahiid, 'Kelantan passes Hudūd Bill amendments minus vote from sole PKR rep', *The Malay Mail*, March 19, 2015.

<sup>543</sup> PAS involved in GERAK and GAGASAN, while ABIM and JIM involved in GERAK and ADIL.

*Reformasi* movement in 1999.<sup>544</sup> This contributed to the creation of PAS' new image as a moderate party and being accepted by all levels of the society.<sup>545</sup> From the image of *kopiah* and *serban* (turban) of the 1980s *ulama'* style, nevertheless in 1999, PAS emerged with the new image in dressing when the leaders began to don western attires<sup>546</sup> and the Malay-Muslim dressing styles. During the 45<sup>th</sup> PAS Annual Congress on 28-30 May 1999, a set of Malay dress, *baju Melayu* with *sampin* and a black *songkok* became formal attires of all PAS Central Committees.<sup>547</sup>

The admission of more moderate professionals and intellectuals from other Islamic NGOs, like ABIM and JIM into the party had transformed its leadership brand from conservative type of *ulama'* to a combination of a moderate professional-religious (*ulama'*) style of leadership. The emergence of a progressive reformist group<sup>548</sup> in the party was noticeable contributing to synergise the party particularly after the 1998 political uprising. Until the 2014 PAS election, the existence of these two groups at the high ranking position of the party was apparent.<sup>549</sup> The increasing support to PAS can be seen through the increasing number of its membership.<sup>550</sup>

<sup>544</sup> PAS led by Ustaz Fadzil Nor founded Gerakan Keadilan Rakyat Malaysia (GERAK) in 1998 which involved the Non-Malays organisations including, Democratic Action Party (DAP), Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SUARAM), Burma Solidarity Group of Malaysia, (BSGM), International Movement for a Just World (JUST), Consumer Association of Penang (CAP), and Aliran other Islamic organisations, such as Persatuan Kebangsaan Pelajar-Pelajar Islam Malaysia (PKPIM), Persatuan Ulama' Malaysia (PUM), Persatuan Pengguna Islam Malaysia (PPIM), ISMA, TERAS, YATIM and URUS. See, Mohd Fadli Ghani, 'Dewan Pemuda PAS: Suatu Kajian Terhadap Tahap-Tahap Perkembangan Organisasi dalam Era Bertindak, 1975-2003', M.A. Thesis, Pusat Pengajian Sejarah, Politik dan Strategi, Fakulti Sains Sosial dan Kemanusiaan, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2003, p. 2.

<sup>545</sup> Meredith Leigh Weiss, 'The Politics of Protest: Civil Society, Coalition, Building and Political Change in Malaysia', Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University, December 2001, p. 257.

<sup>546</sup> M.G.G. Pillay described it as 'New PAS in the lounge suit and dinner jacket'. See, M.G.G. Pillay, 'The Islamic State Dons a Lounge Suit', Malaysiakini.com, 19 July 2001.

<sup>547</sup> Shahrudin in his observation described that in 1980s, during the transition period to the *ulama'* leadership in PAS, most of its Central Committees put on the Malay attire, *baju Melayu* and *serban* to avoid the similar image with UMNO. He who attended both the 1984 and 1999 PAS's Annual Congress compared the physical PAS's transformation in dressing. See, Shahrudin Badaruddin, 'Demokrasi dan Perubahan Politik di Malaysia: Kajian Terhadap Pendekatan Perjuangan Pertubuhan Berlandaskan Islam, 1981-2008', Ph.D Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, 2011, p. 254.

<sup>548</sup> Including intellectuals and professionals.

<sup>549</sup> The 2009-2011 PAS Central Committee listed many moderate reformists and professionals such as Salahuddin Ayub and Dato' Mahfuz Omar, as PAS's Deputy President, Dr. Mohd Hatta Md. Ramli as Treasurer and Dato' Seri Ir. Mohamad Nizar Jamaluddin, Dato' Kamaruddin Jaffar, Dato' Dr. Haji Hasan Mohd. Ali, Mohamed Hanipa Maidin, Dato' Ir. Amiruddin Hamzah, Dr. Lo' Lo' Haji Mohamad Ghazali, Dr Dzulkefly Ahmad, Dr. Mujahid Yusof Rawa, Dato' Haji Husam Musa, Haji Mohamad Sabu, Hj Mohd Anuar Tahir and Dr. Hajjah Siti Mariah Mahmud as PAS's Central Committees. In 2013, this reformist or progressive group occupied the high ranking positions in the party which witness Tuan Haji Mohamad Sabu elected as the Vice President of PAS, Salahuddin Ayub and Dato' Hj Husam Musa as Deputy President, Suhaizan Kayat as Chief of Youth Council, Siti Zailah Yusof as Chief of Muslimat (Women) Council, Dr. Raja Ahmad Iskandar Raja Yaakob as Asistant Secretary General, Dato' Mahfuz Omar as Chief Information of Central PAS, Dr. Haji Mohd. Hatta Md Ramli as Chief Director of Election, and others like Dato' Ser Ir Mohd Nizar Jamaluddin, Dato' Ir. Amiruddin Hamzah, Datuk Dr. Mujahid Yusof Rawa, Dr. Dzulkefly Ahmad, Mohamed Hanipa Maidin, Dato' Kamaruddin Jaafar, Hj Khalid Abd Samad, Dr Siti Mariah Mahmud, Hj Mohd Anuar Tahir and Dr. Muhaimin Sulam as PAS's Central Committees 2013-2015. See, Ahli Jawatankuasa PAS Pusat dan Pesuruhjaya PAS Negeri-Negeri/ Wilayah Persekutuan sesi 2009-2011 in Senarai Pimpinan PAS Pusat Sesi 2009-2011, Laman Rasmi PAS Pusat, 20 May 2011; Senarai Pimpinan PAS Pusat Sesi 2013-2015, Laman Rasmi PAS Pusat, 24 November 2013. See also, Osman Bakar, 'Islam and Muslim Identity in Malaysia: Trends and Transformations', In Approaches To 'Moderate' Islam In Asia: The Dynamics among Islam,

PAS turned to become more pragmatic and inclusive in its approach to national democracy when the party engaged itself in the multi-ethnic opposition coalitions, Alternative Front (*Barisan Alternatif* - BA) in 1999 and 2004; and the People's Coalition (*Pakatan Rakyat* - PR) in 2008. Together with Democratic Party (DAP), Parti Keadilan Nasional (Keadilan) and Malaysian People's Party (PRM), PAS united in BA sharing the same manifesto - 'Towards a Just and Democratic Malaysia' to challenge the BN government in the 1999 General Election.<sup>551</sup> PAS emerged as a main winner of the opposition parties when it won 27 seats out of 42 seats attained by BA in Parliament and 98 seats at the State Legislative Assemblies that was the biggest election which was ever won by PAS on its own since 1955. Thus, PAS President, Fadzil Mohd Noor was elected as Chief of the Opposition.<sup>552</sup> PAS not only maintained its great victory in Kelantan, but also succeeded to establish the state government in Terengganu.<sup>553</sup>

PAS tendency to revive its goal to establish the *Hudūd* law in 2002<sup>554</sup> and exhibit the rise of PAS leader as a future country's leader created the worries of DAP leaders and the non-Muslims which finally led DAP to withdraw from Alternative Front on 21 September 2001.<sup>555</sup> The impact of dissolution of the opposition political cooperation

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Muslim Identity, Politics, and Society, NBR Panel at The International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) 5: Approaches to 'Moderate' Islam in Asia, Kuala Lumpur, August 3, 2007, p. 43.

<sup>550</sup> According to *New Strait Times*, PAS's membership increased from 500 thousands in September 1998 to 700 thousands in June 1999. The dramatic admission of new members into the party increased to more than 100,000 in a few months before the 1999 General Election. *New Straits Times*, 29 June 1999; Haji Fadzil Mohd Noor, 'Bersama Menegakkan Keadilan', Ucapan Dasar Mukhtar Tahunan PAS Ke-45, Kuala Lumpur: Markaz Tarbiyyah PAS Pusat, Taman Melewar, 28-30 Mei 1999, p. 1.

<sup>551</sup> 'Ke Arah Malaysia yang Adil', *Manifesto Bersama Barisan Alternatif*, October 1999, pp. 1-45.

<sup>552</sup> In this election, BA managed to secure about 42 (out of 193 or 21.8 per cent) Parliamentary seats and 113 (out of 394 or 28.7 per cent) of the State Legislative Assembly seats. Baharom Mahusin, 'Pembangkang buat kecoh - PM kecewa budaya samseng dibawa ke sidang Parlimen', *Utusan Malaysia*, 21 December 1999. Nasharudin Mat Isa, *The Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS)*, p. 5.

<sup>553</sup> *Utusan Malaysia*, 1 December 1999.

<sup>554</sup> The takeover of PAS's leadership by Chief Minister of Terengganu, Abdul Hadi Awang in 1999 however, sealed the future direction of PAS to revisit its fundamental struggle for establishing the Islamic state at the forefront of its political agenda and later endorsed *Syariah* Criminal Offence (*Hudūd* and *Qisas*) on August 2002. The enactment, however, remained not working due to its being in violation to the Federal Constitution. 'Hadi: No Date Set to Enforce *Syariah* laws', *The Star*, 12 December 2002. Refer to, 'PM: PAS hina Islam jika laksana hukum tak adil', *Utusan Malaysia*, 19 June 2002; '*Hudūd*: Pusat diminta senarai perkara dianggap zalim', *Utusan Malaysia*, 20 June 2002; '*Hudūd*: Pusat bertindak jika bercanggah perundangan', *Utusan Malaysia*, 28 October 2003; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'A Critical Appraisal of Parti Islam SeMalaysia's (PAS) Opposition-Based Struggle for An Islamic State (Until 2008)', *Media Syari'ah*, Volume XIII, No. 1 January-June 2011, p. 83.

<sup>555</sup> Lim Kit Siang, *BA and Islamic State*, Petaling Jaya: Democratic Action Party, 2001, pp. 85-103; Zulkifli Jalil, 'PAS Patut 'Cermin Diri', Bukannya DAP', *Utusan Malaysia*, 26 Februari 2015.

with the absence of DAP, contributed to the worst Alternative Front's performance in the 2004 General Election.<sup>556</sup>

Comprehending on the PAS's mistake in the 2004 election that the party needed the support from the non-Malay parties to fight against the BN to win the election;<sup>557</sup> PAS dropped its ideal of the Islamic state and installed "the Welfare State" in the 2008 manifesto.<sup>558</sup> The cooperation between PAS, PKR and DAP in the 2008 General Election was fruitfully significant when the opposition parties, PKR, DAP and PAS won 31, 28 and 23 parliamentary seats, respectively and the opposition denied BN a two-thirds majority for the first time ever.<sup>559</sup> In the State Assemblies PAS won 83 seats, while DAP gained 73 seats and PKR with 40 seats. PAS's success in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur changed the perception of its being a rural conservative Malay party.<sup>560</sup> The success of the opposition parties in five states governments out of thirteen concreted the way to formalisation of this cooperation in a formal political alliance, called *Pakatan Rakyat* which involved PKR, PAS and DAP.<sup>561</sup>

In its 54th Annual Congress 2008, PAS began to use "PAS for All" slogan to explain PAS's transformation in its approach from an exclusive Malay-Muslim Islamic party to an inclusive party for all the Muslims and the non-Muslims.<sup>562</sup> The slogan also

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<sup>556</sup> PAS only gained 7 seats in Parliament and 36 seats in the State Legislative Assemblies and lost its rule in Terengganu after achieving 4 seats compared to 28 seats by the National Front. Mohd Izani Mohd Zain, *Islam dan Demokrasi: Cabaran Politik Muslim Kontemporari di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 2005, p. 86-87.

<sup>557</sup> PAS failed to fulfill its promise to withdraw the *hudud* law from being part of the BA's agenda. PAS's Deputy President, Dato' Mustafa Ali, believed that the party would receive an absolute support in Kelantan, Terengganu and Kedah. See, *New Straits Times*, 1 December 1999, p. 32.

<sup>558</sup> Although there was no formal coalition between PAS, PKR and DAP in the name of unity, PAS was willing to seat together with PKR and DAP to urge their supporters not to vote for BN in the 2008 General Election. 'Mengapa PAS perlu Menjadi Parti Pilihan Anda Dalam Pilihanraya Umum Ke 12 ini?', Manifesto Parti Islam SeMalaysia, 2008, Tunku Mohar Mokhtar, 'The Twelfth General Elections in Malaysia', *Intellectual Discourse*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2008, p. 91, pp. 89-100.

<sup>559</sup> By comparison, of the 165 parliamentary seats in the Peninsula, the opposition parties collectively won 80 seats while BN won 85 seats. Tunku Mohar Mokhtar, 'The Twelfth General Elections in Malaysia', *Intellectual Discourse*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2008, p. 91, pp. 89-100.

<sup>560</sup> PAS secured a two-third majority in Kelantan, and formed the state government of Kedah in a coalition with PKR. PAS and DAP joined a coalition government in Selangor led by PKR, while in Pulau Pinang, DAP collaborated with PKR to form the state government. Moreover, PAS-PKR-DAP coalition won ten out of eleven parliamentary seats in the capital city of Kuala Lumpur. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92, 95, 97.

<sup>561</sup> Khoo Boo Teik, '13<sup>th</sup> General Election in Malaysia: Overview and Summary', in Khoo Boo Teik (editor), *13<sup>th</sup> General Election in Malaysia: Issues, Outcomes and Implications*, IDE-JETRO Report, 2013, pp. 1-2, pp. 1-8.

<sup>562</sup> PAS tried to attract the Non-Muslims supporters using the slogan of "PAS For All" to popularise its universal appeal. From a slogan of "Islam Just for All" used in the 2010 PAS's Annual Congress, PAS changed the party slogan to "Developing a Welfare State" in 2011. See, Dato' Seri Hj Abdul Hadi Awang, 'PAS Untuk Semua', Ucapan Dasar Presiden Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), Muktamar Tahunan PAS Ke - 54, 2008, pp. 3-4; Dato' Seri Hj Abdul Hadi Awang, 'Islam Adil Untuk Semua', Ucapan Dasar Presiden Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS), Muktamar Tahunan PAS ke - 56, 2010, pp. 1-30. See also, Dr Dzulkifley Ahmad critical synthesis on PAS's transformation in "Tentang Transformasi PAS, dan Kelompangannya", *Rocketkini.com*, 31 August 2014. <http://www.rocketkini.com/2014/08/31/tentang-transformasi-pas-dan-kelompangannya/>

symbolised the imperative for PAS to uphold justice for all, regardless of religion and ethnic groups, as Islam is a way of life for all mankind.<sup>563</sup> The participation of PAS in the PR also transformed the party's approach from a religious-conservative to be more pragmatic in its appeal for the *Hudūd* law and the Islamic state, and displayed its moderate stand on the issue of using the word Allah.<sup>564</sup>

The more inclusive slogan was utilised in 2013 with the motto of "Benefit for All" carried out a universal message of Islam to human being through a combination of education-*da'wah*-politics (*tarbiyah-da'wah-siasah*) methodologies.<sup>565</sup> Since 2004, PAS has been progressing to recruit more non-Malays Muslims members from the non-Muslim supporters' club or *Dewan Himpunan Penyokong PAS* (DHPP) to create a new image of the party, to be more inclusive in its approach and being an acceptable alternative party to the non-Muslims, in particular when it joined the coalition of BA and PR.<sup>566</sup> With all PAS attempts to attract the non-Malays' support, in the 2013 General Election, however, the votes for PAS decreased from 23 parliamentary seats won in 2008 to 21 seats in 2013 compared to DAP and PKR which received 38 and 30 seats respectively in the Parliament.<sup>567</sup>

Between the period of 1977 to 2014 PAS emerged as a responsive Islamic political party in the political mainstream and a vocal opposition in Parliament, particularly during the leadership of Fadzil Mohd Noor who was being elected as Chief

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<sup>563</sup> It was also based on PAS's high confidence to bring Islamic struggle as a trust for the prosperity of the world. For PAS, the party remains intact and survives even today because it was based on the clear faith to struggle. PAS struggle is universal, carrying justice for the whole of mankind, as detailed in Chapter Three, Article 6, Article (8), (9) and (10), of PAS Constitution. Dato' Seri Hj Abdul Hadi Awang, 'PAS Untuk Semua', pp. 3-4.

<sup>564</sup> The *Ulama'* Consultative Council of PAS that was chaired by PAS *Mursyidul Am*, Datuk Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat decided that the word Allah is the sacred word, that Allah neither has He an offspring nor is He the offspring of anyone. The word Allah cannot be translated into other languages, but can be used by the Non-Muslims without misused it for other purposes. The council also stressed that the word Allah is an exclusive right of the Muslims in Malaysia. Datuk Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat in his statement to *Sinar Harian* said that the Non-Muslims in Malaysia extremely cannot use the word Allah to replace the word God as stated in their scripture, in particular Bible. See, Salmiah Druhamad Drahsin, 'Isu kalimah ALLAH kerja Umno, kata Hadi', *Sinar Harian*, 3 Februari 2013; 'Jangan guna kalimah ALLAH ganti God', *Sinar Harian*, 25 Januari 2014, p. 3

<sup>565</sup> Dato' Seri Hj Abdul Hadi Awang, 'Rahmat Untuk Semua', Ucapan Dasar Presiden Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS), Muktamar Tahunan PAS ke - 59, 2013, pp. 1-26.

<sup>566</sup> PAS Supporters Club consists of over 20,000 members of the Indian, Chinese, Thai and Iban was established in 2004. The name of the club is changed to *Dewan Himpunan Penyokong PAS* (DHPP) in February 2010 was seen to be a part of the party's follow-up effort to attract the support of non-Muslim supporters even it is "still seen with limited powers". Zainuddin Hasyim, "DHPP - Dewan Himpunan Penyokong PAS Lulus - Dr Mujahid", December 19, 2009, <http://www.ibnuhasyim.com/2009/12/dhpp-dewan-himpunan-penyokong-pas-lulus.html>.

<sup>567</sup> BN managed to secure 133 seats compared to 89 by the opposition of PR. This election however was the BN's coalition worst performance since 1969, dropping further from its 140 seats in the 2008 general election. See, James Gomez, 'Social Media Impact on Malaysia's 13<sup>th</sup> General Election', *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 2014, p. 101, pp. 95-105.

of the Opposition Parties. Many issues have been critically addressed by PAS, representing the voice of the opposition.<sup>568</sup> In economic, PAS also sent its proposal to the National Economic Consultative Council (*Majlis Perunding Ekonomi Negara - MPEN*) to review the implementation of the New Economic Policy and proposed its constructive economic strategies to improve this affirmative policy.<sup>569</sup>

The presence of PAS in the PR coalition government in Selangor, contributed to strengthen the Muslims' affairs in education and reinforcement of Islamic Penal Code in accordance to the *Syarī'ah* Crime Act (Selangor) 1995. With 15 seats in Selangor State Legislative Assembly in the 2013 election, PAS was allocated with four excos in Khalid Ibrahim leadership<sup>570</sup> and three excos under Azmin Ali's government.<sup>571</sup> Through its excos and state assemblymen elected in Selangor State Government and the local municipalities, PAS moved to eliminate the sales of liquor to the Muslims in restaurants, grocery shops, 24 hours multi-purposes shops in Selangor.<sup>572</sup>

The latest progress of PAS is witnessing a critical internal crisis in the party after the removal of the progressive or reformist leaders, known as G18 from the party's leadership and replaced them with the *pro-ulama*' young group in the 61<sup>st</sup> PAS's

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<sup>568</sup> Many issues have been addressed by Fadzil Mohd Noor in the Parliament such as, the practice of cronyism, nepotism and bribery in the government projects, the participation of the Malay figures as chairmen in gambling companies such as Magnum Corporation and Genting Berhad, the investment of Permodalan Nasional Berhad (PNB) in the companies which activities were contradictory to Islamic principles. Fadzil Mohd Noor revealed that PNB had 12.56 per cent shares in Hup Seng Consolidated Berhad which owned 25.7 percent shares in Carlsberg Brewery Malaysia Berhad. Group of Workers Saving Fund (Kumpulan Wang Simpanan Pekerja – KWSP) had nearly RM8 million or 1.12 per cent shares in Genting Berhad. Board of Military Forces Fund (Lembaga Tabung Angkatan Tentera) also invested more than RM62 million shares in Resort World Berhad, while Saham Amanah Sabah invested in Repco Holding Berhad which was a gambling company. See, Dato' Haji Fadzil Mohd Noor, *Belanjawan 2001*, Kuala Lumpur: Pusat Penyelidikan PAS Pusat, 2001, pp. 7-8.

<sup>569</sup> See, Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS), *Falsafah dan Strategi Ekonomi Negara Selepas Tahun 1990: Pandangan dan Saranan PAS kepada Majlis Perunding Ekonomi Negara (MPEN)*, 1996, pp. 1-43.

<sup>570</sup> After 2013 general election, PAS was allocated with four portfolios such as, Exco of Islamic Affairs, Agriculture Modernisation and Rural Development (Hal Ehwal Islam; Pemodenan Pertanian dan Pembangunan Desa), led by Sallehin Mukhyi (Sabak), Exco of Housing, Building Management and Urban Life by Iskandar Abdul Samad (Chempaka), Exco of Education, High Education and Human Capital Development, by Dr. Halimah Ali (Selat Klang) and Exco of Sport and Youth, Infrastructure and Public Facilities by Dr. Ahmad Yunus Hairi (Sijangkang). See, Senarai portfolio dan Exco Selangor', *Sinar Harian*, 30 Mei 2013; 'Angkat sumpah exco: Exco baru tanam iltizam', *Sinar Harian*, 31 Mei 2013.

<sup>571</sup> Quota which was allocated for PAS was decreased to three excos in Azmin's leadership namely, Exco of Housing, Building Management and Urban Life led by Iskandar Abdul Samad, Exco of Religious Affairs, The Malays Customs, Rural Development and Traditional Village represented by Dr. Ahmad Yunus Hairi and Exco of Infrastruktur, Public Facilities and Agricultural Industry led by Zaidy Abdul Talib. 'Azmin umum portfolio barisan EXCO Selangor', *Berita Harian*, 1 Oktober 2014. 'Kurang kuota Exco Pas ada unsur nepotisme?', *Sinar Harian*, 27 September 2014.

<sup>572</sup> A few municipal councils, namely Shah Alam Municipal Council and Kajang Municipal Council enforced that liquor could not be sold at all retail shops including the 24 hours multi-purposes shops, the restaurants, and the grocery stores. Jasri Jamal and Noriyati Anuar, 'Undang-Undang Penjualan Arak oleh Pihak Berkuasa Tempatan: Kajian Khusus di Negeri Selangor Darul Ehsan, Kanun, Vol. 24, No. 2, December 2012, p. 227. Interview with Dr. Shafie Abu Bakar, at Sekretariat Bangi Bandar Ilmu, No. 8 Jalan 1/4, 43650 Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor, at 9.29am, on 5 July 2013. Dr. Shafie is a former PAS's Selangor State Assemblyman, (Kajang 1999-2004 and Bangi 2008-2013), President of PADAT and Chairman of the Mosque of al-Umm, Bandar Baru Bangi.

Annual Congress 2015.<sup>573</sup> The formation of PASMA as a remnant separation of PAS proved the internal crisis within the party.<sup>574</sup> The G18 progressive group together with PASMA members continues to create another division within the party known as *Gerakan Harapan Baru* (GHB) which is currently active to mobilise its supporters to join Parti Amanah Negara with the hope to bring the progressive Islamists to reunite in the PR and to strengthen the coalition with PKR and DAP.<sup>575</sup>

The emergence of PAS was flowering the Islamic politics in the mainstream political landscape in Malaysia. Acted as a traditional political competitor to UMNO, the PAS role as a check and balance critical evaluator to the ruling party, was significant to boost public awareness on the development of Islam. Led by Islamists today, PAS strength lies across regional political boundaries, among rural Malay peasants and traditional village leaders and in urban Malay middle class, as well as the non-Muslims supporters who are not always sympathetic to fundamentalism.<sup>576</sup> From the exclusive nationalist-religious party, PAS transformed its image into the *ulama*'-led Islamic party which then turned to become inclusive in its appeal to *da'wah* from the call to the Islamic State to the appeal for the Welfare State and its slogan "PAS for All" conveys universal message to all Muslims and the non-Muslims. The pragmatic development of PAS in the political mainstream contributed to the emergence of PAS as an alternative party to the Malay-Muslim and the non-Muslims supporters.

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<sup>573</sup> 'Akar umbi setuju kepimpinan ulama', *Sinar Harian*, 5 June 2015.

<sup>574</sup> Muhammad Shamsul Abd Ghani, 'Kami tubuh Pasma sebab sayangkan PR', *Sinar Harian*, 8 September 2014.

<sup>575</sup> Nizam Zain, 'Harapan Baru sambut baik reaksi Kit Siang, Anwar', *Sinar Harian*, 23 July 2015; Hamizah Basir, Bekas pemimpin barisi Harapan Baru', *Sinar Harian*, 23 July 2015; Roslinda Hashim, Pasma, G18 bergabung', *Sinar Harian*, 6 July 2015.

<sup>576</sup> 'Partai Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS)', in John L. Esposito (editor), *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, p. 2.

### 3.4 From Vocal to Dynamic Approach to Islamic Resurgence of ABIM

Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM) which was formed on 6 August 1971, has certainly been the most influential and the largest Muslim youth voluntary organisation in Malaysia.<sup>577</sup> ABIM is an extension voluntary youth organisation of student movements, particularly PKPIM, and also with the initiative of a few activists from Malaysia Islamic Student Group (MISG) of United Kingdom and the Middle East Student Association.<sup>578</sup> After finishing their studies, the need for a new systematic platform of *da'wah* contributed to the formation of ABIM.<sup>579</sup>

The establishment of ABIM succeeded in its attempt to promote Islamic awareness among Malay-Muslims in Malaysia in which it became a phenomenon known as Islamic Resurgence and then moved closer to the state to instill the regime's Islamisation programmes in 1980s onwards.<sup>580</sup> Most of ABIM activists were then developed into the middle class, but its *da'wah* approach encompasses universal message of Islam for Muslims and the non-Muslims at all levels of the society.<sup>581</sup>

With the support of the growing number of the middle class, intellectuals and professionals, ABIM was reported to have swollen its numbers from the 153 people attending the inaugural meeting of its establishment in 1971 to a total of 63,418 registered members in 2013, (according to its database) which included 2550 activists,

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<sup>577</sup> John Funston claimed that ABIM was the largest and the most important private *da'wah* organisation", Refer to *Risalah*, October, 1989, p. 28; Andreas Ufen, 'Mobilising Political Islam: Indonesia and Malaysia Compared', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, Vol. 47, No. 3, July 2009, p. 322.

<sup>578</sup> They included Muhammad Dahlan Arshad and Razali Nawawi who were the early founding generation of ABIM. Razali Nawawi was the First President of ABIM. The sponsored or founding committee members of ABIM establishment in 1971 consisted of Wahab Abdullah as President, Sulaiman Nor as Vice President, Wan Ismail Wan Ramli as Vice President of International Affair, Fauzi Abd. Rahman as Secretary General and Syed Ibrahim Syed Abd. Rahman as Financial Secretary. Anwar Ibrahim at that time acted as Secretary of Communication, while other members represented by Sanusi Junid as Secretary of *Da'wah*, Ahmad Ismail and Ridzuan Halim as Deputy Secretary General, Mahmood Kitoom acted as Secretary of Welfare and Faridah Tan Sri Hussein as Secretary of Woman Affair. See, *Risalah*, No. 5, 1982, p. 15; *Buku Cenderamata ABIM sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, p. 2; Siti Rafiah Abd Hamid, Malaysian Islamic Study Group (MISG) Di Great Britain: Satu Analisa Mengenai Perkembangan, Pencapaian dan masalah, 1963-1986, B.A Thesis, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, 1989, p. 17.

<sup>579</sup> There are three levels of ABIM organisational system, namely, the Muktamar Sanawi (Annual Conference) ABIM, the Central Committees and the Bureaus. The function of ABIM Muktamar is to make important decision related to ABIM policies, to select the Central Committee Members including President, Vice and Deputy President, Secretary General, Financial Secretary, and Chief of *Da'wah*, Information, Education, Social Development, Research, Special tasks, *Ikhtisas* and *Penataran*. See, *Perlembagaan ABIM (Pindaan 2002)*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 2002, pp. 4-7.

<sup>580</sup> Ahmad Zaki Haji Abd. Latiff, *Transformasi Gerakan Islah dan Dakwah Di Timur Tengah dan Malaysia*, Shah Alam: Pusat Penerbit Universiti (UPENA), 2008, p. 108.

<sup>581</sup> Nine of thirteen exco members of ABIM's early generation were from English educational background while others were alumni of Malay College of Kuala Kangsar (MCKK). 'Mari Kita masyarakatkan ABIM', *Risalah*, October 1989, pp. 28-29.



drawn from a broad cross-section of occupation, with 90 branches of the total 124 districts.<sup>582</sup> In fact, ABIM was an early platform of *da'wah* for some of the well-known public figures, political leaders, Muslim scholars and academicians, professionals and corporate personalities.<sup>583</sup>

To ensure its sustainability as a relevant *da'wah* movement, ABIM took a pragmatic approach when dealing with the contemporary needs which could accomplish the societal requests.<sup>584</sup> In the early phase of its call for *da'wah*, ABIM chose the proactive initiatives to build self-esteem and confidence among its members and served to provide Muslims with activities which can bring them to understand Islam, Islamic thought and clarified different types of ideologies.<sup>585</sup> In fact, *da'wah* is considered as the most important task of ABIM that can be clearly sketched since its early formative years.<sup>586</sup> Reviewing on the main objective of *tarbiyah* (education) in ABIM, it is clearly stated that it aims to produce devoted believers and pious (*rabbāni*) generation, as well as quality leaders aligned with the objective to move ABIM as a prominent Islamic movement which can benefit its members, society, nation and the world at large.<sup>587</sup> Therefore, in order to upsurge ABIM's momentum in religious education, the study circle or *usrah* amongst members was introduced.<sup>588</sup>

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<sup>582</sup> Laporan Tahunan Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM) 2012/2013, Muktamar Sanawi Ke-42, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, Auditorium Jubli Perak, Bangunan Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah, Shah Alam, 6-8 September 2013, p. 33; Neil John Funston, 'The Politics of Islamic Reassertion: Malaysia', in *Ibrahim, Ahmad, Sharon Siddique, and Yasmin Hussain (editors), Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985, p. 171*. Mohd Nor Bin Nawawi, 'Islamic Resurgence (Malaysia Experience)', World Conference on Islamic Resurgence: Challenges, Prospects and The Way Forward, Auditorium Jubli Perak, Bangunan Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Azizi Shah, Shah Alam, Selangor, 7 September 2013, p. 2.

<sup>583</sup> They include Tan Sri Prof. Dr. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, Tan Sri Prof. Dr. Mohd Kamal Hassan, Tan Sri Ainuddin Wahid, Emeritus Prof. Dato' Dr. Osman Bakar, Prof. Dato' Dr Mohammad Redzuan Othman, Prof. Datuk Paduka Mohammad Bakar, Prof. Razali Nawawi, Prof. Dr. Mohd. Nor Nawawi, Prof Dato Dr. Mohd. Yusof Hj. Othman, Prof. Dr. Wan Mohd. Nor Wan Daud, Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim, Tan Sri Sanusi Junid, Datuk Hj Dusuki Hj. Ahmad, Dato' Mohd. Nakhaei Hj. Ahmad, Datuk Fauzi Abd. Rahman, Faridah Tan Sri Hussein, Ustaz Abd. Ghani Shamsudin, Dato' Kamaruddin Jaffar, Mohd. Anuar Tahir, Datuk Mohd. Idris Jauzi, Datuk Dr. Hj. Abd. Malek Awang Kechil, the late Prof. Dr. Khalijah Salleh, the late Dato' Fadzil Mohd Noor, the late Dato' Haji Fuad Bin Tan Sri Haji Hassan and many others. *Buku Cenderamata ABIM sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, pp. 2-12; Mohd Jamil Mukmin, *Gerakan Islam di Malaysia: Kesenambungan, Respons dan Perubahan (1957-2000)*, Shah Alam: Pusat Penerbitan Universiti, 2009, pp. 32-33.

<sup>584</sup> This was applied by looking at the ideals of the leadership, the organisational scenario and national socio-political position.

<sup>585</sup> Interview with Prof Dr Razali Nawawi, at Akademi Quran Medik, Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor, 10 May 2012.

<sup>586</sup> ABIM's first President, Ustaz Razali Nawawi (1971-1974) in his presidential speech in 1974 clearly stressed on *da'wah* to call upon the society and to perform *da'wah* for goodness which proposes that the mission of ABIM in *da'wah* is for goodness. Badlihasham Mohd Noor, 'Da'wah in The Pronouncements of ABIM Leaders (1970s – 1990s)', *Jurnal Usuluddin*, No. 26, 2007, pp. 86-87, pp. 85-103.

<sup>587</sup> Muhamad Mustafā, 'Madrasah Tarbiyah Harakah', in *Buku Cenderamata ABIM sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, p. 43.

<sup>588</sup> Interview with Prof Dr Razali Nawawi, 10 May 2012.

The early formation stage of ABIM was arguably the most vocal critic of government policies among the voluntary Islamic movements and the embodiment of the new socio-political force of *da'wah* and the most prominent religious-oriented mass movement.<sup>589</sup> The detention of its leaders in 1970s onwards was evident that ABIM's presence in the society could impact on the social awareness which believed to cause social uprising towards the state's status quo and to threaten the national security.<sup>590</sup> A mass protest against peasant suffering in Baling gave ABIM the political credibility and significant impetus which enabled the movement to exhibit its commitment to Islamic values from universal perspective.<sup>591</sup>

Through ABIM's *da'wah* efforts and its outstanding role as "the spokesman of the *Ummah*", the religious awareness and even socio-political climate of the country began to change gradually in its struggle to voice out the plight of people on various issues concerning social amelioration, poverty, and economic status of the Malays, the national language, corruption, justice and human rights. Moreover, ABIM has also played significant role in championing the global Muslim community issues in Patani

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<sup>589</sup> ABIM seriously concerned on few issues which circulated in the society such as the widespread of evils and immoral behaviors, moral degradation and corruption. ABIM President, Anwar Ibrahim condemned those groups who labeled the Islamists with various negative connotations and for those Muslim intellectuals who started to look at Japan and Korea as the new direction in national development. In the official magazine of ABIM, *Risalah*, No. 5, 1981, Anwar urged the state decision maker to change their attitude not to spend the country's money in the mega project like the construction of the Penang Bridge which cost hundred million ringgit despite of many cases of poverty. See, 'Cerdik Pandai: Jangan Jadi Alat', *Risalah*, Bil. 1, 1982, p. 1; 'Anwar Gesa perancang Ubah Sikap: Pembangunan – Hentikan Pembaziran', *Risalah*, No. 5, 1981; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'Patterns of State Interaction with Islamic Movements in Malaysia during the Formative Years of Islamic Resurgence', *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol.44, No.4, March 2007, pp. 444, pp.444- 465.

<sup>590</sup> ABIM President, Anwar Ibrahim, (1974-1982) for example, was detained on 3 December 1974 under Section 11 (2) Internal Security Act 1960 (ISA) due to his activism leading student demonstrations from March 1969 to 7 December 1974. The accusation on Anwar has been related to ten series of his activism as listed: since March 1969 –related to illegal demonstration by students of University Malaya which aimed at outing the current government, 11 July 1969 – as the Chairman of Malay Language Association of University of Malaya (PBMUM), he lead an urgent meeting discussed on the emergency situation and succeed in gaining support to ask for the resignation of the Prime Minister caused by his lenient attitude towards to the no-Malays, January 1970 and October 1970 – he lead many gatherings at the Speaker Corner and meeting condemning the government slow action about the use of Malay Language as the national language, 19 August 1970 – a gathering at the Speaker Corner of University Malaya, Anwar accused Singapore Government as racist. He also lead series of student demonstrations has been made at Subang Airport, Singapore High Commissioner and at the Parliament house which can cause worst relationships between both countries. 2 May 1970 – related to his acted to redress a portion of "The Malay Dilemma" which may danger to ethnic relations between the Malays and Chinese. 13 Jun 1971 – in a meeting of PBMUM, he criticised the implementation of University and College University Act No. 74/71 and showed his militant act when he secretly instigated students to bring "offensive" weapons to protect themselves from police interference and actions. 14 Jun 1971 – he planned and leaded student demonstration at Federal Highway nearby Kampung Kerinchi, Kuala Lumpur during the visit of Thai Prime Minister to protest worst actions of the Thai Government on Muslims. This contributed to his detention and brought into court with the other 18 demonstrators. On 20 January 1973 – a forum at University Malaya and another forum at Kelantan between 23 - 28 March 1973, he clearly accused the government to give priority on the establishment of Tunku Abdul Rahman College and Genting Highland College rather than the establishment of Islamic University. His critics contributed to accusation that the government fail to struggle for the Islamic cause and lead to people's dissatisfaction towards the government. More detail refer to, 'Penahanan Presiden: Tuduhan dan Pembelaan', *Buku Cenderamata ABIM sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, pp. 33-39.

<sup>591</sup> Jason P. Abbott and Sophie Gregorios-Pippas, 'Islamisation in Malaysia: Processes and Dynamics', *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 2010, p. 139, pp. 135–151.

Thailand, Southern Philippines, Palestine, Afghanistan, Bosnia Herzegovina and many others which still continues to be subjects of its concern.<sup>592</sup>

ABIM has also advocated the idea of Islam as a comprehensive way of life which is now being accepted by the public and is widely used to demonstrate the holistic solution that offered in this religion.<sup>593</sup> ABIM has also brought new approaches in which Islam is presented from universal perspective rather than communalise it as merely in its form of ritual practices and this has crucially changed the perception of Islam among Malaysians especially in the context of multiracial society. Thus, “Islam as solution to plural society” was being highlighted in the 1979 and 1987 ABIM’s annual conferences to apprehend the real facts of Muslims-the non-Muslim social co-existence in this country.<sup>594</sup> Universal values of Islam are also believed to accommodate the non-Muslims as well.<sup>595</sup>

Anwar’s dramatic decision to join UMNO,<sup>596</sup> in spite of his colleagues’ attempts to change his mind, espoused ABIM to serious criticism from within its ranks and other *da’wah* movements.<sup>597</sup> This led to a drastic fall in the support for ABIM with many members leaving the organisation for PAS.<sup>598</sup> In dealing with criticism regarding Anwar’s entry into UMNO, for the first time the ABIM leadership under the new president, Siddiq Fadzil attempted to restore the confidence of its members and

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<sup>592</sup> Ramli Ibrahim, ‘Merintis Barisan Pemuda Islam’, in *Buku Cenderamata ABIM sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, pp. 18-19.

<sup>593</sup> Muhammad Kamal Hassan, ‘ABIM’S Response to Political Change’, in *Buku Cenderamata ABIM sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, p. 56.

<sup>594</sup> Resolusi Muktamar ABIM ke-16, Markas ABIM Pusat, Sungai Ramal, Kajang, Selangor on 4-7 December 1987, in *Risalah*, Vol. 13/88, No. 1, January 1988, pp. 26-28.

<sup>595</sup> Mohd Nor Nawawi, ‘Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia’, World Conference on Islamic Resurgence: Challenges, Prospects and The Way Forward, 7 September 2013, p. 1

<sup>596</sup> Although many observers predicted the possibility of Anwar to become a potential leader of PAS and tried to investigate who actually started the negotiation of Anwar’s entry into UMNO whether he has been “coopted” or he has “infiltrated UMNO, Anwar sincerely disclosed that the decision was made due to the mutual consensus in the win-win situation between him and Mahathir. Interview with Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim, a former President of ABIM, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, currently as Leader of Opposition in Malaysian Parliament at Parti Keadilan Rakyat Headquarter, Damansara, Petaling Jaya Selangor on 20 November 2013. See also, Diane K. Mauzy, R. S. Milne, ‘The Mahathir Administration: Discipline through Islam’, in Bruce Gale, *Readings in Malaysian Politics*, Petaling Jaya: pelanduk Publications Sdn. Bhd., 1987, p. 91.

<sup>597</sup> Anwar is reported to resign as President of ABIM began from 27 March 1982. In line with this decision, the central committee of ABIM announced that its vice president, Siddiq Fadhil, was acting the president post until the coming Muktamar of ABIM. *Risalah*, No. 2, 1982, p. 20. *Risalah*, No. 5, 1982 also reported that there are few conflictual events and controversial issues happened in the eleventh Muktamar of ABIM following the cooption of Anwar into UMNO. *Risalah*, No. 5, 1982, p. 4.

<sup>598</sup> Further explanation about Anwar’s decision to join UMNO and the negotiation process between ABIM’s central leaders and Anwar in their attempts to make him change his mind see, Muhammad Kamal Hassan, ‘ABIM’S Response to Political Change’, p. 57.

supporters and reaffirmed ABIM's principles and visions with its non-partisan stance.<sup>599</sup>

Despite crucial "attempts to disturb" its organisation in the two annual conferences, Siddiq succeeded to handle the so-called "intended" internal chaos and brought ABIM into the new era of a moderate Islamic Resurgence.<sup>600</sup> This "maturing process"<sup>601</sup> appears to transform ABIM from a radical departure of past discourses to an attitude of problem-solving approach that was useful to formulate concrete and specific programmes relevant to the realities of the contemporary Malaysian situation.<sup>602</sup>

Anwar's entry into UMNO was also related to the global scenario among Islamic movement activists who have been cruelly treated by the regime and the Malaysian government has planned to amend the Societies (Amendment) Bill through Parliament in 1981,<sup>603</sup> which content would give an unfavourably negative impact on ABIM.<sup>604</sup> Through initiatives taken by a figure of Islamic movement of the Middle East, Prof. Dr. Ismail Faruqi, also an academician at Temple University, the confrontation between ABIM and the government as what has happened to the Islamists in the Middle East can be prevented and on the contrary, Anwar's credibility succeeded to be channelled to increase Islamic awareness among the Malays through the government programmes and policies.<sup>605</sup>

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<sup>599</sup> 'ABIM Tegaskan Sikap', *Risalah*, No. 2, 1982, pp. 1. 20..

<sup>600</sup> There was an attempt to create unpleasant situation and vocal critics towards ABIM's leadership in dealing with the issue of Anwar who leaved ABIM to join the ruling party UMNO. For the first time in ABIM's history the credibility of Syura' Council was questioned by these dissidents and the rallying cry of "Allahu Akbar" was loudly voiced out to show indignation against the leaders at the 12<sup>th</sup> annual conference held on 30 July to 1 August 1983. The voting was made which then accepted the Syura Council proposal with 200 votes agree, 109 reject and 7 invalid votes. Laporan Tahunan Muktamar ABIM Ke-12 ABIM PUSAT 1403-1404/1983-1984, Dewan Kuliah utama (MLT), National University of Malaysia, Bangi Selangor, 7 – 9 September 1984, pp. 8-8c; Zulkifli Daud, 'ABIM dan Polimik Politik', in *Buku Cenderamata ABIM sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, pp. 61-64; Muhammad Kamal Hassan, 'ABIM'S Response to Political Change', p. 58.

<sup>601</sup> The term coined from Muhammad Kamal Hassan in 'ABIM'S Response to Political Change', p. 58.

<sup>602</sup> Two themes presented in the 1982 and 1983 ABIM conferences entitled 'the General Guideline for the Direction of the Struggle' (*Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Perjuangan*) and 'Responding to the Challenge of the Era of Resurgence' (*Menyahun Cabaran Abad Kebangunan*) indicated that ABIM leadership had prepared for a more mature approach in da'wah. See, Laporan Tahunan Muktamar ABIM Ke-11 ABIM PUSAT 1402-1403/1982-1983, Dewan Kolej Islam Kelang, 30 July – 1 August 1983, p. 5; See also "Menyahun Cabaran Abad Kebangunan", *Risalah*, No. 4, 1983, p. 4; Muhammad Kamal Hassan, 'ABIM'S Response to Political Change', p. 59.

<sup>603</sup> More than 200 societies protested the amendment of Societies Bill. ABIM continued leading the struggle for Human Right through its position as Headquarter of Secretariat for Societies Conference (SPP – Sekretariat Persidangan Pertubuhan-Pertubuhan) which was formed to oppose this bill. See, 'Kenyataan Menteri Dipertikai', *Risalah*, No. 5, 1981, p. 24.

<sup>604</sup> Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman: Timur Tengah, Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu', Syarahan Perdana, Dewan Kuliah A, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Malaya, 25 February 2015, p. 41.

<sup>605</sup> It was also reported that on 1 November 1981, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohammad sent a letter to Ismail Faruqi to express his happiness on ABIM's decision to consider his proposal to enable better relations between the government and ABIM, but in response the Prime Minister put five conditions that needed to be undertaken by ABIM as prerequisite for the government to fulfill ABIM's wishes. The conditions were the followings: First, ABIM ceases to associate with PAS or other political parties by not having members or officials of these parties holding office in ABIM. Members and officials of ABIM should

In order to unite human capitals in the organisation, ABIM took considerably progressive effort to integrate *ulama'* and intellectuals into the optimum level. Siddiq in his speech at the eleventh ABIM's Annual Conference said that the *ulama'* need to be intellectualised and the intellectuals need to be trained as pious scholars (the *ulama'*).<sup>606</sup> ABIM has successfully managed to attract both English and Islamic educated members to join and be active in the organisation. This was something unprecedented and unique in Malaysia.<sup>607</sup> The collaboration and unification of *ulama'* and intellectual in ABIM was instigated through serious educational process (*tarbiyyah*) and *da'wah* efforts in *usrah* or the circle study group to deeply lean in studying Islam.<sup>608</sup>

The importance of education or *tarbiyyah* has always been a priority in ABIM since its early foundation. From the perspective of ABIM leaders, no resurgence without intellectual development and Islamic Resurgence itself requires transformation of attitude, in particular paradigm shift of young generation towards the creation of *al-jīl ur-rabbānīyyu 'l-multazīm* or pious generation who committed with Islam in his thoughts, knowledge and value system.<sup>609</sup> The *da'wah* strategy of ABIM has been synergised through the development of physical and spiritual movements (*harakah*).<sup>610</sup>

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not stand as candidates for PAS or campaign for PAS in elections. Second, ABIM should not condemn the New Economic Policy as un-Islamic but should instead clearly and openly support the attempts of the Government to better the lot of the Malays/Muslims and Bumiputras in the economic and educational fields. Third, ABIM should not condemn the Malaysian Education Policy and the attempts of the government to train Malays in various fields of knowledge as un-Islamic and secular. Fourth, ABIM should not make false accusations against the Malaysian Government in order to damage its image in the Muslim world and generally embarrass it. Fifth, ABIM should not seek to sour the good relations with Malaysians neighbours by overtly encouraging irredentist movements in these countries. See, *Risalah*, No. 1, 1999, p. 2; A letter of two pages from Dr. Mahathir to Ismail R. Al-Faruqi, dated 1 November 1981. See Ismail Faruqi letters at <https://albangi.wordpress.com/2013/04/08/tun-mahathir-pujuk-anwar-masuk-umno-melalui-prof-ismail-faruqi-1981/>; *ibid*.

<sup>606</sup> "*Ulama' harus di'intelektual'kan dan intelektual harus di'ulama'kan*". Thus, ABIM would not face problem on who should lead the organisation, unlike PAS which recently faced a deep struggle between the *ulamas* and the professionals in leading its future prospect in the national political arena. See, the speech of postponing the 11<sup>th</sup> ABIM's conference by Siddiq Fadil (the acting President of ABIM) in Laporan Tahunan Mukhtamar ABIM Ke-12, ABIM PUSAT 1402-1403/1982-1983 and Minit Mesyuarat on 11<sup>th</sup> ABIM's Mukhtamar Sanawi, p. 15; See, Liza Hasan, 'Ke mana selepas Mukhtamar Pas?', *Sinar Harian*, 2 June 2015.

<sup>607</sup> Perhaps with this formula, no dichotomy in the leadership orientation and educational foundation within ABIM can occur which may contribute to inward crisis. Mohd Nor Bin Nawawi, 'Islamic Resurgence (Malaysia Experience)', p. 5; 'ABIM Gerakan Massa – Siddiq Fadil', *Risalah*, Bil. 5682, 1982, p. 6.

<sup>608</sup> Laporan Tahunan Mukhtamar ABIM Ke-12 ABIM PUSAT 1402-1403/1982-1983, p. 15.

<sup>609</sup> Anwar Ibrahim, 'Pembinaan Generasi Rabbaniyy – Tuntutan Kebangkitan Umat', *Risalah*, No. 1, 1982, p. 24.

<sup>610</sup> The physical *harakah* involved organisational structure of ABIM central leadership, the state, district and unit; membership, the construction of ABIM's centres or *markaz*, as well as communication between the local and international Islamic movements. The spiritual *harakah* encompasses the enhancement of religious-spiritual programmes which contain *tamrin* (leadership training), *usrah*, *Da'wah* Training Cadre (LKD - *Latihan Kader Dakwah*), knowledge enhancement programmes, intellectual discourses, seminars, conventions, forums, educational and *da'wah* trips (*rehlah dakwah* and *tarbiyyah*), *tausiah* (friendly reminder) and *tazkirah* (a short religious talk), towards strengthening the formation of physical and spiritual movement. Abdul Wahab Hj Zakari, 'Pengurusan dan Strategi Da'wah dan Konteks Negara Malaysia', Bengkel Pengurusan Organisasi ABIM, 18 – 21 June 1987, pp. 1-3; Muhamad Mustafa, 'Madrasah Tarbiyah Harakah', in *Buku Cenderamata ABIM sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, p. 44.

As a prominent *da'wah* movement and a pressure group to the state administration in Malaysia, ABIM has played a constructive role in introducing the philosophy of Islamic education in the mainstream education system. ABIM's special proposal which comprised ABIM Education Memorandum 1974 was successfully submitted to Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, as the Minister of Education at that time, on 22 October 1974 to improve the national education policy.<sup>611</sup> To ensure the continuation of integrated education at the tertiary level, ABIM has urged the government to set up the Islamic university.<sup>612</sup>

The period of 16 years of Anwar's presence in the government (1982-1998) had significant impact to Islamisation policy introduced by Mahathir and ABIM alike. During the 33<sup>rd</sup> of UMNO's General Gathering in 1982, Mahathir announced three grand projects of Islamisation; the establishment of the International Islamic University and Islamic Bank, and the introduction of Islamic civilisation subject at the tertiary level of education.<sup>613</sup> ABIM utilised a constructive corrective participation, 'Partner in Nation Building' and a revolution from within approaches to build good relationship with the government and to assist the ruling party in the implementation of these projects that were connected with the influence of Anwar Ibrahim.<sup>614</sup> Many ABIM leaders and activists have occupied key leadership positions in the Islamic organisations designed

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<sup>611</sup> This recommendations was delivered by Osman Bakar, the Head of ABIM Education Bureau, consisted the basis of an integrated and comprehensive education plan that emphasises on the inculcation of religious, moral and cultural values of Malaysian and several other suggestions. The proposal included the concept and the philosophy of Islamic education, the enforcement of Islamic education as compulsory subject, problem of religious teachers, the Muslim students' uniform and educational environment, the establishment of Islamic university, the management of pre-school education and policy of universal education. See, Memorandum Pelajaran 1974 in *Buku Cenderamata ABIM sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, pp. 27-32.

<sup>612</sup> This suggestion had previously been voiced out by PKPIM when it organised "Congress of Islamic University" in 1971 at the National University of Malaysia (UKM). Mohd Jamil Mukmin, *Gerakan Islam di Malaysia: Kesenambungan, Respons dan Perubahan, 1957-2000*, Shah Alam: Pusat Penerbit Universiti (UPENA), 2009, pp. 34-36.

<sup>613</sup> The Speech of UMNO's President, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad in the 1982 UMNO's General Gathering held at Hilton Hotel, Kuala Lumpur on 10 September 1982 in Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz, Mustapa Kassim (editors), *Amanat Presiden: Demi Agama, Bangsa and Negara, 1981-2003 Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad*, Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Sdn. Bhd., 2009, p. 31.

<sup>614</sup> *Risalah*, No. 1, 1984 reported that ABIM President, Siddiq Fadil was invited to present paper in Seminar Penerapan Nilai-Nilai Islam di Malaysia coordinated by Student Association of University of Science Malaysia, on 22 January 1984. Presented a paper entitled "Beberapa Persoalan Pokok Dalam Proses Islamisasi di Malaysia" (few core elements in Islamisation in Malaysia), stressed on the substance of the projects than decorative symbolic labels. Siddiq also criticised the concept of leadership by example (*Kepimpinan Melalui Teladan*) with the emphasis that the best leadership was not just gave instruction but also educated and taught its employees. The acting ABIM President gave his speech in Forum Kepimpinan Melalui Teladan organised by Association of Muslim Workers' Welfare (*Persatuan Kebajikan Pekerja-Pekerja Islam*), National Electrical Board (*Lembaga Letrik Negara - LLN*) on 20 May 1984. See, *Risalah*, No. 1, 1984, p. 1; *Risalah*, No. 3, 1983, p. 1; Arba'iyah Mohd Noor, 'ABIM Dalam Gelombang Politik Negara', *Risalah*, No. 5, October 2001, pp. 5-6.

under the Islamisation programmes in the social, politics, religion and education to affect the amplification of the Islamic ethos and policy directions in the country.<sup>615</sup>

Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad (BIMB) was the first Islamic bank which started to operate in July 1983.<sup>616</sup> ABIM also proposed that the government to establish the Islamic bank, standardise the management of *zakat*, set up Islamic insurance (*takāful*) and Islamic-based pawnshop (*Ar-Rahnu*).<sup>617</sup> ABIM's President, Siddiq Fadzil also emphasised that various ordinances and acts which contradicted with the Qur'an and Sunnah, including Pawnshop Act 1981, Horse Racing Act 1965, Gambling Ordinance 1953 and Lottery Ordinance 1952 and a few provisions of the *Syari'ah* Management Act which controverted to the *hudūd* laws need to be abolished if the real meaning of Islamisation has to be fulfilled.<sup>618</sup> The government Islamisation projects were strengthened by the enforcement of Inculcation of Islamic Values Policy into the working culture of the government sectors which then contributed to establish more Islamic institutions under the government agenda.<sup>619</sup>

Since the early 1980s, ABIM has also actively promoted the idea of Islamisation of knowledge in Malaysia.<sup>620</sup> Inspired by the intellectual thoughts and ideas of the Malay world scholar, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas on 'Islamisation of knowledge', this motivated ABIM to champion discourses and efforts on this concept, as a methodology to review Islamic education system through seminars, forums, talks and publishing books. As an attempt to popularise the concept of Islamisation of

<sup>615</sup> David Camroux, 'State Responses to Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia', pp. 859-860.

<sup>616</sup> In the process to establish Islamic Bank, on 30th July 1981, the government formed the Leading Committee and elected Special Advisor of the Prime Minister, Raja Mohar Raja Badiozaman, as its chairman and Board of Hajj Management and Fund (*Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji - LUTH*) as the secretariat. Abd. Munmin Ghani, 'Sistem Kewangan Islam dan Pelaksanaannya di Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia (JAKIM), 2005, 325-326.

<sup>617</sup> *Risalah*, No. 5, 1982, p. 15, "Agenda Dakwah ABIM", *ABIM's official Website*, 11 Jun 2012. <http://www.abim.org.my/v1/index.php/perkhidmatan>.

<sup>618</sup> 'Menyahun Cabaran Abad Kebangunan', *Risalah*, No. 4, 1983, p. 6.

<sup>619</sup> See the Speech of UMNO's President, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad In The 1983 UMNO's General Gathering held At Hilton Hotel, Kuala Lumpur on 19 August 1983 in Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz (editors), Mustapa Kassim, *Amanat Presiden: Demi Agama, Bangsa and Negara*, p. 57-58.

<sup>620</sup> The Idea of Islamisation of knowledge began to discuss in the First World Conference of Muslim Education in Makkah held from 30 March to 8 April 1977. At that time, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas delivered his work of *Preliminary Thoughts on the Nature of Knowledge and Definition and Aims of Education*, and this was followed by al-Faruqi who proposed the project of Islamisation of knowledge in his monograf entitled *Islamisation of Knowledge: General Principles and Workplan* in 1982. See, Maisarah Hasbullah, Mohd Hazim Shah Abdul Murad, 'Respons Pemikir Dunia Melayu Terhadap Modeniti Melalui Wacana Sains Islam', *Melayu: Jurnal Antarabangsa Dunia Melayu*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2013, p. 102, pp. 99-119; Ghulam Nabi Saqeb, 'Some Reflections on Islamisation of Education since 1977 Makkah Conference: Accomplishments, Failures and Tasks Ahead', *Intellectual Discourse*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2000, pp. 45-68.

knowledge in pure science and arts, the role played by ABIM members in Academy of Islamic Science of Malaysia (*Akademi Sains Islam Malaysia - ASASI*) and Association of Muslim Writers (*Gabungan Penulis-Penulis Islam Malaysia - GAPIM*) was significant to promote these philosophy and worldviews against the dichotomy of secularism in the modern knowledge and the country's educational system.<sup>621</sup> Furthermore, International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) was formally established in 1987. It was then became an excellent institution for dissemination the idea of Islamisation of knowledge in various disciplines.<sup>622</sup>

Publication of books by the outstanding scholars of this thought including, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas,<sup>623</sup> Ismail Raji al-Faruqi,<sup>624</sup> and Seyyed Hossein Nasr<sup>625</sup> was extensively discussed and followed by local scholars such as, Osman Bakar, Shaharir Mohamad Zain, Wan Ramli Wan Daud, Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, Mohd Yusof Othman, Khalijah Mohd Salleh, Rosnani Hashim, Mohamed Aslam Haneef and many others through dissemination of their academic works in the public universities

<sup>621</sup> According to Adi Setia Mohd Dom, the efforts of filtering 'Islamisation of knowledge' and the 'Islamisation of science' has been introduced and continued by by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, Osman Bakar, Wan Ramli Wan Daud, Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, Mohd. Yusof Othman, Elinor Mohammad Abdul Kadir, Adi Setia Mohd Dom, Mohd Farid Shahrar, Syamsudin Arif, Saghir and Wan Mohd Zaidi Abdullah. This effort was followed by the network of scholars in Academy of Islamic Sciences Malaysia (ASASI), Association of Muslim Scholars (HAKIM- *Himpunan Keilmuan Muslim*), Institute of Mathematic, UPM (INSPEM- Institut Penyelidikan Matematik UPM), Institute of Malay World and Civilization, UKM (ATMA - *Institut Alam dan Tamadun Melayu UKM*), Secretariat of Islamic Sains and Philosophy, USM (SEFSI - Sekretariat Falsafah dan Sains Islam USM) and Academy of Civilization Studies (AKK- *Akademi Kajian Ketamadunan*). See, Mahadi Abu Hassan, Khadijah Mohd Khambali@Hambali, 'Pengislaman Sains Dan Pengaruhnya Dalam Peradaban: Respons Ilmuwan Muslim Terpilih', *Journal of Human Capital Development*, Vol. 6 No. 1 January-June 2013, p. 140; Osman Bakar, 'Implikasi ABIM Ke Atas Sistem Pendidikan Negara', in *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>622</sup> Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, was an ABIM mentor who initiated the foundation of *usrah* and also a founder of ISTAC. ISTAC was founded through a vital role played by ABIM intelligentsias with the encouraging support of the government. Mohammad Muchlis Solichin, 'Islamisasi Ilmu Pengetahuan Dan Aplikasinya Dalam Pendidikan Islam', *Tadris*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2008, pp. 15-16, pp. 14-29; Mahadi Abu Hassan, Khadijah Mohd Khambali@Hambali, 'Pengislaman Sains Dan Pengaruhnya Dalam Peradaban', p. 141.

<sup>623</sup> The idea of Islamisation of knowledge by Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas was explained in few books which were published through ABIM initiatives including 'Islam Dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu' in 1972; *Islam and Secularism* (published by ABIM in 1978; and ISTAC in 1993); *The Concept of Education in Islam: A Framework of an Islamic Philosophy of Education* in 1980. Other books of al-Attas were published by ASASI in 1988 entitled *The Positive Aspect of Tasawuf Preliminary Thought on an Islamic Philosophy of Science*, and *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam: An Exposition of the Fundamental Elements of the Worldview of Islam* published by ISTAC in 1996.

<sup>624</sup> Ismail al-Faruqi was a distinguished Palestinian-American philosopher and Islamic scholar; and Professor of Religion at Temple University, where he chaired the Islamic Studies program. Two important books written by Ismail Raji al-Faruqi discussed the idea of Islamisation of knowledge are *Islamisation of Knowledge: General Principles and Workplan* (published by IIIT in 1982 and Tawhid: *Its Implications for Thought and Life* in 1982. The other article by al-Faruqi also conveyed the similar topic but for the social sciences discipline entitled, *Islamizing The Social Sciences* in *Islamika*, 1981, pp.1-8.

<sup>625</sup> Intellectual works of Seyyed Hossein Nasr who neatly explained the discourse on Islam and Science in human civilization included *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* in 1964, *Science and Civilization in Islam* in 1968, *Ideals and Realities of Islam* in 1971, *Islam and the Plight of Modern* in 1976, *Islamic Sciences: An Illustrated Study* in 1976, *Knowledge and The Sacred* in 1981.



since 1980s. Most of these local scholars have been involved in the pure sciences.<sup>626</sup>

There was also an attempt to islamise the social sciences initiated by Sociology and Antropology Association collaboration with Department of Sociology and Antropology, University of Malaya when International Seminar on Islam and Social Sciences was held on 28 and 29 November 1981.<sup>627</sup>

Consistent with its effort to introduce an integrated Islamic education, ABIM has introduced its model of education with the establishment of private schools.<sup>628</sup> These schools had introduced the subject of Islamic Principle with a conducive Islamic environment to inculcate Islamic awareness among students without disturbing the focal content of mainstream educational curriculum.<sup>629</sup> The graduates of these schools also succeeded to enter university, dominated student leadership and led to create the Islamic culture of wearing the headscarf in the campus life.<sup>630</sup>

A model of integrated education which combined revealed and acquired knowledge (*fardu 'ain* and *fardu kifāyah*) was introduced to fulfil the aspiration of practising Islam in its holistic structure. The first pre-school education namely, *Taman Asuhan Kanak-Kanak Islam* (TASKI) was established in 1979, continued with the class of memorising the Quran (*Tahfīz al-Quran*) in 1983 with a new pedagogical approach of 5M.<sup>631</sup> Apart of this development, ABIM also established Islamic Primary School (*Sekolah Rendah Islam* - SRI) in 1988, Islamic Secondary School (*Sekolah Menengah*

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<sup>626</sup> For future explanation of their academic discussions and works refer to Mahadi Abu Hassan, Khadijah Mohd Khambali@Hambali, 'Pengislaman Sains Dan Pengaruhnya Dalam Peradaban', p. 139. See also, Osman Bakar, 'Mengapa Perlunya Islamisasi Ilmu?', *Risalah*, Vol. 12/87, No. 2, March – April 1987, pp. 20-23.

<sup>627</sup> The seminar was organised under the supervision of Mohd Noor Nawawi, Associate Professor Dr. Zainal Kling and Drs. Ahmad Kamar Abdul Rahman. Mohd Noor Nawawi was an active member of ABIM at that time. Interview with Professor Dr. Mohd Noor bin Nawawi, at Centre for Graduates Studies, University of Selangor, Shah Alam, Selangor. Second interview was conducted on 12 July 2013, 10.00am. Professor Dr. Mohd Noor is Dean of Centre for Graduates Studies, University of Selangor (UNISEL), International Seminar on Islam and Social Sciences, Dewan Kuliah 1, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University Malaya, 28 & 29 November 1981.

<sup>628</sup> The establishment of the Islamic-oriented private schools began with the foundation of Yayasan Anda Akademik at Kampung Baru, Kuala Lumpur in the early 1970s, followed by other private schools with the similar orientation, including Institut Sofar (Ipoh), Institut Berakan (Kuala Terengganu), Yayasan Budi (Alor Setar and Kota Kinabalu), Institut Annur (Kota Bharu), Institut Fajar (Kuantan). Most of its founders were activists and former leaders of student associations in the university. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman', p. 38.

<sup>629</sup> Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman', p. 38.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid.

<sup>631</sup> The basic skills of 5M are writing, reading, memorising, understanding and actualising.

*Islam* - SMI) in 1988.<sup>632</sup> Takmir Foundation was formed in 2002 to plan, manage, monitor and coordinate ABIM's education institutions. At the tertiary level of education, the Institute of Islamic Sciences (IPII - *Institut Pengajian Ilmu-Ilmu Islam*) was formed in 1989. IPII was later known as Kolej Dar-al Hikmah on 15 June 2002.<sup>633</sup>

In the early 1980s, the phenomenon of *takfir*<sup>634</sup> which has been widely spread in Egypt was also taken place in Malaysia.<sup>635</sup> With the cruel oppression experienced by the Islamists, this contributed to the tendency to radicalism among Islamic movement activists in Egypt which then also influenced the Islamists in Malaysia.<sup>636</sup> ABIM took a constructive moderate stand dealing with the penetration of foreign ideas related to Islamic movements without being a 'copy carbon' and duplicating any Islamic movement in the world.<sup>637</sup> Rather than receiving a radical school of thoughts from reading materials written by Syed Qutb's *Petunjuk Sepanjang Jalan* and Said Hawwa's *Jundullah Thaqāfatan wa Akhlāqan*,<sup>638</sup> ABIM formulated *Manhaj Malīzī* with its unique characteristic which is suited to the nature of *da'wah* in the Malaysian environment. This approach placed ABIM as the non-partisan and independent political force which was directly involved in the political process without being a political party.<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>632</sup> Until 2004, ABIM has managed 365 TASKI, 65 tahfiz classes and 20 schools with a total number of 184 teachers and 33,625 students. Mahyuddin Ashaari, 'Sejarah Pendidikan ABIM', *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, Vol. 10, No. 4, Februari 2004, pp. 1, 15-16, 'ABIM Terus Melangkah', *Risalah*, No. 5, December 1987, p. 6.

<sup>633</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>634</sup> *Takfir* refers to the phenomena of accusing others as non-believer if the person is not practicing Islam totally and is called "the ignorant" or *jāhiliyyah* who was made compulsory to fight against him or her.

<sup>635</sup> ABIM took an initiative to lead a meeting with *da'wah* organisations which discussed the issues of "*takfir*" and "two imams". The meeting held at ABIM Headquarters on 14 July 1982 which involved Ustaz Asha'ari (Darul Arqam), Tuan Hj Talha (Persatuan Ulama Malaysia - PUM), Malik Awang Kechil (PKPIM), Dr. Baharuddin (Academy of Islamic Science), Dr. Osman Ishak (Academy of Islamic Studies, University Malaya) Engku Ibrahim (Department of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya), representatives of the students association in the Middle East, ABIM and National University of Malaysia. The meeting decided to conduct a study on these issues. A group of lecturer who represented the independent *da'wah* organisations had visited Terengganu and Kelantan working in the fieldwork study. The meeting had elected Kamaruddin Mohd Noor, the Vice President of ABIM (international) as Chairman to coordinate Da'wah Organisations and Fuad Hassan, the Assistant of Secretary General of ABIM as Secretary of the Committee. *Risalah*, Bil. 4, 1982, p. 26.

<sup>636</sup> According to Mohammad Redzuan Othman, since the early 1980s, many cases of cruelty and oppression on the activists of the Islamic movement at global arena such as cruel oppression on the Egypt Islamists after the assassination of Anwar Sadat, Tanjung Periuk Event in Indonesia and the success of Islamic Revolution of Iran had triggered the Islamic movement's tendency towards radicalism in Malaysia. The Islamists' experience dealing with pressure of the status quo contributed to sharp critical writings which called to purge modern form of *jāhiliyyah* (ignorance) and turn to fundamental teachings of Quran. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman', p. 37. See also, Ahmad Zaki Haji Abd. Latiff, *Transformasi Gerakan Islam*, p. 119.

<sup>637</sup> See, the Speech of the Acting President of ABIM, Siddiq Fadzil in the 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of ABIM, Laporan Tahunan Muktamar ABIM Ke-12 ABIM PUSAT 1403-1404/1983-1984, p. 15.

<sup>638</sup> These works divided society into black and white for example, Muslim for those practises Islam entirely, and the *Jahiliyyah* for those who did not practise it and made it compulsory to fight against them. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman', p. 37.

<sup>639</sup> Ahmad Azam Abdul Rahman, 'Manhaj Maliziy dan Lain-lain', in *Buku Cenderamata ABIM sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, pp. 79-80.

Despite the fact that, ABIM has been influenced by the thought of *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* and *Jama'at-I-Islami*, ABIM overall identity seems to be independent from these two movements. ABIM only presented a few figures of the Middle East Islamic movements in its publications, like Hassan al-Banna and al-Maududi whose viewpoints stand on a moderate school of thought to demonstrate its moderation in presenting Islam.<sup>640</sup> The religious works of Yusuf Qaradawi, Fathi Yakan, Hassan al-Hubaybi, Abd al-Kader Audah were published to prevent any tendency of extremism which could tarnish the image of Islam and the resurgence in the eyes of the non-believers.<sup>641</sup>

ABIM also took a pragmatic approach to produce its own model in practising Islam as the best solution to Muslim life. Many institutions were established such as, Koperasi Belia Islam on 31 May 1977 as the first financial institution which provided loan without interest.<sup>642</sup> Other important institutions are Al-Islam Specialist Hospital, formerly known as Kampung Baru Medical Centre (KBMC), the Syarī'ah and Law clinic,<sup>643</sup> Global Peace Mission (GPM),<sup>644</sup> IS Technology and Telecommunication and Researcher Group of World Civilisation (*Grup Pengkaji Tamadun Dunia – GPTD*).<sup>645</sup> Islamic Outreach ABIM (IOA) was established in 1986 aimed at describing Islam to non-Muslims in the true perspective without generating any prejudice and fear of Islam.<sup>646</sup>

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<sup>640</sup> 'Mari Kita Masyarakatkan ABIM', *Risalah*, October, 1989, p. 28.

<sup>641</sup> The religious works of Yusuf Qaradawi, for instance, *Islam Dakwah yang Syumul and Kebangunan Islam Di Antara Tangan dan Extremism*, the writing of Fathi Yakan, *Masalah Dakwah dan Pendakwah*, the writing of Hassan al-Hubaybi, *Pendakwah Bukan Penghukum* and the writing of Abd al-Kader Audah, *Islam Di Antara Kejahilan Umat dan Kelesuan Ulama*. Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman', pp. 37-38.

<sup>642</sup> Tunku Zainol Rashid was the first chairman of Koperasi Belia Islam (KBI). Laporan Tahunan 1976/77, Muktamar Sanawi Keenam, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, Kolej Islam Kelang, Selangor, 28 – 31 July 1977, pp. 9-10; Laporan Tahunan 1397/98 – 1977/78, ABIM, p. 9; 'Koperasi Belia Islam Malaysia: Alternatif Kepada Sistem Kini', *Risalah*, No. 4, 1982.

<sup>643</sup> The Shariah and Laws clinic was the first law clinic by its type in Malaysia which was established by ABIM in 1989. The clinic provided the legal advice services for Muslims in Malaysia and as centre which functioned to propose solutions to issues related to law and the shariah cases. Refer to *Risalah*, Vol. 13/88, No. 9, November & December 1988, p. 16.

<sup>644</sup> Global Peace Mission (GPM) was ABIM's global humanitarian assistance agency which was formed to activate humanitarian mission at international level. See, Dokumen Muktamar & Laporan Tahunan 2009/2010, Muktamar Sanawi Ke-39, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, Kompleks Dar Al-Hikmah, Sg. Ramal Dalam, Kajang, Selangor, 7-8 August 2010, p. 116.

<sup>645</sup> Grup Pengkaji Tamadun Dunia – GPTD was founded in 2001 and succeeded to manage various expedition programs, civilizational studies social services and exploring foreign languages at international arena. GPTD was registered at Registrar of Youth Organisation (ROY) with a new name, Club of Young Generation of World Civilization or *Kelab Generasi Pemuda Tamadun Dunia*. See, Dokumen Muktamar & Laporan Tahunan 2009/2010, p. 49.

<sup>646</sup> 'Pendekatan ABIM Terhadap Non-Muslim', *Risalah*, No. 6, July & August 1988, pp. 21-22; "Agenda Dakwah ABIM", *ABIM Official Website*. 11 June 2012. <http://www.abim.org.my/v1/index.php/perkhidmatan>.

Centre for Women Development which was initially proposed in 1997, was formed in 2010 to coordinate *Bayt Ar Rahmah* as a temporary protection house or One Stop Crisis Centre (OSCC) which provides social, psychological welfare and legal services to help innocent victims of social-risk activities amongst juveniles, and to resolve issues relating to women and family, in particular.<sup>647</sup> Through its community services and development programmes, ABIM's *da'wah* field works actively involved urban and rural areas, and engaged with all level of society.<sup>648</sup> Inter Faith Group Services (IFGS), was formed as a platform to expend interfaith dialogues with other religion organisations. ABIM also vigorously participated in the World Council of Muslims Inter-Faith Relations (WCMIR) and the Interfaith Council within the NGOs capitalised this opportunity to explain the principle of Islam on various issues.<sup>649</sup>

ABIM has also been concerned on Muslim's welfare to practise Islam as individual's belief corresponding to what has been pronounced in the state's Islamisation policy of Inculcating the Islamic Values. ABIM has requested the government to implement a uniform which could cover the Muslim women's parts of body (*'aurah*) for nurses, armies, policemen and students at schools and high learning institutions.<sup>650</sup> Accordingly, in 2006, the Fifth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Abdullah Badawi endorsed that the policewomen were made compulsory to wear a headscarf at the office and public functions.<sup>651</sup> Earlier than that, ABIM also proposed that the

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<sup>647</sup> It also acts as a support group for single mothers, rape victims, new reverts and the HIV/AIDS patients. *Bayt Ar Rahmah* has been the second experiment of ABIM after the success of Darul Wardah in which its operation was set up on 1 September 2008 under the management of ABIM for Selangor branch. See, Dokumen Muktamar & Laporan Tahunan 2010/2011, Muktamar Sanawi Ke-40, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 22-24 July 2011, Kompleks Dar Al-Hikmah, Sg. Ramal Dalam, Kajang, Selangor, p. 19. For more detail about Darul Wardah visit <http://darulwardahselangor.blogspot.com/2009/01/pengenalan-darul-wardah-abim-selangor.html>. See, the speech of Muhamad Razak Idris, the President of ABIM, in the High Tea Meeting with Centre for Women Development (Pusat Pembangunan Wanita - PPW), on 19 December 2010, at the Main Hall of Dar al-Hikmah College, Kajang. <https://razak.wordpress.com/2010/12/20/ppw-sebagai-benteng-ketahanan-ummah/>. See also, Bayt Ar Rahmah official Website at <http://baytallahmah.weebly.com/>.

<sup>648</sup> This includes old folks, rubber tappers, businessmen, peasants and fishermen or even among the factory workers and cell residents. 'Mari Kita Masyarakatkan ABIM', *Risalah*, October, 1989, p. 28; Islamic Outreach ABIM, 'ABIM Masuk Penjara?', *Risalah*, Vol. 13/88, Mac 1988, pp. 8-9.

<sup>649</sup> See, the role of ABIM representative in World Conference of Religions for Peace (WCRP) and has presented views at several of its events, including at the recent International Summit of Religious Youth Leaders on Disarmament for Shared Security held in Kathmandu in July 2009, in Asian Conference of Religions for Peace (Religions for Peace Asia), on December 5, 2009, organized by Council for A Parliament of the World's Religions held at Melbourne Australia, p. 184. See also, <http://www.parliamentofreligions.org/index.cfm?n=7&sn=115>.

<sup>650</sup> *Risalah*, Vol. 13/88, No. 1, January 1988, p. 28.

<sup>651</sup> *New Strait Times*, 22 March 2006; 'Jangan Berbalah Isu Tudung', *Utusan Melayu*, 26 March 2006; 'Abdullah Backs Tudung Dress Code for Police', *The Star*, 26 March 2006, p. 22.

Ministry of Industry to allocate special time for the factory male workers to perform their Friday prayer.<sup>652</sup> A similar demand was made to Ministry of Home Affairs to provide suitable facilities and to allow the male Muslims in the prison to perform Friday prayer as their individual obligation in practising Islam.<sup>653</sup>

The government proactive efforts to position Islam in its central agenda have given positive impact on the continuation of the Islamic Resurgence since early 1970s. More spaces for Islamic programmes took place at every level of the Malaysian society.<sup>654</sup> Collaboration between the NGOs and the government was encouraged until Anwar was sacked from his position as the Deputy Prime Minister, by incumbent Prime Minister Mahathir, on 2 September 1998, accused for allegedly engaging in corruption and immoral sexual relations. Anwar was then detained without trial under the Internal Security Act (ISA) in 1998.<sup>655</sup>

The abrupt dismissal of Anwar Ibrahim from the government position and his detention in the ISA embarked the political tendency among ABIM activists. For the first time in the history of Islamic movement in Malaysia, most of the Islamic movements, in particular ABIM, PKPIM, JIM and PAS strongly united in Pro-Anwar turbulences. ABIM with other associations launched *Reformasi* Movement (*Gerakan Reformasi*) on 6 September 1998.<sup>656</sup> ABIM also joined two civil associations, namely *Gagasan Demokrasi Rakyat* (GAGASAN) and *Gerakan Keadilan Rakyat Malaysia* (GERAK) which was led by PAS to coordinate *Reformasi* Movement in 1999.<sup>657</sup> The

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<sup>652</sup> Open Letter (*Surat Terbuka*) Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM) to Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamed, the Minister of Malaysian Industry, entitled "Menunaikan Fardhu Jumaat di Kalangan Pekerja-Pekerja Kilang Beragama Islam", dated 17 April 1979.

<sup>653</sup> Open Letter of Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM) to Chief Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, entitled "Sembahyang Jumaat di Kalangan Orang-Orang Tahanan", dated 8<sup>th</sup> January, 1979.

<sup>654</sup> The government agenda has also contributed to fertilise *da'wah* activities proposed by the Islamic NGOs, like ABIM for the reason that such activities could also help to increase the government's credibility for the Islamic cause.

<sup>655</sup> Jason Abbott, 'Vanquishing Banquo's Ghost: The Anwar Ibrahim Affair and Its Impact on Malaysian Politics', *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 25, No. 3, September 2001, p. 286, pp. 285-308.

<sup>656</sup> Laporan Setiausaha Agung, Muktamar Sanawi Ke-28, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 9-11 September 1999, Dewan Besar Ma'had Al-Ummah, Chemor, Ipoh, Perak, p. 1.

<sup>657</sup> PAS led by Ustaz Fadzil Mohd Noor founded Gerakan Keadilan Rakyat Malaysia (GERAK) in 1998 which involved the Non-Malays organisations including, Democratic Action party (DAP), Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SUARAM), Burma Solidarity Group of Malaysia, (BSGM), International Movement for a Just World (JUST), Consumer Association of Penang (CAP), and Aliran other Islamic organisations, such as Persatuan Kebangsaan Pelajar-Pelajar Islam Malaysia (PKPIM), Persatuan Ulama' Malaysia (PUM), Persatuan Pengguna Islam Malaysia (PPIM), ISMA, TERAS, YATIM and URUS. See, Mohd Fadli Ghani, 'Dewan Pemuda PAS:

active participation of ABIM in the reformation uprising has contributed to the detention of its president, Ahmad Azam Abdul Rahman and other ABIM's leaders under the ISA.<sup>658</sup> ABIM has also decided to display its political stance by supporting Alternative Front (BA) in the 1999 General Election to strive for change, power abuse, and rejecting any forms of tyranny practiced by the government. ABIM's political stance was to put its priority on the *ummatic da'wah* goal above other matters.<sup>659</sup>

During this period of political upheaval, many *da'wah* activists from ABIM have decided to participate in politics, choosing to join either PAS or the newly founded National Justice Party or *Parti Keadilan Nasional* led by Anwar's wife, Wan Azizah Wan Ismail who later formed the multi-ethnic Alternative Front.<sup>660</sup> From the political activism, ABIM later reviewed its serious involvement in political mainstream and then returned to its principle as the non-partisan organisation that presented reformation (*islah*) through *da'wah* approach without neglecting its role in the political development of the country.<sup>661</sup>

Under the leadership of Ahmad Azam, ABIM has played a significant role to unite the Malays although this was considered by the *Reformasi* activists as betrayal to reformation struggle.<sup>662</sup> With the initiative taken by ABIM, for the first time in the Malaysia history, two leaders of the Malay-Islamic based political party, Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, UMNO President and Ustaz Fadzil Nor were met in a similar stage sharing

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Suatu Kajian Terhadap Tahap-Tahap Perkembangan Organisasi dalam Era Bertindak, 1975-2003', M.A. Thesis, Pusat Pengajian Sejarah, Politik dan Strategi, Fakulti Sains Sosial dan Kemanusiaan, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2003, p. 2.

<sup>658</sup> The detention of ABIM's officials under the ISA included Vice President, Ustaz Mokhtar Ridzwan, Deputy President, Hj Abdul Halim Ismail and Secretary General, Hj Shahrudin Badaruddin. See, The Media Release by Assistant of Secretary General of ABIM on 22 September 1998 in *Risalah*, Special Edition 1, September 1998, p. 2; Laporan Setiausaha Agung, Muktamar Sanawi Ke-28, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, pp. 1-3; Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'Islamist Realignments and the Rebranding of the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 2008, p. 219, pp. 215-240.

<sup>659</sup> *Risalah*, No. 5, October 2001, p. 7.

<sup>660</sup> BA was an alliance of Malaysian opposition together with PAS, the Democratic Action Party (DAP) and Malaysian People's Party (PRM- *Parti Rakyat Malaysia*). Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'Islamist Realignments', p. 220.

<sup>661</sup> See, *Risalah*, No. 1, March 2001, p. 9.

<sup>662</sup> Muardi Desa, 'Mengapa Pendekatan Dakwah Dicurigai? Akhbar Reformasi Mengkritik ABIM', *Risalah*, No. 1, March 2001, pp. 8-9.

their views in a forum of Palestine held at Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kuala Lumpur on 8 May 2002.<sup>663</sup>

Wadah Pencerdasan Umat Malaysia (WADAH) was established as an extension of ABIM's struggle in Islamic *da'wah* on 11 March 2006. WADAH was joined by the former members of ABIM due to the age limit in ABIM as a youth organisation.<sup>664</sup> On 6 August 2010, a coalition of PKPIM-ABIM-WADAH was formed to coordinate a systematic structure of internal affairs as an entity of "*jamaah*" after the Movement Gathering or *Ijtimak Haraki* was convened and these three organisations were integrated under one roof of organisational movement.<sup>665</sup> ABIM has continued to be a dynamic Islamic *da'wah* movement locally and globally, displaying its non-partisan stances which grounded on the principle of truth and justice through its activities and agencies to champion the struggle for Islamic cause in various issues.<sup>666</sup> However, lately, ABIM's performance as an outstanding *da'wah* movement has been criticised by its former officials, requesting for rebranding itself to increase its impact nationally and internationally as it was once before.<sup>667</sup>

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<sup>663</sup> Refer to Ahmad Azam Abdul Rahman's interview transcript with reporter of *Utusan Malaysia*, in 'Perkongsian kuasa UMNO-Pas - Jangan takut untuk ulangi usaha perpaduan ummah 1970-an', *Utusan Malaysia*, 26 May 2002; Ahmad Azam Abdul Rahman, 'Krisis Politik Umat: Tangani Secara Syura', *Risalah*, No. 1, March 2001, pp. 2-3; Iskandar Muzaffar, 'Perpaduan Melayu: Menafsir Retorik Politik', *Risalah*, No. 1, March 2001, pp. 4-5.

<sup>664</sup> Siddiq Fadzil, 'WADAH: Menyahut Panggilan Pencerahan', *Buletin Wadah*, Bil. 1/2009, 1 Julai 2009, p. 1; *Pencerdasan*, June-July 2013, p. 1.

<sup>665</sup> See, Dokumen Muktamar & Laporan Tahunan 2009/2010, Muktamar Sanawi Ke-39, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, p. 22.

<sup>666</sup> To evaluate ABIM's active involvement in the national socio-political issues from 2000 to 2014, refer to Azizuddin Ahmad and Khairil Anuar Ramli, *Demi Kebenaran dan Keadilan*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 2005; Muhammad Razak Idris, the Seventh President of ABIM, 'Mengisi Perubahan Di Zaman Baru', *Risalah*, Special Edition, 2011, pp. 3-5; Ucapan Dasar Presiden, Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Perjuangan II: Mempertegas *Hadaf*, Memperkukuh *Khittah*, Auditorium Jubli Perak, Bangunan Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah, Shah Alam, Selangor, 6-8 September 2013, pp. 1-19; Laporan Tahunan 2012/2013, Muktamar Sanawi Ke-42, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia Auditorium Jubli Perak, Bangunan Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah, Shah Alam, Selangor, 6-8 September 2013, p. 35.

<sup>667</sup> See Professor Dr. Mohd Nor Nawawi's speech in World Conference on Islamic Resurgence: Challenges, Prospects and The Way Forward, as he said that: "ABIM, rightly or wrongly has been to have erred from its original approach of *da'wah* which proved to be so successful in the first two decades of its existence. After Ahmad Azam relinquished ABIM's leadership, ABIM was seen to be experimenting with new approaches to *da'wah* which proved to be catastrophic in terms of its performance and image. It faced a problem of image and losing direction. It failed to help acquire human, social and financial resources as well as building key partnerships. Its credibility as an Islamic movement was at stake. ABIM/WADAH should now be able to leverage their new brand to cause social impact and public discourse on Islam. It should try to benefit from the new branding to increase ABIM/WADAH's impact nationally and internationally as it was once before". Refer to Professor Dr. Mohd Nor Nawawi, 'Islamic Resurgence (Malaysia Experience)', World Conference on Islamic Resurgence: Challenges, Prospects and The Way Forward, Auditorium Jubli Perak, Bangunan Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah, Shah Alam, Selangor, 7 September 2013, pp. 5-6, pp. 1-11.

### 3.5 From Exclusive to Inclusive Activism of IKRAM

After the New Economic Policy (NEP) was implemented, more Malay students were sent by the government to study abroad as part of its attempt to strengthen the socioeconomic status of the Malays whom were mostly deprived compared to other ethnic groups. Bounded by a traditional practice of Islam which has been deep-rooted in the society, a sizeable number of Malay students began to find their ways to understand more about Islam and getting involved in the existing Islamic *da'wah* organisations which were familiar to the Malaysian students, following the emergence phenomenon of *da'wah* movement in the United Kingdom.<sup>668</sup>

Islamic Representative Council' (IRC) was established at Al-Rahmah mosque in Liverpool on December 1975 as results of discussions made<sup>669</sup> to coordinate the Malaysian student activities in United Kingdom.<sup>670</sup> IRC was set up as another platform of the existing-Islamic based *da'wah* organisations which adopted more Egyptian and Iraqi *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* and the sub-continent *Jamaat Islami* style of approach in its organisation structure, operation and identity.<sup>671</sup>

Upon the return of IRC activists from 1975 onwards, they managed to create an effective communication among other Malaysian graduates from other parts of this world which share similar goals, visualised the establishment of Islamic state and Islamic Caliphate to implement *syarī'ah* law in the frame of the Malaysian perspective.<sup>672</sup> Associated with other Malay Muslim students who intensified themselves with *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*'s school of Islamic thoughts from Australia,

<sup>668</sup> Among the organisations were Muslim Student Society (MSS), Federal Organisation of Student Society in UK and Eire (FOSIS) and UK Islamic Mission (UKIM). In addition, Malaysian students also formed their own associations, such as Kesatuan Melayu United Kingdom (KMUK), Malaysian Islamic Study Group (MISG) and published a magazine called *Suara Al-Islam*. See, Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, Kuala Lumpur: JIMedia, 2009, pp. 80-95.

<sup>669</sup> After the FOSIS Winter Gathering meeting in December 1974, the second discussion was made in April 1975 during Spring at University of Sussex, Brighton. About twenty five to thirty five individuals attended the meeting representing student associations from different universities in the UK including, Abang Abdullah Abang Ali, Fuad Abbas and Zaid Kamaruddin from Brighton, Wan Abu Bakar from Glasgow, Tarmizi from Leeds, Nordin Bakti from MISG London and Azahari Salleh from Porthmouth and representatives from Ireland, Eire.

<sup>670</sup> Because of its representative-based structure, the shura members were formed represented by Abang Abdullah Abang Ali and Fuad Hassan from Brighton, Nordin Bakti from MISG London and Wan Abu Bakar from Glasgow. Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, pp. 101-102. Mazlee Malik and Hamidah Mat, 'Pious Approach to Development: Social Capital and Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)', *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2014, p. 108.

<sup>671</sup> Mazlee Malik and Hamidah Mat, 'Pious Approach to Development', p. 108.

<sup>672</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.



Egypt and the United States of America, a group of what they called as '*jamaah*' was formed by the former members of IRC as a platform to activate their existence in the society at home.<sup>673</sup>

Unlike ABIM which was the prominent *da'wah* organisation in its vocal tone for Islamic cause, the existence of the *jamaah* members at that time did not seem to be bothered by the public, due to its clandestine approach and tactical strategic operations until in the early 1990s when it took the openness approach to register the organisation under Malaysian Student Department (MSD) and rebranded its identity as *Majlis Syūra Muslimūn* (MSM).<sup>674</sup> The former members of IRC and the *jamaah* have decided not to form any organisation when returning home but participated in the existing Islamic movements such as, ABIM and PAS as part of their contribution to stimulate Islamic consciousness in the Malaysian society.<sup>675</sup>

In their early involvement of *da'wah* in Malaysia, ABIM was identified to be the best platform for some IRC members to continue their Islamic activities attributable to its remarkable and respectable *da'wah* organisation among civil society and political parties.<sup>676</sup> ABIM was also regarded as the only credible spokesman of the *ummah* (*Juru Bicara Ummah*) which played significant role to revive the Islamic Resurgence in the society. It was seen to be an advance and a vocal organisation in voicing out various issues towards inculcating Islam in the state administration at that time. The involvement of the IRC members in ABIM was made to contribute in fortification of ABIM in the aspect of education and *tarbiyah* (the development of religious consciousness).<sup>677</sup> However, when Anwar Ibrahim joined UMNO, the IRC activists

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<sup>673</sup> Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, p. 154.

<sup>674</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>675</sup> Interview with Hj Zaid Kamaruddin, at IKRAM's Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor, 26 Sept 2012.

<sup>676</sup> See, Zaid Kamaruddin, 'Membina Permuafakatan Ummah Alam Dilimpahi Rahmah', *Ucapan Dasar Presiden Perhimpunan Perwakilan Nasional ke-19, 2009, Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)*, Kuala Lumpur: Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM), 2009, p. 9.

<sup>677</sup> Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, pp. 156-157.

decided to stop their involvement in ABIM and turned to see other organisation as a platform of *da'wah*.<sup>678</sup>

For IRC, Anwar's entry into UMNO would defeat its strategic role as the spokesman of the *ummah* and would make it impossible to continue its role representing the voice of people, if Anwar was in the government.<sup>679</sup> The IRC members were said to be very critical in making statements that Anwar's entry into UMNO was equivalent to jumping into a drum full of human ordure with the hope to cleanse it from the inside.<sup>680</sup> According to ABIM's sources, the IRC activists were said to make attempts to create internal turmoil and leadership coup in the two annual conferences of ABIM, in 1982 and 1983 when they started to criticise the way ABIM's leadership handle the issue of Anwar's entry into UMNO.<sup>681</sup> The acts of IRC activists who condemned and later left ABIM, has allowed negative perceptions among ABIM's members who believed that for many years they penetrated ABIM with their hidden agenda. As a result, the IRC members did not see ABIM as a platform for Islamic cause and decided to get involve in PAS with a strategy to strengthen the organisation.<sup>682</sup>

The IRC activists also experienced the same unpleasant experience in PAS. At the beginning, the entry of the IRC activists was sincerely welcomed by the top leadership of PAS, in particular, the then PAS's President, Hj Abdul Hadi Awang. The presence of these activists was almost appreciated to assist the party in consolidation of its *tarbiyah* programmes and developing the syllabus.<sup>683</sup> They were also advised to follow the

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<sup>678</sup> See, Sophie Lemièrre, 'Genesis and Development of A "Non-Partisan" Political Actor: The Formation of the Jama'ah Islah Malaysia (JIM) and its Roots in Western Europe', *Al-Jami'ah*, Vol. 47, No. 1, 2009, p. 56, pp. 49-90.

<sup>679</sup> Zaid Kamaruddin, 'Membina Permuafakatan Ummah', p. 9; Zaid Kamaruddin, Second Interview was conducted on 10 January 2013 at at IKRAM's Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor.

<sup>680</sup> Badlihisam Mohd Nasir, 'The Influence of Middle East Islamic Movement on the Extremist Thought in Malaysia', *TAWARIKH: International Journal for Historical Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011, p. 39, pp. 31- 46.

<sup>681</sup> Zulkafli Daud, 'ABIM dan Polimik Politik', in *Buku Cenderamata ABIM Sempena 25 Tahun ABIM 1971-1996*, Kuala Lumpur: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, p. 62-64.

<sup>682</sup> Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, pp. 158-159.

<sup>683</sup> According to Saari Sungip, he was asked by PAS main leaders to implement the *usrah* training methodology within the party. Saari used his pseudonym *Abu Urwah* for the whole collection of *usrah* writings. While Ustaz Alias Othman, Associate Professor of Academy of Islam, University of Malaya has been trusted to design the *tarbiyah* module in PAS. Saari also admitted that the IRC members did not want to discredit PAS and ABIM. See, Sophie Lemièrre, 'Genesis and Development of A Non-Partisan', p. 56; Interview with Zaid Kamaruddin, 26 Sept 2012.

party's practice and procedure, and perform the best for PAS.<sup>684</sup> Some of the IRC members who possessed important positions in the Youth (*Pemuda*) Wing of PAS with a drastic growth were believed to create unpleasant reactions from PAS activists.<sup>685</sup> Additionally, some IRC members and their personalities who gave more emphasis in *tarbiyah* also created differences within the party's political culture which was more confrontational by its nature and approach.<sup>686</sup> The effort of IRC members to bring together *ulama'* and professional groups gave significant impact to PAS, but later created unhealthy internal tension within the party.<sup>687</sup> After reviewing its approach to create such "*Harakah Islamīyah Syāmilah*" in 1988, the IRC activists began to look at other platform to blossom their idealism and contribute their expertise to the public.<sup>688</sup> The decision to establish a new NGO has been also discussed with PAS and ABIM leadership.<sup>689</sup>

Within 14 years since their return, they tried to act as contributing members in the organisations that they participated in. The participation of the IRC members received unpleasant perceptions by some members of ABIM and PAS, as their existence in these organisations has always been curious, due to the clandestineness nature of the IRC operation.<sup>690</sup> These negative remarks on the IRC activists remain to be in the notion of some of the Islamists in Malaysia, even though from the perspective of the IRC activists it was considered as their attempts to contribute in the Islamic organisations that they joined. Due to their fruitless attempts both in ABIM and PAS, the former members of IRC finally decided to form a new platform of *da'wah* in Malaysia named as

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<sup>684</sup> Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, p. 158.

<sup>685</sup> Former IRC member, Mustafa Abdul Kadir, was elected to the post of Vice Chief Youth of PAS who was believed by PAS activists to take over the Youth Wing of PAS through the position of the youth top leadership after Mustafa Ali's departure in the 1986's PAS election. Mustafa Abdul Kadir who was Chief of the *Tarbiyyah Lajnah* of PAS (1985-1987) was traced to form a clandestine network of IRC in PAS with other leaders including Vice Chief Youth of PAS (Selangor), Fauzi Shafie who was also an IRC member. Zaid Kamaruddin, Personal Interview, 26 Sept 2012; See also Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, pp. 158-159; Zaid Kamaruddin, 'Membina Permuafakatan Ummah', pp. 9-10; Riduan M. Nor, *Menggenggam Bara: Menelusuri Perjuangan 50 Tahun Dewan Pemuda PAS Pusat dan Kezaliman ISA*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Ahnaf, 2003, p. 15.

<sup>686</sup> Interview with Zaid Kamaruddin, on 10 January 2013, p. 8.

<sup>687</sup> Zaid Kamaruddin, 'Membina Permuafakatan Ummah', p. 10.

<sup>688</sup> Siti Hamisah Manan, *Gelombang Kebangkitan Dakwah Kampus*, p.159.

<sup>689</sup> Interview with Zaid Kamaruddin, 26 Sept 2012.

<sup>690</sup> Interview with Zaid Kamaruddin, 26 Sept 2012.

*Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia* (JIM) on 27 July 1990 to flourish their Islamic ideals to the society.<sup>691</sup>

The establishment of JIM was seen to be a continuation of the IRC's aspiration and a product of the former IRC activists along with other graduates from Egyptian universities, the USA Malaysia Students Study Group (MISG), Malaysian Muslim students in Australia as well as those from the local universities who shared similar aspirations, attached to *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* styles in its *islah* reforms, methods and strategies.<sup>692</sup> The first elected president, Saari Sungip was the former IRC spokesperson and well known under his pseudonym Abu Urwah.<sup>693</sup> The speech of its president in the 21<sup>st</sup> JIM annual gathering clearly described the continuation of JIM from its predecessor, IRC.<sup>694</sup>

Since its earlier days, JIM has advocated to *Islah* (reform) approach in its *da'wah* and *tarbiyah* (education) process as the central mechanism of its activism. *Islah* which means goodness, reform and effort towards peace visualised JIM's approach in *da'wah* which acted as additional contributor to popularise efforts to uphold the *syarī'ah* toward achieving *husnul khātimāh* (death with a good ending) and *mardātillah* (Allah's pleasure).<sup>695</sup> JIM was established with the ultimate vision to build a state which could fully implement the Islamic *syarī'ah* by the year 2020; that was parallel with the national vision of 2020 to see Malaysia as an advance country with Islam.<sup>696</sup> Using the slogan of "Developing the Community with Islam", with its receptive approach but employed a critical spiritual-oriented (*rabbāni*) style in its methodology towards the

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<sup>691</sup> Saari Sungip, *Ramadhan al Mubarak, Coretan Perjalanan Seorang Da'i 2*, Sg Buloh; Focus Approach Sdn Bhd., 2002, p. 99.

<sup>692</sup> Mazlee Malik and Hamidah Mat, 'Pious Approach to Development: Social Capital and Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)', *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 2014, p. 109.

<sup>693</sup> Mazlee Malik and Hamidah Mat, 'Pious Approach to Development', p. 104.

<sup>694</sup> Zaid said that: "Then we built the *jamaah* which united Muslim students from Malaysia with the establishment of Islamic Representative Council (IRC) in April 1974. We returned to Malaysia in the midst of 1970s, continued to move *da'wah* efforts and *tarbiyah* especially in the local campuses. JIM was formed on 27 July 1990. JIM had depicted its own history moved at the front line within the Islamic organisations and civil society". Zaid Kamaruddin, 'Syariah Terlaksana Masyarakat Sejahtera', *Ucapan Dasar Presiden, Perhimpunan Perwakilan Nasional ke 21* (2011), *Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)*, Kuala Lumpur: *Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia*, 2011, p. 8.

<sup>695</sup> Saari Sungip, 'Pengislahan Masyarakat: Persiapan Menuju Abad 21', *Ucapan Dasar Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)*, Perhimpunan Perwakilan Nasional, 1991, p. 2; Saari Sungip, *JIM 1991-1993: Membentuk Arah dan Haluan Perjuangan*, Kuala Lumpur: *Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia*, 1993, pp. 63-64.

<sup>696</sup> Zaid Kamaruddin, 'Membina Permuafakatan Ummah', p. 10.

current progress, JIM covered comprehensive eight areas of Islamic activities including corporate governance, social welfare, youth, outreach to the non-Muslim, family counselling, running educational institutions, female adolescents guidance centre and humanitarian mission.<sup>697</sup>

As IRC, most of JIM members and activists were the middle class professionals,<sup>698</sup> who reside nearby Klang Valley.<sup>699</sup> The development of JIM as Islamic civil society can be categorised into several stages. In the first five years of its formation, JIM focused its activism on stimulation of *da'wah* activities and promoting the struggle to uphold the *syarī'ah*, especially to possess JIM headquarters at Kuala Lumpur and Selangor as medium to promote the image of JIM in the public through the mass media.<sup>700</sup> During this period, JIM's exclusive concentration was to intensify internal development of the organisation and to boost educational and *da'wah* outreach, specifically amongst the Malay Muslim middle class.<sup>701</sup> Sophie Lemièrè quoted Dr. Dzulkefly Ahmad who was well-known as Abu Iman by JIM members, in his statement in 2009:

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<sup>697</sup> *Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (Islah Society of Malaysia)*, Kuala Lumpur: JIM, 2007, pp. 1-2; Saari Sungip, 'Bersama Islam Membina Masyarakat', *Ucapan Dasar Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)*, Perhimpunan Perwakilan Nasional, 1992, pp. 8-10.

<sup>698</sup> Most of JIM's Central Committee Members are professionals, academicians and educated middle class in science, engineering, medical and corporate agencies. The list of JIM Central Committees 1991-1993 proved the participation of these groups. Hj Saari Sungip, JIM President was graduate of University of Aston in Birmingham in Mechanical Engineering (1982), and hold a Master in Business Administration from University of Hull (1993), Dr. Muhammad Hatta Shaharom (Vice President), Dr. Hj. Sahrim Ahmad (Assistant of Secretary General), Dr. Dr. Sohit Mat and Dr. Abdul Rahman Abdullah are now academicians and professors in the public universities. Hj Shaharom Md. Shariff is a corporate personality. According to Ustaz Dr Farid Sheikh Hj Ahmad, President of Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM) about 90 per cent of JIM-IKRAM members is the middle classes. This statement was supported by a former President of JIM and then the Vice President of IKRAM, Hj Zaid Kamaruddin, who said that JIM-IKRAM members consisted of more than 80 per cent of the middle class. See, *Meneruskan Kecemerlangan Selangorku: Saari Sungip*, Terbitan Majlis Tindakan DUN Hulu Kelang, 2013, p.1; Ustaz Dr Farid Sheikh Hj Ahmad, Personal Interview, 2.43pm at IKRAM' Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor, 10 January 2013; Zaid Kamaruddin, Personal Interview, 10 January 2013.

<sup>699</sup> In 2009, Selangor also reached the highest in the number of JIM's membership with 3113 members followed by Johor and Penang with 1392 and 1053 members respectively. Kuala Lumpur was the fifth in the number of JIM's membership with 890 individuals. This indicated that JIM activists were more circulated amongst Klang Valley residents. JIM was registered using the first address 14, Jalan Balam 6/1B, 40000 Shah Alam, Selangor. The JIM headquarter has been transferred from 2719-B Jalan Permata 4, Taman Permata, Kuala Lumpur to Lot 300.3, Lorong Selangor, Pusat Bandar Melawati, 53100 Kuala Lumpur on 1 September 1996. Refer to *Perlembagaan Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)*, 26 October 1990, p. 1; *Laporan Tahunan Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM) 1991-1992*, p. 5; *Undang-Undang Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)*, 30 November 2005, p. 1; *Laporan Kompleks JIM in Laporan Tahunan 1996*, *Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)*, 1996, p. 20. Appendix B, *Laporan Setiausaha Agung 2008-2009*, *Laporan Tahunan 2008-2009*, Perhimpunan Perwakilan Nasional Ke-19, p. 2.

<sup>700</sup> JIM tried to promote its image through publications, mobilised its membership and established centres of its activities through mass media like newspapers, radio, television and presenting its idea in seminars and conferences. JIM statements on the appointment of Dato' Seri Anwar as the Deputy Prime Minister, on the issues of the implementation of *Hudūd* and *Al-Arqaḥ* have been published in the magazines (*Al-Islam* and *UMMI*) and newspapers, like *Utusan Malaysia*, *Berita Harian* and *Harakah*. JIM also made an attempt to have a good relationship with public figures who included Dato' Jaafar Kamin, Chief Director of Rangkaian Television Malaysia (RTM), Tuan Guru Nik Abdul Aziz, the Chief Minister of Kelantan, Dr. Abdulhamid Abu Sulaiman, the Rector of IIUM and Hj Taib Azamudin, General Imam of the National Mosque. *Laporan Tahunan 1994*, *Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM)*, pp. 4-5, 15, 26.

<sup>701</sup> Mazlee Malik and Hamidah Mat, 'Pious Approach to Development', p. 109.

“The fact that JIM remains seen as an elite and intellectual organisation has certainly limited its reach to the masses but the aim of the IRC members always been the creation of an exclusive elite group”<sup>702</sup>.

A few hi-impact institutions were established to turn JIM’s idealism into practice, such as, Tadika Amal and Tadika Ihkam were proposed by JIM’s Woman section, an integrated curriculum was introduced in Al-Amin primary and secondary schools,<sup>703</sup> JIM Institute of Pre-School Development,<sup>704</sup> *Islah* Counseling Unit (UKI),<sup>705</sup> Entrepreneur and Corporate Club (*Kelab Korporat dan Usahawan JIM - KKUJ*),<sup>706</sup> JIM Youth Club (*Kelab Remaja JIM - KRJ*), *Islah* Writers Club,<sup>707</sup> *Da’wah* Training Institute (DTI),<sup>708</sup> Academy of *Islah* Malaysia,<sup>709</sup> JIM Outdoor-Venture<sup>710</sup> and JIM Human Resource Department.<sup>711</sup> JIM had also successfully mobilised its micro-financing system through its cooperation company, Koperasi *Islah* Malaysia Berhad (KIMB) that was formed in 1993.<sup>712</sup>

To promote the specific focus and concern in the public welfare, in 1993, the Woman Section of JIM was established and the first Chief Woman of JIM was Fuziah Salleh (1993-1999).<sup>713</sup> Factory Residents Unit was founded in 1994 to coordinate welfare and *da’wah* programmes for the industrial workers who gradually increase its

<sup>702</sup> Sophie Lemiere, ‘Genesis and Development of a Non-Partisan’, p. 62.

<sup>703</sup> JIM successfully managed its own schools from 12 primary schools (SRI) and one secondary school (SMI) in 1991 to 24 SRI, and 12 SMI in 2009. Laporan Tahunan 1991-1992, Jawatankuasa Khas Pendidikan JIM Sessi 1991-92, p. 2; “Sistem Pendidikan Negara Gagal Kekang Masalah Sosial”, *Milenia Muslim*, September 2012, pp. 17-18.

<sup>704</sup> The institute was established in March 1993 to coordinate and develop curriculum, teacher trainings, evaluate pupils and education quality. The first director of this institute was Mrs. Adibah. Laporan Tahunan 1992-1993, Pertubuhan Jamaah *Islah* Malaysia (JIM), p. 9; Laporan Tahunan 1992-1993, Pertubuhan Jamaah *Islah* Malaysia (JIM), p. 19.

<sup>705</sup> This unit was established in 1993 and monitored under the office of JIM’s president.

<sup>706</sup> The club aimed at establishing networking programs among JIM members who involved in this business and corporate world. Laporan Tahunan 1994, Pertubuhan Jamaah *Islah* Malaysia (JIM), p. 32.

<sup>707</sup> JIM Youth Club was established on 27 July 1990 and coordinated by Youth Special Committee as a main platform for teenagers and youths. *Islah* Writers Club on the other hand was established on 13 June 1993 as a platform to produce potential writers who can contribute their articles in the magazines and newspapers. See, KRJ Kelab Remaja JIM, *Pamphlet of KRJ*, Batu Caves: Kelab Remaja Pertubuhan Jamaah *Islah* Malaysia, n.d., p. 1-6.

<sup>708</sup> JIM with the cooperation of Islamic World Committee had conducted community service programs centred at the mosques in the rural areas of Sabah. JIM also initiated cooperation with Syeikh Muhammad Jamal Khalifah from Saudi Arabia and Syeikh Abdulssalam As-Sabbar from Iraq to establish DTI for Sabah branch which centered at Manila, Philippines. Laporan Tahunan 1994, Pertubuhan Jamaah *Islah* Malaysia (JIM), p. 29.

<sup>709</sup> The academy offered five modules in Diploma, and franchise programs of Bachelor in Business Studies with Boltan Institute, United Kingdom, Master in Business Studies (Marketing) at National University of Ireland, International MBA at University of South Australia, and General MBA at University of Hull, United Kingdom. Laporan Tahunan 1994, Pertubuhan Jamaah *Islah* Malaysia (JIM), p. 30.

<sup>710</sup> JIM Outdoor-Venture cooperated with other institutions in JIM to conduct adventures training programs for internal members or public audients. *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>711</sup> JIM HRD provided prospectus for professional training modules in Human Resource Development (HRD) for corporate agencies such as, Telekom Malaysia, Petronas, Celcom and TRI. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>712</sup> Laporan Tahunan 1992-1993, Pertubuhan Jamaah *Islah* Malaysia (JIM), p. 7.

<sup>713</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

numbers every year.<sup>714</sup> JIM Health Concern, however, functioned to increase the public awareness on the importance of healthy lifestyle to improve the *Ummah* productivity. This project also aimed to expose JIM members in this field to be specialists in health services.<sup>715</sup>

In the early period of its inception, JIM seriously emphasised on *tarbiyah* and *da'wah* programmes which have been monitored by the president himself.<sup>716</sup> The publication of books, discourses of JIM's direction in *da'wah*, leadership booklets and articles written by JIM President, Saari Sungip, in the first four years of its establishment, described the importance of idealism and intellectualism as fundamental traditions in JIM as a mainstream *da'wah* organisation among the middle class professionals.<sup>717</sup> The spiritual building programmes for its members such as, *usrah* and *daurah* were led by Ustaz Alias Othman, Vice President of JIM.<sup>718</sup>

The second phase of JIM activism (1995-1998) demonstrated a significant development of JIM institutions in its attempts to upsurge Islamic activism at all levels of strategic areas. Emphasising on the leverage leadership concept in terms of operational and its conceptual practice,<sup>719</sup> JIM in this phase tried to move its model of institutions towards the high level of competency and professionalism through strategic consensus in the core areas of competent.<sup>720</sup> JIM made significant efforts to boost up the *syarī'ah* demand in practical field and continued to propose its own model and magnify

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<sup>714</sup> To ensure the effectiveness of these programmes, Centre for Development of Factory Residents (PPWK) was established in four zones which focused at the Peninsular Malaysia. These zones are Central (Selangor, Kuala Lumpur, Malacca and Negeri Sembilan), South (Johor), North (Perlis, Kedah, Penang and Perak) and East (Pahang and Terengganu). Laporan Warga Kilang in Laporan Tahunan 1994, Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM), p. 52.

<sup>715</sup> Saari Sungip, *Aktivism JIM 1993-1995: Mengukuh Medan Fokus dalam Menjayakan Program-Program Pengislahan Masyarakat*, Kuala Lumpur: Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia, 1994, p. 16.

<sup>716</sup> At first, six modules were prepared for the *tarbiyah* reading materials. Three books and monthly periodical publication, namely "*Bimbingan Tarbiyyah*" discussed various topics concerning the importance of spiritual-religious education. See, Saari Sungip and Aliza Jaafar, *Bimbingan Tarbiyyah: Modul Program dan Beberapa Model Pengisian Usrah*, Kuala Lumpur: Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia, 1994; Laporan Tahunan 1992-1993, Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM), p. 7.

<sup>717</sup> Laporan Tahunan 1994, Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM), pp. 19-22; Saari Sungip, *Aktivism JIM 1993-1995*, p. 9.

<sup>718</sup> Laporan Tahunan Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM) 1991-1992, p. 6; Laporan Tahunan 1991-1992, Jawatankuasa Khas Tarbiah JIM Sessi 1991-92, p. 1.

<sup>719</sup> Leverage leadership concept applied by JIM stressed leadership as functioning role rather than positioning role. In the period of 1995-2000, JIM included woman, communication, education, youth and welfare areas as models in its operation. Leverage leadership in the conceptual form need the capability of JIM to produce members who had the excellent character of leadership and high competence to carry out the *da'wah* mission through the collective strategic channels. See, Saari Sungip, *Menggerak Gagasan 1995-2000: Bersama Menggaris Agenda Ummah*, Kuala Lumpur: Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia, 1995, p. 43.

<sup>720</sup> Laporan Tahunan 1996, Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM), 1996, p. 3.

*da'wah* operations through JIM-IT,<sup>721</sup> building up its own complex, JIM-IPT, KARISMA,<sup>722</sup> international relations and then established Raudhatul Sakinah (RS) which was managed under the Woman Section of JIM.<sup>723</sup> Other than that, JIM has also made a new step to recognise the important role of the *ulama'* in its organisation. In May 1997, JIM elected Ir. Dr. Muhammad Fuad Abdullah as a committee member in a new division of *ulama'* development which placed along with other committees.<sup>724</sup>

JIM also reviewed its approach towards the ruling party, UMNO after evaluating the success of Anwar Ibrahim in his efforts of Islamisation of the state policy. It took a non-confrontational approach towards the government with the optimistic attitude that the government policy can help JIM to address the suggestion related to Islam in particular, to achieve its *da'wah* goal. With positive tone, Saari Sungip viewed that Vision 2020 can be used as a target to ensure that this country would fully implement the *syari'ah*, by expending the *ummatic* strength in nation building. JIM has targeted to form an Islamic State in Malaysia by the year 2020. It would be a mediator to build the 21<sup>st</sup> Century of Islamic civilisation which will then leading the Third Millennium.<sup>725</sup>

Similar to ABIM's approach in dealing with the government, JIM has also chosen the step alike. Walking together with the government's constructive policy, JIM regarded UMNO as a partner in the nation building as long as the party is committed to preserve Islamic elements in the mainstream of national agenda which can also help to leap JIM's transformation reform (*islah*) at all levels of the society.<sup>726</sup> Before this, IRC members took a novel approach to propose an attempt to participate in UMNO, the party which they claimed in many remarks as it was "not *syarie*" (un-Islamic),

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<sup>721</sup> JIM-IT Team managed to set up server and internet-based network projects such as *Islah-Net*, *Naqib-Net* and JIM Homepage to link all levels of JIM organisations. See, Laporan Setiausaha Agung in Laporan Tahunan 1997, Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM), 1997, p. 10.

<sup>722</sup> KARISMA was established in May 2, 1999 seek to instigate *da'wah* efforts and JIM reform among students at the institutions of higher learning.

<sup>723</sup> Laporan Tahunan 1998/1999, Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM), 1998/1999, p. 5.

<sup>724</sup> Laporan Jawatankuasa Pembangunan Ulama' in Laporan Tahunan 1997, Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM), 1997, p. 22.

<sup>725</sup> Saari Sungip, *Membina Teras-Teras Kekuatan*, p. 31; Ucapan Dasar Perhimpunan Perwakilan Nasional 1996, Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM), Kuala Lumpur: Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia, 1996, p. 47.

<sup>726</sup> Saari Sungip, *Menempatkan Misi Pengislahan dalam Transformasi Arus Perdana*, Ucapan Dasar Perhimpunan Perwakilan Nasional 1997, Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM), Kuala Lumpur: Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia, 1997, pp. 42-47.



“*jāhilīyyah*” (ignorant) and “*tāghūt*” (overstep boundaries). Such claims were contradicted with a proposal entitled “Pembentangan Usul Pendekatan Terhadap UMNO” dated 28 February 1990”, as an approach to create a closer relationship with the ruling party a few months before the formation of JIM.<sup>727</sup> According to former President of JIM, Zaid Kamaruddin, the proposal was merely a suggestion which then failed to receive support from the majority members of IRC and the then JIM.<sup>728</sup>

Until 1998, the development of JIM’s member as a reformist or cadre of *da’wah* only functioned in exclusive nature within the circle of internal mechanism and influence.<sup>729</sup> However, JIM’s non-partisan stance came to the end after the mass political uprising known as “*Reformasi*” in 1998 which created a new momentum in the landscape of JIM’s reform.<sup>730</sup> The *Reformasi* movement was officially launched on 6<sup>th</sup> September 1998 to support Anwar after his dismissal from the government and his party UMNO. At this era, JIM began to be more inclusive by enthusiastically participated in the mainstream politics. JIM was involved in GERAK, the umbrella which united ABIM, JIM, PKPIM, ASASI, other Non-Muslim NGOs and political parties.<sup>731</sup>

The mass detention of the pro-Anwar politicians, the oppositions, NGO activists and few individuals under the ISA guided the formation of *Gerakan Pemansuhan ISA* (GMI) on April 30, 2001. This coalition of 88 NGOs agreed to fight the abolishment of the ISA and release all the detainees from Kamunting detention camp. JIM seriously engaged with GMI only after the detention of its president, Saari Sungip, who had been related to his active participation in the *Reformasi* movement.<sup>732</sup> JIM’s political standpoint was clearly mentioned when its president in the 1999 JIM’s annual gathering

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<sup>727</sup> *Risalah*, No. 2, July 1989, p. 4.

<sup>728</sup> Some of IRC members also asked that the *jamaah* needed to have its own entity which founded on *da’wah* and *tarbiyah* basis as proposed by *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* of Egypt which then led to the formation of JIM in July 1990. Interview with Zaid Kamaruddin, 26 Sept 2012 and second Interview was conducted on 10 January 2013. Badlihisam Mohd Nasir, *Dinamisme Gerakan Islam dan Cabaran Semasa*, Shah Alam: Karisma Publication, 2009, p. 53.

<sup>729</sup> Despite JIM claim that its function applied a receptive approach to spread its *da’wah* mission in the public, the fact was that its operation and structure worked in the semi-exclusive approach. Mazlee Malik and Hamidah Mat, ‘Pious Approach to Development’, p. 110.

<sup>730</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>731</sup> Sophie Lemiere, ‘Genesis and Development of a “Non-Partisan” Political Actor’, p. 59.

<sup>732</sup> Maszlee Malik, *Islamic Movement and Human Rights: Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia’s Involvement in the “Abolish Internal Security Movement”, 2000-2012*, *Intellectual Discourse*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2014, pp. 153-154, pp. 139-165.

declared that the organisation appealed to vote Barisan Alternatif (BA) in the 1999 General Election.<sup>733</sup>

Since the 1999 election, a few JIM leaders and activists actively involved in politics by associating themselves in the opposition parties, either in PAS or PKR. JIM's former president, Saari Sungip contested in the 1999 election under the ticket of Parti KeADILan Nasional (KeADILan) together with Fuziah Salleh, Chief of JIM woman's wing and Sahri Bahri, the first vice president, and many others. In the 2004, 2008 and 2013 general elections Saari contested under PAS's seat.<sup>734</sup> Dr Dzulkefly Ahmad, a former member of JIM was elected to Parliament in the 2008 election, winning the seat of Kuala Selangor, but lost in the 2013 election to the Barisan Nasional candidate Irmohizam Ibrahim in the similar seat.<sup>735</sup>

After more than three decades of struggle to carry out the message of *Islah* epitomes, on 26 December 2011, JIM was officially dissolved by the majority decision of its leaders and members in its gathering held at Cheras, Kuala Lumpur. The decision was made to continue keeping their *Islah* outlook within the approach of social capital in a new *da'wah* organisation called Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia which then makes its activities to be more inclusive for the public.<sup>736</sup> IKRAM was formed to unite all activists and sympathizers of the *islah* movements of *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* in Malaysia, the former members of the IRC and JIM under one organisational structure.<sup>737</sup>

Bringing together all the existing assets and institutions in JIM, IKRAM which was registered on 22 October 2009 and launched in 4 March 2010 emerges as a continuation substitution to its precursor, JIM.<sup>738</sup> Even though IKRAM was established for less than six years and can be considered new in terms of its operation, it has been

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<sup>733</sup> Saari Sungip, *Bersama Mencipta Masa Depan Malaysia yang Gemilang*, Kuala Lumpur: Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia, 1999, 1-15.

<sup>734</sup> Mazlee Malik and Hamidah Mat, 'Pious Approach to Development', p. 110.

<sup>735</sup> Ashwad Ismail, 'The blue wave hits PAS in Kuala Selangor', *Astro Awani*, 1 May 2013.

<sup>736</sup> Junhairi Anyasa, 'IKRAM Ganti Pembubaran JIM', *Kosmo*, December 26, 2011.

<sup>737</sup> Interview with Hj Zaid Kamaruddin, 10 January 2013 at IKRAM's Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor.

<sup>738</sup> Dr. Mohd Parid Sheikh Ahmad, 'Melaksanakan Misi, Menjayakan Visi', Ucapama Sempena Majlis Pelancaran IKRAM, 4 March 2010, p. 1.

greatly acknowledged through various forms of its activities which mainly focus on three focal facets, namely, *da'wah* (propagation), *tarbiyah* (education) and welfare. Consistent with the previous vision of its predecessor, IKRAM aims to advocate Malaysia to be a country which upholds Islamic *syari'ah* by the year 2020.<sup>739</sup>

IKRAM's organisational structure successfully combined professionals, corporate individuals, academicians and the *ulama'* together under one roof.<sup>740</sup> IKRAM's leaders and cadres involve predominantly in hard sciences background professionals and engineers together with moderate religious scholars as its spiritual advisors. Unlike ABIM and PAS, fewer individuals with social sciences and art background are attracted to IKRAM.<sup>741</sup> IKRAM organisational structure consists of the National Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Nasional* - DPN) with the legislative function, supported by Central Committee with the executive role and Judiciary Board (*Lembaga Timbang Tara*) works as the board of justice to handle internal disciplinary cases in the organisation.<sup>742</sup> The DPN is the only legislative body in IKRAM which comprised a combination of the *ulama'*, professionals, women and youth.<sup>743</sup>

In order to achieve its goal, IKRAM tries to convey the message of Islam which comprises all spectrums of Muslims life, using multiplicity of networks and methodology. To date there are approximately 18 institutions under the auspices of IKRAM which include, Aqsa Syarif, Hidayah Centre, Hidayah Centre Foundation, Koperasi Islah Malaysia Bhd (BIMB), IKRAM Health, Raudhatus Sakinah, Centre of Support for Women and Family (PAKSI-IKRAM), Foundation of IKRAM Malaysia,

<sup>739</sup> Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM), *Pamphlet*, Seri Kembangan: Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia, September 2012, p. 1.

<sup>740</sup> *Ulama'* from the perspective of IKRAM is those individuals with Islamic studies background.

<sup>741</sup> See, Mazlee Malik and Hamidah Mat, 'Pious Approach to Development', p. 111.

<sup>742</sup> Prof. Dr Azlan bin Abdul Rahman, a Professor in Structural Engineering, majoring in Bridge Engineering and Non-Destructive Testing of Concrete Structures at Technology University of Malaysia (UTM) and being appointed as the Yang Dipertua National Representative Council of IKRAM. He is now the UTM Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Development) since 1 December 2013. The Judiciary Board of IKRAM is represented by Ustaz Alias Othman, a former Associated Professor of University of Malaya, Ustaz Zawawi bin Ali and Prof Dato' Dr. Ir. Azhari Md Salleh, a Professor at Perdana School, UTM. See, UTM Deputy Vice Chancellor, UTM Official Website, at <http://www.utm.my/dvcdev/>, IKRAM Central Committes, Session 2010-2014 in Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM), *Pamphlet*, pp. 4-5; IKRAM Central Committes, Session 2014-2018 in 'Ahli Jawatankuasa Pusat Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia, Sessi 2014-2018', *IKRAM Official Website*, 23 June 2014, in <http://ikram.org.my/v4/berita-2/jawatan-kuasa-pusat.html>; *Ibid.*, pp. 1-45.

<sup>743</sup> Organisational structure of IKRAM itself visualised the preparation made by the organisation towards achieving its objective. 'Dewan Perwakilan Nasional (DPN) Meneliti Perjalanan IKRAM', 21 September 2014.

See, [http://ikram.org.my/v2/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1096:dewan-perwakilan-nasional-dpn-meneliti-perjalanan-ikram&catid=1:berita-pusat&Itemid=9](http://ikram.org.my/v2/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1096:dewan-perwakilan-nasional-dpn-meneliti-perjalanan-ikram&catid=1:berita-pusat&Itemid=9).

Nusantara Islah Centre of Excellence, IKRAM Siswa, IKRAMTeens, IKRAMJunior, Amal Kindergarten (Tadika Amal), MUSLEH Bhd, IKRAM-Musleh Schools Networks, IKRAM Centre for STAM, Ikrammal Sdn Bhd, Salam Iraq and most recently MyCARE and i-Bantu.<sup>744</sup>

In its attempt to promote IKRAM to be closer to the community, IKRAM members also initiated to form a few organisations which were purposely founded as public organisations including, Malaysian Muslim Scientists Association (PERINTIS-*Persatuan Saintis Muslim Malaysia*),<sup>745</sup> Muslim Business Network Association of Malaysia (MUBIN), Australasian Tertiary Institutions Alumni Islamic Society (AUSIS), Association of Gema Youth Malaysia (GEMA), IKRAM Network of Early Education (PEDA), Council of Malaysian Islamic Schools Headmasters (MGBSIM) and Al-Quds Foundation. Until 2013, IKRAM has 89 branches in 14 states throughout Malaysia. Based on the area of specialty, all institutions and branches of IKRAM played significant role as medium to move IKRAM as a mass Islamic NGO which contributes to address its *da'wah* activities that encompass all aspects of human needs, physically and spiritually.<sup>746</sup>

Formal education and *tarbiyah* in the form of Islamic movement (*tarbiyah al-haraki*) is always a substantial subject of *da'wah* in IKRAM.<sup>747</sup> To standardise *da'wah*,

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<sup>744</sup> Humanitarian Care Malaysia Berhad (MyCARE) is The Non-Profitable Organisation (NPO) and was formerly known as Aqsa Syarif Berhad which main focus on humanitarian work for the Palestinian people. The newly renamed MyCARE takes a broader role in humanitarian care to include other countries such as Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Cambodia, The Philippines, Jordan, Bosnia, and Vietnam. MyCARE is established in 2006, Palestine Centre for Excellence (PACE) now resides under the Research and Education Division of Humanitarian Care Malaysia (MyCARE). I-Bantu however is an institution in IKRAM which responsible to provide humanitarian assistance and community services locally such as, assistance for flood victims in the early January 2015. Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM), *Pamphlet*, pp. 6-7. 'Korban Masa Bantu Mangsa Banjir', *Sinar Harian*, 13 January 2015.

<sup>745</sup> PERINTIS was officially registered on 6 April 2010 under the 1966 Society Act with a registered number 0822-10-WKL. According to Prof Dr. Sahrim Ahmad, in JIM Plan 2, the Key Performance Index that must be achieved was to produce 30 world class Muslim scientists. Because of more JIM and IKRAM members were not being promoted in the public, so the establishment of PERINTIS was hoped to bring a unique and focus mission of "inculcating Islam in science and technology" compared to other existing organisation. See, *Sijil Pendaftaran Persatuan Saintis Muslim Malaysia (2009)*, Pendaftar Pertubuhan Malaysia, 1 April 2010; Minute Meeting of PERINTIS 01, Pejabat Parlimen Gombak, Taman Melawati, Gombak, Selangor, 30 May 2010, p. 2; Minute Meeting of PERINTIS 02, Pusat Komuniti JIM, Taman Melawati, Gombak, Selangor, 5 October 2010, pp. 1-2.

<sup>746</sup> Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM), *Pamphlet*, Seri Kembangan, Selangor: Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM), 2012, p. 6-9; interview with Ustaz Tajul Ariffin Che Zakaria, 10.12am, at IKRAM<sup>3</sup> Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor, 17 June 2013.

<sup>747</sup> Four important roles of *tarbiyah* (religious education) have been accentuated by the top management of IKRAM to leap its activism. First, to push *tarbiyah* and *da'wah* as to make IKRAM a receptive Islamic NGO in which its activities does not start from zero. Second, all IKRAM members must perform at the best effort in synergizing *da'wah* activisms by utilizing all IKRAM's resources and experiences of the past. Third, plan wisely and execute it according to IKRAM's Strategy 2012-2015 at all levels - national, states and districts. Fourth, give the best to Islamic *da'wah* and IKRAM as official organisation. Ustaz Tajul Ariffin Che

*tarbiyah* and formal education, Centre for SRI-SMI Education or in short called MUSLEH establishes a mainstream Islamic education through integrated and quality education that reach the international standard. Recently, IKRAM has 25 Islamic Primary Schools (SRI) and 13 Islamic Secondary Schools (SMI) and 5 Ma'had *Tahfiz*<sup>748</sup> nationwide. At pre-school level of education, Tadika Amal Islam serves as a provider to early Islamic education at the grassroots bases.<sup>749</sup>

Through the establishment of its institutions in the extensive specialties, IKRAM continues to enlarge its expertise in social activities, economic, science and technology, health, welfare, shelters and protection homes. IKRAM is progressively well-known to the public via numerous institutions such as, Raudhatus Sakinah, established as an organisation that provides shelter and counseling services to the youth who are victims of social problems.<sup>750</sup> Hidayah Centre is a shelter and counselling foundation for new Muslim converts established in 2005 by JIM *Da'wah* Committee, and now shaded under IKRAM with 17 branches nationwide.<sup>751</sup>

Through its consistent endeavours in charity work and community services, IKRAM manages to engage with individual and family reforms, and strives to combat social ills including adultery, drug abuse, alcoholism, gambling and superstitious practices. The women wing of IKRAM was established on 3 October 2010 to address various issues concerning women and family in accordance with the perspective of Islam.<sup>752</sup> IKRAM also targets to tackle youth and adolescents and shows its concern through the formation of IKRAM Junior,<sup>753</sup> IKRAMTeens,<sup>754</sup> IKRAM Siswa<sup>755</sup> which

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Zakaria, Personal Interview, 10.12am, at IKRAM' Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor, 17 June 2013. 'IKRAM Mempunyai 7,309 orang Ahli', *Official Website of IKRAM*, 20 May 2012.

<sup>748</sup> Schools for memorisation of the Quran.

<sup>749</sup> IKRAM MUSLEH, *Brochure of MUSLEH*, Kuala Lumpur: MUSLEH Berhad, n.y., p-1-6.

<sup>750</sup> This organisation has been operated officially in August 1998 under the control of Women Wing of Jamaah Islah Malaysia and was registered under the Care Centres Act 1993, Department of Social Welfare.

<sup>751</sup> Tuan Hj Nicholas Sylvester, Personal Interview, 10.30 am, at Hidayah Centre, Taman Melawati, K. Lumpur, 18 June 2013. Hj Nicholas is the *Da'wah* Committee of IKRAM session 2010-2014 and 2014-2018. Hidayah Centre, *Pamphlet of Hidayah Centre*, K. Lumpur: Hidayah Centre, 2012, pp. 1-6; *Hidayah Centre Official Website*, 12 May 2012, <http://hidayahcentre.wordpress.com/aktiviti/>.

<sup>752</sup> Wanita IKRAM, *Pamphlet of Wanita IKRAM*, Kuala Lumpur: Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia, October 2012, p. 1.

<sup>753</sup> IKRAM Junior was launched at the 2014 IKRAM's Annual Gathering (PTI 2014) held at Complex of Tan Sri Jeffrey Cheah, Subang Jaya, Selangor on 25 October 2014.

function to organise trainings, seminars and spiritual-oriented programmes to reach out the young generation.<sup>756</sup> IKRAM also plays a significant role in the humanitarian missions and international issues in the Muslim countries.<sup>757</sup> Through its institutions, such as Aqsa Syarif, Palestine Centre of Excellence, Salam Iraq and MyCARE, several programmes have been projected as part of IKRAM responsibility towards *ummah*.<sup>758</sup>

Various approaches have been used to ensure that the message of Islam and *da'wah* is delivered suitable to all levels of the society and the public. IKRAM itself manages to categorise its members according to their commitment, as an ordinary member, an active member, a hard core member and an honourable member.<sup>759</sup> *Islah* or reform approach is still used by IKRAM which characterised it with the salafi *da'wah* movement.<sup>760</sup>

If the presence of the IRC and JIM is associated respectively with clandestineness and exclusive approaches, the emergence of IKRAM is more inclusive in its approach to establish cooperative relationships with any organisations for the sake of the Islamic cause.<sup>761</sup> IKRAM also participated and showed its full support in the BERSIH 3.00 rally

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<sup>754</sup> IKRAMTeens was IKRAM institution for teenagers with the mission to apprehend and understand Islam in the holistic form and to have the excellent and great characteristics of leadership. IKRAMTeens Official Video, 23 September 2013. See also, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mg-kTWnFLXg>.

<sup>755</sup> IKRAM Siswa was established on 19 January 2013 at Pro-Canselor Hall, University of Selangor, (UNISEL), Shah Alam. IKRAM Siswa is an official platform for students at the tertiary level representing IKRAM's aspiration.

<sup>756</sup> Saifuddin Abdullah, 'Solidariti Siswa Antarabangsa', *Sinar Harian*, 24 November 2014.

<sup>757</sup> Through its institution, Aqsa Syarif, IKRAM had launched its humanitarian mission in Micro-credit Project between Aqsa Syarif-Emaar (financing without profit), began in August 2011 and successfully distributed the financing aid with a total amount of RM357,300 to 32 receivers. Through the Islamic Society of Jabalia (ISJ) and The Centre for Political and Development Studies (CPDS), Aqsa Syarif provided financial assistance with the amount of USD12,500 to support campaign and funding publication of materials related to the suffering and human rights which should be given to Palestinian prisoners in the Israeli detention camps. 'Misi kemanusiaan A2G4: IKRAM-AQSA2Gaza Berjaya – Bahagian 2', *IKRAM Malaysia Official Website*, 13 June 2012, see, [http://ikram.org.my/v2/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=660:misi-kemanusiaan-a2g4-ikram-aqsa2gaza-berjaya-bahagian-2&catid=1:berita-pusat&Itemid=9](http://ikram.org.my/v2/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=660:misi-kemanusiaan-a2g4-ikram-aqsa2gaza-berjaya-bahagian-2&catid=1:berita-pusat&Itemid=9); 'Misi kemanusiaan A2G4: IKRAM-AQSA2Gaza Berjaya- Bahagian 3', *IKRAM Malaysia Official Website*, 26 June 2012, refer to [http://ikram.org.my/v2/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=670:misi-kemanusiaan-a2g4-ikram-aqsa2gaza-berjaya-bahagian-3&catid=1:berita-pusat&Itemid=9](http://ikram.org.my/v2/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=670:misi-kemanusiaan-a2g4-ikram-aqsa2gaza-berjaya-bahagian-3&catid=1:berita-pusat&Itemid=9).

<sup>758</sup> The project are participation of Aqsa Syarif in Education LifeLine4Gaza (LL4G) with the Mavi Marmara on May 30, 2010, the convoy of "Miles of Smiles" with Viva Palestina Malaysia and a visit to Gaza under the patronage of Aqsa Syarif on 8 and 10 June 2012 and the humanitarian mission of IKRAM in A2G4 Mission conducted in May 2012. *Buletin Aqsa Syarif*, Bil 2, April 2012, p. 1, 'Konvoi 'Miles of Smiles': Kenyataan Bersama Viva Palestina Malaysia dan Aqsa Syarif', *Berita IKRAM Malaysia*, 15 June 2012.

<sup>759</sup> Undang-Undang Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM), Seri Kembangan: Taman Sungai Besi Indah, 2010, pp. 2-4; Ustaz Tajul Ariffin Che Zakaria, Personal Interview, 10.12am, at IKRAM' Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor, 17 June 2013. Ustaz Tajul Ariffin is Chairman of Tarbiyah Committee, in Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM).

<sup>760</sup> This is confirmed by the Deputy President of Malaysia IKRAM, Professor Dr. Mohamed Hatta Shaharom who has reminded its hard core members that the features of *da'wah* organisation which must be possessed by IKRAM are the Salafis school of thought, the movement which follows the Sunnah, holding to the true path of sufism besides the nature of its political thought which spreads its influence and motivates the change within the structure of this organisation. 'Terlibat, Bukan Hanya Memerhati: Timbalan Presiden Mengingatkan Ahli Teras Wanita Jika Mahu Kepimpinan Dirasai Masyarakat', *Buletin FATWA Ke-2 2012*, May 2012, p. 2.

<sup>761</sup> 'IKRAM Sedia Berurusan Dengan Sesiapa Saja', *IKRAM Malaysia Official Website*, 10 November 2013

which involved civil society and political parties in Barisan Alternatif (BA) including Parti KeADILan Rakyat (PKR), PAS and DAP to uphold justice and fighting cruelty.<sup>762</sup>

The recent development of IKRAM shows its tendency in the mainstream politics even the fact that this organisation frequently refers its appeal to *da'wah*, *tarbiyah* and welfare approach, and denies its affiliation with politics. IKRAM's stand in politics is clearly pronounced by its president, Dr. Mohd. Parid Sheikh Ahmad who openly supports on the involvement of IKRAM in any party and candidate that supports Islam or at least, a candidate who does not behave against Islam in the 13<sup>th</sup> General Election, in conjunction with IKRAM Women's Core Members Assembly (*Perhimpunan Ahli Teras - PAT*) on 20 May 2012.<sup>763</sup>

This statement has been strengthened by another assertion made by the president who then announced that IKRAM has decided to choose Pakatan Rakyat in the 13<sup>th</sup> General Election 2013 for the reason that it may give benefit to the people and the country. IKRAM views that the participation in politic being part and partial of Islam as *ad-din*, the comprehensive way of life. The state power is needed to ensure the success to uphold the *syarī'ah* and implementing the good and avoiding the evil. For IKRAM, the participation of Muslims in the election is very critical to elect the leader who can help to put into practice the objective of *da'wah*.<sup>764</sup> The rise of former top leadership of IKRAM in the newly formed party, Parti Amanah Negara (PAN) proves the interest of IKRAM to achieve its political objective.<sup>765</sup>

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<sup>762</sup> See, Ustaz Dr. Mohd Parid Sheikh Haji Ahmad, 'IKRAM Menyokong BERSIH 3.0', *Kenyataan Media Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM)*, 19 April 2012, pp. 1-2.

<sup>763</sup> Dr Farid announced IKRAM support in politic as: "We are get involved in the national politics with the purpose to develop a political wise *ummah* and community, who have the maturity and the courage to act with politically high awareness, so that he can move the change of the country's political leadership, mobilising political agenda that will be sent the best leader to the pinnacle of power, leading the country with the full of integrity, and supporting a fair and excellent political system". 'Presiden Umum Prinsip Penglibatan IKRAM dalam PRU13', *IKRAM Malaysia Official Website*, 20 May 2012.

<sup>764</sup> The Speech of IKRAM's President, Ustaz Dr. Mohd Parid bin Sheikh Hj. Ahmad in 'Perutusan IKRAM Kepada Para Pengundi PRU 13', at Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia Headquarters, Sri Kembangan, Selangor, 30 April 2013 or 19 Jamadil Akhir 1434 H, p. 2.

<sup>765</sup> Ustaz Hasanuddin Mohd Yunus, Vice President of Parti Amanah Negara (PAN) or the National Trust Party was a former Deputy President of IKRAM, session 2014-2018. Parti Amanah Negara (PAN) was officially launched in 16 September 2015 at Interior Design Convention Centre (IDCC), Shah Alam, Selangor. See, *Kenyataan Media Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM)*, 'Penglibatan Ustaz Hasanuddin Mohd Yunus Dalam Parti Amanah Negara (AMANAH)', oleh Dr Mohd Parid Sheikh Ahmad, Presiden, Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia, 12 September 2015, <http://amanah.org.my/berkenaan-amanah/sejarah/>.

The role and contribution of IKRAM's members in various professional areas of interests is growing to be promoted in the public. In health discipline, the foundation of Cyberjaya University College of Medical Sciences (CUCMS) and An-Nur Hasanah Specialist Hospital have been the results of IKRAM members' efforts.<sup>766</sup> Participation of IKRAM members in Mercy Malaysia and KPJ Damansara Specialist Hospital cannot be denied.<sup>767</sup> Most of IKRAM leaders and activists are also academicians who are holding important roles in the public higher institutions of Malaysia.<sup>768</sup>

Other fragment of JIM followers, however, who are under the leadership of Ustaz Hj Abdullah Zaik Abdul Rahman formed *Ikatan Siswazah Muslim Malaysia* in 1997, which was later changed to *Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia (ISMA)* in 2005. As the non-governmental organisation, ISMA is in favour of the struggle of the Malay-Muslims political foundation of UMNO and BERJASA, and famous with its own slogan, "*Melayu Sepakat, Islam Berdaulat*" which literally means "United Malay, Supreme Islam".<sup>769</sup> In the 2013 General Election, ISMA contested in nine parliamentary

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<sup>766</sup> Hj. Shaharom Bin Md. Shariff, CEO of An-Nur Hasanah Specialist Hospital is also Head of Economic Development Committee of IKRAM 2010-2014. Prof. Dr. Mohamed Hatta Shaharom, a consultant Psychiatrist of An-Nur Hasanah Specialist Hospital was also IKRAM Vice President (International) 2010-2014. Dato' Dr Musa Mohd Nordin, a specialist in Paediatrics at KPJ Damansara Specialist Hospital is also a Chairman in the Board of Directors, An-Nur Hasanah Specialist Hospital, Bangi Selangor. See, CEO's Message, An-Nur Specialist Hospital, 2014, at <http://www.annur.com.my>.

<sup>767</sup> IKRAM activists such as, Dr. Fauziah Mohd Hasan (Obstetrician and Gynaecologist), and Prof Mohamed Hatta Shaharom (Psychiatrist) are amongst thirteen medical and surgical experts from MERCY Malaysia providing specialised medical and surgical services inside the conflict areas. Refer to Press Statement - MERCY Malaysia's Focus in Gaza, 'Mercy Malaysia's Focus in Gaza: Primary Health, Reproductive Health, Psychosocial Intervention', 29 January 2009, p. 1; 'Pengorbanan Setulus Hati', *Harian Metro*, 29 January 2015. According to Ustaz Alias, Dato' Dr Musa Mohd Nordin, a specialist in Paediatrics at KPJ Damansara Specialist Hospital is an IKRAM members. Ustaz Alias Othman, Personal Interview, 9.49 am - 1.40nn, at 59, Jalan Dato Keramat 3, Dato Keramat, Kuala Lumpur, 25 June 2013. Ustaz Alias is a committee member of Disciplinary Board of Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM) (*Lembaga Timbang Tara*) and a former Vice President of Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM).

<sup>768</sup> IKRAM leaders and active members who are also academicians in the public universities including, Prof Dr. Sahrim Ahmad is Dean of Faculty of Science and Technology, UKM (also the Chairman of IKRAM for Wilayah Persekutuan Kuala Lumpur); Associated Professor Dr Harlina Halizah Hj Siraj, Obstetrician and Gynaecologist Consultant and Head of Medical Education Department, UKM Medical Centre was also Head of Social Development of IKRAM, 2010-2014; Professor Dr. Omar bin Yaakob, Professor in Marine Technology at Marine Technology Centre, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, Skudai is also IKRAM's Head of Education Committee, 2010-2014, 2014-2018; Prof Dr. Mohd Alauddin Mohd Ali, Professor in Department Of Electrical, Electronic And Systems Engineering, Faculty of Engineering, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia is also Treasurer of IKRAM, 2010-2014, 2014-2018; Prof. Dr. Ahmad Termizi Bin Ramli, Professor, Faculty of Science, UTM is also Secretariat of Politics IKRAM, 2010-2014, 2014-2018; and Associate Professor Dr Hafidzi Mohd Noor expert in Vertebrate Pests, in the Department of Plant Protection, Faculty of Agriculture, University Putra Malaysia, is also Committee of Protection of the Global Ummah, Director of Palestinian Centre of Excellence (PACE), member of Board of Trustee, Humanitarian Care Malaysia (MyCARE). A former spokesman of IRC, Prof. Dato' Abang Abdullah Abang Ali, a former Dean, Faculty of Engineering, UPM and a former Director of Housing Research Centre (HRC), UPM, is now President, Malaysian Society for Engineering & Technology and Chairman, Board of Advisory of The World Assembly of Muslim Youth or WAMY Malaysia with other IKRAM leaders, such as Ustaz Wan Subki Wan Salleh, Tuan Hj. Shaharom Md. Shariff, Dr. Normah Abdullah and Ustazah Maznah Daud. <http://wamy.my/advisory/>. <http://www.fkm.utm.my/~omar/>.

Refer to Alias Othman, 'Bekalan di Perjalanan', in A. Rahim M. Yassen, Mohamed Hatta Shaharom, WM Zukri CM Zin etc., (editors), *Bekalan di Perjalanan: Risalah IKRAM Edisi Pelancaran*, Shah Alam: Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia, 2010, p. 5.

<sup>769</sup> See ISMA's official website, <http://isma.org.my/v2/profil-isma/>.



constituencies and two seats for the state assembly under the ticket of BERJASA party but none of them won the election.<sup>770</sup>

Other than UMNO, PAS, ABIM and JIM-IKRAM, the call for Islamic awareness in the Malay society has also involved other traditional Islamic movements and organisations, for instance, Jam'iyah Dakwatul Islamiyah, al-Arqam and Jamaat Tabligh, PERKIM and al-Rahmaniyah, *Persatuan Ulama' Malaysia* and YADIM. Jam'iyah Dakwatul Islamiyah or *Persekutuan Seruan Islam Selangor dan Wilayah Persekutuan* was established on 20 June 1950.<sup>771</sup> Al-Arqam started its operation as a *da'wah* movement by Ashari Muhammad in 1969, while Jamaah Tabligh started the foundation of *da'wah* activity in the late 1968 at Masjid India, Kuala Lumpur.<sup>772</sup> At the beginning, most of its member were the Indian-Muslims, however in the late June 1972, Ijtima' Tabligh in Kuala Lumpur decided to encourage the participation of the Malays in this movement.<sup>773</sup>

Al-Arqam and Tablighi Jamaat, both have their own principles for Islamic cause. PERKIM was founded by Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, the first Prime Minister of Malaysia on 19 August 1960.<sup>774</sup> In 1974 onwards, more *da'wah* organisations were formed. In that year, INDAH and YADIM were established and managed under the Prime Minister Department.<sup>775</sup> Muslim Scholar Association of Malaysia or *Persatuan Ulama Malaysia* (PUM), was officially founded in 1974 during the special general meeting held at Klang Islamic College and currently is located at is located at Shah Alam, Selangor.<sup>776</sup>

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<sup>770</sup> G. Manimaran, 'ISMA tanding PRU13 guna tiket Berjasa', *Sinar Harian*, 17 February 2013.

<sup>771</sup> It is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) registered under Registrar of Society (ROS) (*Pendaftaran Pertubuhan*) with its registration number PPM54 (Selangor). See, <http://www.amaljarah.org.my/pengenalan/>.

<sup>772</sup> Abdul Rahman Abdullah, *Gerakan Islam Tradisional Di Malaysia: Sejarah Pemikiran Jama'at Tabligh dan Darul Arqam*, Shah Alam: Karisma Publications Sdn. Bhd., 2007, pp. 3-6.

<sup>773</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-6.

<sup>774</sup> Ishak Othman, 'Pengenalan Ringkas Sejarah Penubuhan PERKIM (1960-2010)', *Suara PERKIM*, No. 1, 2010, p. 5.

<sup>775</sup> Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, *Trends in Southeast Asia: Islamisation Policy and Islamic Bureaucracy in Malaysia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015, p. 4; Mohd Nazri Ibrahim, Mohd Zulkifli Husain and Noraina Noraini, et.al., *Perspektif Islam di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Pengajian Media Universiti Malaya, 1998, p. 93.

<sup>776</sup> *Persatuan Ulama Malaysia, Tiga Dasawarsa*, Petaling Jaya: Persatuan Ulama Malaysia, 2006, p. 1.

### 3.6 Conclusion

Islamic Resurgence in the urban cities of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam has been contributed by the extensive appeal and endeavours of *da'wah* via voluntary civil society organisations, initially instigated by ABIM, and then followed by active contribution by UMNO through the government's internal and external policies. The major changes in the leading structure of PAS in 1980s from the religious-nationalist ideology to spiritual leadership of *ulama'* helped to restore PAS tendency in Islamic *da'wah* through political means. Participated by the middle class professionals, the struggle for Islamic *da'wah* in IRC and JIM which has been exclusive in its operation is preceded by a new platform of *da'wah*, namely Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia, that gives more inclusive form in terms of *da'wah* coverage and audiences.

Among a unique characteristic of the Islamic Resurgence since the early 1970s is the development of *da'wah* activities has been proposed through the formation of systematic organisation and institution. The formation of Islamic organisations produced in the increasing numbers had characterised Islamic Resurgence in 1970s onwards from the 1930s Islah Movement. The widespread of Islamic consciousness through the systematic management of Islamic organisations has successfully intensified Islamic role in the public spheres.

The stream of *da'wah* orientation has turned its direction from the student appeal for Islamic cause to the government efforts of institutional Islam - the bottom-up approach, from passive to active participation in Islamic *da'wah* and from exclusive to inclusive message of *da'wah* among Islamic organisations. This spiritual consciousness has transformed the Malay society in every spectrum of their life. As a result of dynamic efforts by many Islamic organisations, these endeavours have significantly impacted on the Malay Muslim individuals' religious and spiritual life or in other words their Islamic religiosity in terms of thoughts, practices and lifestyles.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE ISLAMIC RESURGENCE AND RELIGIOSITY OF THE MALAY MIDDLE AND LOW INCOME CLASSES

#### 4.1 Introduction

Many efforts have been initiated by the non-governmental organisations, the Islamic-based political parties and the government agencies to simulate the Muslims' awareness on the subject of religion. The active endeavours undertaken by many Islamic organisations help to result in increasing individual participation and tendency towards religious activities when they get involved in such programmes.

This chapter discusses the Malay Muslim individuals' religiosity and their commitment towards Islam in terms of thoughts and understanding, practices and lifestyles. The discussion compares the two different social income class of the Malay Muslims, the middle and low-income classes in the context of individual's religiosity based on qualitative interviews. Tangible and intangible outcomes of the Malay Muslim individuals' religiosity are derived from many factors and these are associated with their involvement in the religious activities proposed by various Islamic-based organisations.

#### 4.2 Background of the Informants

The public spheres in Malaysia could influence the tendency of the Malay Muslim middle and low-income classes to involve in and to bring themselves close to religious and spiritual activities.<sup>777</sup> *Da'wah* activities and programmes which are rapidly

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<sup>777</sup> The "public sphere" is a concept used by Jurgen Habermas, the German sociologist to analyse an open discussion arena conducted by educated society with the objective of forming agreement as a main vehicle to the formation of civil society in Western Europe after the 18th century. In Habermas's study of eighteenth-century European society, he stressed that public arena, such as coffee houses, literary clubs, moral weeklies and journals, helped to create an open and egalitarian culture of participation. Compared to Muslim society, Heffner recalled Habermas's definition of the eighteenth-century European public sphere and tried to adopt it to the Muslim World. Heffner in his book *Civil Islam*, refer to Nahdlatul Ulama and other Islamic groups as practitioners and actors in the formation of public spheres in Indonesia during the democratisation process after the end of the Suharto regime in 1998. See, Robert Heffner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 11. According to Yuki Shiozaki, the Malay-Muslim community in Malaysia had emerged and formed traditionally an environmental arena of public discussion and this continues at present modern times where discourses based on Islamic logic circulate within Islamic framework in the Malay Muslim community. Even though there are different kind of arenas for the formation of public

instigated by the NGOs, individuals and the Islamic-based political party, media, mosques and *surau* have encouraged religious awareness among Malay Muslims, displayed in the form of specific religious changes of the individuals. This transformation can be seen in the physical “tangible” form; namely, through the obligatory Islamic practices, physical appearances and commitment to Islamic teaching in their daily life, or even changes in the non-physical “intangibles” form; which is exhibited through individual thoughts and beliefs.

A total of 13 Malay middle class individuals and 8 Malay low-income class’ individuals<sup>778</sup> who are living in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur are selected in this description. The study used purposive sampling with the prepared semi-structure interviews protocol in the qualitative research.<sup>779</sup> Strategy for purposeful selecting information-rich cases is based on criterion sampling along the lines of Patton’s views that its purpose is to pick all cases that meet some criteria.<sup>780</sup> Therefore, justification for the choice of sampling in this study is based on four criteria as stated in Introduction.<sup>781</sup>

Most of the Malay middle class members who were interviewed hold important positions in corporate agencies, the government and private institutions, NGOs, the higher learning institutions and Islamic-based political parties. The first Malay middle class informant (MCI-1) is Hj Ahmad bin Hj Rahmat, a retiree of the high ranking post

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opinion in modern Muslim society in Malaysia after colonisation and modernisation, whereby mass media, such as television and newspapers, which are under direct control of the government and the ruling party; and Islamic discussion arenas which are not under control of the government but the public spheres do exist in its dynamic form where the Islamist movements like PAS, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), such as ABIM and JIM or IKRAM (*Jamaah Islah Malaysia*, or Malaysia Reform Association) even with a very limited opportunities to speak in the mass media, but makes the most of Islamic discussion arenas in order to organise its efforts and convey their opinions. The traditional public sphere in the Malay Muslim society consists of Ruler, *Ulama*, Sufi or Tariqat groups, and *Waqf* institutions including *masjid* (mosques) and *madrasah*. The modern public sphere in the Malay Muslim society may include the government or the ruling party, the Islamic government agencies, scholars, institutions of mosques, *madrasahs*, mass media, political parties or the opposition Islamic movements and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). See, Yuki Shiozaki, ‘Formation of Public Spheres and Islamist Movements in Malay Muslim Society of Malaysia’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions*, Vol. 3, 2007, pp. 98-122, 107; Yuki Shiozaki, ‘The State and Ulama in Contemporary Malaysia’, In M. Parvizi Amineh, *State, Society and International Relations in Asia*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010, pp. 96-101.

<sup>778</sup> The actual number of informants who were interviewed is 17 selected Malay middle-income earners and eight Malay low-income classes. However in the descriptive analysis only thirteen Malay middle class individuals and eight Malay low-income class individuals will be selected due to saturation of data by most of the middle class informants.

<sup>779</sup> According to Patton, purposeful sampling used to keep information-rich cases for study in depth. Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, London: Sage Publications, 1990, hlm. 169.

<sup>780</sup> Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, p. 183.

<sup>781</sup> First, sampling is chosen through categorical selection which represented by experts, Islamic *da’wah* NGO’s and Malays Islamic-based political parties (UMNO and PAS) and the Malay individuals of a difference SES. Second, individuals or organisations live or operate and work at Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Third, individual or organisations selected are those who either involved in or not in Islamic *da’wah* in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Fourth, those individual or organisations witnessed, participated, contributed to and have knowledge on Islamic consciousness activities among the Malay in Selangor and Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur.

in the national petroleum company, PETRONAS (1981-2006) and had served as a bank officer at United Malayan Banking Corporation Bhd (UMBC) (1976-1980), before he joined PETRONAS. Among the key positions he held was as a Senior Sales and Retail Manager of PETRONAS in Penang and KLCC. His last post before retiring from this company is General Manager of PETRONAS, for Sarawak Branch. He is a graduate of degree in Economics from University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.<sup>782</sup>

The second middle class informant (MCI-2), however, is a leading corporate figure who has contributed at national and international levels, namely Dato' Dr. Ghazali bin Dato' Mohd Yusoff. Dato' Ghazali is a prominent figure, a distinguished Malaysian entrepreneur and Executive Chairman of Nusantara Technologies Sdn. Bhd., which is currently operating at Kota Kemuning, Shah Alam, Selangor.<sup>783</sup> In addition, he holds over twenty main positions in the associations, corporations, trust bodies and government agencies and has been appointed visiting professor at both local and overseas universities.<sup>784</sup> Throughout his career in corporate world, Dato' Dr. Ghazali was appointed General Manager of Dunlop Malaysia Industries Berhad (1968-1981) and Chief Executive of the Arab-Malaysian Bank Group (1981-1983).<sup>785</sup> Dato' Dr. Ghazali also was awarded the title of Adjunct Professor by University of Malaya to

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<sup>782</sup> Interview with Hj Ahmad bin Rahmat, at No. 50, Jalan Rahim Kajai, Taman Tun Dr. Ismail, 60000 Kuala Lumpur, 16 November 2013.

<sup>783</sup> He was born in January 13, 1946 in Alor Gajah, Melaka into a Malay middle class family. He received his early education at Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur and the Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak. He continued his studies in economics and geography at the University of Malaya. Dato' Dr. Ghazali had taken courses in general management at Henley Administrative Staff College, the United Kingdom and was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Nottingham.

<sup>784</sup> Currently, Adjunct Prof. Dato' Dr. Ghazali is holding numerous main positions in local and overseas organisations as Advisor of Malaysia Council for Rehabilitation (MCR), Advisor/Honorary Member, Sports Tourism Council Malaysia, member of Malaysia-Turkish Friendship Association, committee member of Strategic Enhancement Committee on University-Industry-Community Collaboration, Board of Advisors, Centre of Studies for Malay Excellence, Universiti of Malaya, member of Board of Trustees, Raja Zarith Sofiah Foundation, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia and Le High University, Pennsylvania, USA; Honorary Distinguished Visiting Fellow and Writer, University Teknologi Malaysia, a Life Member of Malaysian Historical Society and Vice-President of Board of Malay Cultural Studies, Malaysia.

Dato' Dr. Ghazali is also a founding life member of Malaysian Institute of Directors, member of Board of Trustees, Malaysian Nature Society, Executive Committee Member of Malaysia Singapore Joint Business Council, member of Board of Governors, Chairman of Manufacturing Group, Malaysia Gulf Cooperating Countries Business Council, a lifetime Special Member, Confederation of Asia Pacific Chambers of Commerce and Industry (CACCI), member of Environmental Research Association, a Honorary Fellow, Institute of Sustainable Development Malaysia, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, a Board of Advisors, University Industry Collaboration, Universiti Utara Malaysia, a committee member of National Council of Cheshire Home Malaysia, and a council member of Selangor Cheshire Home. Interview with Adjunct Prof. Dato' Dr Ghazali Dato' Yusoff, at the Academy of the Malay Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 2 September 2013.

<sup>785</sup> Dato' Dr. Ghazali is married to Dato' Hatijah Binti Ayob and has three children. Interview with Adjunct Prof. Dato' Dr Ghazali Dato' Yusoff, 2 September 2013.

assist the research on the Malay-Muslim society in the global and local contexts of the Malay world.<sup>786</sup>

The third Malay middle class informant (MCI-3) is Hj Saari Sungip, a technocrat and professional who graduated from University of Aston, United Kingdom.<sup>787</sup> He is also a political activist, an active leader of Islamic Representative Council (IRC), and the first President of Pertubuhan Jamaah *Islah* Malaysia (JIM) (1991-1999).<sup>788</sup> In the professional fields, Hj Saari Sungip is a management consultant in organisational development, strategic planning and quality management systems ISO 9000. Throughout his career as a consultant, he has provided consultation services to many public and private organisations locally and overseas.<sup>789</sup> Hj Saari has served as the Selangor State Government Representative for two terms, between the years 2008-2013 and 2014 until now.<sup>790</sup>

Unlike the previous informants, the fourth informant (MCI-4) is a prominent academician in the university owned by the Selangor State Government. Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor bin Nawawi is a professor and Dean of Graduate Studies, at Universiti Selangor (UNISEL), Shah Alam, and also an expert in sociology.<sup>791</sup> Prior to joining UNISEL, he served as Administrative and Diplomatic Officer before being appointed as a tutor at University of Malaya and served with the university until 1990, after returning home and graduating from the UK universities. He was appointed Deputy Dean in 1990-1994

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<sup>786</sup> Adjuct. Prof. Dato' Dr. Ghazali bin Dato' Mohd. Yusoff, the 1<sup>st</sup> Academic Symposium on Integrating Knowledge (ASIK), 20-21 June 2014, p. 1.

<sup>787</sup> He earned a Bachelor in Mechanical and Materials with honours from the University of Aston, Birmingham in 1982 and a Master of Business Management (MBA with Distinction) from the University of Hull (1993). He has also a Postgraduate Diploma in Islamic Studies from the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (1984).

<sup>788</sup> Hj Saari also founded the Islamic Primary School of *Al-Amin*, the Islamic Secondary School of *Al-Amin* and the Adni Islamic Schools. He has led the reform committee in particular, the committee gathering of 100,000 people (in the year of 2000) and People's Rights Defense Committee (2001). His actively involvement in the reform movement caused him to be detained twice under the Internal Security Act (ISA) in 1998 and 2001-2003. He was declared as a "Political Prisoner" by the Human Right Watch, New York and as a "Prisoner of Conscience" by the Amnesty International, London. He was the Selangor Chief of PAS Information, the Committee Member of the PAS in Selangor and Committee Member of PAS for Gombak Branch of Selangor. Hj Saari is also an active writer of many books. Since 1986 until now, he has written more than 40 books and monographs on Islamic preaching, reformation of society, human rights, democracy, the beauty life of the Prophet Muhammad SAW and his personal experience when he was arrested by the ISA in Kamunting camp. During his term as the Selangor State Assemblyman, he has published four books. *Meneruskan Kecemerlangan Selangorku: Saari Sungip*, Pamphlet, Kuala Lumpur: Majlis Tindakan Dun Hulu Kelang, 2014, p. 1.

<sup>789</sup> Hj Saari was born in Dengkil, Selangor in 1957 and received his early education at Sekolah Kebangsaan Jalan Raja Muda, Kuala Lumpur (1964-1969) and subsequently pursued his studies at Sekolah Tengku Abdul Rahman, Ipoh (1970-1976).

<sup>790</sup> Interview with Hj Saari Sungip, at No. 42, Jalan 6, Taman Sri Ukay, Ampang, Selangor, 24 June 2013.

<sup>791</sup> He was raised in Pasir Mas, Kelantan, earned a Bachelor's degree in Sociology (Sociology of Development) at the University of Malaya and pursued his Master's degree (Sociology of Development) at University of Kent, and a Ph.D. (Race Relations) at University of Bristol, United Kingdom.

and Dean of Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences, at the International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) (1994-1995), before joining the private sector. In 2008, he served at UNISEL as the Dean of Graduate Studies. He is also an active member of *da'wah* organisation since being a university student. In 1995-1997, he was elected Vice President of ABIM (International Relations).<sup>792</sup>

As the fourth informant, the fifth until the tenth middle class informants are academicians from the public and private higher institutions. Prof. Dato' Ir. Dr. Azhari bin Md Salleh (MCI-5) is a professor of engineering who is now serving at Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (UTM), Kuala Lumpur. He received his tertiary education at the Technical Institute in Penang and obtained a Diploma in Mechanical Engineering in 1973 (UTM). Prof. Dato' Ir Dr. Azhari is a Ph.D. holder in Manufacturing Management from Loughborough University, United Kingdom. He is a former Deputy Director (Development) of ATMAA, and Executive Director of Business Advanced Technology Malaysia (BATC), and Dean of the College of Science and Technology, UTM International Campus. He also plays important role in Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia as the Advisory Board of IKRAM.<sup>793</sup>

The sixth middle class informant (MCI-6) is Prof. Dato' Dr. Mohd. Yusof Hj. Othman, a Professor of Physics in Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) and the Director of Institute of Islam Hadhari, UKM.<sup>794</sup> He has held numerous administrative positions in the university prior to becoming the first Director for the Institute of Islam Hadhari since 2007. Among the positions held were Director, Research Management and Innovation, (2002-2007), Deputy Dean, Faculty of Science and Technology (UKM), (1994-

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<sup>792</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor bin Nawawi, at Centre for Graduates Studies, Universiti Selangor, Shah Alam Campus, Jalan Zirkon A 7/A, Seksyen 7, 40000, Shah Alam, Selangor, 8 July 2013. Second interview was conducted on 2 July 2013.

<sup>793</sup> He is actively involved in academic activities at the national, university and faculty level and alumni activities of UTM. Penghargaan Alumni Kategori Alumni Lebih 30 Tahun, Citra Karisma: Majlis Anugerah kecemerlangan & Penghargaan UTM 2011, 7 Julai 2011, Dewan Sultan Iskandar, UTM., hlm. 1. <http://web.utm.my/citrakarisma/citrakarisma2009/anugerah2009/72-penghargaan-alumni-lebih-30-tahun.html?tmpl=component&print=1&page=>. Prof Dato Ir. Dr Azhari Bin Md. Salleh, Individual Interview, 8.30am, Perdana School of Science, Technology and Innovation Policy, UTM International Campus, Jalan Semarak 54100 Kuala Lumpur, 20 November 2013.

<sup>794</sup> Prof. Dato' Dr. Mohd. Yusof Hj. Othman was born in Kepala Batas, Pulau Pinang and received his early education in Sekolah Kebangsaan Paya Keladi, Kepala Batas. He later studied at Sekolah Alam Shah, Kuala Lumpur where he completed his Upper Six in 1971. Then, he pursued his studies at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) and graduated in 1976 with a Bachelor's degree in Physics. He obtained his Masters in Solid State Physics from the University of London in 1977 and completed his Ph.D in 1984 from University of Aston, United Kingdom.

2002); and Head of Physics Department (UKM) (1990-1994). As a prolific professor in physics and science, Prof. Dato' Dr. Mohd. Yusof manages to maintain excellent work in his profession.<sup>795</sup>

In appreciation, his excellent contribution in academic and the development of Islam in Malaysia rendered Prof. Dr. Mohd. Yusof has received several awards from UKM.<sup>796</sup> He is also a recipient of the Darjah Kesatria Mangku Negara (KMN) and the primary Dato' Setia Negeri Sembilan. He has also been awarded the *Maal Hijrah* Appreciation Award (1426H) from the Malaysian Government, and the *Maal Hijrah* Award from the Penang State Government (1429H).<sup>797</sup> In addition, Prof. Yusof also received many prestigious awards from local universities and international scientific associations due to his excellent researches and efforts in science and invention.<sup>798</sup> In 2014, Prof. Dato' Dr. Mohd. Yusof was appointed Fellow of Academy of Science, Malaysia.<sup>799</sup>

The seventh middle class informant (MCI-7) is Prof. Dr. Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, a Professor in Department of Professional Development and Continuing Education, Faculty of

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<sup>795</sup> Prof. Mohd. Yusof has been involved in renewable energy research since the past twentyfive years. His major contribution was in the study of solar radiation, solar thermal and photovoltaic systems. He is among the academicians who developed UKM Solar Energy Research Group, and was the founder Secretary of Energy Institute of Malaysia from 1992 until 2005. Prof. Datuk Dr. Mohd. Yusof has been chosen as a council member of the World Renewable Energy Network (WREN) since 1992, and has been appointed Visiting Professor of the Department of Engineering, University of Reading, UK in 1994. Currently he is an Associate Editor of the International Journal of Renewable Energy since 2005, the Board of Review Editor for the Journal of International Scientific since July 2007. He received the "WREN Pioneer" Award from the World Renewable Energy Network and Congress in 2004 for his active contribution in the field of renewable energy. He was also invited to represent several panels at the ministerial level. He was authored more than 250 journal articles, conferences, and seminar in the area of renewable energy, physics, and science education. He has written 21 books in the fields of physics and the public reading. Profile of the Keynote Speaker, Prof. Dr. Mohd. Yusof Hj. Othman, Regional Conference on Science, Technology and Social Sciences, RCSTSS 2014, Mara University of Technology (UiTM), Pahang, 25 August 2014, pp. 1-2, [www2.pahang.uitm.edu.my/.../profile%20keynote.pdf](http://www2.pahang.uitm.edu.my/.../profile%20keynote.pdf).

<sup>796</sup> Prof. Datuk Dr. Mohd. Yusof has been awarded the Excellence Service Award for 1990 and 1993; Special Award for Creativity and Innovation (Academic Staff Category) in 1997; Community Service Award for the Academic (1998); and Special Award for Academic Publishing (2003).

<sup>797</sup> Prof. Dato' Dr. Mohd Yusof Hj. Othman, UKM Academic Staff's Profile, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 22 August 2013, <http://www.ukm.my/ppfg2002/akademik/myho/profil.htm>, pp. 1-2.

<sup>798</sup> Prof. Yusof received eight awards from UKM; 13 of the Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation, Malaysia; four awards from the International Exhibition of Inventions, in Geneva, Switzerland; three awards from the Seoul International Invention Fair, and three awards at INPEX 2008 Invention & New Production Exposition, Pittsburgh, USA on his research achievement since 1990. He is also the recipient of the Henry Goh Award 2000 for Most Environment Friendly Invention in 2000; the Environmental Protection Prize of the Swiss Society for the Protection of the Environment in 2001; Special Award from Taiwan Inventors Association in Seoul International Invention Fair 2004; The Gold Medal Award from The International Federation of Inventor's Associations (IFIA), Geneva, Switzerland (2008), and the Special Prize from Korea Invention Promotion Association for commending excellent efforts to create invention exhibited at the INPEX 2008 Invention & New Production Exposition, Pittsburgh, USA. Prof. Dato' Dr. Mohd Yusof Hj. Othman, UKM Academic Staff's Biodata, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 23 August 2013, <http://www.ukm.my/ppfg2002/akademik/myho/biodata-myho.htm>, p. 1.

<sup>799</sup> "Congratulation - Prof. Dato' Dr. Mohd Yusof Hj. Othman", Institut Islam Hadhari, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 14 May 2014, p. 1. <http://www.ukm.my/hadhari/?q=eng/node/503>.



Educational Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM).<sup>800</sup> He was appointed Director of Institute of Community Development and Youth Studies (PEKKA) and Deputy Director of the Institute for Social Science Studies (IPSAS). His areas of specialisation are youth development, adult education, extension, non-formal and continuing education.<sup>801</sup> Prof. Dr. Haji Azimi also held numerous professional positions, especially in the youth development programmes.<sup>802</sup> He was elected Chairman of Asia-Pacific Commonwealth Youth Programme<sup>803</sup> and consultant for the Ministry of Youth and Sports and International Youth Centre (IYC), Malaysia.<sup>804</sup>

The eighth middle class informant (MCI-8) is Prof. Dr. Haji Mujaini Tarimin, Dean of Faculty of Education and Social Sciences, UNISEL. He is a member of Selangor State Islamic Religious Council and Selangor State Fatwa Council.<sup>805</sup> The ninth Malay middle class informant (MCI-9) is Dr. Ghazali Basri, Director of Academy of Civilizational Studies and member of Board of Director of Kolej Darul Hikmah, Kajang, Selangor. He is an active member of ABIM and possesses many important positions in this *da'wah* organisation. He was elected Chief of Economic Bureau of ABIM (1987-1988), Chief of Publication Bureau (1989-1991, 1991-1993) and Chief of Promotion Bureau (1993-1995).<sup>806</sup>

While the tenth middle class informant (MCI-10) is Norazizah Abdul Aziz, a lecturer of a private college, College of Darul Hikmah, Kajang, Selangor. She is an Alumni of *Sekolah Menengah Agama Persekutuan* (SMAP), Labu, Negeri Sembilan before pursuing her studies at International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM),

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<sup>800</sup> He obtained his Bachelor and Master of Science from Louisiana State University, the United States of America (USA); Advance Diploma (Cairo) and pursued his studies for a doctoral degree in education from the North Carolina State University, USA.

<sup>801</sup> Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, Research Expertise, Faculty of Educational Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia, 25 June 2013, pp. 7-8. PSCP K1\_Expertise\_Educational\_Studies.pdf.

<sup>802</sup> Among the positions that he held were the Regional Director of Youth Leadership Programme organized by ASEAN Secretariat and the Malaysian Ministry of Youth and Sports, Advisor to National Youth Consultative Body Malaysia, and a board member of the National Youth Awards, in the Ministry of Youth and Sports. He also acted as Resource Person to ASEAN Sub-Committee on Youth by ASEAN Secretariat and Commonwealth Youth Programme for the Commonwealth Secretariat in London; and Resource Person to RISEAP, Islamic Centre (*Pusat Islam*), and Yayasan *Dakwah* Islamiah Malaysia (YADIM) in the Prime Minister's Department.

<sup>803</sup> The programme was organised in the National Youth Convention by the Ministry of Youth and Sports.

<sup>804</sup> Prof. Dr. Haji Azimi has been actively involved in the Alumni of the North Carolina State University, and the Louisiana State University of USA. PSCP K1\_Expertise\_Educational\_Studies.pdf., p. 8.

<sup>805</sup> Prof. Dr Haji Mujaini Tarimin lived at Lot Jalan Dusun, Kg. Bukit Kapar, 42200 Kapar, Selangor. Ahli Majlis 2012-2014, Portal Rasmi Majlis Agama Islam Selangor, retrieved on 12 December 2013, [http://www.mais.net.my/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&catid=1&id=6&Itemid=3](http://www.mais.net.my/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&catid=1&id=6&Itemid=3), [http://www.mais.gov.my/ahli-mais?p\\_p\\_id=visitorcounter\\_WAR\\_visitorcounterportlet&p\\_p\\_lifecycle=0&p\\_p\\_state=normal&p\\_p\\_mode=edit](http://www.mais.gov.my/ahli-mais?p_p_id=visitorcounter_WAR_visitorcounterportlet&p_p_lifecycle=0&p_p_state=normal&p_p_mode=edit), <http://www.unisel.edu.my/21-faculty-of-education-social-sciences>.

<sup>806</sup> *Buku Cenderamata Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1971-1996*, Petaling Jaya: Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1996, pp. 8-11.

Kuala Lumpur. She has a Bachelor's degree in Psychology (IIUM) and Master in Psychology of Human Development from UKM.<sup>807</sup>

The eleventh informant (MCI-11) is Dr. Shafie Abu Bakar, aged 72, is a politician of PAS and a former Selangor State Assemblyman in two terms for N26 Bangi, Selangor (2008-2013), and N23 Kajang, Selangor (1999-2004), Assistant Exco of Religious Affairs and the Malay Customs (2008-2013), a committee member of Selangor State Islamic Affairs, Housing, Building and Squatters Management (2008-2013) and a board member of Selangor Group Fund and Scholarship (2008-2013). Dr. Shafie Abu Bakar also held many key positions in PAS namely, Vice Chairman of PAS Selangor (2001-2007), Chairman of PAS Hulu Langat, Selangor (2003-2004) and Chairman of PAS Serdang, Selangor (2004-2011). He is also a former lecturer and associate professor of UKM before becoming active in politics. Dr. Shafie now permanently lives at Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor.<sup>808</sup>

Like Dr. Shafie, the twelfth informant (MCI-12) Hj Mohd Anuar Tahir, is also a politician and a businessman.<sup>809</sup> He is a Master's holder in Management at Ohio University, Athens (1984), and studied in sociology at Morehead State University

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<sup>807</sup> Norazizah lives at No 28, Jalan R/D, Taman Ramal Desa, Sg. Ramal Dalam, Kajang, 43000, Hulu Langat Selangor and has received a qualification and recognition card from JAIS to deliver religious speech and actively involved in *da'wah* since her studies at IIUM, Selangor. Interview with Norazizah Abdul Aziz, at College of Darul Hikmah, Kajang, Selangor on 25 July 2013. See, Senarai Nama Penerima Kad Tauliah Kategori Berceramah (D1), E-Tauliah Jabatan Agama Islam Selangor. <http://tauliah.jais.gov.my/list/listdone/page/2>.

<sup>808</sup> Dr. Shafie was born on 27 May 1942 at Paka, Dungun, Terengganu. He received his early education at Sekolah Melayu Kampung Nyiur, Paka, Terengganu from 1949 to 1955, and at Sekolah Arab Kuala Berang from 1956 to 1958 and in 1958 to 1962. Shafie learn in High School (Arabic) Sultan Zainal Abidin, Kuala Terengganu and passed Ibtidai 5 and Thanawi 9 and became a the High School religious teacher in Terengganu (1963-1970). Shafie learned independently and passed the Lower Certificate of Education (LCE) in 1964, the Malaysian Certificate of Education (MCE) (1966) and the Higher School Certificate (1969). When Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) was established in 1970, Shafie was among his first student. Shafie earned a Bachelor of Arts with First Class Honours in 1974 at UKM and also obtained a Diploma in Education with honors from the same university in 1975. Then, in 1977, Shafie received a Master of Letters in 1991, and eventually earned his Doctor Shafie philosophy also from UKM. Dr Shafie Abu Bakar a Former Selangor State Assemblyman (ADUN Kajang and Bangi), Individual Interview, 5 July 2013 9.29am at Galeri Bangi Bandar Ilmu, Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor.

After completing his secondary education, he became a teacher and taught at a number of religious schools in Terengganu from 1963 to 1970, including in the Arabic Secondary School of al-Ma'arif Kampung Raja Mohamad Arif, Besut and the Arabic Secondary School of Sultan Ismail, Dungun. In 1974 to 1976, Shafie was a lecturer at the Institute of Language, Literature and Culture Malay, UKM. He became an Associate Professor in the Department of Malay Literature, UKM and he taught Islamic philosophy and its relationship with the mindset of the Malays. After retirement in May 28, 1999, he involved in the Pan-Malaysia Islamic Party (PAS) and a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Selangor (Kajang) from November 1999. Biodata Dr Shafie Abu Bakar, Laman Web Rasmi Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Updated on 25 November 2008, <http://dbp.gov.my/lamandbp/main.php?Content=articles&ArticleID=933>.

<sup>809</sup> He was born on 17 December 1952 at Kampung Darat Beseri, Perlis. He received an early education at General School (recently known as Sekolah Kebangsaan) of Berseri, Perlis (1959-1961) and proceeded for his secondary level at Sekolah Mursyi, Penang (1965), Sekolah Menengah Tengku Sulaiman, Tunjung, Perlis (1966-1967) and Sekolah Menengah Dato' Sheikh Ahmad (1968-1969). He then furthered his studies in management at the Institut Teknologi Mara (ITM), Shah Alam started in 1971-1974.

(1985-1986).<sup>810</sup> Since the beginning of 1970s, Mohd Anuar Tahir has actively been involved in the student movements and has led the student association of Mara Institute of Technology. He followed with great interest the Islamic Resurgence movement and had actively involved in the National Association of Muslim Students Malaysia (PKPIM), and participated in the *da'wah* activities, particularly in the early establishment of ABIM. Mohd Anuar Tahir played an important role in ABIM since its early pronouncement, as Chairman of ABIM for Kinta, Perak (1975), Chief of Special Task Bureau (1985-1987), and Secretary General (1987-1993), and Vice President (International Relation) (1993-1995).<sup>811</sup>

Mohd Anuar Tahir had been a representative of WAMY for Asia Pasific Region and IIFSO. After joining UMNO for a few years, he initiated to establish *Keadilan* and held a post of its Secretary General before leaving the party and joined PAS. During the 2008 General Election, he contested in the Perlis Legislative Assembly (*Dewan Undangan Negeri - DUN*) under Bintong constituency on the PAS ticket, but lost to Md. Isa Sabu the BN-UMNO candidate. He has been nominated for the second time as a PAS candidate in Santan, Perlis in the 2014 General Election but failed to win the seat contested. On 18 April 2009, Mohd Anuar Tahir was elected as Chairman of PAS for Padang Besar, Perlis.<sup>812</sup> He was former Chairman of *Lajnah* (Bureau) of Labour and Squatters, PAS (2013-2015) and currently Secretary General of a newly formed party, Parti Amanah Negara (PAN). Mohd Anuar Tahir is also an activist in *da'wah*, social and humanitarian at the national and international levels.<sup>813</sup>

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<sup>810</sup> Warta Padang Besar, "DUN SANTAN N.05 : Kenali PEMIMPIN anda Hj. Mohd Anuar Tahir", 26 April 2013, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eyULTkvtj4g#>.

<sup>811</sup> *Buku Cenderamata Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia, 1971-1996*, pp. 7-11.

<sup>812</sup> Interview with Hj Mohd Anwar Tahir, 9.49am-1.30nn, at Coffee Bean, Subang Parade, Subang Jaya, Selangor on 14 May 2013, he is a former of ABIM's General Secretary and PAS's General Committee.

<sup>813</sup> On May 23, 2009, the Chairman of Lajnah of Workers and Settlers (LPPB) PAS, Mohd Anuar Tahir regret about the actions of employers prohibit employees to perform their Jumaat prayers. Syarikat MPE-Worldwide Sdn Bhd has issued a directive reads, "Not Approved - Prayer During for muslim staff office hour" (Not Approved - Muslim prayer Time for workers During Working Hours). The company gave the reason of difficulty to monitor Muslim workers who stopped to pray afternoon and evening. This MLM Company is originated from South Korea, and has branches in Kangar, Perlis. Ahli Jawatankuasa PAS Pusat 2013-2015, *Parti Islam SeMalaysia*, 2 September 2013, pp. 1-2. <http://www.pas.org.my/v2/index.php/info/senarai-pimpinan-pas/pimpinan-pas-pusat/pengerusi-lajnah/2130-pengerusi-lajnah-lajnah-sesi-2013-2015>.

The thirteenth informant (MCI-13) is Norasmawati Saad, is an Executive Assistant of Human Resource, Personal Assistant of President of College Darul Hikmah, Kajang, Selangor and currently member of PAN. She started her early education at Kuala Perlis, Terachi, Negeri Sembilan and attended night class to sit for the Malaysian Higher Education Certificate or *Sijil Tinggi Pelajaran Malaysia* (STPM) at Yayasan Anda, Lembah Pantai, Kuala Lumpur. She is an active member of WADAH and held many posts in Helwa (*Hal Ehwal Wanita*) of WADAH.<sup>814</sup>

The Malay Muslim low-income class, however, has a contrary background to the Malay middle-income class. The low-income class selected in this interview consists of various personal backgrounds such as a Kelas Fardhu Ain (KAFA) religious teacher, an assistant *Imam*, a security guard, a salesman, a factory worker, a cleaner, a gardener and a housewife. They earn a monthly household income of less than RM2300. The first low-income informant (LCI-1) is Ustaz Ishak Bin Malek, an assistant *Imam* of Masjid Kg Ginching, Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor. He started his early secondary education at Sekolah Sultan Abdul Aziz, Kuala Selangor and then continued his religious study at Madrasah Al-Ulum Al-Syari'yyah, Bagan Datoh, Perak. Due to poverty problem in the family, he was not able to continue his studies in *syarī'ah* Law at the University of al-Azhar, Egypt but he finally went to Abu Bakar Islamic University, at Karachi, Pakistan to further his study in Arabic language and Islamic studies. However, his study at Karachi was not being recognised by Malaysian Department of Public Service (*Jabatan Perkhidmatan Awam – JPA*).<sup>815</sup> In addition, He also has a Diploma in Islamic Medical Practices of Darul Syifa', Bangi, Selangor.<sup>816</sup>

Ustaz Ishak Bin Malek served in many private religious institutions.<sup>817</sup> In 2000, he founded a *Pusat Asuhan Tunas-Tunas Islam* (PASTI) (2003-2013), a foundation for

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<sup>814</sup> Interview with Norasmawati Saad, at Kolej Darul Hikmah, Sungai Ramal Dalam, Kajang, Selangor on 25 July 2013.

<sup>815</sup> This university has not been recognised by the JPA.

<sup>816</sup> Interview with Ustaz Ishak Malek, at Lot 1574, Kg Ginching, Sepang, Selangor, 19 August 2013.

<sup>817</sup> Previously, Ustaz Ishak served at Iqra Institute, at Section 8, Shah Alam, Selangor and Maahad Tahfiz Al-Ittiqan, at Ampang, Kuala Lumpur.

pre-school educational programme which was designed under PAS. In 2013, he finally initiated to open a *madrasah* for the adult Quranic and religious classes as well as an Islamic medical centre which serves as an alternative treatment to various spiritual illnesses. He was also offered to the post of *Imam* with RM750 allowance under JAKIM and JAIS. He is also a KAFA religious teacher at Masjid KLIA Quarters and always gives talks at mosques and *surau* around Selangor and Negeri Sembilan. His household family income is earned from various sources through religious services, his family inherited resource and public sponsors.<sup>818</sup>

The second low-income informant (LCI-2) is Norazilah Yahya a 42 years old KAFA religious teacher and lives in Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor. She was born in 1972 at Sungai Besar, Selangor and was raised in Pahang when her father served as a policeman there. She is *Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia* (SPM) holder and pursued her religious studies at the *Sanawi* (the Arabic and Religious Secondary School Certificate) level at Madrasah Islamiah, Kuala Pilah, Negeri Sembilan. With a basic *pondok* style of religious curriculum, Norazilah who was born in a fairly religious family background cultivated with the PAS's ideology, had served as a PASTI teacher in 1992. After she decided not to be an active member of PAS, she is now teaching the adults, Quran and the religious fundamental studies at her own *madrasah* which relies on public personal sponsor.<sup>819</sup>

The third low-income informant (LCI-3) is Hayati Jusoh; also a 42 years old housewife who lives at Bukit Kapar, Klang, Selangor.<sup>820</sup> Her highest education level is SPM. She married Mohd Noor Bin Ahmad in 1991 at the age of nineteen. She has five children, with two sons and three daughters. Her husband is a lorry driver at High Speed

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<sup>818</sup> Interview with Ustaz Ishak Malek, 19 August 2013.

<sup>819</sup> She had served as Quranic teacher at Iqra Institute, Section 8, Shah Alam and Tahfiz Institute, Bangi, Selangor. From that experience, Norazilah and her husband finally opened their own Islamic kindergarden under the name PASTI and the Quranic classes, at Salak, Sepang, Selangor in 2002 to 2010. Interview with Norazilah Yahya, at Lot 1574, Kg Ginching, Sepang, Selangor, 19 August 2013.

<sup>820</sup> She was born on 3 June 1972 at Bukit Cempaka, Batu Rakit, Terengganu. She started her early school at Sekolah Kebangsaan Bukit Cempaka, Terengganu before proceeding for her secondary education at Sekolah Menengah Tengku Mizan Zainal Abidin, Kuala Terengganu, Terengganu.

Precision Metals Sdn Bhd. (factory), Jalan Meru, Klang, Selangor. She is a Selangor permanent resident since 1997.<sup>821</sup>

The fourth low-income informant (LCI-4) is Mohd Bakri Che Mat, a 44 years old small-scale food seller and a Gombak resident of Selangor. He was born at Jalan Che Hussin, Kota Baharu, Kelantan in 1970. He was the second of four siblings. Unfortunately, he has no certificate because he did not complete his primary education and only sat for standard three after his father passed away. When his mother married to another man, he and the other three siblings lived with a poor grandmother. Mohd Bakri and his siblings had to leave school due to poverty which required them to work since childhood to survive and help their grandmother. Due to the lack of basic education attainment, he is not able to read and find good jobs to support his family. He was involved in many non-skills jobs as a fruit seller at Siti Khadijah Market and the weekend market; and sometimes he has to work as a trishaw rider around Kota Baharu to support his family. He married at the age of 32 and has five children. His wife and children are not staying with him in Gombak due to high cost of living in Kuala Lumpur. He rents a small room at Greenwood, Gombak and works based on commission as a fish satay seller around Sepang and Negeri Sembilan.<sup>822</sup>

The fifth low-income informant (LCI-5) is Mohammad Nazli Zakaria, a security guard at Sekolah Rendah Integrasi Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor. He is the eldest from four siblings and was born at Seremban General Hospital in 1977. Mohammad Nazli is an excellent student at the Full Government-Sponsored School (*Sekolah Berasrama Penuh – SBP*) when he obtained 5As in the *Ujian Penilaian Sekolah Rendah* (UPSR). Unfortunately, he withdrew from his studies there due to epilepsy. He continued his secondary education at Sekolah Menengah Seri Sepang, Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi. He was only able to receive General Certificate of Education or *Sijil Am*

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<sup>821</sup> Interview with Hayati Jusoh, at Lot 2796, Batu 8, Bukit Kapar, Klang, Selangor, 20 July 2013.

<sup>822</sup> Interview with Mohd Bakri Che Mat, at Taman Desa Semarak, Nilai, Negeri Sembilan, on 24 June 2013.

*Pelajaran* (SAP). In the SPM he failed the Malay Language paper and repeated the examination for the second time. He then served as KAFA religious teacher at Sekolah Jinnatul Firdaus, Sepang, Selangor (1988-1994) before becoming a voluntary traffic-road worker for two years. Mohammad Nazli is a bachelor and lives with his family at Kampung Salak, Sepang, Selangor.<sup>823</sup>

The sixth low-income informant (LCI-6) is Aida Binti Md Zin, a cleaner at Sekolah Menengah Seri Sepang, Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor. Based on the SPM certificate as the highest level of education, she sought for many jobs as a factory worker at Pasir Gudang, Johor Bahru before seeking for another job as a factory worker at Alps Electric (Malaysia) Sdn Bhd. Nilai, Negeri Sembilan (for two years). She also worked as a kindergarten assistant with the monthly income of RM400 per month. Aida married in 2002 and has a daughter. After that, she served as a cleaner at Sekolah Menengah Seri Sepang, Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi since February 2014 with the monthly income of RM900 to increase her family revenue.<sup>824</sup>

The same as the previous low-income informant, the seventh low-income informant (LCI-7) also served at a low ranking job as a gardener at Sekolah Kebangsaan Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor. Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd was born on 27 February 1973 at Hospital Banting, Selangor and grew up at Kampung Salak, Sepang, Selangor.<sup>825</sup> His highest education level is the Lower Secondary Evaluation (*Penilaian Menengah Rendah* - PMR). He discontinued his studies at Form Four for the reason that he was not interested in education. Then, he decided to work in many village folks jobs such as a rubber tapper, a worker at the palm-oil plantation, a

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<sup>823</sup> Interview with Mohammad Nazli Zakaria, at Sekolah Rendah Integrasi Salak Tinggi, Sepang Selangor, on 26 June 2013.

<sup>824</sup> She comes from Felda Mengkawang, Ajil, Kuala Berang, Terengganu. She is the eldest from six siblings. Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, at Sekolah Menengah Seri Sepang, Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor, 23 June 2013.

<sup>825</sup> He has nine siblings and he is the youngest. He started his early education at Sekolah Kebangsaan Salak, Sepang, Selangor and pursued his secondary education at Sekolah Menengah Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi.

gardener (*peracun rumput*), and a factory worker. He is married to Aida Binti Md Zin in 2002 and has a daughter.<sup>826</sup>

Lastly, the eighth low-income informant (LCI-8) is Mohd. Rofil Mohamed Ali, a 38-year old, Kelantan man by origin. He grew up in a peasantry family with a strong foundation of religion and affiliated to Islamic-based political party, PAS. He is the fifth in a big family of eight siblings. All his siblings are SPM holders and he works at the old folk's home, a school guard, construction worker and carpenter.<sup>827</sup> After finishing the lower secondary school (1995-1996), he worked as a painter at the batik factory near his hometown. At the age of 18 he migrated to Klang, Selangor and sought for working experience. The first company that he served was the Japanese electronic factory, Nouvetech Sdn. Bhd. He served there for two years (1997-1999) as a machine operator. He is now a technician at the vehicle components factory, High Speed Sdn Bhd. Meru, Klang since 2000. He married in 2000 at the age of 21 and has two children.<sup>828</sup>

Compared to the Malay middle class, the low-income informants have the lower achievement in education even though the government has made it compulsory to all Malaysian to access to the basic element and right in education.<sup>829</sup> About 12.5 per cent (an informant) of the low-income informant had no certificate and did not finish the primary school, 25 per cent (two informants) only have the Lower Secondary School Evaluation (PMR) certificate, 37.5 per cent (three informants) have the SPM and the other 25 per cent (two informants) have both SPM and the *Sanawi*. Most of the low-income earners or about 62.5 per cent have a minimum educational qualification at the SPM level. Meanwhile, 61.5 per cent (eight informants) of the middle-income earners

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<sup>826</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, at Sekolah Kebangsaan Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor, on 16 June 2013.

<sup>827</sup> He started his early education at Sekolah Kebangsaan Dato' Abdul Hamid, Pasir Mas, Kelantan and pursued his secondary until the Lower Secondary Evaluation or Penilaian Menengah Rendah (PMR) at Sekolah Menengah Sultan Ibrahim 2, Pasir Mas, Kelantan. Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, at Lot 2052, Jalan Belimbing Meru, Klang, Selangor, 20 July 2013.

<sup>828</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>829</sup> Based on Surat Pekeliling Ikhtisas Bil. 14/2002: Pelaksanaan Pendidikan Wajib Di Peringkat Rendah 2003, the period of compulsory education in the primary education is six years. The clause said that: "*Kegagalan ibu bapa memastikan anaknya mengikut pendidikan wajib adalah merupakan satu kesalahan dari segi undang-undang. Jika disabitkan dengan kesalahan ibu bapa berkenaan boleh dikenakan denda tidak melebihi RM5000 atau dipenjarakan tidak lebih 6 bulan atau kedua-duanya sekali.*" Surat Pekeliling Ikhtisas Bil. 14/2002: Pelaksanaan Pendidikan Wajib Di Peringkat Rendah 2003, Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia.



are doctorate holders, 23.1 per cent (three informants) are Master's holders and 7.7 per cent (an informant) respectively are Bachelor and STPM holders. Based on the background of the informants, the study found that the low educational attainment does contribute to the low-income level, and the low and half-skill jobs. In contrast, the high level of education does contribute to the middle and high-income with high-skills and professional career.

### **4.3 Religious Thoughts and Understanding**

An individual tendency on the religious or the non-religious activities can be influenced by his or her thoughts and understanding of the religion. In many cases, the religious thoughts and understanding have been shaped by such religious groups, activities or institutions; and schools of thoughts that they participate in and the surroundings. These religious groups or movements extensively exist in the Muslim society, in particular Malaysia. A few differences have been in the aspect of religious thoughts and understanding between middle and low-income classes. However, based on the informants' consent, the study revealed that regular participation in *da'wah* organisations and involvement in religious knowledge enhancement activities, such as attending religious classes may reduce these differences between low and middle-income classes.

Majority of the interviewed Malay Muslim middle class informants show significant clear and good views in Islamic thoughts and understanding towards the role of Islam in their daily life. According to Prof. Dato' Ir. Dr. Azhari, his participation in the *da'wah* activities manage to contribute in increasing his knowledge in the Islamic worldview as a complete and perfect religion, as Islam governs the belief system (*Imān*) as well as the concept of *amal* and *'Ibādah* (religious obediences and practices). His active participation in the *da'wah* programmes has never affected his focus and

concentration in the study as well as at work. However, Prof. Dato' Ir. Dr. Azhari confidently believes that his active involvement in the collective *da'wah* work unites one in the "*jamāah*". This enables on creating the unity of thoughts and obedience in performing the Islamic practices (*wahdatul fikrah* and *amal*) among members of such *da'wah* movement. Moreover, he believes that his participation in the *da'wah* and religious activities would help him to receive Allah's blessing and assistance.<sup>830</sup>

The importance of religion in the Muslims' life could be translated into many forms. The idea of the establishment of Islamic state is a manifestation of the importance of religion in politics and state. In Malaysia, this idea has been forwarded by PAS. Some of the Malay middle classes express their thoughts on the establishment of the Islamic state, Islamic principle and the implementation of *hudūd*. As a committee member of PAS in the prestigious and elite area of Taman Tun Dr Ismail, at the periphery metropolitan of Kuala Lumpur, Hj Ahmad believes in the importance of upholding the Islamic state and making this country to be more Islamic. For him, the *tarbiyah* programmes organised by PAS, such as the weekly and monthly *usrah*, lectures and attending religious classes at the mosque has helped to strengthen his understanding on Islam and increase his commitment to the party. He is confident that the execution of *hudūd* law as proposed by PAS can be implemented in Malaysia, and it requires PAS commitment and efforts to implement them. He suggests that Malaysia should take Brunei as a role model in the implementation of the *hudūd* law.<sup>831</sup>

Dato' Dr. Ghazali and Hj Ahmad do not deny the contribution of UMNO in sustaining the symbols of Islam, as building mosques and establishing the Islamic institutions as well as developing Islamic systems. Nevertheless, whatever efforts which have been done by the government are not enough as the endeavours of upholding the *syarī'ah* requires an increased commitment of the ruling party or the government to

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<sup>830</sup> Interview with Prof Dato Ir. Dr Azhari Bin Md. Salleh, 20 November 2013.

<sup>831</sup> Interview with Hj Ahmad bin Rahmat, 16 November 2013.

govern this country in accordance with the Islamic principles.<sup>832</sup> Dato' Dr. Ghazali strongly believes that Islam is a wonderful religion which needs to be practised. He agrees that the government has done enough to create the religious awareness among the Muslims, but disagree with the way the government politicised Islam as an instrument to win the Malays' votes. For him, Islam is a religion of values. He stresses that Islam is not the religion of the Malay ethnic group, but Islam is the world's religion. Dato' Ghazali has also agreed that the Islamic government agencies have done enough in the development of Islam in Malaysia, but have not done enough in economics nor social development of the Muslims wisely. Dato' Ghazali admits that he is a Malaysian moderate global Islamist. He admits that he voted for UMNO for the Parliament of Petaling and PKR for the state constituency due to a good job done by these parties.<sup>833</sup>

For those who join in the *da'wah* organisation, their thoughts and worldviews are shaped by the organisation that they participate in and their exposure to the religious activities. Even though their basic faith on religion is similar to those outside the *da'wah* circle, their thoughts on the certain aspects and issues may differ from one to another based on the approach used in these *da'wah* organisations. From Prof. Azimi point of view, religion is very important and must put as a priority and a basis for the progress and success in his life. Confidence and belief in the religion should always be strengthened, in particular when he is growing old. The religious aspect is also important for the young Malay Muslims who are steadily eroding their faith in religion during this challenging time.<sup>834</sup> He always emphasis on the religious approach in his

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<sup>832</sup> Interview with Hj Ahmad bin Rahmat, 16 November 2013; Interview with Adjudt Prof. Dato' Dr Ghazali Dato' Yusoff, 2 September 2013.

<sup>833</sup> He proposed that the government must nurture the true teaching of Islam and try to be a good model showing that Islam and the Muslims can contribute to the modern world. Interview with Adjudt Prof. Dato' Dr Ghazali Dato' Yusoff, 2 September 2013.

<sup>834</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, at Institute of Social Sciences Studies (IPSAS), Universiti Putra Malaysia, 13 June 2013.

daily duties, the research conducted at the university and even when he is at home and in a group of his *jamāah*.<sup>835</sup>

Prof. Azimi has also learned many things related to religion when engaging in Jamaah Tabligh. This movement had shaped in his mind to see things from different perspectives, consistently when he did fieldwork abroad. Participation in Tabligh has also educated him to always think of good (*husnul zon*) and be positive with everyone. He believes that when a person is guided to Islam by Allah, he becomes a brother of another Muslim. As member of Tabligh, he always thinks of doing something that benefits others and this action may transform humans for goodness.<sup>836</sup> The involvement in this movement also affects his thinking on the importance of understanding the advantages of congregational prayer, in particular, during the *Fajr* prayer. He emphasises the religious aspects of life in the development of personal life, family, colleagues circle and at the workplace.<sup>837</sup> Emphasising on congregational prayer in the mosque, which is a fundamental to the individual development is included in the six pillars of Tabligh's school of thoughts. Prof. Azimi also adds that Tabligh has given much emphasis on the personal development and he tends to take such approach to any endeavour undertaking.<sup>838</sup>

Hj Mohd Anuar Tahir acknowledges ABIM and PAS's great contribution in his religious understanding and thoughts. Contribution of these *da'wah* movements is great. As previously he was only an ordinary villager who was embraced with Islamic traditions, however through his involvement in ABIM and then PAS, he turned to understand Islam in its pure and true teaching. He is now active in PAS and become its leader who head one of its main bureau, *Lajnah* of Labors and Squatters (2013-2015). His religious understanding is different from those who only believe in Islam as it is all

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<sup>835</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

<sup>836</sup> Prof. Dr Haji Azimi criticises some religious teachers who leave the congregational prayer, mostly at the mosque. Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

<sup>837</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

<sup>838</sup> Six pillars or points of Tabligh are kalimah Tayyibah, namaz or prayer, knowledge and zikir, Honour for a Muslim, sincerity of intention, the spare of time and to quit vanity. Refer to Maulvi Ashiq Elahi, *Six Points of Tabligh*, New Delhi: Idara Impex, 2010, pp. 1-93; Maulana Ashiq Elahi, *Enam Prinsip Tabligh*, Penang: H.M. Yaaqoob Ansari, 1979, 1-42; *Ibid.*, p. 4.

about praying, fasting, and going for pilgrimage and there is nothing more than that. However, he now views Islam in its holistic, vast and multidimensional outlooks.<sup>839</sup> His belief in Islam encourages him to perform the best in implementing Islam as the way of life. He believes that Islam can solve Muslims' problems and may also refer to other examples or models outside of the Islamic views to benefit Muslims. At certain period, the accommodative approach can be applied to adapt with the modern world as long as this is not neglected to the Islamic principle. His attachment with many Islamic organisations abroad also adds values to develop his Islamic thoughts and understanding in the practical perspectives.<sup>840</sup>

Dr. Shafie manifests his religious commitment and obligation towards Islam through his academic works and contribution to PAS. Through his academic writings, they may reflect his thoughts on the importance of Islam in the development of the Malay literature. Since the leading publication of his poem entitled, "*Asas Peribadi*" in March 1971's edition of *Dewan Bahasa* magazine, his poetry and essays have often been published in the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka's printed magazines, such as *Dian*, *Kiblat*, *Al-Islam*, *Utusan Zaman* and *Utusan Malaysia*. Many of his scientific writings on the Islamic literatures and Islam as *ad-dīn* (system of life), were published in various scholarly works. Since 1993, Shafie has introduced the theory of *Takmilah*, a theory of the Malay literature which is constructed on the perspective of Islamic literature. He has actively cultivated to the theory in the effort to find a unique form of Islamic literature which contributed to the source of aesthetics and thoughts in the Malay literature.<sup>841</sup>

For Norazizah Abdul Aziz, she has received fundamental religious teaching since she was studying at SMAP, Labu, Negeri Sembilan and then pursued her studies at

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<sup>839</sup> Interview with Hj Mohd Anwar Tahir, 14 May 2013.

<sup>840</sup> Interview with Hj Mohd Anwar Tahir, 14 May 2013.

<sup>841</sup> Shafie's poems were collected in many compilations of anthology. Some of them are *Puisi Baharu Melayu 1961-1986*, *Mengenang-Mu: Puisi-puisi Melayu Berunsur Islam 1933-1986*, *Puisi Sepanjang Zaman*, *Kumpulan Puisi Malaysia/the Malaysian Poetry 1975-1985*, *Modern Malaysian Poetry* and *Puisi-puisi Nusantara*. He has several times won the Literary Prize for poetry genre, namely in 1975, 1976 and the 1984/85 Malaysian Literary Prize (*Hadiah Sastera Malaysia*). Dr Shafie Abu Bakar, Laman Web Rasmi Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, updated on 25 Nov 2008, pp. 1-2. <http://dbp.gov.my/lamandbp/main.php?Content=articles&ArticleID=933>.

IIUM. She has a great opportunity to apply her knowledge on Islam in a clear perspective when she studied psychology at IIUM and involved in PKPIM as a student platform before entering ABIM. ABIM has strongly helped to strengthen her previous educational religious attainments, commitment and understanding in a holistic and broaden perspectives of Islam as the complete way of life. ABIM has taught her on how to apply this knowledge (psychology) to benefit the Muslim society in general, and it works for the sake of the *ummah* as a whole. Her participation in *usrah*, *nadwah* and *tamrīn*<sup>842</sup> in PKPIM and ABIM helps to improve and impact on her religious thoughts and behaviours.<sup>843</sup>

The Malay Muslim low-income class, however, shows a mix-point of views on thoughts and religious understanding which are closely associated with either they participate or not in the religious-based institutions and programmes, or did learn Islam to improve their understanding to shape their thoughts and beliefs. For those who always attached themselves with religious activities, programmes and institutions they show positive and affirmative insights on issues related to Islam. Otherwise, for those who are rarely concerned on the matters of religion, they still know their obligation towards religion and the importance of faith in their life, but they have no strong foundation to strengthen their beliefs and outlooks on the purpose of life as well as practise religious obligations. The low-income class' participation in religious activities and Islamic organisations can also contribute to their Islamic thoughts and understanding.

Mohammad Nazli for example, claims that he joins religious programmes and activities organised by the mosque, community and Jamaat Tabligh merely because he has been invited to participate. His father also joined the programmes and he did not want to hurt the organiser, especially by both UMNO and PAS representatives at his

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<sup>842</sup> *Tamrin* is a religious leadership training.

<sup>843</sup> Interview with Norazizah Abdul Aziz, 25 July 2013.

township. Although, he adds that he certainly enjoys such religious and spiritual programmes, nevertheless, these activities are merely common traditions in the Malay society. Such traditions, like *tahlil* ceremony (prayer for the death of a person), religious talks, *kenduri do'a selamat* are popular amongst the Malay-Islamic assimilated traditions which have been practised by the Malay folks. As a good son to the UMNO supporter in Kampung Salak, he tries to accommodate with Islamic political ideologies (UMNO and PAS) which exist in his community.<sup>844</sup>

Mohammad Nazli also admits that his attendance in the informal religious programmes help to gradually increase his knowledge and understanding on Islamic rules and legislation (*hukum hakam*); methods of performing religious duty (such as, the death management, slaughtering four-legged animals- cow, goat and buffalo). Attending religious talks also open his mind on the issues related to Islamic society, like the *hudūd* law, *qisas*, *takzīr*. However, when the researcher asked him about the meaning of *hudūd* law, he hardly explained its meaning except acknowledge its judgement with “theft will be judged with cutting the hands” (*mencuri potong tangan*), “adultery will be judged with throwing the stone on the criminal’s body”. He believes that this law will benefit Muslims who are then aware of the dangerous of such crimes in the society.<sup>845</sup> He also believes that Islam can solve all aspects of human life. When he faced difficulty in life he will ask for God’s forgiveness (*istighfār*) and pray. He tries the best to perform religious duty and wake up at early hours of the morning to perform *tahajjud* (night), *hajat* and *witir* prayers.<sup>846</sup>

Mohd Bakri has totally changed his life, thoughts and attitude on the importance of religion when he gets involved in Jamaat Tabligh. He believes that someone who practises the *sunnah* or traditions of the Prophet SAW will be rewarded in the life after death and the Prophet will recognise him as his follower. He also believes that if he

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<sup>844</sup> Interview with Mohammad Nazli Zakaria, 26 June 2013.

<sup>845</sup> Interview with Mohammad Nazli Zakaria, 26 June 2013.

<sup>846</sup> Interview with Mohammad Nazli Zakaria, 26 June 2013.

regularly performs prayers on time and does preaching to others for the sake of Allah SWT, Allah will reward him with the meaningful, peaceful and quality life as well as he will be rewarded with His blessings. Although he receives less and uncertain monthly income, Mohd Bakri is always happy with his life that he can regularly perform religious duty and this amount is enough for the whole family. He thanks Allah for giving him peace, quality and meaningful life in which he has never experienced it before.<sup>847</sup>

Ustaz Ishak chooses the suitable non-governmental *da'wah* organisation which is harmonised to his thinking (*fikrah*) and development of knowledge. In 1982, after completing his *Sanawi* certificate and being introduced to ABIM, al-Arqam and Tabligh, Ustaz Ishak inclined to contribute and showed his interest in the *da'wah* approach used by PAS in which at that time was popular with the charismatic leadership and a great orator of Haji Abdul Hadi Awang. He was then, actively involved in PAS and became the high ranking leader of PAS at the Parliament of Sepang and at the state level of Selangor. He has now decided to withdraw from politic, as well as being inactive member of PAS, but he is always committed to Islam as the way of life. He admits that he is a strong man because of Islam, through Allah's guidance (*hidāyah*) and the experience he has acquired from the Islamic *da'wah* organisations that he has joined.<sup>848</sup>

The spiritual education and training (*tarbiyah*) of PAS highly impacted on Ustaz Ishak's thoughts on how he sees this life. As a former party leader and a *da'wah* activist with religious background, he has responsibility to carry out religious duty and the need to work for the sake of the *ummah*. This responsibility requires sacrifices and priority of the *ummah* upon other self-interests and businesses. For him, politics in the PAS leadership has to be managed based on the holistic framework of Islam (*syumūl*). He

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<sup>847</sup> Interview with Mohd Bakri Che Mat, 24 June 2013.

<sup>848</sup> Interview with Ustaz Ishak Malek, 19 August 2013.



saw that the Malays now are facing a serious disparity in politics. For the sake of unity of the Malay Muslims in Malaysia, he persuades both parties, UMNO and PAS to seat together and set an appropriate approach in order to strengthen Islam and the Malays.<sup>849</sup> He said that Islam belongs to Allah and it is a revealed religion to all His prophets, so he strongly believes that Islam is the best solution to all problems. Thus, he tries at his best endeavours to practise Islam, works and manages his life with Islam.<sup>850</sup>

As a housewife of a factory lorry driver, Hayati affirms that her participation in the religious activities like religious talks, *tazkirah*, *kuliah duha* at the mosques, PAS's political talks (*ceramah*) on current issues, do contribute to shape her religious thoughts and knowledge. Sometimes, she watches religious programmes at the unpaid television channels to increase her religious thoughts and understanding. Many issues have been discussed in religious programmes such as, *Tanyalah Ustaz*, *Halaqah* and *Usrah* by TV9. Suggestions and explanations detail out by the experts in the programs steered and touched her emotion to change for righteousness. Meanwhile she always seeks the truth in understanding the religion. She can still respond to the questions related to the issue of the Islamic state, *hudūd* and social problems in Malaysia, even though she cannot fully answer them with confidence.<sup>851</sup>

Hayati comments that Malaysia is not an Islamic state because it does not fulfil its criteria. From her point of view, the Islamic state must implement Islamic legislative system and has a just leader. He agrees that Malaysia should implement the *hudūd* law to "save" the country dealing with the rising rate of social problems, like burglary, baby dumping issues and others. She says that Malaysia nowadays is facing serious social problems, but she has no idea on the best way to solve them. As a full time housewife who has limited access to formal education, her knowledge on the subject of Islam

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<sup>849</sup> Interview with Ustaz Ishak Malek, 19 August 2013.

<sup>850</sup> Interview with Ustaz Ishak Malek, 19 August 2013.

<sup>851</sup> Interview with Hayati Jusoh, 20 July 2013.

circulated around her limited informal educational sources. She however, strongly binds herself with religion and believes that Islam can solve human problems.<sup>852</sup>

Norazilah too, shows similar religious tendency with Hayati. Although she has a minimum education attainment at SPM level, she has many advantages compared to Hayati. She has the *Sanawi* certificate and experiences in teaching as she can teach basic Quranic recitation rules and *Fardhu Ain*.<sup>853</sup> Again, participation in the *tarbiyah* programme of PAS, *usrah*, group discussions, religious talks or *ceramah* and dealing with people of the real field setting help to increase her knowledge in Islam, grasp experience in *da'wah* through education and politics, and increase her commitment in religion.<sup>854</sup> Although she was a committed member of PAS before, Norazilah does not agree in the issue of using the word Allah if it is allowed to be used by the non-Muslims. She observed that since PAS joins the *Pakatan Rakyat* (PR), many issues related to Islamic *Aqidah* have been neglected by the party.<sup>855</sup> This statement shows that she is not in favour of the PAS's decision to join PR.

Norazilah can also respond to the questions dealing with Islamic politics and current issues, such as the Islamic state and *hudūd*, even though with a simple short answers for the reason that she is not interested in Islamic politics. For her, the concept of the Islamic state is just only a political gimmick because the state leadership is not really interested to implement it, based on its true characteristics. Meanwhile, she views that the social problems are getting worst due to lack of religious concern in the family institution and parental negligence of their children's welfare. As a solution to reduce the occurrence of social problems, *hudūd* law is suggested to be implemented. She said that even though the Kelantan PAS state government had drafted and suggested it before, until this interview session is conducted, the initiative has not met its positive result as the highest decision is under the power of the Federal Government. She

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<sup>852</sup> Interview with Hayati Jusoh, 20 July 2013.

<sup>853</sup> It means a basic regular practice of *fiqh* for daily uses.

<sup>854</sup> Interview with Norazilah Yahya, 19 August 2013.

<sup>855</sup> Interview with Norazilah Yahya, 19 August 2013.

believes that all existing social problems can be solved with the implementation of the *hudūd* law.<sup>856</sup>

Comparing to the first five low-income informants, the last three low-income earners have different views on the various issues of Islamic thoughts, the existence of religious groups and their efforts for *da'wah* in Malaysia. Aida is not sure and confident that religious factor can help to survive in upgrading her family social-status. She states that religion may be helping her in to continue her struggle in life but she cannot explain the function of religion for that purpose.<sup>857</sup> For her, the economic struggle is the only contributing factor that motivates her to work hard to increase her family income since her husband does not have a secure and permanent job.<sup>858</sup> She rarely participates in religious classes or *kuliah*, even though she knows that such programmes may increase her religious knowledge.<sup>859</sup>

Mohd. Rofil strongly believes that working hard, preserving family and friend as motivational factors of his survival for life. Although he knows that religion must be placed as priority of life, he rarely commits to religious practices. He does not involve in religious activities nearby his area, Meru in Klang, except during his secondary school days in Kelantan. At that time, he involved in *da'wah* activities after he was being invited to join them by his religious teacher. Later, he began to change his life when he moved to the urban city of Klang to become a worker at the electronic factory.<sup>860</sup> Mohd. Rofil also explains that the factory working environment is not conducive for Muslim workers where performing daily prayer due to restriction. This constraint may contribute to the Muslims' disregard on the religious duties. Mohd. Rofil believes that the employer's restriction on the Muslim workers' prayer time contributes to his religious life, mind and attitude towards religion and his commitment on his faith

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<sup>856</sup> Interview with Norazilah Yahya, 19 August 2013.

<sup>857</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>858</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>859</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>860</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, at Lot 2052, Jalan Belimbing Meru, Klang, Selangor, 20 July 2013.

and belief.<sup>861</sup> Living far from his parents at a young age of 18 has also contributed to Mohd. Rofil's change in committing religious obligation, besides friends' influences as an added contributing factor to this religious abandonment and desertion.<sup>862</sup>

Aida and Faizul praise the government initiatives for Islamic development in Malaysia, such as the introduction of Islamic education, the enhancement programme to understand Jawi, Arabic Language, Quran and Fardhu Ain (JQAF) in the primary and secondary schools; the establishment of Islamic bank and Islamic university. From their point of view, such efforts are good and are welcomed for the progress of the Muslims in this country.<sup>863</sup> Faizul also acknowledges that during Tun Abdullah and Dato' Seri Najib's era, the introduction of J-Qaf and KAFA has impacted on his daughter's understanding on the subject of Islam. He himself will ask her daughter for additional explanation on the matters relating to Islam.<sup>864</sup> However, both two low-income members, Aida and Faizul repeatedly state that the Malay-Islamic based political party UMNO and PAS do nothing for Muslims and the Malays as the parties always blame one another for the failure in promoting Islam in the country. They are not interested in politics and do not want to neither bother about the progress of the political parties nor involve in politics.<sup>865</sup>

UMNO and PAS supporters in Faizul's opinion do not interact and communicate with each other. They also do not bother of the poor and ordinary people, like him. This community gap in the Malay society is growing wider where the rich becomes richer and the poor becomes poorer.<sup>866</sup> PAS activists according to him only express so many pleasant but empty promises, during the days before the elections, but they will disappear and leave their voters after winning the parliamentary seat in the election. He does not even know that PAS has its slogan "PAS For All" and "the Welfare State" and

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<sup>861</sup> Mohd Rofil said that his would be disturbed if he stops for prayer. He said that "*Ha, dia punya tu kerja tu, maknanya, [akan] terganggu lah [kalau saya] nak [pergi] sembahyang, memang terganggu*". Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>862</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>863</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>864</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>865</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013; Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>866</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

has no idea on the party's effort for Muslims.<sup>867</sup> For him, UMNO leaders also fail to demonstrate good examples as what they have planned. He however welcomes the government good initiatives for Islam and from his point of view, the Islamisation programmes by Tun Mahathir, Islam Hadhari by Tun Abdullah and *Wasatiyyah* are good for Muslims in the country, but these entire Islamic programmes are not fully successful according to its objective. The UMNO leaders according to Faizul are not successful to lead Muslims by appearing in public with good examples.<sup>868</sup>

Aida and Faizul have never heard of ABIM and IKRAM as *da'wah* organisations and are not interested to know them. They describe Jamaat Tabligh as members who always leave their wives and children to depart for *da'wah* activities for forty days. They also treat their families badly.<sup>869</sup> Faizul also describes Jamaat Tabligh as always uses force approach to preach Islam, but he is not attracted to their appeal.<sup>870</sup> Aida knows little about Al-Arqam as a deviant religious group who astrays from the right path. She believes that the *da'wah* movements have given positive and negative impacts to society.<sup>871</sup> Faizul also believes that even though many efforts have been done by many government agencies, the Islamic NGOs and *da'wah* movements, no major changes can be seen for the improvement of the Islamic development in Malaysia and all these efforts do not help to cultivate his self-awareness on religion.<sup>872</sup> The *hudūd* law for Aida is about cutting people's hand. She agrees that the law is only good for Muslims, but not suitable for the non-Muslims as it may cause injustice to them.<sup>873</sup> Faizul does not follow or know the progress of the *hudūd* law implementation and proposal in Malaysia. He states that it was planned for the betterment of Muslims in

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<sup>867</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>868</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>869</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013; Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>870</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>871</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>872</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>873</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

Malaysia.<sup>874</sup> He also does not follow the issues of using the word Allah for the non-Muslim.<sup>875</sup>

Aida, Mohd. Rofil and Faizul Kamal also agree on the good announcement by Tun Mahathir that Malaysia is an Islamic State, but they do not know its concepts and characteristics. They also have no idea on the Islam Hadhari approach used by Tun Abdullah, as well as the *Wasatīyyah* concept introduced by the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Seri Najib Tun Razak.<sup>876</sup> In addition, Mohd. Rofil has regarded that the pronouncement of Malaysia as an Islamic state by Tun Mahathir is only empty promises, as no action plans and serious efforts have been made to implement Islam in the state system. He has never heard on the *Wasatīyyah* concept and just guesses that *Wasatīyyah* means to unite the people. Unfortunately, he has given the wrong answer to its meaning.<sup>877</sup>

Mohd. Rofil also shares similar view as Aida and Faizul. He sees UMNO and PAS do nothing for the Malay Muslims, except to always blame and quarrel with each other and contribute to the disunity among the Malay Muslims in Malaysia.<sup>878</sup> Mohd. Rofil also admits that he did not deny UMNO's contribution as the ruling party to lead the federal government. He says that the party put efforts to expand the rapid development of Islam in the country, for example, the establishment of the Islamic banking, Islamic system, has initiated the establishment of JAKIM and IKIM; and encouraged many religious programmes on television channels and broadcasting stations. However, the party is not successful in managing the regional economic disparity among the states. He says that the Federal Government has always discriminated Kelantan in its development plan.<sup>879</sup> He also claims that efforts initiated by UMNO and the government agencies do not affect on his thoughts and religious

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<sup>874</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>875</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>876</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013; Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013; Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>877</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>878</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>879</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

understanding. He also admits that he is now becoming isolated from religious life and UMNO did not help him to increase his religious consciousness.<sup>880</sup> Mohd. Rofil also admits that PAS has done less in helping him to increase religious understanding and obligations. He only supports and votes for PAS because of the late Tuan Guru Hj Nik Abdul Aziz's leadership and personality. He really respects this party's spiritual leader, Nik Aziz due to his piousness, personality and low profile leader with a simple lifestyle.<sup>881</sup>

He says that before Pakatan Rakyat governs Selangor he has frequently attended PAS's political talks or *ceramah* which concern on religious obligations among the party's members. For example, the party always reminds its members on the needs to avoid making loan, preserving prayers and eradicating from being a greedy person who discriminates others to practise nepotism. He sincerely admits that he votes for PAS as a protest action for UMNO as some of the party leaders always condemn the migrant of Kelantan people who live in Selangor.<sup>882</sup> At this point, Mohd. Rofil still believes that democracy can be used to promote and upgrade the function of Islam in the country.<sup>883</sup>

Faizul, Mohd. Rofil and Aida also confess and realise that their religious knowledge is shallow and poor. Faizul and Mohd. Rofil have good intention to study religion but again, the struggle for basic economic needs hinder them to do so as they need to accomplish with their matters, particularly the economics, than fulfilling the religious needs.<sup>884</sup> Faizul's family incomes are only enough for their daily consumptions. He describes his life as cited in the Malay proverb which says that "*kais pagi makan pagi kais petang makan petang*". He needs to start working as a gardener at Sekolah Kebangsaan Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi from 7 am to 4 pm. After fetching her daughter from school he will prepare to work as security guard at the housing area from

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<sup>880</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>881</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>882</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>883</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>884</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013, pp. 22-23; Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

7 pm to 7 am. He has no annual leave and does not have enough rest at all.<sup>885</sup> He understands that he only struggles for work and has neglected religious duty. He hopes that he can balance and manage to allocate his life equally, spiritually and physically, at work and performing religious duty.<sup>886</sup>

Mohd. Rofil also gives the same reason that he is always busy at work. If he does not work and have a free time, he prefers to rest, relax and play futsal, a field ball or badminton with his friend. He admits that he does nothing to improve his religious knowledge.<sup>887</sup> On the other hand, Aida tries to improve her religious knowledge through reading. If Aida is not busy, she will buy religious books and magazines from the weekly market or the book shop to deepen her understanding on Islam.<sup>888</sup>

Since they are busy and exhausted with their works for economic struggle, both Aida and Faizul Kamal deliberately explain that they rarely and are not interested to attend religious talks at the mosque for the reason that they may get headache and confused with many thoughts and opinions delivered by the speakers. They also claim that the mosque organising committees nearby their house are not friendly and approachable.<sup>889</sup> Aida, Mohd. Rofil and Faizul Kamal are also receivers of the *Bantuan Rakyat 1Malaysia* (BR1M) and they are strongly pleased with such financial assistance to alleviate their life's difficulties.<sup>890</sup>

Interview sessions with the poor low-income classes also found that whatever condition and situation faced by the Malays, Islam is always believed to be the best solution for their life. Like the middle-income class, the low-income earners also find that religion of Islam is the best return when they deal with problems and challenges of

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<sup>885</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>886</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>887</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>888</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>889</sup> These committee members have been dominated by PAS followers since 2008 after Selangor was ruled by the *Pakatan Rakyat* (PR). Instead of going to the mosque to increase their religious knowledge, they prefer to watch religious programmes on television channels, but they realise too that they have limited time for this purpose. Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013; Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>890</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013; Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013; Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.



life. Even though, Aida, Mohd. Rofil and Faizul Kamal rarely commit to religious programmes and obligations; they do believe that Islam can solve human problems.<sup>891</sup>

#### 4.4 Religious Practices

Almost all informants of the Malay Muslim middle classes describe themselves as pious believers to the Islamic rules. Their tendency on the religious practices are supported by the public spheres that they are involved in, such as, their attendance in congregational prayer at the mosques or *surau*, involvement in the Islamic-based organisations and in the general *da'wah* activities. Participation in the religious community activities and *da'wah* movement helps to increase the middle classes' religious practices and obligations, either in its specific forms of *'ibādah* (obligatory and optional Islamic practices) such as, five times daily prayers, fasting, paying the alms-giving (*zakat*), performing *hajj* to Makkah, performing *'umrah* (visiting sacred places of Makkah and Madinah); or in its general forms of *'ibādah*, like, working, contribute in charity and helping those in needs with the intentions that all deeds are conducted for the sake of Allah SWT, the AlMighty.

Hj Ahmad, for example, has found that in addition to the family factor and the awareness of self-responsibility towards religion, the *tarbiyah* process undertaken by PAS helps to strengthen his obligatory and optional Islamic practices, along with the emphasis of *da'wah* in the political aspects within members of the party. Hj Ahmad explains that the religious education process has been developed since the early age of his marriage. As the leader in the family he puts emphasis on the religious responsibility among the family members and this has been expanded to the local community nearby his areas at the social level. Optional religious practices such as, Monday and Thursday fasting, *duha* and *tahajjud* prayers, and others were highly encouraged in the PAS's

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<sup>891</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013; Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

*da'wah* programmes. This encouragement in performing religious practices and duties increasingly nurtures and becomes regular routines in Hj Ahmad's daily schedule.<sup>892</sup>

According to Dato' Dr. Ghazali, to understand Islam, he should practise self-discipline to follow the Islamic rules and values and behave according to Allah's commands and to leave the prohibited things, knowing the right and the wrong, and try to see things in the different perspectives. Following those acts which are based on the Islamic principles, someone will become a balanced individual. Dato' Dr. Ghazali extends the practices of Islam in his daily life to broaden meanings in which these can be applied in the context of Muslims and non-Muslims relations and the profession pursued by him. Even though he was raised in an English culture, educated in the Western curriculum, he and his family have been strongly obliged to religious teaching.<sup>893</sup>

Dato' Dr. Ghazali describes that he comes from a family who practises Islam, not in a narrow sense, but in a very broad sense. His grandfather was the Imam of the mosque at Kampung Brisu, Alor Gajah, Malacca, when he retired from the police.<sup>894</sup> His spouse, Dato' Hatijah binti Ayob is Acehnese by origin who is a well-known descendent from a pious religious family. She never leaves the prayers and always keeps reminding him on prayers. Thus, Dato' Dr. Ghazali always keeps reminding his family members on the religious obligations and these Islamic religious cultures and values have been shaped as a basis in the family, even though they use English in their daily communication. With the advantages of millions of wealth that he owns Dato' Ghazali always uses them for donation and helps the poor and those in need.<sup>895</sup>

The Malay middle classes' involvement in religious and *da'wah* activity helps to improve their religious practices. Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor admits that he is very faithful to

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<sup>892</sup> Interview with Hj Ahmad bin Rahmat, 16 November 2013.

<sup>893</sup> Interview with Dato' Dr Ghazali Dato' Yusoff, 2 September 2013.

<sup>894</sup> Interview with Dato' Dr Ghazali Dato' Yusoff, 2 September 2013.

<sup>895</sup> Dato' Dr Ghazali described that the father to his son-in-law is also the *imam* of the Masjid Kota Tinggi, Johor. Dato' Dr. Ghazali's first grandson, Najmi, 8 years old can also lead the prayer with the family members when they have a weekly gathering at his home. Interview with Dato' Dr Ghazali Dato' Yusoff, 2 September 2013.

the teachings of Islam. *Tarbiyah* process and the process of generating the knowledge culture in ABIM, according to Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor, have become phenomenal. Through the weekly *usrah*, monthly seminars, *tamrīn*, and various programmes organised by ABIM, he has managed to foster the high spirit of sacrifice and commitment to the *amal jamā'i* (teamwork) among its members, in terms of time, energy, property and finance and a close brotherhood (*ukhuwwah*).<sup>896</sup>

Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor and the colleagues are consistent with the attendance of *usrah* and have never been absent from the programmes. Normally, *usrah* at the central level would be a model to the *usrah* at the state and district levels. These *usrah* employ congregational prayers and breaking-fasting together, study the different types of interpretation of the Qur'an, discuss the Islamic history (*sīrah*) by Abul Hasan Ali An-Nadwi and Ibn Khaldun; and study the works written by Imam al-Ghazali and Imam al-Shafie. Meanwhile, Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor, who can speak fluent English, and is normally assigned to review the books of Abul 'Ala al-Maududi relating to the subject of Islam. Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor also personally admits that ABIM has transformed his personal commitment in worships and practices of the teachings of Islam as well as has developed and nurtured his love in Islam very much. He cried when describing how challenging yet he felt overwhelming when he passed through the religious education training in ABIM. Compulsory practices such as, prayer and fasting is a must (religious obligation) to be adopted, while the optional practices, such as *rawātib* prayers (before and after the compulsory prayers) and fasting are also encouraged to be practised according to his ability. He also loves and always remembers Allah SWT (*dhikr*) and these practices have a profound impact in shaping his personality and behaviours.<sup>897</sup>

Prof. Azimi too, is continuously strengthening and improving his religious practices inherited from his parents. For example, he tries at the best effort to ensure

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<sup>896</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor bin Nawawi, 8 July 2013.

<sup>897</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor bin Nawawi, 8 July 2013.

that he and his family members pray in congregation at the mosque. He says that prayer at home is not the way that is proposed by the Prophet.<sup>898</sup> Obligatory practices such as prayer, fasting are always being improved, while the optional practices are being increased. After attending many programmes promulgated by Tabligh, Prof. Azimi felt that he has become closer to Allah and he tries to worship Him at the best way he can. When praying, he will do the best to prepare and focus his mind and heart to God.<sup>899</sup>

Through his involvement in Tabligh, Prof. Azimi notices that amongst the effects of this *da'wah* movement in developing his character and personality. First, he is always careful in the worship and communication with the others. Second, he will practise all parts of the *sunnah* of the Prophet. He often remembers Allah (*dhikr*) in his mind and sayings. He will also allocate time to read the Holy Quran and the Hadith, encourages himself to practise the *sunnah* and perform the night prayers (*qiāmullail*).<sup>900</sup> In addition, he also ensures that he himself goes out for preaching in three days of a month and 40 days of a year as a common practice among members of Jamaah Tabligh. Prof. Azimi is a very humble Muslim professional through his sayings and he hopes to do the best as a Muslim.<sup>901</sup>

In addition to the role played as an activist in designing the *da'wah* activities in the organisation that he leads, Prof. Dato' Ir. Dr. Azhari admits that every time he attends *usrah* and other *tarbiyah* programmes organised either by JIM or IKRAM, he found that there are new and increasing knowledge that he learns, in terms of understanding and the practice of Islam. He explains further that the IKRAM's *tarbiyah* system provides a platform for him to continuously improve his knowledge. *Usrah* is a mechanism for IKRAM's members to check their daily religious practices. Through this way, IKRAM's members can enhance their knowledge, practices and performing good deeds (*amal sāleh*) within the holistic framework and perspectives. The *tarbiyah* system

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<sup>898</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

<sup>899</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

<sup>900</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

<sup>901</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

of IKRAM does encourage him to improve his optional practices and does not just concentrate on the implementation of the compulsory religious orders, specifically wearing the head scarves for woman, going to the mosque and performing prayer in congregation. In fact, the IKRAM's educational system also affects individuals in their collective responsibility in politics and does concern on the current issues of humanitarian, civil society and the environment. Prof Dato Ir. Dr. Azhari realises and understands his responsibility, as a leader of the *da'wah* organisation and the higher learning public institution. He always tries to ensure his best efforts to become the best believer in all aspects of life.<sup>902</sup>

The involvement in the *da'wah* movement requires a strict discipline which can strengthen someone's commitment on religious practices. Hj Mohd Anuar Tahir for example, explains the high discipline in PAS which has instructed that all electoral candidates of PAS who want to contest in the general election must fulfil PAS's requirements as a devoted Muslim. The candidate must never leave all five pillars of Islam, all obligatory practices and never commit to great sins and rarely commits small sins. If the candidate is married to more than one wife he would be investigated either he acted fairly or otherwise. These requirements also apply to those members who attend PAS's religious-based training programmes, especially, PAS leaders at all level.<sup>903</sup>

Hj Mohd Anuar Tahir claims that ABIM also trains its members to leave even the detestable things or actions (*makrūh*) in Islam. The heavy smokers leave this bad habit when attending ABIM's religious programmes. Mohd Anuar also, sincerely admitted that before joining ABIM, although he knows that prayer is an obligatory practice, he seldom performs the *Fajr* prayer and rarely prays *Zohor* and *Isyak* prayers. He only performs *Maghrib* prayer if he remembered. But, all these bad habits have changed after

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<sup>902</sup> Interview with Prof Dato' Ir. Dr Azhari Bin Md. Salleh, 20 November 2013.

<sup>903</sup> Interview with Hj Mohd Anwar Tahir, 14 May 2013.

receiving the ABIM's training. He starts to increase individual optional practices such as, the night prayers (*qiāmullail*), optional fasting and reciting the *zikir ma'thūrāt*.<sup>904</sup> Hj Mohd Anuar also informs that ABIM is the first *da'wah* organisation which introduces this type of *dhikr* in one of its annual gathering (*Muktamar Sanawi*) which was held at Mosque of Alam Shah, Klang, Selangor. All ABIM members are being made compulsory to practise this remembrance or *dhikr*. Nowadays, the *ma'thūrāt* is pervasively being practiced and recited by the Malay Muslim society everywhere. Without entering ABIM, Hj Mohd Anuar would not have found all these practices which are regarded to be the added values to him as a Muslim believer.<sup>905</sup>

Similar to the previous figures, Hj Saari Sungip's role as the prominent leader of the *Islah* movement in Malaysia does not only try to demonstrate that Islam is a complete way of life in the form of idealism, but has also proven it in a practical form of its ideal to be implemented in the context of a democratic system, particularly its practice in the multi-racial society of Malaysia. Upon the principles and determination to appreciate and practice the teaching of Islam, Hj Saari Sungip says Islam seeks to create a family life based on Islam. When leading JIM organisation, he gave orders to all *nāqib* (leader in the *usrah*) to read the Qur'an, memorise the hadith and important chapters in the Quran, do fast and perform the optional practices, perform the *tahajjud* prayers every night in order to strengthen the foundation of *tarbiyah* and religious practices (*amal*) in the organisation that he leads and to become an example to the public. Thus, as a leader who designs rules and regulations of JIM, he ensures that all these regulations in the *da'wah* organisation must first be practised by him as he must show the best role model to the members of the *jamāah*.<sup>906</sup>

Norazizah realises that her life as an activist in *da'wah* movement requires a strong religious commitment as it could be a model to the others. As a *daie* (preacher) in

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<sup>904</sup> *Ma'thurat* is a collection of prayers which have been practiced by the Prophet and His companions. It has been introduced by Hassan al-Banna, the spiritual leader of *Ikhwan al-Muslimin*.

<sup>905</sup> Interview with Hj Mohd Anwar Tahir, 14 May 2013.

<sup>906</sup> Interview with Hj Saari Hj Sungip, 24 Jun 2013.

ABIM she should act as a role model in all aspects of life, in terms of her personal identity, family, at work, and when communicating with others. Her involvement in PKPIM and ABIM changes her life to be committed to religious practices, such as performing the *tahajjud* prayers, doing an optional fasting, participating in religious programmes at *surau* and mosque. She says that the night prayer is hard to be done without understanding its obligation and performing it regularly. Attending PKPIM's spiritual leadership training or *tamrīn* gives her a meaningful output to empower her religious obligations as a committed and faithful believer as well as a *daie*.<sup>907</sup>

The low-income classes do practise religion, but their religious practices, on the other hand, depend on their self-awareness on their obligation as a Muslim and attachment to the religious institutions. Mohammad Nazli habitually practises obligatory five times daily prayers except if he faces health problem due to epilepsy and he will replace them. He gradually tries to improve his prayer quality in terms of reciting *do'a* in the prayer and complete his ablution (*wudu'*). Recently, he learns how to regularly perform the optional prayers, such as the optional before and after prayers (*qobliah* and *ba'diah*), the *duha* (morning) and the *tahajjud* prayers.<sup>908</sup>

Mohd Bakri Che Mat also commits to follow the true teaching of Islam and its practices after he is engaged with Jamaat Tabligh. Tabligh has transformed him from a silly Muslim to a well-informed believer and from a skeptical follower to self-righteous devotee. At the age of 29, he started not to leave compulsory prayers, normalised and regularly practised the optional (*sunat*) prayers, such as the optional before and after compulsory prayers, performing *duha* and *hajat* prayers and waking up at mid-night (*qiāmullail*) to perform prayers and tries his best to be closer to Allah. He is a Quranic-illiterate before, but he has done his best to slowly learn the Quran with an *ustaz* at the mosque starting from recognising the Quranic words (*Aliff*, *Ba* and *Ta*). Now, he can

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<sup>907</sup> Interview with Norazizah Abdul Aziz, 25 July 2013.

<sup>908</sup> Interview with Mohammad Nazli Zakaria, 26 June 2013.

smile when at last he can read the Quran. He tries to finish reciting the Quran at least once a year. As a member of Tabligh, he will go out for *da'wah* for three days a month and 40 days every year.<sup>909</sup>

With his role as a front-runner of Islamic movement and Islamic medical practitioner, Ustaz Ishak realises that he must always be well-prepared with a strong foundation of Islamic practices and knowledge. He always makes sure that he prays congregationally, practises the optional prayers and other religious practices; and performs the night prayers (*qiāmullail*). As a Muslim he will make sure that he follows the Islamic teachings in accordance with the *Ahlu Sunnah Wal al-Jamāah*.<sup>910</sup> Norazilah also agrees that the involvement in Islamic *da'wah* organisation has helped to increase her commitment in religious practices or '*ibādah* especially, wake up at mid-night for *tahajjud* prayers and consistently does the optional practices. She always ensures that she prays at its proper and early times.<sup>911</sup>

Hayati regards herself as a pious Muslim. She always completes compulsory five times daily prayers, but less practises the optional religious rituals. She only performs the *hajat* and *tahajjud* prayers occasionally when her children sit for examination and she faces life's problems. Getting busy with housework and taking care of her neighbours' children do not stop her from performing her religious obligations. She still can do optional prayers at home and prays in congregation at the mosque. She hopes that all her good deeds will be rewarded by Allah and places her and the family in His Blessings.<sup>912</sup>

Aida admits that she sometimes missed compulsory prayers and fasting because of being tired at work. She explains that she must work at 7 am to 4 pm. After that, she needs to cook and make "traditional dessert foods" (*kuih*) which have been booked by

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<sup>909</sup> Interview with Mohd Bakri Che Mat, 24 June 2013.

<sup>910</sup> The guidance practised by Islamic schools according to the Prophet's teachings. Interview with Ustaz Ishak Malek, 19 August 2013.

<sup>911</sup> Interview with Norazilah Yahya, 19 August 2013.

<sup>912</sup> Interview with Hayati Jusoh, 20 July 2013.



her customers. If she could not be patient, tolerate and continue fasting then she would break it.<sup>913</sup> Even with that limit to perform daily religious obligations to fulfill the family economic needs, she can still allocate little time to read Quran and teach her daughter, despite the fact that she extremely rarely has time to do so.<sup>914</sup> Aida also rarely does optional practises. Similar Hayati, she will do *hajat* prayer when her daughter sits for examination.<sup>915</sup>

Faizul and Mohd. Rofil hardly perform their daily practices and never do religious optional practices. In fact, Faizul repeatedly owned up and confessed that he was less concern on religious affairs and knowledge.<sup>916</sup> He only prays *Asar* and Friday prayers or at least prays once (either one of the two) in the week if he found that he has ample time to perform these compulsory prayers. Faizul regarded his attendance at mosque as part of charity. But at work, he is responsible for any job assigned to him as he wants people trust at him. Faizul did not read the Quran because cannot read it and never lead congregational prayers with his family.<sup>917</sup>

As explained before, Aida and Faizul Kamal are not interested to go to the mosque and be involved in religious activities for many reasons of work commitment, disappointed with the way they have been treated by the mosque's committees and political ideology of the committee members.<sup>918</sup> Faizul always find that he does go to the mosque because he has been force to do it by his wife and is afraid of being scorned by the villagers. Faizul says that his parent does not frequently concern on religious duties, but his wife always reminds him on his obligation as a Muslim. Then again, he always ignores their advice. Friday prayer for him is not compulsory because he is busy

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<sup>913</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>914</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>915</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013, p. 17.

<sup>916</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013; Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali 20 July 2013.

<sup>917</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>918</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013; Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

at work. He says that if he performs the Friday prayer, he cannot work and get more money for his family. He can only perform prayer if he has enough time.<sup>919</sup>

Mohd. Rofil, on the other hand, is not serious in answering to the researcher's questions about his compulsory religious duty. He just smiles and admits that he rarely performs not just five times daily prayers but also hardly fasts in the month of Ramadhan nor performs Friday prayer.<sup>920</sup> Compared to his parents who are religious and adherents of the Islamic party of PAS, he admits that he is less religious. His parents always remind him not to leave prayers and be aware with *halāl* and *haram* (permissible and illegal matters) in Islam, but he just ignores their advice for the reason that he is a gentle man (ego).<sup>921</sup> Compared to his previous life for the last 21 years, he used to commit to religious practices, but now he sincerely describes that he has for so long left his religious duties, prayers, including Friday prayer and fasting; nor attended *surau* and mosque. Mohd. Rofil claims that his factory employer prepare a *surau* for prayer and gives permission for Muslim's workers to pray five times daily for 10 minutes. Some of his friends pray around the corner of their machine, but he hardly ever performs this religious duty, especially in the oily dirty attires. His employer is very strict in calculating the working hours. He would strictly punish the Muslim workers for the late return for duty after prayer and would deduct either their point, or salary or bonus if they break the rules.<sup>922</sup>

Mohd. Rofil always feels exhausted when he comes back home at night late and always gives reason that he is busy at work. He says that his regular abandonment on religious duties gradually changes his attitude and behaviours on religion which then turns to become his habitual routines. He also gives reason of economic factor to excuse

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<sup>919</sup> Interview with Faizul said that “*Macam mana [saya] perlu kerja. Kalau duduk di masjid kang [nanti, keluarga saya] nak makan apa. Bukan saya tak nak pergi. Bukan saya tak mahu buat benda tu [pergi solat Jumaat]. Habis, kita sudah [nak] bekerja. Kang [Nanti], kalau kita tak kerja tak ada duit. Macam mana nak dapat duit lebih. Bukan, time [ada masanya untuk beribadat] ada masa saya pergi lah [solat Jumaat]. Ha macam tu je lah. Orang rumah [Isteri] saya kadang-kadang lagi bising [selalu berleter].*” Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>920</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>921</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>922</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

his religious duty in which he needs to work from 8 am to 6 pm, continues with extra work from 6 pm to 10 pm to earn enough money for his high commitment in the family. He says that the nature of his non-stop working and operation will be disturbed if he stops for prayer.<sup>923</sup> He knows his fault for overlooking the religious responsibility, but he simply answers that he has not received the guidance (*hidāyah*) from Allah SWT yet to excuse his desertion on religious obligations.<sup>924</sup>

#### 4.5 Islamic Lifestyles

Religiosity of the middle-income classes may also be reflected through their personal lifestyle and consumerism. The middle classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur have shown their moderate living style, but still strongly bind with Islamic identity. Some of them express their commitment on Islamic teaching through their physical appearance in dressing and creating an environment which can cultivate an Islamic culture at home and their workplace.

Prof. Azimi believes in Islam as the way of life. In the past he did not know the *sunnah* of the Prophet, but when he learns them through Tabligh, he ensures that he could manage the whole life according to the Islamic principles. This is done by reciting *do'a* (prayers) in every work that he does, while driving, before going to sleep, eating and so on. He instils the practice of the *sunnah* and the memorisation of the Quran and Hadith to his children at an early age because it is important to establish the characteristics of the “mosques” which he describes as to those who always do good deeds “*amal sāleh*” and performing congregational prayers in the house.<sup>925</sup>

Prof. Azimi always keeps his external physical appearance based on the Prophet Muhammad SAW’s way of life starting from waking up from bed to going back to sleep. He often wears “*songkok*” while working and wears the *sunnah* attires when

<sup>923</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>924</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>925</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

outside of the office hours.<sup>926</sup> After joining Tabligh, Prof. Azimi finds that he himself is more aware of the Islamic work ethics. He underlines four principles of life that need to be followed. First, he believes that what has been done in this world will be counted in front of Allah in the Hereafter. Second, as a Muslim, the five *hukum* in the Islamic laws such as, *halāl* (permissible), *harām* (prohibition), *sunnat* (the recommended deeds), *makrūh* (the detestable things), and *mubāh* (the allowable deeds) should and must always be looked out for.<sup>927</sup>

Being a professional and academician, Prof. Azimi always combines the knowledge of using the quality of mind (*‘aqli*) and using the revelation (*naqli*) and tries to apply them in relation to the multidisciplinary research. Fourth, the nature of man who is created by God is to prosper the world for human life and the environment as a whole. As *khalīfah* in this world, he is responsible to prosper and cultivate this world through participating in the *da’wah* work and being an “*asbab hidāyah*”<sup>928</sup> for others. As a member of the Tabligh, Prof. Azimi extensively uses the Arabic words in the daily communication as the Arabic terms have become synonymous in this movement. The Arabic words used are for example, *solāt* (6 times), *ta’lim* (8 times), *ta’lum* (3 times), *ma’thūrāt* (2 times), *bayān* (2 times), *Jamāah* (49 times), *ijtimāk* (7 times), *halāqah* (2 times), *dhikr* (2 times), *sīrah* (3 times), *da’wah bilhāl* (4 times) and *asbāb hidāyah* (5 times).<sup>929</sup>

Hj Mohd Anuar also demonstrates a moderate modernist Muslim lifestyle. As a PAS’s leader, Mohd Anuar needs to accommodate and adapt his personality and styles of attire suited to the environment and the occasions that he attends. Unlike most of PAS members who normally wear white *kopiah*, and prefer to wear an Islamic fashion of dressing with a long robe (*jubah*) or wearing the *cekak musang* collar (looks like *baju Melayu*) and match with sandals, Mohd Anuar however, normally dresses up with a

<sup>926</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

<sup>927</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

<sup>928</sup> *Asbāb hidāyah* means a cause of returning to religious way of life, while *hidayah* literally means a light to Islam.

<sup>929</sup> Interview with Prof. Dr Haji Azimi Bin Hamzah, 13 June 2013.

long shawl placed on his shoulder like an artist. He occasionally puts the white *kopiah* when attending the PAS's programmes, while wearing the black *kopiah* or *songkok* if he needs to present to the public, as well as attending the UMNO leaders' and the committees of village community's (JKKK) programmes. He is flexible in dressing. In the official occasions, he normally puts a complete set of *baju Melayu* with *sampin* and the black *songkok*. While attending PAS formal programmes he wears *baju Melayu*, *sarung* and a white *kopiah*. An Islamic identity is still preserved while he puts a modern style of coat.<sup>930</sup>

Similar to Mohd Anuar, Norazizah has also adopted a simple and versatile way of life. As an ABIM activist, she applies a flexible fashion of attire as long as it does not contradict to the *Syarī'ah*. In ABIM, members are free to wear any type of the *Muslimah* fashion in dressing; they can wear a long skirt and colourful head scarf which can cover the whole woman's body. For those who cannot go to the mosque due to having many children, they prefer to perform *tarawih* prayer at home. For Norazizah, as a Muslim she needs to be creative to benefit the given advantages by Allah to show the beauty of Islam. For example, she conducts the *tazkirah* or the short religious reminding session in the form of speech or talk after *Maghrib* prayer with her children at home. *Usrah* with family members is conducted to keep a closer relationship with all members, particularly during the fasting month of Ramadhan.<sup>931</sup>

Norazizah always send her children to religious programmes for children like the Muslims' awareness, *tahsīn solāt* (perfecting your prayer), or *tahfīz* (memorising the Quran) programmes, especially during the school's holidays. In short, Norazizah always makes sure that she and her family members keep maintaining and nurturing the religious Islamic cultures in their life.<sup>932</sup> As an activist of PKPIM and ABIM, Norazizah also use many Arabic terms in her conversations with the researcher. Some of these

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<sup>930</sup> Interview with Hj Mohd Anwar Tahir, 14 May 2013.

<sup>931</sup> Interview with Norazizah Abdul Aziz, 25 July 2013.

<sup>932</sup> Interview with Norazizah Abdul Aziz, 25 July 2013.

terms are *tamrīn* (10 times), *usrah* (23 times), *solāt* (10 times), *da'wah* (18 times), *tazkirah* (3 times), *Alhamdulillah* (3 times), *tahsīn* (3 times), *tahfīz* (3 times), *halāqah* (2 times), *syukūr* (2 times), *takmīr* (1 time) and *nadwah* (1 time).<sup>933</sup>

Hj Ahmad is very sensitive about the use of lawful products (*halāl*) in Islam, and takes a moderate approach in dressing. Sometimes he wears a modern short sleeve shirt, *baju Melayu*, and the ala-Tabligh Pakistani dress and long robe; and always puts on white *kopiah* (fez) on his head. He performed *hajj* twice and *'umrah* three times, and more likely to donate (*infāq*) his money in order to provide opportunities for others to perform these obligatory and optional religious practices in Islam. He also admits that the spiritual education (*tarbiyah*) of PAS affects his simplicity in life and of the other members. Despite having the advantage in the economic social status and afford to own an exclusive home and a luxury car, he prefers to behave and live in a simple modest way of life.<sup>934</sup>

According to Hj Ahmad, he believes that Islam can solve human problems and this belief is a “must and mandatory” principle in his life. As a Muslim, he obeys and adheres to the religion of Islam and always put Islam as a goal in life. As this world belongs to Allah SWT, so he always refers to Him when facing to problems in life. Hj Ahmad rarely uses the Arabic language but English in his daily communication as he is a professional retiree. However, he realises that without knowing the Arabic language, it can limit his understanding on the religious knowledge because the most and main sources of Islam are written in this language. However, he hopes to have opportunity to learn this Quranic language which could help him to comprehend the Islamic teachings derived from the Quran and Hadith, as both are also revealed in the Arabic.<sup>935</sup>

Meanwhile, Dato' Dr. Ghazali who has been brought up in European atmosphere of education and the Western lifestyle which can be seen in terms of his speeches, attire

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<sup>933</sup> Interview with Norazizah Abdul Aziz, 25 July 2013.

<sup>934</sup> Interview with Hj Ahmad bin Rahmat, 16 November 2013.

<sup>935</sup> Interview with Hj Ahmad bin Rahmat, 16 November 2013.

and thoughts, but inwardly in terms of his belief in religion, he still holds the Islamic values as the best way of life as emphasised through its teaching and daily practices. He also describes that his family background has a solid foundation on religion which contributes to his religious commitment. He is a very humble and “simple man”. He is a multi-millionaire, but he is a generous corporate Malay Muslim middle class who always donates to the orphanage, single mothers, to the Quranic schools (*tahfiz* schools), and to the poor. He helps the needy people as his corporate social responsibility is based on Islamic ethics and belief. He is also concerned of *halāl* concept and practices when conducting business because he believes that his property must originate from the *halāl* sources to receive Allah’s blessing (*keberkatan*).<sup>936</sup>

Dato’ Dr. Ghazali also listens to IKIM Radio which he regards as a wonderful source of learning for him. It teaches him to be a global moderate Islamist, appreciate Islam not as exclusivist, but tolerates others. He likes its contents, lecturers and the way it presents the discussions and programmes to symbolise the beautiful Islam.<sup>937</sup> He always commits to the Islamic teaching which can be reflected in the way he creates an Islamic culture and environment at workplace in his office. As early as at 8.15am, the reading of verses from the Holy Quran is being heard through the audio system installed at the office. Before and after work, the head of department will give a 10-minute talk on any subject related to religion. All staffs do rotate in giving a short speech. When Dato’ Dr. Ghazali starts and ends the company meeting, the “*do’a*” or prayer will be recited. Dato’ Dr. Ghazali believes that when he runs the company it has to embrace Islamic discipline and manages it in the Islamic way, hence, the company will get blessing from Allah SWT.<sup>938</sup>

Based on the researcher’s observation when conducting interview sessions with the informants, there are no significant differences between the Malay middle and low-

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<sup>936</sup> Interview with Dato’ Dr Ghazali Dato’ Yusoff, 2 September 2013.

<sup>937</sup> Interview with Dato’ Dr Ghazali Dato’ Yusoff, 2 September 2013.

<sup>938</sup> Interview with Dato’ Dr Ghazali Dato’ Yusoff, 2 September 2013.

income classes in terms of physical appearances. However, the materials and the products that the low-income use may be slightly cheap than the middle classes. As an ordinary Malay man, Mohammad Nazli usually wears a simple *baju Melayu* and *songkok* and rarely puts robe or *jubah* when attending formal and informal programmes. He always covers his ‘*aurah*’ and never puts on short pants when goes out from home. He is also aware of the *halāl* status and logo recognised by JAKIM when he consumes any products from the market. He does not buy any insurance because he does not need it, but he utilises the Islamic bank. He always goes to the government hospital which serves at the low-priced services that is considered affordable for him.<sup>939</sup>

Mohd Bakri also tries his best efforts to implement and inculcate the prophet lifestyle in its entirety. He always makes sure that he puts the Tabligh style of *kopiah* on his head and is proud with his beard as a *sunnah* of the prophet. He wears a simple t-shirt and long slacks at work and puts on *serban* and the *qurta* Tabligh attire after working hours. He always preserves and applies Islamic values, like benevolent, generous, hardworking and patient when dealing with customers and people.<sup>940</sup>

Ustaz Ishak always makes sure that he preserves the Islamic identity in the first place. He is not rigid in dressing and the colour selection of his attire. He always wears *kopiah* with his long sleeve “*kemeja Melayu*”. Sometimes, he wears Tabligh style costume. He is strictly aware of the *halāl* status when choosing any products from the market. He prefers to consume safe Muslims’ products which can be purchased at its own premise rather than simply buying them from the shopping centre. He also sends all his children to the religious-based state government schools.<sup>941</sup>

Hayati too concerns with the *halāl* status and logo recognised by JAKIM. She always buys products, especially foods which put the JAKIM’s logo of *halāl*. Through her involvement in the religious activities organised by many institutions and informal

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<sup>939</sup> Interview with Mohammad Nazli Zakaria, 26 June 2013.

<sup>940</sup> Interview with Mohd Bakri Che Mat, 24 June 2013.

<sup>941</sup> Interview with Ustaz Ishak Malek, 19 August 2013.



education that she receives from the electronic media, these religious agents contributed to change her life and personality from an ordinary Muslim to a dedicate believer. She begins cover the whole body ('*aurah*'), wear hand and leg socks, transforms her short *mini tudung* to a long headscarf. Hayati and her husband always make sure that all their five children will get better education in the religious path.<sup>942</sup>

Aida is a simple woman who always wears inexpensive headscarf as she understands that this attire is a compulsory obligation to all Muslim women. She also says that wearing the veil is a current trend and culture. She hangs a few frames with Islamic calligraphy to symbolise Islamic arts and culture. She sometimes reads *Bismillah* to start her work when she remembers this holy word. She always applies cleanliness since her work requires this routine. She rarely puts good intentions for the sake of Allah SWT while working.<sup>943</sup> Sometimes she buys religious books and magazines to increase her knowledge on Islam, if she has free time.<sup>944</sup>

Aida watches religious programmes on the un-paid television channels like TV9 and Al-Hijrah if she finds the topic discussed interesting. Among these programmes are *Tanyalah Ustaz* (TV9), *Ustaz Don* (TV Al-Hijrah) and *Semanis Kurma* (TV3).<sup>945</sup> Similar to Aida, Faizul Kamal also watches such religious programmes but rarely has time for it. He does not purposefully intend to do that but he is concerned about and interested in the religion. He explains that he normally watches religious programme at the time while eating because he needs to prepare himself before rushing to another workplace or when he feels he wants to watch it. Due to time constraints, he only chooses *Tanyalah Ustaz* (TV9) and watches it as his preferred religious programme.<sup>946</sup> Faizul is a simple man. He normally wears T-shirt and jeans. As a Malay Muslim by

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<sup>942</sup> Interview with Hayati Jusoh, 20 July 2013.

<sup>943</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>944</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>945</sup> Interview with Aida Binti Md Zin, 23 June 2013.

<sup>946</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

origin, he preserves his identity with *baju Melayu* and *songkok* when he attends the mosque.<sup>947</sup>

Like Aida, Faizul also hangs Islamic frames which display the holy words of “Allah” and “Muhammad” and verses of the Quran. He does not consume Islamic banking system and only has a conventional MayBank account. He is aware of the *halāl* status in the food product after the issues of Cadbury chocolate was being raised in the printed and non-printed media. However he did not know how to trace the non-*halāl* product in the market.<sup>948</sup> Faizul also has never read newspaper and seldom read religious reading materials.<sup>949</sup>

In contrast, Mohd. Rofil purposefully chooses *Semanis Kurma* on TV3 as his favourite religious channel, if he has the chance to watch it, depending on selected topics that he enjoys. He seldom watches informative religious programmes, like *Halaqah* (TV9) because he claims that this programme seems to show Islam in a state of unhappiness. From his point of view, Islam is always demonstrated in relation to grief and repentance, so he prefers to watch enjoyable programme, like *Semanis Kurma*, as Islam should be exhibited as a happy and cheerful religion. If he has time, he has interest to watch the subscribed television Channel 106, *Astro Oasis* which airs *Tanah Kubur*, series of dramas which is intentionally created with religious awareness to the audience on Allah’s punishment to those who do not behave and follow the religious teaching.<sup>950</sup>

Although such programme successfully creates self-awareness and fear of Allah’s punishment in the life after death, its function to keep him aware on religion is only temporary in nature. He will return to his normal habits of disregarding and neglecting the religious duty.<sup>951</sup> He also subscribes Astro for entertainment; additionally, he does

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<sup>947</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>948</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>949</sup> Interview with Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, 16 June 2013.

<sup>950</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

<sup>951</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

not hang the Islamic frame at home. His wife is wearing a headscarf though she does not cover her 'aurah when she goes out from home. Mohd. Rofil explains that his wife wears the headscarf on her willingness and consciousness to show her fear and shame to Allah.<sup>952</sup>

#### 4.6 Conclusion

Following the initiation to spark the Islamic Resurgence in 1970s, most of the *da'wah* programmes and activities have been centralised around the circle of urban areas of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. This religious resurgence does impact on the Malay middle and low-income classes who reside and work within the adjacent areas of the two states. The degree of impact of the Islamic Resurgence on these two different socio-economic status depends on their exposure to *da'wah* organisations and Islamic Resurgence; participation in the religious and *da'wah* movements or organisations; their self-awareness on the religious obligation, family background and economic stability.

The Malay middle-income class in the study show the high commitment in religion which can be seen through their participation in the religious and *da'wah* movements. Their commitment in religion which can be perceived through their thoughts about the role of religion in their life and the current issues pertaining Islam in the modern age. Most of the Malay middle class regard themselves not just as a devout Muslim, but also a faithful believer. They show their dedication and keenness in religious practices and obligations. They complete the compulsory religious obligation, such as fulfilling five times daily prayers, improving their optional practices and trying their best efforts to practise Islam. The Malay middle class did practice a moderate simple and modern lifestyle, but strongly bind themselves with Islamic teaching. They showed their high tendency to consume the Islamic-compliance products, such as the

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<sup>952</sup> Interview with Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, 20 July 2013.

*halāl* products, products which have been produced by Muslims and any products which demonstrate Islamic symbol and identity.

The low-income classes' commitment in religion, on the other hand, has been determined by their self-awareness, personal attachment in the religious activities and organisations, family background and supports; educational background, nature of work and economic stability. Even though all these factors contribute to religious commitment, nevertheless the first two factors contribute to the major dedication in religious thoughts, practices and lifestyles. For those who attach themselves with religious activities, *da'wah* movements and Islamic-based institutions they are likely incline to show either their strong or moderate commitment in Islamic thoughts, practices and lifestyles. The low-income classes live in a very simple lifestyle which is affordable to them.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE ISLAMIC THOUGHTS OF THE MALAY MIDDLE AND LOW INCOME CLASSES

#### 5.1 Introduction

Many efforts have been made to revitalise the role of Islam in the public spheres of Malaysia. Following the remarkable endeavours by many Islamic organisations which attempt to revive the Muslim's concern on the pure teaching of Islam, this religious awareness is expected to impact the Malay middle and low-income classes in the urban settings. This chapter explains general views of the Malay middle and low-income classes on the efforts of Islamic Resurgence by many Islamic organisations; government agencies, the ruling party of UMNO and the Islamic party of PAS, as well as the Islamic NGOs, media and local community of mosques and *surau*. Efforts of the actors of the Islamic Resurgence are associated with the respondents' demographic and issues pertaining the Islamic thoughts and beliefs.

This chapter also uncovers the Malay middle and low-income classes' level of the Islamic religious beliefs and thoughts. This chapter aims to examine differences between the Malay middle and low-income classes in terms of Islamic beliefs, thoughts and issues relating to Islam in Malaysia (Research Question 3 and Research Objective 3). Many issues pertaining to Islam which have been raised in public are addressed. Some of these issues highlight the importance of religion in the Muslim modern life, the compatibility of Islamic politics in the modern practice of democracy particularly, in the context of multi-racial society of Malaysia in the position where Muslims are the majority.

## 5.2 Demography

A total of 734 Malay respondents who are living in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur participated in the study. The areas in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur are well-known as Klang Valley which covers an area in the vicinity of the Klang River which is located between the states of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Over six million people live in Klang Valley, and it is the centre of commerce and industry in Malaysia.<sup>953</sup>

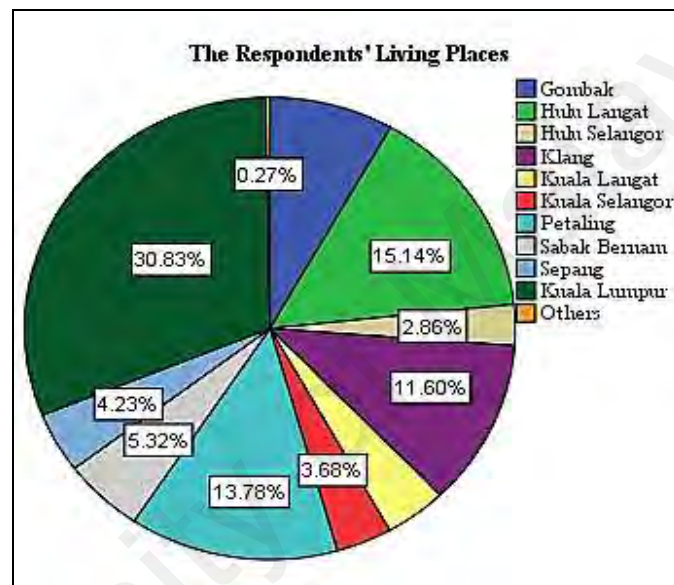


Figure 5.1: Respondents' Place of Living

Most of the respondents reside in urban areas such as, Kuala Lumpur (30.9 per cent, 227 respondents), Hulu Langat (15.1 per cent, 111 respondents), Petaling (13.8 per cent, 101 respondents), Klang (11.6 per cent, 85 respondents), Gombak (8.2 per cent, 60 respondents), Sepang (4.2 per cent, 31 respondents) and Putrajaya (0.3 per cent, 2 respondents). On the other hand, the rest of the respondents live in sub-urban areas, such as, Sabak Bernam (5.3 per cent, 39 respondents), Kuala Langat (4.1 per cent, 30

<sup>953</sup> According to Population Distribution and Basic Demographic Characteristics 2010, population distribution by state in 2010 showed that Selangor was the most populous state with 5.46 million. Out of this figure, total of Malays Muslim in Selangor is 2,814,597, while the Malays Muslim in Kuala Lumpur consisted of 679,236. This number is downsized to only the Malays patrilineal based households aged 40 to 65 which was estimated around 281,078. The total number of the Malays middle and low-income class is smaller than this amount. A ratio of 2:4:4 for 20 per cent of the top households (class): 40 per cent of the middle households (class): 40 per cent of the bottom households (class) by The Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015, are used to estimate proportions of the Malays middle and low-income class. Based on this calculation, the amount of the Malays middle and low-income class is 3,493,833. See, Population Distribution and Basic Demographic Characteristics 2010, Putrajaya: Department of Statistic, Malaysia, 28 June 2011, pp. 94, 51; The Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015, 'Chapter 4: Moving Towards Inclusive Socio-Economic Development', Putrajaya: The Economic Planning Unit, Prime Minister's Department, 2010, p. 149-150.

respondents), Kuala Selangor (3.7 per cent, 27 respondents), and Hulu Selangor (2.9 per cent, 21 respondents).<sup>954</sup>

Table 5.1: Age Cohort of the Respondents According to Social Income Classes

Age Cohort	Lower Class	Middle Classes		Total	Percentage
	Low Income	Middle Income	Upper (High) Income		
13 to 17 years	22	8	3	33	4.2
18 to 24 years	86	79	21	186	25.3
25 to 39 years	98	166	45	309	42
40 to 59 years	55	67	55	177	24.1
60 to 83 years	19	7	3	29	3.7
<b>Total</b>	280	327	127	734	100

Table 5.1 shows the age cohorts of respondents in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. About 42 per cent (309) in the study are adults between 25-39 years old, while 25.3 per cent (186) are young adults between the ages of 18-24 years. A total of 211 adults (between 25-39 years old) are the middle-income earners, whereas 98 adults of the same age are the low-income earners. The other 24.1 per cent (177) are the middle-aged adults between 40-59 years old, 4.2 per cent (33) are adolescents at the age between 13 to 17 years old and 3.7 per cent (29) are older adults between 60 to 83 years old.<sup>955</sup>

Table 5.2: Income Range for the Malay Households in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur

Level of Income	Frequency	Percentage
RM1000 and below	71	9.7
RM1001 - RM1499	88	12.0
RM1500 - RM2300	121	16.5
RM2301 - RM3000	125	17.1
RM3001 - RM4000	103	14.1
RM4001 - RM5599	99	13.5
RM5600 - RM6999	45	6.1
RM7000 - RM9999	38	5.2
RM10000 and above	44	6
<b>Total</b>	734	100.0

<sup>954</sup> Among the major cities resided by the Malays middle and low-income respondents are Kuala Lumpur, Ampang, Cheras, Shah Alam, Petaling Jaya, Subang Jaya, Puchong, Klang, Port Klang, Gombak, Selayang and others.

<sup>955</sup> Refer to Figure 10.1, Appendix A. Data is normally distributed according to age.

Table 5.2 shows the range of household income for 734 respondents in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Generally, this study involved 38.2 per cent (280) of the low-income class, 44.6 per cent (327) are the middle-middle income and 17.3 per cent (127) are the middle class with the high income or the upper-middle income classes.

The study shows that the household income mean for the middle-middle income earners is RM4,900 and the household income mean for the low-income earners is RM2,200, whereas the household income mean for the upper-middle income earners is RM8,000. The mean of the household income for all respondents is RM4,400. Meanwhile, the median for the household income is between RM2301-RM3000. The ANOVA test shows that there are significant differences in the household income between the lower and the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income respondents. The value of F is 2300.313,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < .05$ . Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected.

If the growth of household income every year is taken into consideration, this figure is consistent with the mean household income for Malaysia which was recorded at RM4,025 per month in 2009. Selangor recorded the second highest average in the monthly household income with the amount of RM5,962 per month after W.P. Putrajaya with RM6,747 and the third highest belongs to W.P. Kuala Lumpur with RM5,488. The highest median of monthly household income was W.P. Putrajaya (RM5,450) followed by W.P. Kuala Lumpur (RM4,409) and Selangor (RM4,306).<sup>956</sup> These figures show that there is an increase in number of household income that has reached RM5,000 and above particularly in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

In the context of the study, based on the statistics in 2009, in the case of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, household that reaches more than RM5,600 is regarded as the middle-income class (the upper-middle-income) even though they have reached the high

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<sup>956</sup> Household Income and Basic Amenities Survey Report 2009, Putrajaya: Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2009, pp. 5-6, 7-9.



income level according the national rate.<sup>957</sup> Therefore, there are increasing in the number of the middle class in the urban areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur and some of these middle classes have reached the high income level as proven by the statistics and the current study.<sup>958</sup>

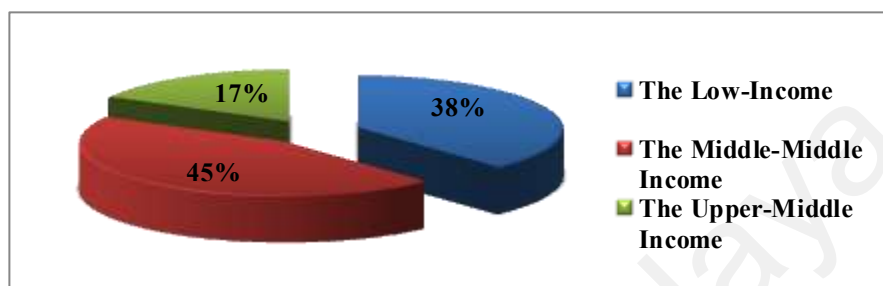


Figure 5.2: The Malays' Social Income Classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur

Pearson Correlation has also shown that there are significant correlations between the respondents' household income and social classes at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).<sup>959</sup> The value of correlation between the two variables is  $r = 0.93$ ,  $n = 734$ ,  $p = .000 < .001$ . Therefore, the correlation between household income and social classes is very strong. The variance ( $r^2$ ) is 0.86 which shows that about 86% of the social classes are determined by the household income of the respondents, the balance 14% are due to

<sup>957</sup> The percentage of households who earned the monthly income of RM5,000 and above increased from 16.8 percent in the year of 2009 to 24.2 per cent in 2004. Meanwhile, the percentage of households who earned below than RM2,500 decreased to 44.2 per cent in 2009 as compared to 56.2 per cent in 2004. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>958</sup> In addition, statistics also recorded that in 2009 about 9.8 per cent out of 2.4 million households in the bottom 40 per cent households were evenly distributed between urban and rural areas in Selangor. The Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015 also recorded that about 235,200 households were categorised in the lower income class in Selangor in 2009. The Tenth Malaysia Plan 2011-2015, pp. 149-150.

<sup>959</sup> Correlation Coefficients or Pearson Correlation is used to measure the direction and size of a relationship between two variables. The correlation coefficient is defined as the ratio of the covariance to the product of the standard deviations of two variables. It can also be seen as a covariance rescaled by the standard deviation of both variables. The value of the correlation coefficient ranges from -1 to 1, where zero means no correlation, -1 means perfectly negatively related, and 1 means perfectly positively related. Refer to Daphne Kuo, 'Using Correlation Coefficients', in Borgatta, Edgar F., and Montgomery, Rhonda J. V., *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2000, p. 661.

Even though the data is not normally distributed according to social class, but it is normal according to age and educational background. According to Jan Hauke and Tomasz Kossowski, Spearman's rank correlation coefficient is a nonparametric (distribution-free) rank statistic proposed as a measure of the strength of the association between two variables. It is a measure of a monotone association that is used when the distribution of data makes Pearson's correlation coefficient undesirable or misleading. Hauke and Kossowski also conclude that the significance of Spearman's correlation can lead to the significance or non-significance of Pearson's correlation coefficient even for big sets of data, which is consistent with a logical understanding of the difference between the two coefficients. However, the logical reasoning is not correct in the case of the significance of Pearson's coefficient translating into the significance of Spearman's coefficient. It is possible to meet a situation where Pearson's coefficient is negative while Spearman's coefficient is positive. Hauke and Kossowski then, concluded the above situation that: "make sure not to over interpret Spearman's rank correlation coefficient as a significant measure of the strength of the associations between two variables". See, Jan Hauke and Tomasz Kossowski, 'Comparison of Values of Pearson's and Spearman's Correlation Coefficients on The Same Sets of Data', *Quaestiones Geographicae*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 2011, pp. 89-93, pp. 87-93.

other factors. There are also significant correlation between educational level and social classes ( $r = .533$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and between educational level and household income ( $r = .544$ ,  $p < .001$ ).<sup>960</sup> Occupational category also shows significant correlation with the educational level, ( $r = .34$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and the household income ( $r = .33$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and social classes ( $r = .32$ ,  $p < .001$ ), respectively.

Table 5.3: The Malay Households' Occupational Sectors in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur

<b>Occupational Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
Professional and Administration	103	14.1
Public Sector	125	17
Private Sector	174	23.7
Business and Corporate Agency	59	8.0
Peasant or Fisherman or Farmer	7	1.0
Production Sector or Factory workers	10	1.4
Sales, Service and Clerical works	56	7.6
Pensioner	22	3.0
Housewife	70	9.5
Student	108	14.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>734</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The respondents represent a variety of occupational sectors. A total of 23.7 per cent (174) represents the private sector, 17 per cent (125) represents the public sector, 14.1 per cent (103) represents group of professionals and administrators, 14.7 per cent (108 people) are students, and 9.5 per cent (70) are housewives. Additionally, eight per cent (59) represents corporate and business agencies, 7.6 per cent (56) are workers of clerical, sales and services, three per cent (22) are retirees, 1.4 per cent (10) are workers of the factory and manufacturing sectors and one per cent (7) respondent are engaged in agriculture, farming and fishing sectors.

<sup>960</sup> Refer to Figure 10.2, Table 10.1 and Figure 10.3, Appendix A.

### 5.3 Efforts of the Actors of Islamic Resurgence

Nine items have been included to represent efforts of many organisations which help to increase the Malay Muslims tendency towards religious development, *da'wah* and Islamic teaching. Figure 5.3 describes the respondents' perception on *da'wah* approach used by the government agencies, such as JAKIM and IKIM help to increase Islamic understanding in the society.

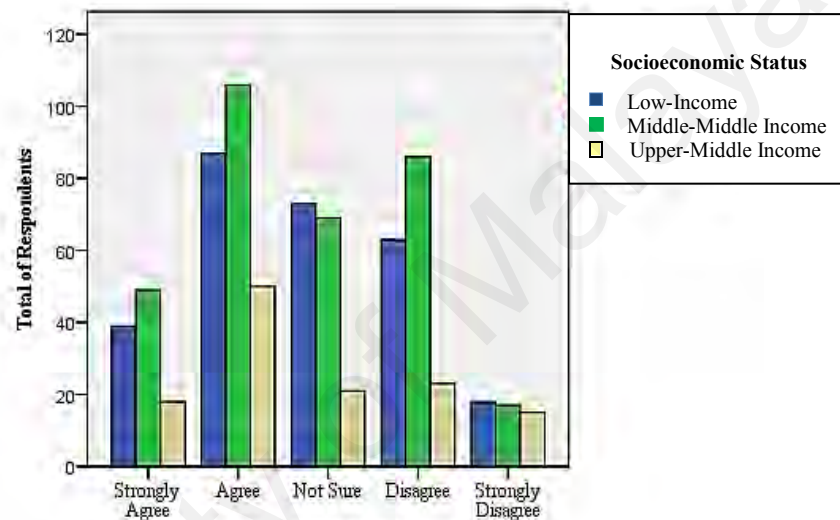


Figure 5.3: *Da'wah* Approach Used by the Government Agencies like JAKIM and IKIM helping to Increase Islamic Understanding in the Society

The respondents in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur have shown a close value in all levels of perceptions towards the *da'wah* approach used by the government agencies, such as JAKIM and IKIM help to increase Islamic understanding in the society. Near to half of the respondents agree that the *da'wah* approach used by the government agencies help to increase Islamic understanding in the society. The upper-middle income group score the highest in the percentage with 53.6 per cent (14.2 per cent strongly agree and 39.4 per cent agree) agree that the *da'wah* approach used by the government agencies help to increase the Muslims society's understanding on Islamic teaching. The middle-middle and the low-income earners have also shown the close values in the percentage with 47.4 per cent and 45 per cent respectively agree towards

the statement. Out of 30.4 per cent of those who disagree with the statement, 31.5 per cent are the middle-middle income earners, 29.9 per cent are the upper-middle income, while 28.9 per cent are the low-income class.

The results of Mann-Whitney U test has also shown that there are no significant differences between all social income classes in the perception towards ‘the *da’wah* approach used by the government agencies, such as JAKIM and IKIM help to increase Islamic understanding in the society’ at all levels of responses, as described in Table 10.2, Appendix A.<sup>961</sup>

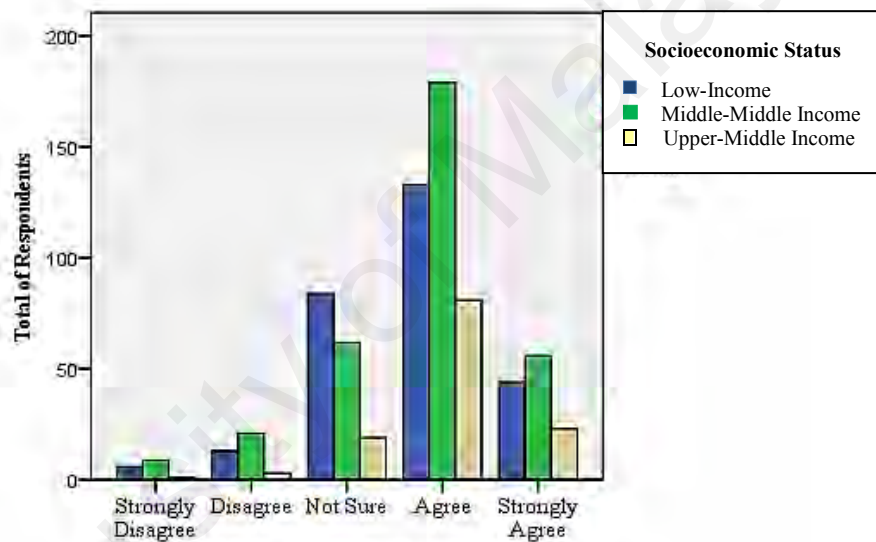


Figure 5.4: Efforts of *Da’wah* by the NGOs, such as ABIM, WADAH and IKRAM or JIM Helps to increase Islamic Awareness

Majority of the respondents (70.3 per cents) agreed that efforts of *da’wah* by the NGOs help to increase Islamic awareness in the society. 81 per cent (104) of the upper-middle incomes agree with the above statement, while 71.9 per cent (235) of the middle-middle income and 63.2 per cent of the low-income classes have also shown the same level of agreement (agreed) with the statement. Comparing with the other two different social classes, the low-income earners positioned at the highest rate of unsure with 30 per cent

<sup>961</sup> The value of mean rank for the low and the middle-middle income classes are 305.56 and 302.66 respectively. The value means for the two social classes is quite close. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is not significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 45343, z = -.210 (2-tailed), p = .834 > 0.05. Therefore, there is no significant difference in the perception of the low and the middle-middle income earners towards the *da’wah* approach used by the government agencies which help to increase Islamic understanding in the society. The results of Mann-Whitney U test also examined that there are no significant differences in the perception of the low and the upper middle-income, and between the middle-middle income and the upper middle income in the above statement as described in Table 10.2, Appendix A.

(84) who are uncertain to agree that the NGOs endeavours help to increase Islamic awareness in the society. About 19 per cent and 15 per cent of the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes respectively are not certain with their answers on the NGOs efforts towards the Islamic awareness.

The result of Mann-Whitney U test shown that there is no significant difference in the perception of the low and middle-middle income respondents towards efforts of *da'wah* by the NGOs, such as ABIM, WADAH and IKRAM or JIM that help to increase Islamic awareness in the society. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 42700$ ,  $z = -1.555$  (2-tailed),  $p = .120 > 0.05$ . The same test also shows that there is no significant difference in the perception of the middle-middle and upper-middle income respondents in the same statement. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 18728.500$ ,  $z = -1.813$  (2-tailed),  $p = .070 > 0.05$ . In other words, there are no significant differences in the perception of the low and middle-middle income and between the middle-middle and upper-middle income respondents towards efforts of *da'wah* by the NGOs help to increase Islamic awareness in the society as most of them agree with the statement.

The Mann-Whitney U test, however, has examined that there is significant difference in the value of mean ranks between the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents which reach at 192.99 and 228.28 respectively. The value means for the two social classes is quite far. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 14697$ ,  $z = -3.070$  (2-tailed),  $p = .002 < 0.05$ . Therefore, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards efforts of *da'wah* by the NGOs help to increase Islamic awareness in the society. As stated before, majority (81.9 per cent) of the upper-middle incomes agree with the statement, despite the fact that 30 per cent of the low-income earners are not sure with the NGOs efforts in construction of religious awareness in the Malaysian society. This finding is consistent with the low-income informants' consents that they have never even known

ABIM, IKRAM as *da'wah* organisations and they are not interested to know them. These informants have never been involved in any religious activities or programmes and dis-associate themselves from the religious institutions (see Chapter 4).

Table 5.4: The Mann-Whitney U Test between Different Social Classes on the Perception Towards Efforts of the NGOs

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
Efforts of <i>da'wah</i> by the NGO such as ABIM, WADAH and IKRAM or JIM helps to increase Islamic awareness	Low-income (LI)	280	293.00	Mann-Whitney U	42700.000
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	313.42	Wilcoxon W	82040.000
				Z	-1.555
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.120
	Low-income (LI)	280	192.99	Mann-Whitney U	14697.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	228.28	Wilcoxon W	54037.000
Z				-3.070	
Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	221.27	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	
			Mann-Whitney U	18728.500	
			Wilcoxon W	72356.500	
Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	243.53	Z	-1.813	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.070	

Figure 5.5 shows the respondents' perception on the Pan Islamic Party of Malaysia's (PAS) struggle in the formation of the Islamic state helps to increase efforts in Islamic development in Malaysia. Most of the low, the middle-middle and the upper-middle income respondents (67.6 per cent) demonstrate their approximately equal values at all levels of agreements. About 69.3 per cent of the upper-middle income, 68.2 per cent of the middle-middle and 66.1 per cent of the low-income respondents respectively agreed towards PAS'S struggle in the formation of the Islamic state which helps to increase efforts in Islamic development in Malaysia. On the other hand, 22.5 per cent of the low-income, 22.3 per cent of the middle-middle income and 18.1 per cent of the upper-middle income respondents respectively are not sure with the statement and put their moderate stand in the above statement.

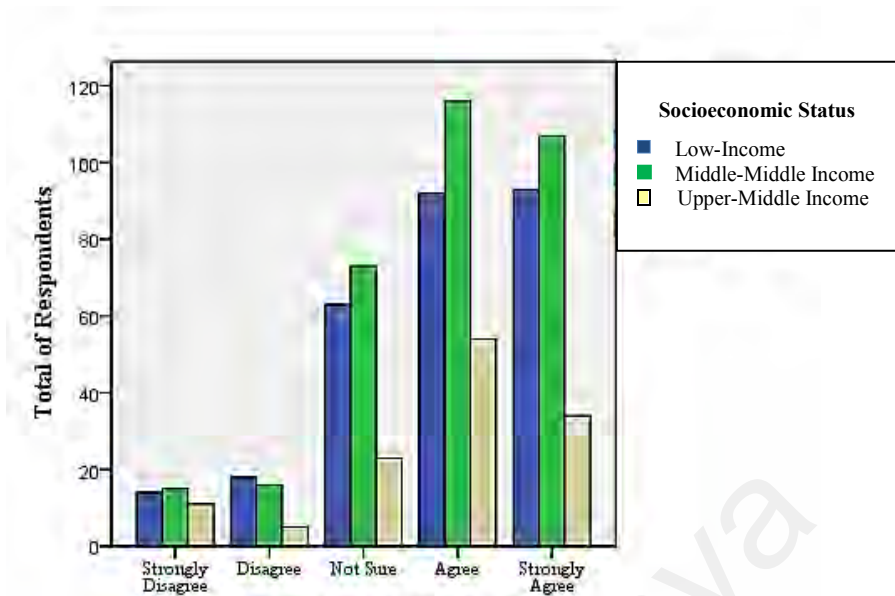


Figure 5.5: The Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS)'s Struggle in the Formation of the Islamic State helps to increase Efforts in Islamic Development in Malaysia

The cross tabulation of the data between this statement and the respondents' participation in social activities indicated that most of those who agree with the statement are the PAS's supporters and none of them reject the statement. 99 per cent (108) of the PAS' supporters agree with the party's struggle in the formation of the Islamic state which helps to increase efforts in Islamic development in Malaysia. Although 35.8 per cent (33) of the UMNO supporters disagree with the PAS's struggle in the formation of the Islamic state, nevertheless, 29.4 per cent of the party's (UMNO) followers also agreed with PAS's efforts towards the formation of the Islamic state. 78.2 per cent (108) of the Islamic NGO's members also agree with the PAS's struggle for the Islamic state. About 61.4 per cent (210) of those who do not belong to any groups also support the statement about the PAS's struggle in the formation of the Islamic state which helps to increase efforts in Islamic development in Malaysia.

The result of Mann-Whitney U test also shows that there is no significant difference in the perception of all social income classes towards PAS's struggle in the

formation of the Islamic state helps to increase efforts in Islamic development in Malaysia as the p value is  $> .05$ .<sup>962</sup>

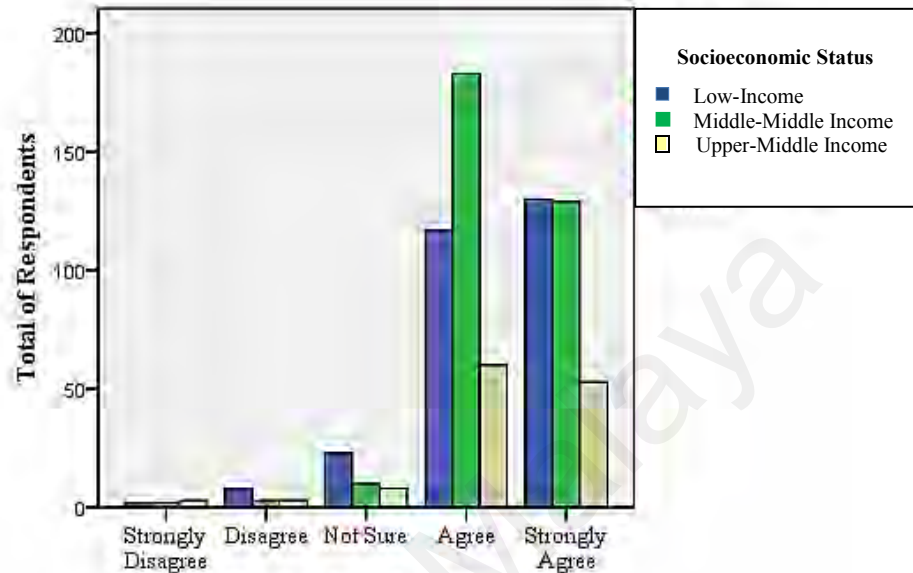


Figure 5.6: The Role of Mass Media, such as IKIM's Radio, *TV al-Hijrah*, *TV9*, *Astro Oasis* and Others helping to increase the Societal Islamic Understanding

Most of the respondents also agree on the role of mass media, such as IKIM's radio, *TV al-Hijrah*, *TV9*, *Astro Oasis* and others which help to increase Islamic understanding in the society. A total of 95.4 per cent of the middle-middle income agree with the statement, while 88.9 and 88.2 per cent respectively represent the upper-middle income and the low-income classes that also supports the role of the mass media in boosting the interest towards understanding the Islamic teaching in the society.

The result of Mann-Whitney U test also shows that there is no significant difference between all three social income classes in the perception towards the role of mass media, such as IKIM's radio, *TV al-Hijrah*, *TV9*, *Astro Oasis* and others which help to increase Islamic understanding in the society.<sup>963</sup> Majority of the respondents

<sup>962</sup> See for example, Table 10.3, Appendix A. The p value of .745, .585 and .418 which are bigger than 0.05 respectively for the low-income (LI) and the middle-middle income (MMI), the low-income (LI) and the upper-middle income classes (UMI) and the middle-middle income (MMI) and the upper-middle-income (UMI).

<sup>963</sup> Table 10.4 in Appendix A showed the value of mean ranks for group LI and MMI are 307.81 and 300.74 respectively. The value of means for the two social classes is quite close. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 44714.500$ ,  $z = -.553$  (2-tailed),  $p > 0.05$ . Thus, there is no significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle-income respondents towards the role of mass media, such as IKIM's radio, *TV al-Hijrah*, *TV9*, *Astro Oasis* and others which help to increase Islamic understanding



agree with the role played by the mass media helping to increase Islamic understanding in the society.<sup>964</sup>

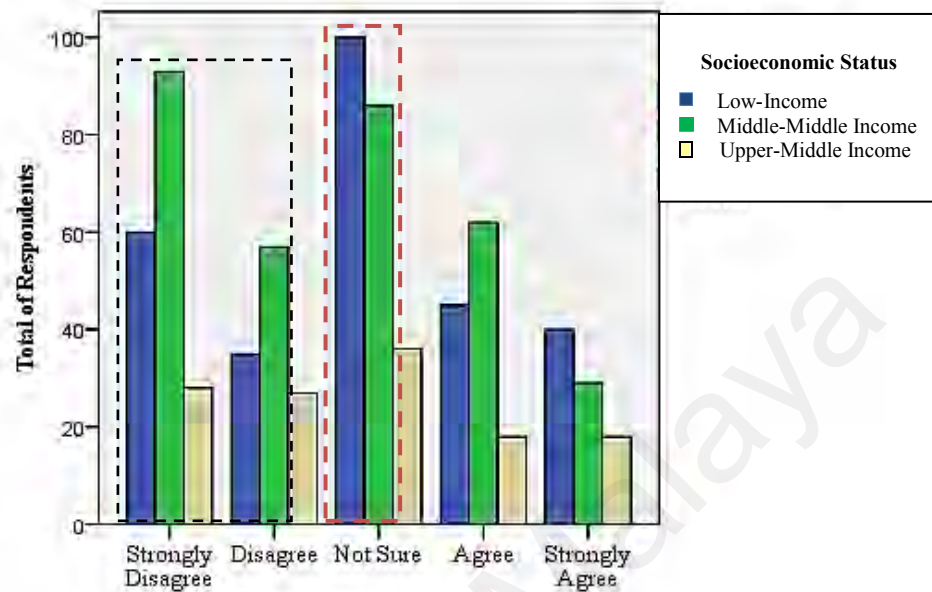


Figure 5.7: The UMNO's Struggle is Proven Successful to Uphold the Position of Islam

Figure 5.7 indicates the Malay Muslim respondents' perception on the UMNO's struggle which is proven successful in upholding the position of Islam in the country. Near to half of the middle-middle income or about 45.8 per cent (150) disagree that the UMNO's struggle is proven successful in upholding the position of Islam, compared to 43.9 per cent (95) of the low-income and 43.3 per cent (55) of the upper-middle income class disagree with the same statement. The low-income is the highest in the perception of unsure or undecided towards the UMNO's struggle in upholding the position of Islam with 35.7 per cent (100) not sure with the statement, in contrast to the middle-middle income earners with 26.3 per cent (86) and the upper-middle income with 28.3 per cent (36) in the same statement. The low-income class also is the highest to agree with the UMNO's struggle in upholding the position of Islam with 30.4 per cent (85), in contrast

in the society. The Mann-Whitney U test also examined that there is no significant difference in the perception of the low and the upper middle-income as well as between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income respondents towards the above statement. The p value for the low and the upper-middle income and between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income respondents are .482 and .740 which are  $> 0.05$ . In other words there are no significant differences in the perception of the low and the middle-middle income and between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income respondents towards the role of mass media which help to increase Islamic understanding in the society.

<sup>964</sup> Refer to Table 10.4, Appendix A.

with only 27.9 per cent (91) of the middle-middle income and 28.4 per cent (36) of the upper-middle classes who agree with the statement.

The cross tabulation of the data shows that not all members of the ruling party, UMNO supported the party struggle for Islam in which 6.5 per cent (6) disagreed on the UMNO's struggle which is proven successful in upholding the position of Islam in the country, 10.9 per cent (10) of UMNO supporters are not sure with the statement and the majority of the pro-government supporters certainly agreed with the party's struggle in upholding the position of Islam. As expected, 84.4 per cent (92) of the PAS supporters disagreed with the statement, while the other 9.2 per cent (10) and 6.5 per cent (7) of the PAS supporters respectively are not sure, and agree with the same statement.

About 66.2 per cent (147) of those who do not belong to any social classes say that they are not sure with the statement. 147 individuals of these undecided respondents are workers of the private sectors (22 per cent, 33), students (20.4 per cent, 30), workers of the public sectors (16.3 per cent, 24), professionals and administrators (14.3 per cent, 21), housewives (10.2 per cent, 15), workers of sales, service and clerical work (10.2 per cent, 15), and business and corporate workers (4.1 per cent, 6). Generally, about 33.9 per cent of the respondents disagree, 35.7 per cent are not sure and 30.4 per cent agree with the statement.<sup>965</sup>

The Mann-Whitney U test supports the above data. The values of the mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income are 322.13 and 288.47 respectively. The value of means for the two social classes is considerably far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 40702.500,  $z = -2.425$  (2-tailed),  $p = .015 < .05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents towards the UMNO's struggle is proven successful to uphold the position of Islam. Otherwise, there are no significant differences in the perception towards the same statement between the low

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<sup>965</sup> Refer to Table 10.5 in Appendix A.

and the upper-middle income respondents and the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income earners.

Table 5.5: The Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on the UMNO's Struggle to uphold the Position of Islam

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
The UMNO's struggle is proven successful to uphold the position of Islam	Low-income (LI)	280	322.13	Mann-Whitney U	40702.500
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	288.47	Wilcoxon W	94330.500
				Z	-2.425
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.015
	Low-income (LI)	280	207.69	Mann-Whitney U	16747.500
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	195.87	Wilcoxon W	24875.500
Z				-.967	
Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	223.84	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.333	
			Mann-Whitney U	19567.500	
			Wilcoxon W	73195.500	
Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	236.93	Z	-.979	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.327	

Figure 5.7.1 clearly demonstrates the difference between the low, the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes towards the perception on the UMNO's struggle is proven successful uphold the position of Islam in the country. Majority of the middle-middle income disagree with the statement, in contrast to most of the low-income who agree or unsure with the statement, while the upper-middle who demonstrate equal percentage in all levels of agreement towards the statement and between all social classes.

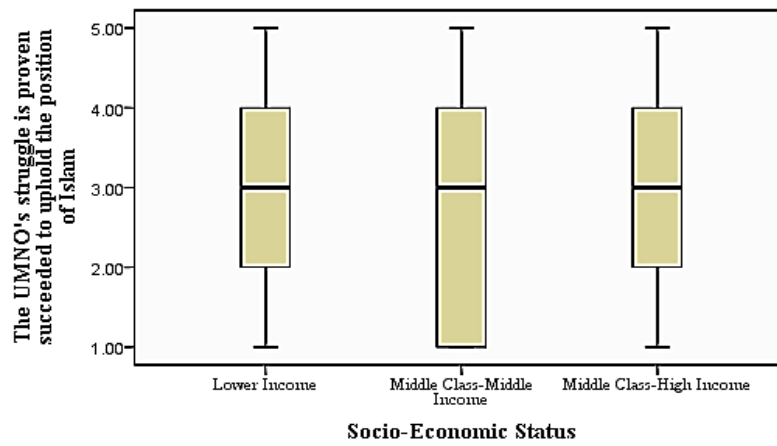


Figure 5.7.1: Boxplot of Respondents' Perception of the UMNO's Struggle for Islam

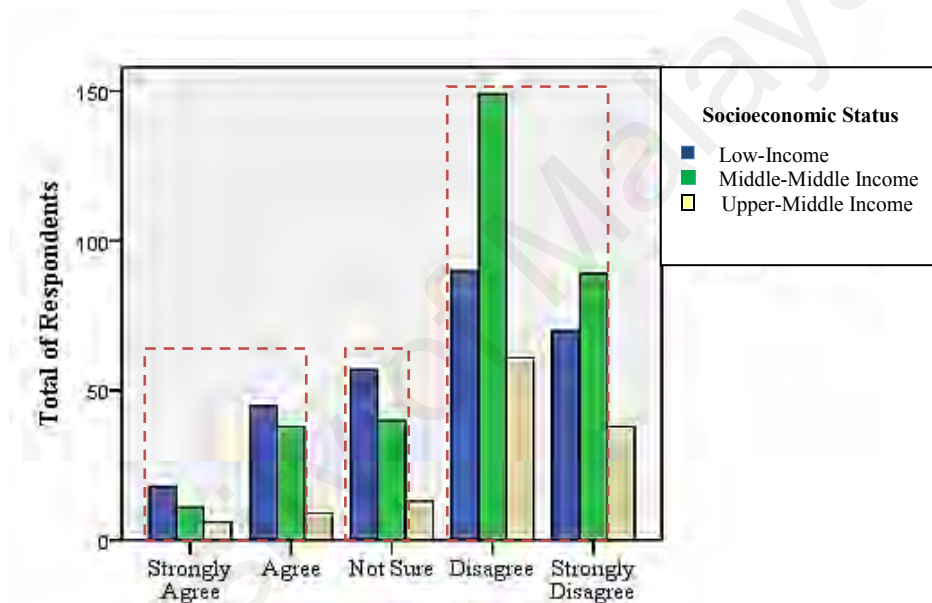


Figure 5.8: Many Religious Activities which have been conducted by Local Communities, such as *Surau* and Mosques Do Not help to increase Islamic Understanding Among the Malays

Figure 5.8 shows the respondents' perception on the statement "many religious activities which have been conducted by local communities, such as *surau* and mosques do not help to increase Islamic understanding among the Malays". There is significant difference between the low-income and the middle-middle income earners and between the low-income and the upper-middle income earners in all levels of perceptions towards the statement below. The low-income scores lower with 57.1 per cent (160) compare to 78 per cent (99) of the upper-middle income and 72.8 per cent (238) of the middle-middle income who disagree that many religious activities which have been

conducted by local communities, such as *surau* and mosques do not help to increase Islamic understanding among the Malays. Thus, most of the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes have agree that many religious activities which have been conducted by *surau* and mosques do help to increase Islamic understanding among the Malays.

The low-income, however, has reached at the highest percentage in the agree or supportive and the unsure perceptions towards the statement compared to the other middle-middle and upper-middle income classes. The figures stand at 20.4 per cent (57) of the low-income, 12.2 per cent (40) of the middle-middle income and 10.2 per cent (13) of the upper-middle income earners are not sure with the statement. The difference can also be seen between the low-income and the middle-middle income earners and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes among those who agree with the statement. Here, the figures are 22.5 per cent (63) of the low-income, 15 per cent (49) of the middle-middle income and 11.8 per cent (15) agree that many religious activities which have been conducted by local communities, such as *surau* and mosques do not help to increase Islamic understanding among the Malays.

The difference in the finding above between the two social classes is verified through the Mann-Whitney test. The value of the mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 282.90 and 322.07 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is quite big. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 39872.000$ ,  $z = -2.869$  (2-tailed),  $p = .004 < 0.05$ . Therefore, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents towards many religious activities which have been conducted by local communities, such as *surau* and mosques do not help to increase Islamic understanding among the Malays.

The low-income class respondents are the highest in the unsure and agree perception towards the statement, compared to the middle-middle and the upper-middle income respondents who disagree with the statement. However, the cross tabulation between the statement and the mosque and *surau* attendance found that most of the low-income earners (57.1 per cent- 160) who always, frequently, sometimes attended mosques agree that many religious activities which have been conducted by *surau* and mosques help to increase Islamic understanding among the Malays rather than those lower class who disagree (22.5 per cent- 63) with the role played by *surau* and mosques to activate religious activities.<sup>966</sup> The middle-middle and the upper-middle-income also agree that religious activities in the *surau* and the mosques help to increase Islamic understanding among the Malays.

The study has also found significant difference in the perception between the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards the statement. The value of the mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 192.56 and 229.22 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is clear. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 14577.000,  $z = -3.033$  (2-tailed),  $p = .002 < 0.05$ . Therefore, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards many religious activities which have been conducted by local communities, such as *surau* and mosques do not help to increase Islamic understanding among the Malays.<sup>967</sup>

No significance differences between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income in the perception towards the statement as majority of these middle-income classes agree that many religious activities which have been conducted by local communities, such as *surau* and mosques did help to increase Islamic understanding

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<sup>966</sup> Even though some of the low-income never, rarely and sometimes go to *surau* and mosque, they represent 63.1 percent of the total 160 respondents (57.1 per cent) of the low-income earners who disagreed with the statement. This indicates that the low-income earners also know that *surau* and mosque in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur actively organised religious activities and programmes to increase the Muslims knowledge on the subject of Islam. Refer to Table 10.6 in Appendix A.

<sup>967</sup> Refer to Table 10.6.1 in Appendix A.

among the Malays.<sup>968</sup> Figure 8.4 visibly demonstrates a boxplot of the respondents' perception of the religious activities organised by the local communities, particularly by the mosques and *surau*.<sup>969</sup>

#### 5.4 Religious Belief

Seven items respectively related to the pillars of Islamic faith (*Imān*) and the Islamic thoughts have been addressed to the respondents. The average score of each social income class in each item of Islamic faith, religious thoughts and current issues related to Islam have been cross tabulated (*cross tabulation*) to their level of education. Interpretation of the respondents' score in the overall sub-domain is counted and placed according to the scale below.

Table 5.6: Interpretation of Respondents' Respond in Scale

Mean Value	Total Score in Islamic Thoughts	1 <sup>st</sup> Interpretation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Interpretation
3.67 – 5.00	91.7 – 125	High/Good	Positive
2.34 – 3.66	58.4 - 91.6	Moderate	Moderate
1.00 – 2.33	25 - 58.3	Low	Negative

The Malays of different social classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur show their high level of belief in the pillars of Islamic Faith. This can be seen in the total mean achieved by all social classes, the low-income, the middle-middle income class and the upper-middle income classes respectively score the average mean of 4.6 (for the low-income), 4.8 (the middle-middle income) and 4.8 (the upper-middle income). All social classes income classes showed the high level of believe in all pillars of the Islamic faith.

<sup>968</sup> Refer to Table 10.6.1 in Appendix A.

<sup>969</sup> Refer to Figure 10.4 in Appendix A.

Table 5.7: The Average Level of the Malays' Belief in The Pillars of Islamic Faith According to Social Classes

The Pillars of Islamic Faith	The Average Level of Belief of the Malays In The Pillars of Islamic Faith According to the Social Classes			
	The Low-Income	The Middle-Middle Income	The Upper-Middle Income	Total
Allah is the only one that can be depended on in any situation; the easiness and the hardness	4.7	4.9	4.9	4.8
Angels that recorded people's deeds accompany them wherever they go	4.7	4.9	4.9	4.8
All aspects of the Prophet's <i>Sunnah</i> are to be practised by Muslims, to increase love to the Prophet.	4.7	4.9	4.8	4.7
Al-Quran and As- <i>Sunnah</i> are guidance of my life	4.7	4.9	4.8	4.8
Everything that we do in this world will be judged by Allah SWT in the Hereafter	4.7	4.9	4.9	4.8
Everything that occurs in this world does not have relation with Allah's SWT will	4.3	4.5	4.6	4.5
Tragedies and human problems are tests from Allah SWT	4.6	4.9	4.8	4.8
<b>The Average Mean</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>4.7</b>

Even though the economic status does not contribute to the level of belief in Islamic *Aqīdah*, educational background contributes to the respondents' belief in the items found in these pillars. The mean of a high income respondent who has not finished the primary school is located at the lowest range, which respectively scores the average mean of one (1) in five statements of the pillars of Islamic faith: "Allah is the only one that can be depended on in any situation; the easiness and the hardness", "Angels that recorded people's deeds accompany them wherever they go", "All aspects of the Prophet's *Sunnah* are to be practised by Muslims, to increase love to the Prophet", "Al-Quran and As-*Sunnah* are guidance of my life", and "Tragedies and human problems are tests from Allah SWT". These high income respondents also reached the lower mean of two (2) in the statement of "Everything that occurs in this world does not have relation with Allah's SWT will".



Table 10.7 described the Kruskal-Wallis test between three social income classes of the Malay in Islamic belief. The test verified that there are significant differences between three social income classes of the Malay in all items of Islamic belief,  $\chi^2(2, N = 734) = p < .05$  (see Appendix A).<sup>970</sup> Furthermore, the Mann-Whitney U is used to compare the difference between two social classes alternately with another group of three income classes. The Mann-Whitney U is used to test differences between two independent social classes on a continuous measure. This non-parametric technique is ideal for use when the data are measured on nominal (categorical) and ordinal (ranked) scales. The test is also the alternative to the t-test for independent samples.<sup>971</sup>

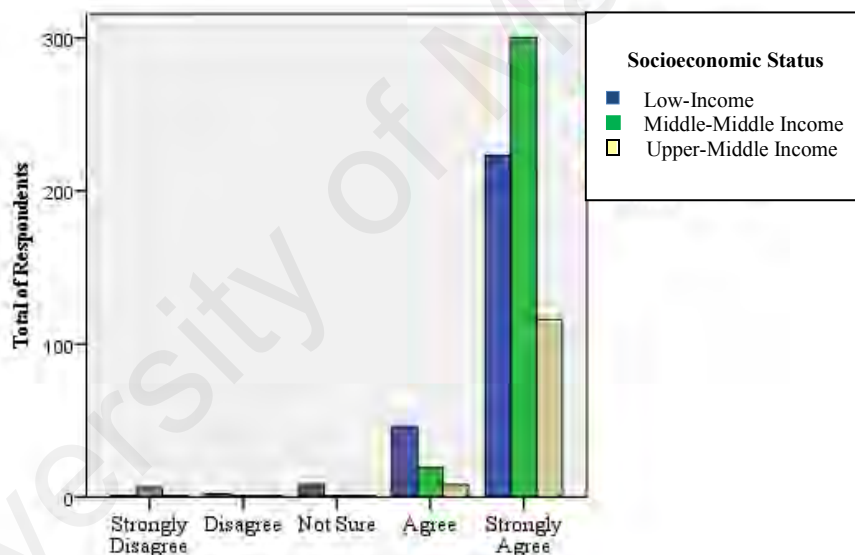


Figure 5.9: Respondents' Perception on Allah is the Only One that can be depended on in Any Situation (the Easiness and the Hardness)

Figure 5.9 shows the respondents' perception on Allah SWT is the only One that can be depended on in any situation; the easiness and the hardness. The low-income class is a contrast to the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income earners at the level of strongly agree, agree and not sure. About 79.6 per cent (223) of the low-income class strongly agree with the statement, compared to 91.7 per cent (300) of the middle-middle

<sup>970</sup> The Kruskal-Wallis test is used to test possible differences between two or more groups. It is equitable to the one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA). Sheridan J. Coakes and Clara Ong, *SPSS Analysis without Anguish Version 18.0 for Windows*, Milton: John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd., 2011, p. 175. See, Table 10.7 in Appendix A, p. 522.

<sup>971</sup> Jullie Pallant, *SPSS Survival Manual*, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2011, pp. 213, 227-229.

income and 91.3 per cent (116) of the upper-middle income who also strongly agree with the statement. Moreover, 16.4 per cent (46) of the low-income agree with the statement, in contrast to 5.8 per cent (19) of the middle-middle income and 6.3 per cent (8) of the upper-middle income class in the same level of response.

The Mann-Whitney U test has proven the differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes in the perception towards Allah SWT is the only One that can be depended on in any situation; the easiness and the hardness as described in Table 10.8. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 284.61 and 320.60 respectively. The gap of the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 40352.000,  $z = -4.205$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low and the middle-middle income classes towards Allah SWT is the only One that can be depended on in any situation; the easiness and the hardness.<sup>972</sup>

The Mann-Whitney U test is also significant to examine the difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income group.<sup>973</sup> However, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income in the perception towards the statement as these two social classes show close percentage at all level of insight, in particular the first two positive responses towards the statement (strongly agree and agree).<sup>974</sup>

Similar trend can be seen in the level of perception between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low and the upper-middle income. Figure 5.10 demonstrates the respondents' perception that all aspects of the Prophet's *Sunnah* are to be practised by Muslims to increase love to him. As the low-income seems not to

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<sup>972</sup> Refer to Table 10.8 in Appendix A.

<sup>973</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper middle-income classes are 196.69 and 220.12 respectively. The gap of the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 15732.500,  $z = -2.874$  (2-tailed) and  $p = .004 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low and the upper-middle income social classes towards the same statement.

<sup>974</sup> Refer to Table 10.8 in Appendix A.

be really confident to give the high approval to the statement, 21.1 per cent (59) of the low-income class just agree with the statement, in contrast to 87.5 per cent (286) of the middle-middle income and 87.4 per cent (111) of the upper-middle income classes who strongly agree with the same statement. Overall, 99.4 per cent (325) of the middle-middle income and 96.1 per cent (122) of the upper-middle income respondents agree with the statement, compared to 94 per cent (263) of the low-income classes also agree with it.

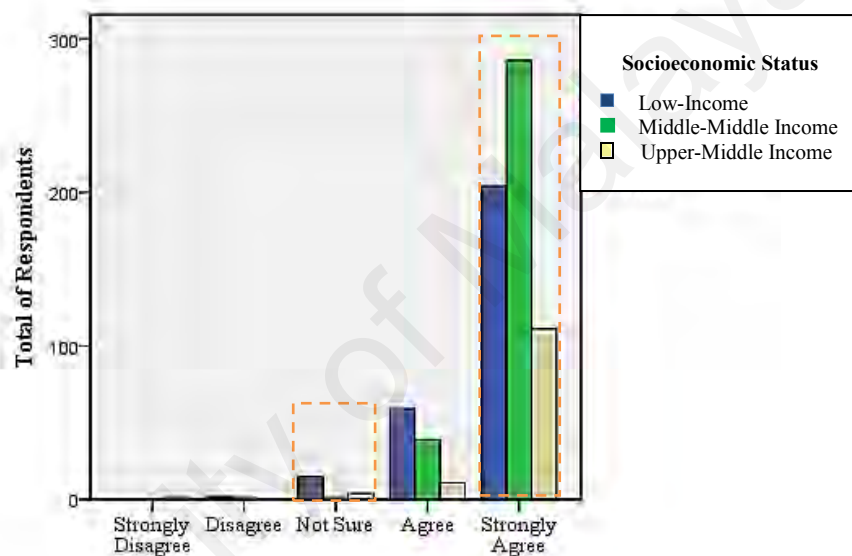


Figure 5.10: Respondents' Perception on All Aspects of the Prophet's *Sunnah* are to be Practised by Muslims to Increase Love to the Prophet

There is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income towards all aspects of the Prophet's *Sunnah* are to be practised by Muslims to increase love to him. The Mann-Whitney U test is verified as significant to examine a difference between the low-income and the middle-middle income.<sup>975</sup> The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 38828$ ,  $z = -4.709$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents towards

<sup>975</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 279.17 and 325.26 respectively. The gap of the value of means for the two social classes is quite far.

all aspects of the Prophet's *Sunnah* are to be practised by Muslims to increase love to him.<sup>976</sup>

In addition, there is also a significant difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents in the perception towards the statement as verified in the Mann-Whitney U test.<sup>977</sup> The values of Mann-Whitney U = 15252.500,  $z = -3.154$  (2-tailed) and  $p = .002 < 0.05$ . However, there is no significant difference that can be seen between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes in the perception towards the statement as the two middle-income classes equally highly agree with the statement.

This study has found that out of 7 items in the pillars of *Imān*, there is significant difference between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income in their belief in item numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7. The p value in the Mann-Whitney U test is  $< 0.05$ . There is a difference between the low-income and the middle-middle income in the statement 'Al-Quran and *As-Sunnah* are guidance of my life' (item number 4). Conversely, no significant differences between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes in all items of pillars of *Imān* as most of them strongly believe in them.

## 5.5 Religious Thoughts

The Malay society in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur also shows various levels of thoughts and views in the statements relating to Islamic thoughts and the function of Islam in the current contexts. The middle-middle and the upper-middle income earners respectively reach at the high level in thoughts in the statement of "Islamic values are applicable in any situation, place and times and in managing issues relating to multi-racial society", with the average score (mean) of 4.6, while the low-income earners also reach at the

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<sup>976</sup> Refer to Table 10.9 in Appendix A.

<sup>977</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 194.97 and 223.90 respectively. The gap of the value of means for the two social classes is considerably far. Refer to Table 10.9 in Appendix A.

high level in thoughts with the mean value, 4.3. All categories of the social income classes also show the high level of agreement in the statement, “Islam gives meaning and objective to my life”, respectively with the mean of 4.6 for the low-income earners and 4.8 for both the middle-middle and the upper-middle income earners.

Table 5.8: The Average Level of the Malays’ Thoughts According to the Social Classes<sup>978</sup>

Thoughts	The Average Level of the Malays Thoughts According to the Social Classes			
	The Low- Income	The Middle- Middle Income	The Upper- Middle Income	Total
Islamic values are applicable in any situation, place and times and in managing issues relating to multi-racial society	4.3	4.6	4.6	4.5
Islam gives meaning and objective to my life	4.6	4.8	4.8	4.7
Religion needs to be separated from the state's political life	3.7	4.0	4.2	3.9
A person who is religious will have difficulty being successful in their worldly life	4.3	4.6	4.5	4.5
Democracy can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam	3.5	3.7	3.8	3.7
Religious aspect is important for me as solutions when facing changes and challenges of modern age	4.4	4.7	4.7	4.6
To become a fully developed nation, there is no need for Muslims to completely follow the Islamic teachings	4.4	4.7	4.8	4.6
<b>The Average Mean</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>4.5</b>	<b>4.4</b>

This statement is strengthened by another statement, “religious aspect is important for me as solutions when facing changes and challenges of modern age”. The low-income earners reach the mean of 4.4, whereas the middle-middle and the upper-middle income earners achieve at the mean of 4.7. The low-income class, however reach at the lower mean with 3.7 compared to the middle-middle (4) and the upper-middle incomes

<sup>978</sup> Seven items included in Islamic thoughts can be translated in Malay language as, 1 - Nilai-nilai Islam boleh diamalkan di semua situasi, tempat dan masa serta dalam menangani isu masyarakat majmuk ; 2 - Islam memberi makna dan tujuan dalam kehidupan saya, 3 - Agama perlu dipisahkan daripada kehidupan politik negara, 4 - Seseorang yang berpegang kepada agama akan mengalami kesukaran untuk berjaya di dunia ini; 5 - Demokrasi boleh digunakan sebagai wasilah untuk memartabatkan Islam; 6 - Aspek keagamaan penting kepada saya sebagai penyelesaian untuk berhadapan dengan cabaran dan perubahan zaman moden, 7 - Orang Islam tidak perlu mengikut ajaran Islam keseluruhannya untuk membangun.

(4.2) in the statement of “religion needs to be separated from the state's political life”. About 4.1 per cent (30) of the low-income class strongly agree that “religions need to be separated from the state political life”, while the other 3.1 per cent (23) of respondents of the same group also agree with the statement. Another 8.2 per cent (60) of the low-income respondents are not sure in answering that similar statement compared with the other two groups of middle-income classes.<sup>979</sup>

Similar to several statements in the pillars of Islamic Faith, respondents’ level of education played important role in determining their level of Islamic thoughts regardless of economic status and total of income earned. The low-income earners with their primary school and the SPM certificates reached the moderate level, with the average score (mean) 3.5 in the statement, “religion needs to be separated from the state's political life”, (thoughts), as the same as the middle-middle income earners who have the same level of education also reaches the mean of 3.5. However, the middle-middle income respondents with the SRP/PMR level of education reach the lower level of mean in the similar statement with the mean score of 2.5.

The upper-middle income earners who did not finish their primary school also achieved the moderate level with the average score of 3 point as they were not sure with the statement. These upper-middle income earners are also not sure in the other three statements, namely, “Islamic values can be applied in any situation, place and times and in managing issues relating to multi-racial society” and “democracy can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam” and “to become a fully developed nation, no need for Muslims completely follow the Islamic teachings”.

The upper-middle income respondents without primary school certificate also reach at the lowest level (with the mean 1–extremely low) in two statements of “Islam gives meaning and objective to my life” and “religious aspect is important for me as solutions when facing changes and challenges in the modern age” and score at the mean

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<sup>979</sup> See Table 10.10 in Appendix A.

of 2 (low level in Islamic thoughts) in the statement of “a person who is religious will have difficulty being successful in their worldly life”.

Almost majority of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur are not really confident with the practice of democracy as the means to uphold the role of Islam (the mean of 3.7). The low-income earners also show the moderate level (the mean of 3.5) to support this statement. However, the middle-middle and the upper-middle income still achieve at the higher level even though their achievement is fairly near to the moderate range (3.7– the middle-middle income, 3.8– the upper-middle income). Thus, the low level of education has an effect to someone in the relation to issues relating to Islam in the political contexts. This is proven when those who did not go to school, and those who have the level of education at the lower secondary school, have reached the moderate level in two statements related to politics “religion needs to be separated from the state's political life”, and “democracy can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam”. Those who have never gone to school and those who only have the SRP/PMR and MCE/SPM certificates from all categories of income classes reach the moderate level in the statement of “democracy can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam”.

Considering in-depth analysis of all items listed in Islamic thoughts, the study briefly explains that every statement through percentage, frequency, correlation and tested differences between social classes. The Mann-Whitney U test is used to examine the difference between three social classes.

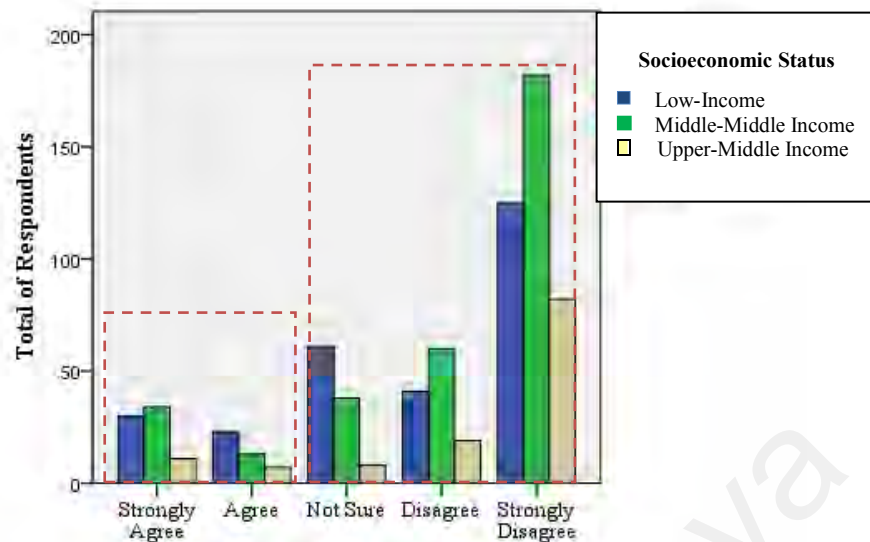


Figure 5.11: Respondents' Perception on Religion needs to be separated from The State's Political Life

Figure 5.11 illustrates the Malay Muslims' perception on does religion need to be separated from the state's political life. If comparing the perception of the lower, the middle-middle and the upper-middle income towards the statement, the upper-middle and the middle-middle income classes placed at the highest and the second highest who disagree with the statement compared to the low-income earners. It stands at 79.6 per cent (101) of the upper-middle income and 74 per cent (242) of the middle-middle income earners disagree with the statement in contrast to 59.2 per cent (166) of the low-income who also disagree with it. It stands at 21.6 per cent (61) of the low-income earners, however, are not sure with the statement and the rest of 18.9 per cent (53) of the low-income respondents agree with the statement. Some of the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes also agree with the statement with 14.4 per cent (47) and 14.2 per cent (18) respectively.

The Mann-Whitney U test has proven that there is a significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income towards religion needs to be separated from the



state's political life as described in Table 10.10 in Appendix A.<sup>980</sup> However, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income as most respondents from the two middle classes strongly disagree with the statement.<sup>981</sup>

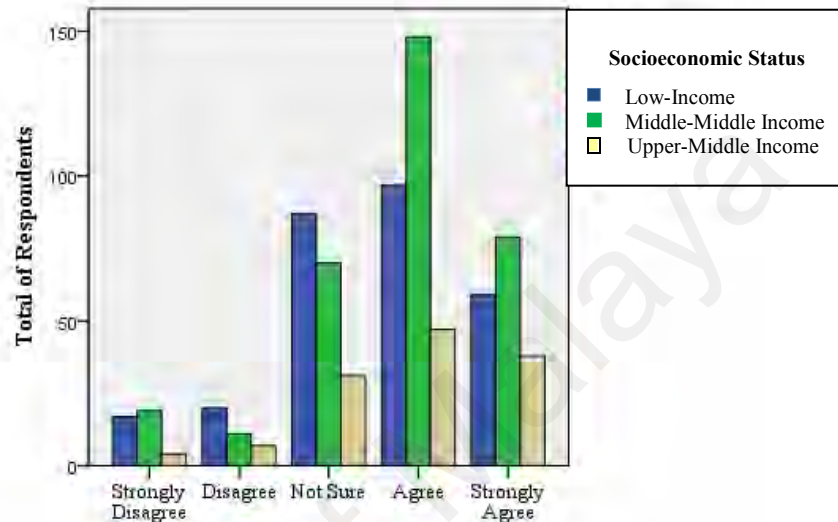


Figure 5.12: Respondents' Perception on Democracy can be used as Mechanism or Tool to uphold the Position of Islam

The Malay Muslim respondents in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur point out various perceptions on the statement which says that democracy can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam. About 13.2 per cent (37) of the low-income, 9.2 per cent (30) of the middle-middle income and 8.6 per cent (11) of the upper-middle income classes disagree that democracy can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam. On the other hand, about 31.1 per cent (87) of the low-income, 21.4 per cent (70) of the middle-middle income and 24.4 per cent (31) of the upper-middle income earners are not sure with the statement.

<sup>980</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 282.22 and 322.65 respectively. There is a distant gap in the value of means for the two social classes. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 39682.500,  $z = -3.052$  (2-tailed),  $p = .002 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle class respondents towards religion needs to be separated from the state's political life. There is also a significance difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes towards the statement. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 190.66 and 233.40 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is clear. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 14046,  $z = -3.664$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < .05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income class respondents towards religion needs to be separated from the state's political life. Refer to Table 10.10 in Appendix A.

<sup>981</sup> The p value from the Mann-Whitney U test as described in Table 10.10 in Appendix A.

Most the respondents do not fully support the statement whereby about 45.3 per cent (148) of the middle-middle income, 37 per cent (47) of the upper-middle income and 34.6 per cent (97) the low-income respondents agree with the statement. The balance, 29.9 per cent (38) of the upper-middle income, 24.2 per cent (79) of the middle-middle income and 21.1 per cent (59) of the low-income respondents strongly agree that democracy can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam. The study has found that the respondents do not fully believe that democracy can be used as mechanism to defend the position of Islam.

The Mann-Whitney U test has proven that there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income towards democracy that can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 283.88 and 321.23 respectively. There is a gap in the value of means for the two social classes. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 40147,  $z = -2.749$  (2-tailed),  $p = .006 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle class respondents towards democracy that can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam.<sup>982</sup>

The study has also revealed a significant difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income social classes towards the statement.<sup>983</sup> However, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income as the two middle classes show their close response in each level of perception towards the statement as described in Table 10.11 (Appendix A).

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<sup>982</sup> Refer to Table 10.11 in Appendix A.

<sup>983</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 194.84 and 224.20 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is clear. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 15215,  $z = -2.436$  (2-tailed),  $p = .015 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income class respondents towards democracy can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam.

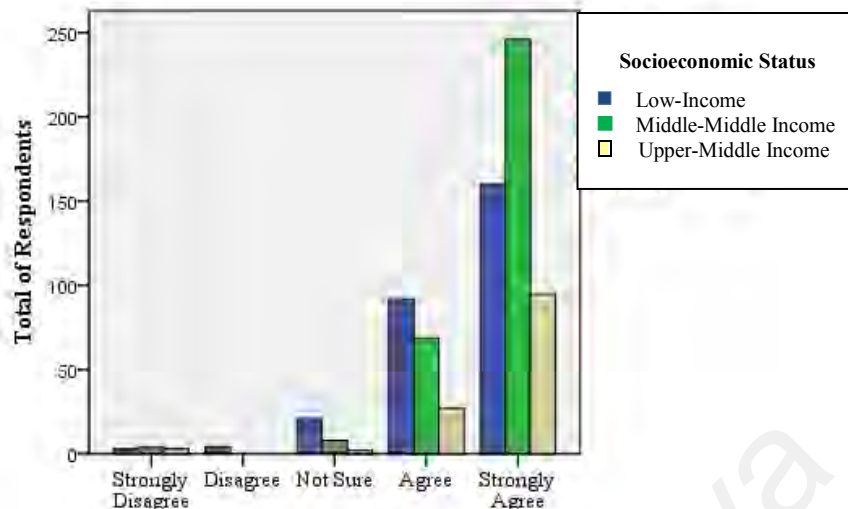


Figure 5.13: Respondents' Perception on Religious Aspect is Important for Me as Solutions when Facing Changes and Challenges of Modern Age

Majority of the respondents show their support on the statement “religious aspect is important for me as solutions when facing changes and challenges of modern age”. Two groups of middle classes, the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income have given their full support with 96.3 per cent (246) and 96.1 per cent (95) for each group respectively who agree with the statement. Only 90 per cent of the low-income agree with the statement. The low-incomes on the other hand, demonstrate their less support to the statement, but they are the highest in the unsure and disagree perception compared to the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes.

For that reason, there are significant differences between the low and the middle-middle income and between the low and the upper-middle income in the perception towards the statement as described in Table 10.12, Appendix A.<sup>984</sup> It also reveal that there is no significant difference between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income for the reason that they show their close response to the highest positive

<sup>984</sup> The Man-Whitney U test demonstrated that the value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 273.03 and 330.52 respectively. There is a gap in the value of means for the two social classes. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 37108, z = -4.875 (2-tailed), p = .000 < 0.05. In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle class respondents towards religious aspect is important for me as solutions when facing changes and challenges of modern age.

The study also showed that there is a significance difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes towards the statement. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 192.37 and 229.65 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is clear. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 14522.500, z = -3.470 (2-tailed), p = .001 < .05. In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards religious aspect is important for me as solutions when facing changes and challenges of modern age. Refer to Table 10.12 in Appendix A.

level of perception, the strongly agree. About 75.2 per cent of the middle-middle income and 74.8 per cent of the upper-middle income strongly agree with the statement compared to 57.1 per cent of the low-income earners.

### Thoughts in the Current Issues on Islam in Malaysia

Most of the respondents have admitted that they are not involved in *da'wah* field works every year as what have been done by the Jamaat Tabligh. There is a difference in percentage at every level of continuous Likert scale between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income towards the statement. It stands 40.7 per cent (114) of the low-income, 24.8 per cent (81) of the middle-middle income and 25.2 per cent (32) of the upper-middle income strongly disagrees that they are involved and travel for *da'wah* work every year.

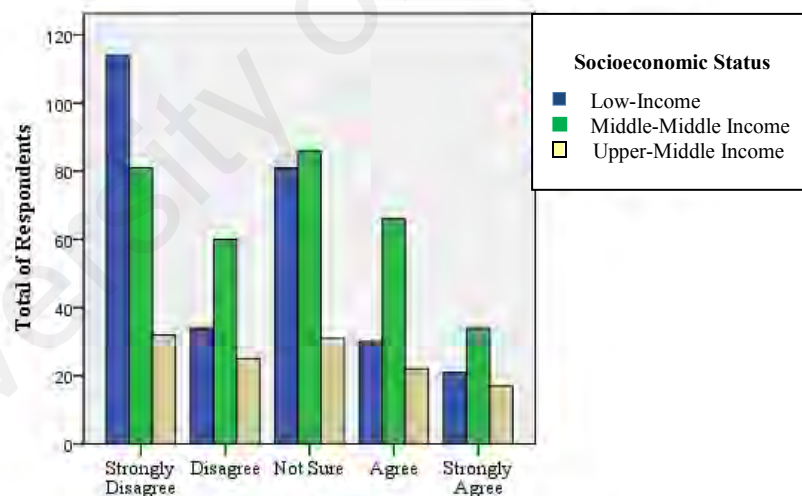


Figure 5.14: Respondents' Confession on I am Involved in and Travel for *Da'wah* Work Every Year

Some of the respondents are not sure that their current activities are considered as *da'wah*. They are 28.9 per cent (81) of the low-income, 26.3 per cent (86) of the middle-middle income and 24.4 per cent (31) of the upper-middle income earners. Only a few of them have admitted that they are involved and travel for *da'wah* work every year with the amount of 18.2 per cent (51) of the low-income, 30.7 per cent (100) of the middle-middle income, and 30.7 per cent (39) of the upper-middle income.

Table 10.13 illustrates the Mann-Whitney U test between different social classes on the confession that “I am involved in and travel for *da’wah* work every year”. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 274.80 and 329.00 respectively. The value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 37605,  $z = -3.920$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents towards the respondents’ involvement and travelling for *da’wah* work every year.<sup>985</sup>

The result of Mann-Whitney U test is also significant when comparing the difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes.<sup>986</sup> No significant difference is found between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes in the perception towards the statement. This means that only a few respondents get involved in the annual and periodical *da’wah* works like Tabligh.

About 23.2 per cent (65) of the low-income, 9.2 per cent (30) of the middle-middle income and 7.8 per cent (10) agree that their success are only products of their endeavours and ignoring Allah’s will as the means of everything in this world. The low-income score the highest in the “agree” and “unsure” perceptions (10.7 per cent or 30) compared to the other two social classes, the middle-middle and the upper-middle income. However, the upper-middle income class has reached 89 per cent (113) close to the middle-middle income with 86.5 per cent (283) who disagree with the statement, differ to the low-income group who scored 66.1 per cent (299) in the same level of response.

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<sup>985</sup> Refer to Table 10.13 in Appendix A.

<sup>986</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 192.89 and 228.50 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 14668,  $z = -2.939$  (2-tailed),  $p = .003 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards the respondents’ involvement and traveling for *da’wah* work every year.

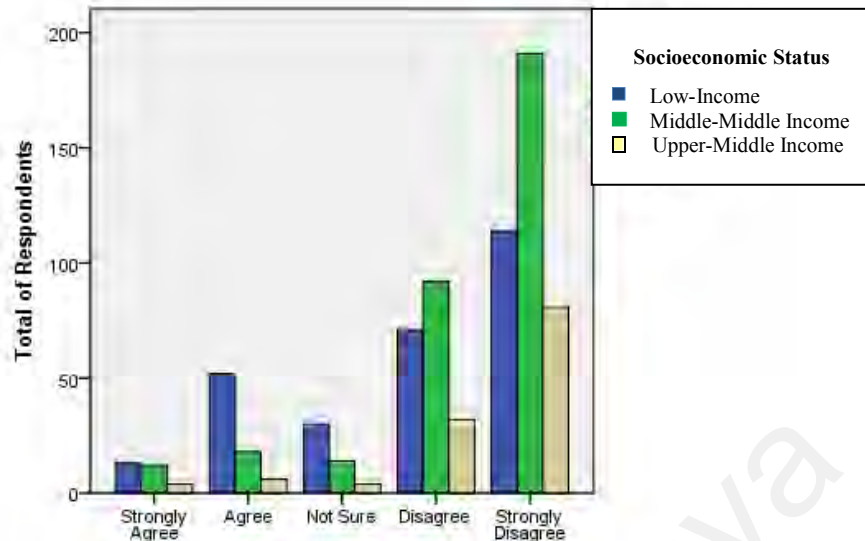


Figure 5.15: Respondents' Perception on All My Success are Only Products of My Endeavours

The Mann-Whitney Test has confirmed these differences. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 265.72 and 336.78 respectively. The value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 336.78$ ,  $z = -5.392$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle class respondents towards all my success are only products of my endeavours.

The Mann-Whitney U Test also showed a significant difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the perception towards the statement.<sup>987</sup> Similar to previous findings, no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes in the perception towards the statement.

In short, the statement above is somewhat similar to the *qadariyah* school of thoughts. This school of thoughts refuses Allah's resolution or destiny. The members believe that all occurrences happen as the result of human's made, efforts and actions.

<sup>987</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 186 and 243.68 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is quite clear. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 12741$ ,  $z = -4.912$  (2-tailed) and  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards all my success are only products of my endeavours. See Table 10.14 in Appendix A.

For them, Allah SWT only knows when it happens. In other words, Allah SWT does not know and does not fix things that are not happening. The first who brought this ideology was Ma'bad al-Juhani at the end of the companions' period. Such thinking leads to human greed of the world and to forget the hereafter. They think that they have a reasonable effort to get what they want, without the need to maintain a relationship with Allah SWT. They will get angry if something does not happen to what they like.<sup>988</sup>

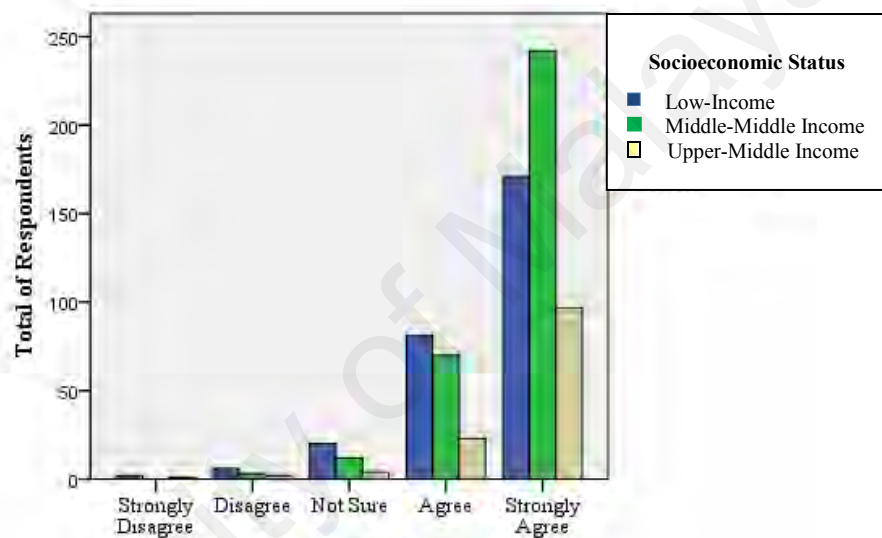


Figure 5.16: Respondents' Perception on All Companions of the Prophet Are Just and Trusted People

Figure 5.16 demonstrate the respondents' perception on all companions of the Prophet are just and trusted people. Minority of 2.8 per cent (8) of the low-income, 9.6 per cent (3) of the upper-middle income and 0.9 per cent (3) of the middle-middle income classes disagree with the statement. But majority of the middle-middle income (95.4 per cent or 312), the upper-middle income (94.5 per cent or 120) and the low-income (90 per cent of or 252) agree that all companions of the Prophet SAW are just and trusted people.

<sup>988</sup> Fathul Bari, "Jangan Jadi Qadariah atau Jabariyah", *Sinar Harian*, 15 September 2013.

The Mann-Whitney test has verified the difference between social classes. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 281.45 and 323.31 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is relatively far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 39465$ ,  $z = -3.583$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle class respondents towards all companions of the Prophet SAW are just and trusted people.<sup>989</sup>

There is also significant difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income in the perception towards the statement.<sup>990</sup> However, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income in the perception towards the statement. This indicated only minority of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur disagree with the trustworthiness and just characteristics of all companions of the prophet. In Malaysia, the *syiah* group tends to distrust the leadership of the righteous caliph and companions.

Most of the Malay Muslims in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur support the statement that efforts to develop the state which upholds Islamic *syarī'ah* must be supported by Muslims as described in Figure 5.17. Similar to the previous outcomes, the middle-middle and the upper-middle income earners supported the statement with 97.9 per cent (320) and 97.6 per cent (124) compared to 91 per cent (255) of the low-income earners. There is a difference between the low-income and the middle-income earners and between the low-income and the upper-middle income earners in the perception towards the statement. The Mann-Whitney U Test has proven these differences.

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<sup>989</sup> Refer to Table 10.15 in Appendix A.

<sup>990</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 194.20 and 225.61 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 15035$ ,  $z = -2.989$  (2-tailed),  $p = .003 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the lower-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards all companions of the prophet are just and trusted people.



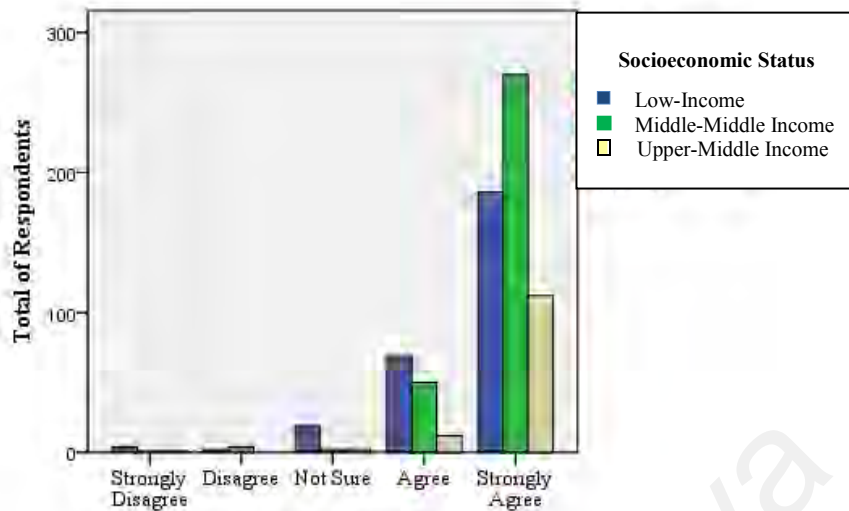


Figure 5.17: Respondents' Perception on Efforts to develop The State which uphold Islamic *Syari'ah* Must (*wajib*) be Supported by Muslims

Table 10.16 shows that the value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 276.36 and 327.66 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 38042,  $z = -4.765$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . Therefore, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle class respondents towards the statement that efforts to develop the state which upholds Islamic *syari'ah* must (*wajib*) be supported by Muslims.<sup>991</sup>

The result of Mann-Whitney U test is also significant to test a difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the perception towards the statement.<sup>992</sup> However, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income in the perception towards the statement.

<sup>991</sup> Refer to Table 10.16 in Appendix A.

<sup>992</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 190.03 and 234.80 respectively. The value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 13869,  $z = -4.594$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < .05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards efforts to develop the state which uphold Islamic *syari'ah* must (*wajib*) be supported by Muslims. Refer to Table 10.16 in Appendix A.

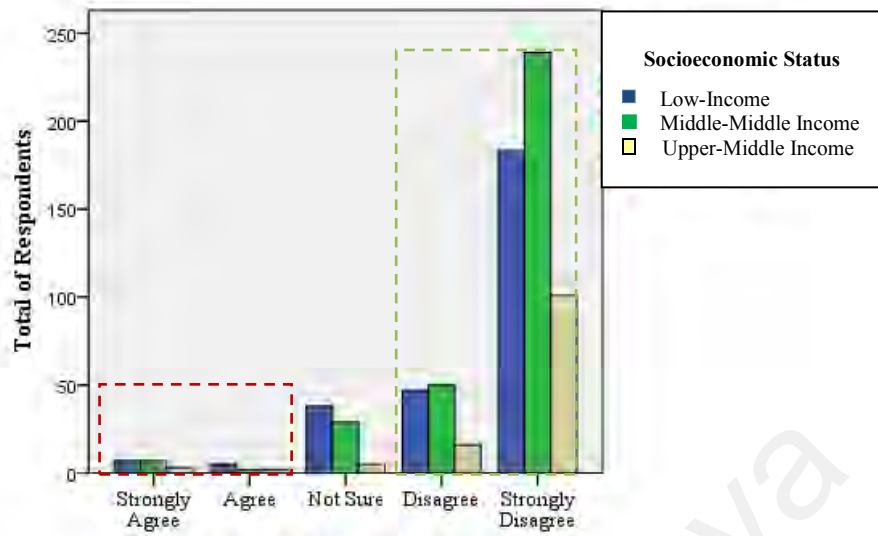


Figure 5.18: Respondents' Perception on Islam allows Bombing Public Areas When The Ruler does not practice Islam

The respondents were also asked to respond to the issue which is related to terrorism in the Muslim society. Most of the respondents have rejected the statement on “does Islam allows bombing public areas when the ruler does not practise Islam?”. It stands out 92.1 per cent (117) of the upper-middle income earners, 88.4 per cent (289) of the middle-middle income and 82.2 per cent (230) of the low-income earners disagree with the statement. About 13.6 per cent (38) of the low-income, 8.9 per cent (29) of the middle-middle income and 3.9 per cent (5) of the upper-middle income are not sure with the statement. On the other hand, the other 4.3 per cent (12) of the low-income, 4 per cent (5) of the upper-middle income and 2.7 per cent (9) of the middle-middle income earners agree that Islam allows bombing public areas when the ruler does not practise Islam. The lower and the upper-middle income earners have placed the highest to support this terrorist action but with the low percentage compared to majority of the Malays who disagree with the statement.

There are differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income in their perception towards the

statement.<sup>993</sup> The Mann-Whitney U test has also verified a significant difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in their perception towards the statement.<sup>994</sup> In contrary, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income in the perception towards the statement.

This indicates that terrorism is an isolated and minor case amongst the Malay Muslims in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, but it is a crucial issue highlighted by the Malaysian government in the recent days. Since June 2001, the government have also arrested over 70 alleged extremists related to Malaysian Mujahidin Group or *Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia* (KMM) which was believed to have linked with Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) under the Internal Security Act following investigations on 12 October 2002 of Bali bombing incident. The investigations have shown that Malaysia was a centre for JI activities.<sup>995</sup>

Most of the Malaysian JI members detained were the Malay educated middle class. Twelve of them had university degrees, and seven senior JI members were lecturers at *Universiti Teknologi Malaysia* (UTM) including Dr. Azhari Hussin, Noordin Mohammed Top, Dr. Abdullah Daud, Shamsul Bahri Hussein, Roshelmy Md. Sharif, Idris Salim and Wan Min Wan Mat. No less than eight members of this group had graduated from higher learning institutions in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Indonesia. Other than academicians, this militant group also involved two accountants, two engineers, two managers of a private company, one UK-graduate bank officer, businessmen and graduate teachers.<sup>996</sup>

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<sup>993</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 290.11 and 315.89 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 41891,  $z = -2.225$  (2-tailed),  $p = .026 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle class respondents towards the statement that Islam allows bombing public areas when the ruler does not practise Islam. Refer to Table 10.17 in Appendix A.

<sup>994</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 194.65 and 224.62 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 15161,  $z = -2.942$  (2-tailed),  $p = .003 < 0.05$ . Thus, it can be concluded that there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income classes towards Islam allows bombing public areas when the ruler does not practise Islam.

<sup>995</sup> John Funston, 'Malaysia', in Fealy, Grey and Virginia Hooker (editors), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006, p. 58.

<sup>996</sup> Dr. Azhari Hussin was an engineer and a Ph.D holder in property valuation from the University of Reading, UK., while Shamsul Bahri was Professor in engineering and graduated from Dundee University, Scotland. In addition, Wan Min Wan Mat was

Noordin Mohammed Top and Dr. Azhari Hussin were the most wanted terrorist in the South East Asia and Indonesia. Two Malaysian educated middle class have been responsible in many bombing incidents which targeted Western commercial premises, hotels and centres for entertainment.<sup>997</sup> This group believes that their members' actions that blew themselves were considered a sacred act and a religious *jihad* in Islam. They also believed that the elements of ignorance (*kufur*) practised by the West need to be challenged and such attacks could also symbolise their struggle against oppression of the West done on all Muslims in the world.<sup>998</sup> Even though Azhari Hussin and Nordin were killed separately in a raid nearby Batu, Malang, East Java after the Bali October 2005 attack and Solo, Middle Java on 17 September 2009 respectively, the networks they drew on was expected to survive as a potential source of recruits for future terrorist operations.<sup>999</sup>

Figure 5.19 described the respondents' perception on the Muslim *Ummah* needs to be given a freedom in the choice of their religion. This study found that liberal thoughts did exist in the Malay Muslim society. About 13.5 per cent (38) of the low-income, 10.1 per cent (33) of the middle-middle income and 9.4 per cent (12) of the upper-middle income agree that the Muslim *Ummah* needs to be given a freedom of choice to determine their religion. The low-income has placed the highest to support the statement and placed the lowest to disagree with the statement compared to the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes. About 85.3 per cent (279) of the middle-middle income, 84.2 per cent (107) of the upper-middle income and 75 per cent (210) of the low-income earners disagree that the Muslim *Ummah* needs to be given a freedom in the choice of their religion.

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a former UTM lecturer with Masters of Science in construction from University of Manchester, UK. Other Malaysian JI members are Abdullah Daud who had a degree from local university and a Master of Science (in geo-information science) holder from University of Newcastle. Idris Salim and Roshelmy Md. Sharif were also a local university's graduates. See, Mohd Mizan Aslam, "The Role of Malaysia in Bali Bombing 2002: Myth or Reality?", 2nd International Conference on Management, Economics and Social Sciences (ICMESS'2012), June 30-July 1, 2012 Bali, p. 129, pp. 129- 133.

<sup>997</sup> 'Indonesia 'tidak bebas' Selagi Dua Militan Masih Bebas', *Berita Harian*, 4 December 2003, p. 7; 'Noordin M Top: The fugitive Malaysian terrorists claimed responsibility for the bombings at JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton hotels in Jakarta on July 17', *Jakarta Post*, July 31, 2009; Abuza, Z., *Militant Islam in Southeast Asia: Crucible of Terror*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003, p. 29.

<sup>998</sup> Mohd. Khuzairi Ismail, 'Militan di Asia Masih Aktif', *Utusan Malaysia*, 25 July 2009.

<sup>999</sup> See, "Terrorism In Indonesia: Noordin's Networks", International Crisis Group, Asia Report No. 114, 5 May 2006, p. 3.

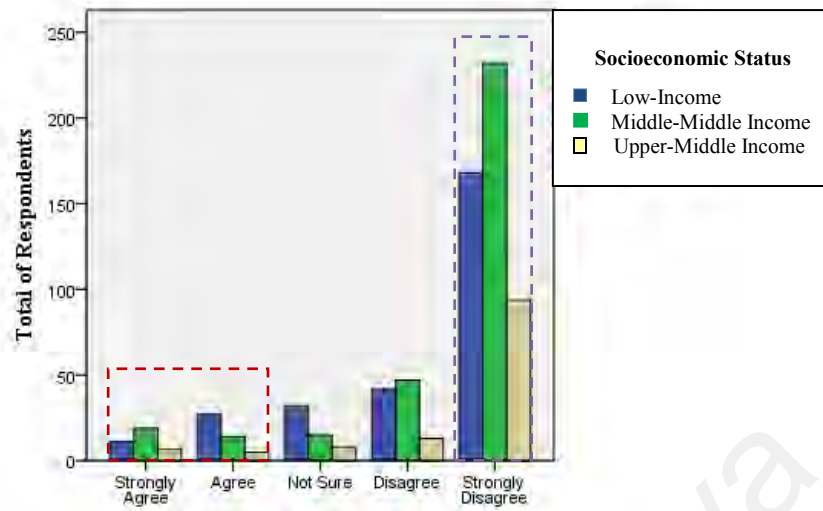


Figure 5.19: Respondents' Perception on The Muslim *Ummah* Needs to be Given a Freedom in the Choice of Their Religion

The Mann-Whitney U test has verified significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes as well as between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in their perception towards the statement.<sup>1000</sup> The result of Mann-Whitney U test is confirmed significant and the p value for both tests is  $< 0.05$ . However, the test has also verified that there is no significant difference between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income in the perception towards the same statement.<sup>1001</sup>

There are few liberal groups exist in the Muslim society of Malaysia. Amongst the Islamic organisations which stand in the basis of liberal thoughts are Sisters in Islam and Liberal Islam which began to take place in Indonesia and is progressing to grow in Malaysia. As proven in the study, about 11 per cent of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur believe in the freedom of choice in religion.

<sup>1000</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 285.33 and 319.98 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 40553.500,  $z = -2.880$  (2-tailed),  $p = .004 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the lower income and the middle-middle class respondents towards the Muslim *Ummah* needs to be given a freedom in the choice of their religion.

In addition, the result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant to identify the difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 195.36 and 223.06 respectively. The value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 15360,  $z = -2.577$  (2-tailed),  $p = .010 < 0.05$ . Thus, there is a significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards "the Muslim *Ummah* needs to be given a freedom in the choice of their religion". Refer to Table 10.18 in Appendix A.

<sup>1001</sup> Refer to Table 10.18 in Appendix A.

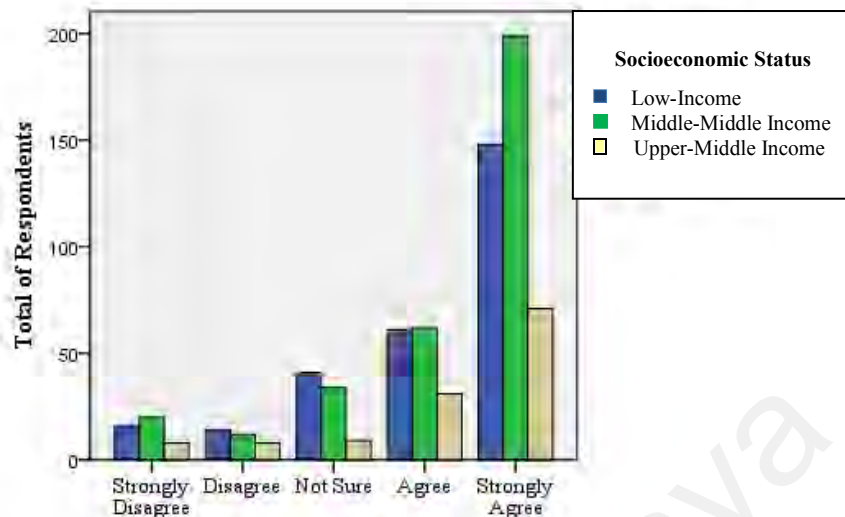


Figure 5.20: Respondents' Perception on the Word of "Allah" Should Not Be Distorted by the Non-Muslims to Cause Confusion in Muslim Community

The Malay Muslims respondents in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur have demonstrated no significant difference in all levels of perception towards using the word "Allah" should not be distorted by the non-Muslims to cause confusion in the Muslim community. They exhibit approximately similar percentage at all level of perception with 80.3 per cent (102) of the upper-middle income, 79.9 per cent (261) of the middle-middle income and 74.7 per cent (209) of the low-income classes who agree with the statement. In contrast, 12.6 per cent (16) of the upper-middle income, 10.7 per cent (30) of the low-income and 9.8 per cent (32) of the middle-middle income classes disagree that the word "Allah" should not be distorted by the non-Muslims to cause confusion in Muslim community. In addition, 14.6 per cent (41) of the low-income, 10.4 per cent (34) of the middle-middle income and 7.1 per cent (9) of the upper-middle income are not sure with the statement.

Table 10.19 shows the Mann-Whitney U Test between low-income and the middle-middle income classes on the perception that the word of "Allah" should not be

distorted by the non-Muslims to cause confusion.<sup>1002</sup> There is also no significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income and between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income towards the statement. This indicates that the issue of using the word Allah by the non-Muslims does not disintegrate the Malay Muslims in the urban city of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Most of the respondents agreed that the word of “Allah” should not be distorted by the non-Muslims to cause confusion. Amongst those who agree are 84.8 per cent (78) of UMNO members, 79.8 per cent (87) of PAS supporters, 74.2 per cent (112) of the Islamic NGOs members and 77.8 per cent (266) of independent individuals. Thus, the issue has received a special concern by the Malay Muslims in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur which is cross and beyond political boundary.

The issue of using the word “Allah” has been debated at the national level in the public media, academic seminars, forums and within the Malay Islamic-based political parties after the Christian weekly publication, *the Herald Catholics* filed the Judicial Review for *the Herald* 2009’s permit of publication. The legal controversy over the use of the word “Allah” reached its climax in the early 2010, after *the Herald* won the case against the Malaysian Home Minister in 31 December 2009 proceeding.<sup>1003</sup> The High Court has affirmed the right of *the Herald* to use the word “Allah” to refer to God. This assertion had cancelled the Ministry’s decision on 7 January 2009 to ban *the Herald* from using the word ‘Allah’ as illegal, null and void.<sup>1004</sup> In August 22, 2013, however, the panel of judges of the Court of Appeal had rejected *the Herald* application and

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<sup>1002</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle-income classes are 290.9 and 315.2 respectively. The value of means for the two social classes is quite close. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is not significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 42120, z = -1.897 (2-tailed), p = .058 > 0.05. In other words, there is no significant difference in the opinion of the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents towards the statement. Refer to Table 10.19 in Appendix A.

<sup>1003</sup> See the judicial record and proceeding by Dato’ Sri Haji Mohamed Apandi Bin Haji Ali, Judge the Court of Appeal of Malaysia in 14th October 2013 hearing session. In The Court of Appeal of Malaysia (Appellate Jurisdiction) Civil Appeal No. W-01-1-2010 between 1. Menteri Dalam Negeri, 2. Kerajaan Malaysia, 3. Majlis Agama Islam & Adat Melayu Terengganu, 4. Majlis Agama Islam Wilayah Persekutuan, 5. Majlis Agama Islam Negeri Melaka, 6. Majlis Agama Islam Negeri Johor, 7. Majlis Agama Islam Negeri Kedah, 8. Malaysian Chinese Muslim Association, 9. Majlis Agama Islam Negeri Selangor (Appellants) and Titular Roman Catholic Archbishop of Kuala Lumpur (Respondent), 14th October 2013, pp. 1-43.

<sup>1004</sup> The Home Ministry through his official letter to all Christian publishers in Bil KKDN.S.59/3/6/A Klt.2 dated 5 December 1986, not to use four out of 16 illegal words which are exclusively for Islam including *Allah, Ka’bah, solāt and Baitullah*.

allowed the government appeal to ban this Christian publication from using the sacred word of Allah.<sup>1005</sup>

In October 14, 2013, the Court of Appeal again allowed the Home Minister and the Malaysian Government's appeal to ban this Christian publication from using the word Allah and rejected the Titular Roman Catholic Archbishop of Kuala Lumpur's (Titular) appeal on the ministry's decision on January 7, 2009. The decision was made in order to avoid religious confusion and distortion among Muslims for the sake of Muslims' unity and to maintain peace and harmony in the multi-ethnic society of Malaysia.<sup>1006</sup>

Another heated debate is among the Malay community in Malaysia with regard to the implementation of the *hudūd* law. Figure 5.21 describes the Malay Muslim respondents' perception on the *hudūd* law in which they see that the law needs to be implemented in Malaysia to form a well-being society. The diverse opinions can be seen from the three social income classes of respondents' in response to the statement. Some of the low-income earners disagree with the implementation of the *hudūd* law as they represented by 43.2 per cent (79), compared to only 8.2 per cent (27) of the middle-middle income and 6.2 per cent (8) of the upper-middle income classes on the same perception towards the statement.

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<sup>1005</sup> Zainul Rijal Abu Bakar, 'Memuktamadkan Isu Kalimah Allah', *Utusan Malaysia*, 29 August 2013.

<sup>1006</sup> Tan Sri Abdul Gani Patail, Peguam Negara Malaysia, 'Isu Kalimah Allah: Patuhi Keputusan Mahkamah', *Berita Harian*, 21 October 2013.



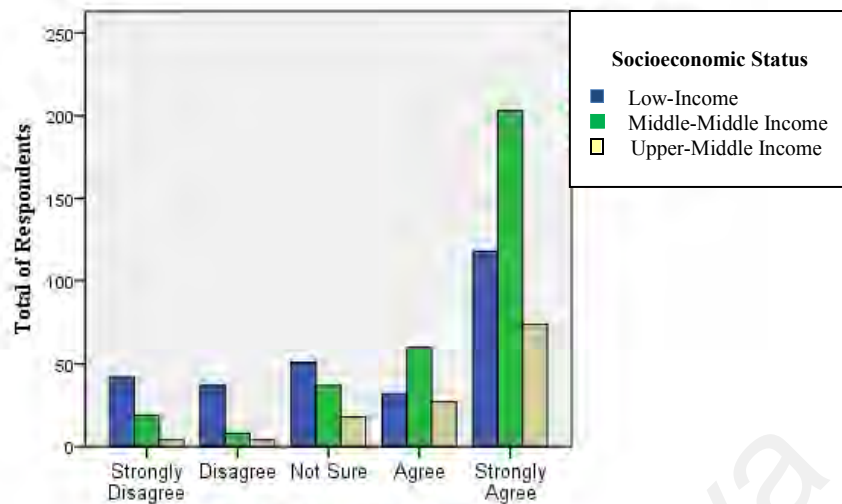


Figure 5.21: Respondents' Perception on the *Hudud* Law needs to be implemented in Malaysia to Form the Well-Being Society

The low-income earners are less in the support (agree) for the statement with only 53.5 per cent (150), in contrast to 80.4 per cent (263) of the middle-middle income and 79.6 per cent (101) of the upper-middle income class. The low-income is also the highest in the unsure perception towards the statement with 18.2 per cent (51) compared to 14.2 per cent (18) of the upper-middle income and the 11.3 per cent (37) of the middle-middle income earners in the same level of perception towards the statement.

The differences between social classes are confirmed through the Mann-Whitney U Test. The test has verified that there are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income in the perception towards the statement.<sup>1007</sup> No significant difference can be seen between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes as both

<sup>1007</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 259.03 and 342.51 respectively. The value of means for the two classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 33187.500,  $z = -6.363$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the middle-middle class respondents towards *hudud* law in which they see that the law needs to be implemented in Malaysia to form a well-being society.

There is also a significant difference in the perception between the low-income and the upper-middle-income towards the statement. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 187.13 and 241.2 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 13057,  $z = -4.567$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . Thus, it can be concluded that, there is a significant difference in the perception of the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards the *hudud* law in which they see the law needs to be implemented in Malaysia to form the well-being society. Refer to Table 10.20 in Appendix A.

showed their close percentage in giving the positive perception towards the statement as described in Table 10.20 (Appendix A).

The issue of *hudūd* law has been seriously discussed in a public debate when the Islamic party of PAS addressed the party's tendency towards its implementation in 1990s. The proposal to implement the *hudūd* law is now being accepted by many parties and individuals. The study has shown that 38 per cent (35) of UMNO supporters, 93.6 per cent (102) of PAS followers, 89.4 per cent (135) of the Islamic NGOs' members, 75 per cent (21) of the Islamic government officers and 62.3 per cent (213) of individuals who do not belong to any group agree that *hudūd* law needs to be implemented in Malaysia to construct the well-being society. Thus, the law is now being accepted by the public except the majority of the low-income earners. 43.5 per cent of the low-income earners who disagree with the implementation of *hudūd* law (40 of 79 low-income respondents) are UMNO supporters.

## **5.6 Score of Islamic Thoughts**

Most of the Malay Muslim respondents in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur demonstrated relatively good or high level in Islamic thoughts and beliefs. The low-income class however, has gained the lower level than the other social classes who are the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes who score the high level in Islamic thoughts. About 98.5 per cent (322) of the middle-middle income class and 96.9 per cent (123) of the upper-middle income class score the high level in Islamic thoughts at the range 91.7 to 125 points, compared to only 86.8 per cent of the low-income in the same level of thoughts.

About 12.9 per cent (36) of the low-income earners score at the moderate level that is between the ranges of 58.4 to 91.6 points compared to only 2.4 per cent (3) of the upper-middle income class and 1.5 per cent (5) of the middle-middle income class at the

same moderate level. One respondent of each upper-middle income (0.4 per cent) and the low-income earners (0.8 per cent) attain at the low level of Islamic thoughts between the ranges of 25 to 58.3 points.

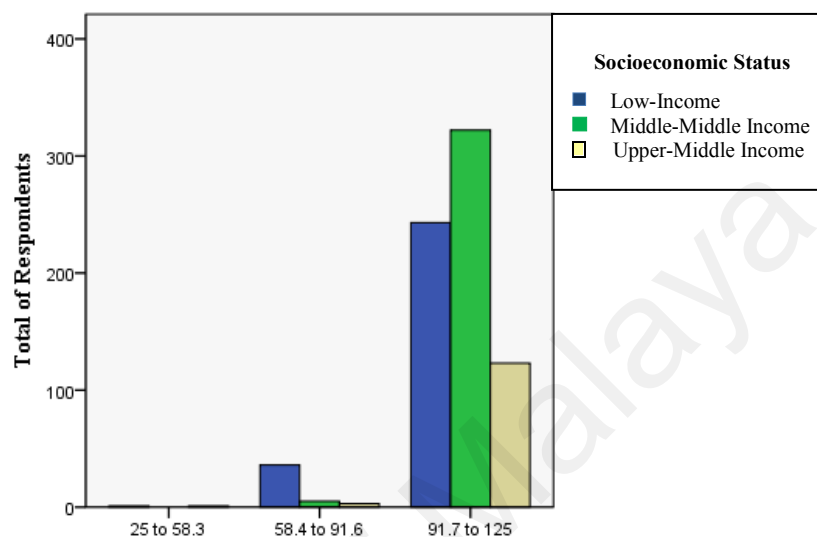


Figure 5.22: Respondents' Total Score of Islamic Thoughts

Table 5.9: Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on Total Score of Islamic Thoughts

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
Total Score of Islamic Thoughts	Low-income (LI)	280	284.89	Mann-Whitney U	40428.000
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	320.37	Wilcoxon W	79768.000
				Z	-5.653
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	Low-income (LI)	280	197.67	Mann-Whitney U	16007.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	217.96	Wilcoxon W	55347.000
			Z	-3.092	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	228.54	Mann-Whitney U	20425.500
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	224.83	Wilcoxon W	28553.500
			Z	-1.119	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.263	

The Mann-Whitney U Test has confirmed the differences in the score of Islamic thoughts between the low-income and the two groups of the middle-income classes.<sup>1008</sup>

<sup>1008</sup> Table 5.9 shows the value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 284.9 and 320.4 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 40428, z = -5.653 (2-tailed), p = .000 < 0.05. In other words, there is a significant difference in the score of Islamic thoughts between the lower income and the middle-middle income respondents.

However, no significant difference between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes as verified in Mann-Whitney U test. Most of the two social classes score higher level of Islamic thoughts and only a few respondents attain at the moderate level (Table 5.9).

Even though the Mann-Whitney U test has verified significant differences in the score of Islamic thoughts between the low-income and two groups of the middle-income respondents, it does not mean that the differences in household income prohibit the low-income class to reach the high level in Islamic thoughts. Figure 4.22 clearly proves that 86.8 per cent (243) of the low-income class could reach the high level in Islamic thoughts, although their score in Islamic thoughts and household monthly income is lesser than the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes.<sup>1009</sup>

The Pearson Correlation indicated a significant positive relationship exists between the score of Islamic thoughts and effort of Islamic organisations, ( $r=.151$ ,  $p<.001$ ). This showed that higher scores in Islamic thoughts are associated with higher efforts by Islamic organisations in the Islamic Resurgence.

Pearson Correlation also verified that there is a significant positive relationship between education level and social classes which is ( $r= .533$ ,  $p<.001$ ). The Pearson Correlation Coefficient has also revealed significant correlation for the score of Islamic thoughts and education level ( $r= .251$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and between score of Islamic thoughts and social classes ( $r=.170$ ,  $p<.001$ ). The score of Islamic thoughts is also associated with the respondents' frequency in "attending the religious knowledge gathering (*usrah*, talks, religious classes) which was proposed at my hometowns" ( $r= .192$ ,  $p<.001$ ). This has indicated that the level education, social income class and tendency to attend

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The result of Mann-Whitney U test is also significant to examine the difference in the score of thoughts between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 197.7 and 218 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is considered far. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 16007,  $z = -3.092$  (2-tailed),  $p = .002 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is a significant difference in the score of Islamic thoughts between the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents.

<sup>1009</sup> The low-income classes who scored the high level in Islamic thoughts represented by 6.7 per cent (150) of independent individuals, 13.6 per cent (33) of PAS supporters, 7.4 per cent (18) of Jamaat of Tabligh and Salafis, 6.6 per cent (16) of UMNO supporters, 5.8 per cent (14) of members of Islamic NGOs, 4.9 per cent (12) of workers of the government Islamic organisations.

religious classes or attach with Islamic programmes or institutions are associated with the level of Islamic thoughts.

## **5.7 Conclusion**

Majority of the Malay Muslims of all categories of social income classes acquired a high level of thoughts towards the belief in Islam. However, there is an isolated case of the upper-middle class earners who did not finish primary education and achieved the low level of thoughts in the Islamic *Aqīdah* (belief). The study has shown that the educational aspect, in particular knowledge development process is a very important element to improve the Malay Muslims' understanding of the Islamic faith and thoughts. Although the basic tenets of Islam are already understood, the application of such understanding of faith must be refined through the development of the mind in the continuous enhancement programmes of religious knowledge. It is important to comprehend the needs of religion in particular, Islam in the current context of the modern times, especially when it deals with politics and its practice in a contemporary democratic system.

This study has also found that economic status does not guarantee a Muslim's position in terms of faith and thoughts. However, the economic aspects can help someone look for opportunities to explore the Islamic teachings and to strengthen his or her faith. Economic stability can help the individual to spend his free time to study Islam everywhere, whether in the form of religious enhancement programmes organised by many Islamic organisations, or to study Islam from a qualified religious teacher individually or collectively (the congregation).

## CHAPTER 6

### THE ISLAMIC RESURGENCE AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES OF THE MALAY MIDDLE AND LOW INCOME CLASSES

#### 6.1 Introduction

Islam stands on three main elements, namely *Imān* (faith), *Amal* (practices) and *Akhlak* (good behaviours). The belief in Islam must be transformed into religious practices and good behaviours. Considering the important religious practices in Islam, this chapter discusses religious practices of the low-income, the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

Islamic practices can be divided into obligatory and optional practices. Several items related to these types of religious practices have been addressed to measure the respondents' commitment in religion. A few items related to worship (*'Ibādah*) in general; the practices of Islamic cultures and the implementation of *'Ibādah* within a collective and social life are also addressed.

The main objective of this chapter is to examine the differences in the Islamic practices between three different social classes; they are the low-income, the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income class (or the middle class with high-income). This chapter aims to answer research question 4 and to achieve research objective 3. Data is analysed by percentage and frequency, besides using the Mann-Whitney U test to examine the difference in the value of mean ranks for each group.

#### 6.2 Religious Worships and Practices

Several items related to the Islamic practices such as religious obligation (*'Ibādah*) in general, the pillars of Islam, optional practices and the practice of Islamic cultures have been addressed to the respondents. The average score of each social class in each item of Islamic practices are compared between these social income classes and all items are

correlated to one another. Interpretation of the respondents' score in the overall sub-domain is calculated and located according to the scale below.

Table 6.1: Interpretation of Respondents' Response in Scale

Mean Value	Total Score in Islamic Practices	1 <sup>st</sup> Interpretation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Interpretation
3.67 – 5.00	88 – 120	High/Good	Positive
2.34 – 3.66	56 - 87	Moderate	Moderate
1.00 – 2.33	24 - 55	Low	Negative

### General Religious Worship (*'Ibādah*)

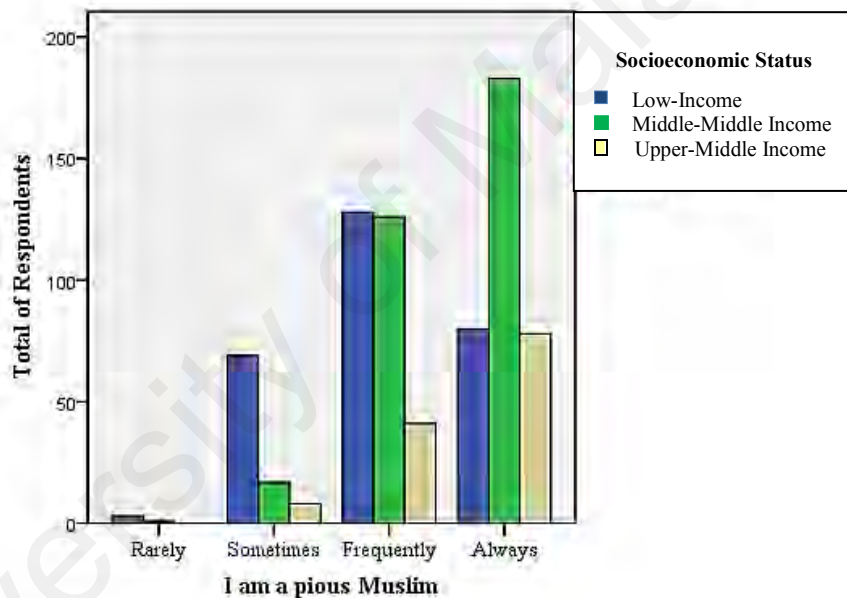


Figure 6.1: Respondents' Self-Description on Their Status as a Muslim

Figure 6.1 shows the respondents' acknowledgment on their status as a Muslim. There are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes on how they describe themselves as a Muslim. About 61.4 per cent (78) of the upper-middle income and 56 per cent (183) of the middle-middle income classes always regard themselves as pious Muslim, compared to only 28.6 per cent (80) of the low-income earners who always see themselves as pious Muslims. Most of the low-income earners (45.7 per cent or 128) frequently regard themselves as pious Muslim, in contrast to 38.5 per cent (126)

of the middle-middle income and 32.3 per cent (41) of the upper-middle income classes who frequently regard themselves pious Muslim. The other 24.6 per cent (69) of the low-income sometimes being a pious Muslim, while the rest 1.1 per cent (3) of these low-income earners rarely regard themselves as devout Muslims.

The Mann-Whitney U test verified these differences as described in Table 5.2. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 247.2 and 352.7 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is clear. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 29865,  $z = -8.050$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < .05$ . In other words, there is a significant difference in the acknowledgment of the lower income and the middle-middle income respondents towards their status as Muslim.

Table 6.2: Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on the Respondents' Status as a Muslim

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
I am a pious Muslim	Low-income (LI)	280	247.16	Mann-Whitney U	29865.000
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	352.67	Wilcoxon W	69205.000
				Z	-8.050
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	Low-income (LI)	280	179.66	Mann-Whitney U	10964.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	257.67	Wilcoxon W	50304.000
Z				-6.672	
Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	224.44	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
			Mann-Whitney U	19763.000	
			Wilcoxon W	73391.000	
Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	235.39	Z	-.915	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.360	

The result of the Mann-Whitney U test is also significant to examine the difference in acknowledgment of the low-income and the upper-middle income classes towards their status as a Muslim. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 179.66 and 257.67 respectively. The value of means for the two classes is quite far. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 10964,  $z = -6.672$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < .05$ . Therefore, there is a significant difference in the acknowledgment



of the lower income and the upper-middle income respondents towards their position as a Muslim. There is no significant difference that can be seen between the middle income and the upper-middle income classes in their acknowledgment towards the statement as the two groups of middle income classes always regards their status as a pious Muslim.

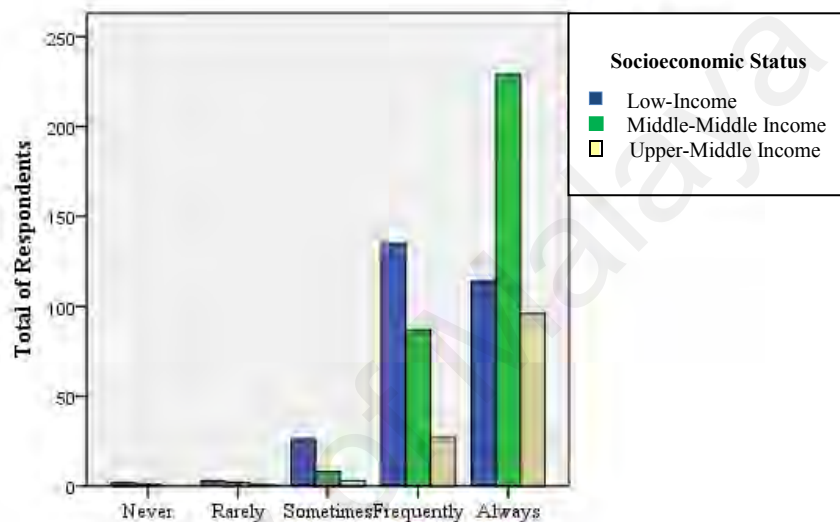


Figure 6.2: Respondents' Frequency on I perceive My Work as a Form of *'Ibādah* (Worship)

Figure 6.2 demonstrates the respondents' frequency on "I perceive my work as a form of *'Ibādah* (worship)". Most of the upper-middle and the middle-middle income earners strongly put themselves always perceive their work as a form of *'Ibādah* with 75.6 per cent (96) of the upper-middle income and 70 per cent (229) of the middle-middle income respectively, in contrast to 40.7 per cent (114) of the low-income earners. Conversely, 48.2 per cent (135) of the low-income earners tend to place that they frequently perceive their work as a form of *'Ibādah*, compared to 26.6 per cent (87) of the middle-middle income and 21.3 per cent (27) of the upper-middle income earners. About 9.3 per cent (26) and 1.1 per cent (3) of the low-income earners admitted that they sometimes and rarely perceive their work as *'Ibādah* respectively. Two respondents (0.7 per cent) of the low-income also do not recognise their work as *'Ibādah* compared to only one respondent (0.3 per cent) of the middle-income earners.

The difference between the three social classes in measuring their frequency towards perceiving their work as *'Ibādah* has been proven through the Mann-Whitney U test. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 253.97 and 346.84 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social income classes is noticeable. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 31771.500, z = -7.410 (2-tailed), p= .000 < .05. In other words, there is significant difference in the frequency of the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents towards perceiving their work as *'Ibādah*.<sup>1010</sup>

The Mann-Whitney U test has also confirmed a significant difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income earners in the frequency towards the statement.<sup>1011</sup> No significant difference in the frequency of the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income respondents towards perceiving their work as *'Ibādah* as stated in Table 10.21.<sup>1012</sup> The two middle income classes strongly perceive their work as *'Ibādah* compared to the low-income earners who score lower in the frequency towards the statement.

Pearson Correlation Coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between “I perceive my work as a form of *'Ibādah*” and “I am a pious Muslim”. There was a positive correlation between “I perceive my work as a form of *'Ibādah*” and “I am a pious Muslim”, (r= .693, p= .000 < .001). This indicates that those who are pious believers would perceive all his/her works as a form *'Ibādah* (obedience) towards Allah.

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<sup>1010</sup> Refer to Table 10.21 in Appendix A.

<sup>1011</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income earners are 181.34 and 253.96 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 11435, z = -6.455 (2-tailed), p = .000 < 0.05. Thus, it can be concluded that there is significant difference in the frequency of the lower income and the upper-middle income respondents towards perceiving their work as *'Ibādah*. See, Table 8.21 in Appendix A.

<sup>1012</sup> Refer to Table 10.21 in Appendix A.

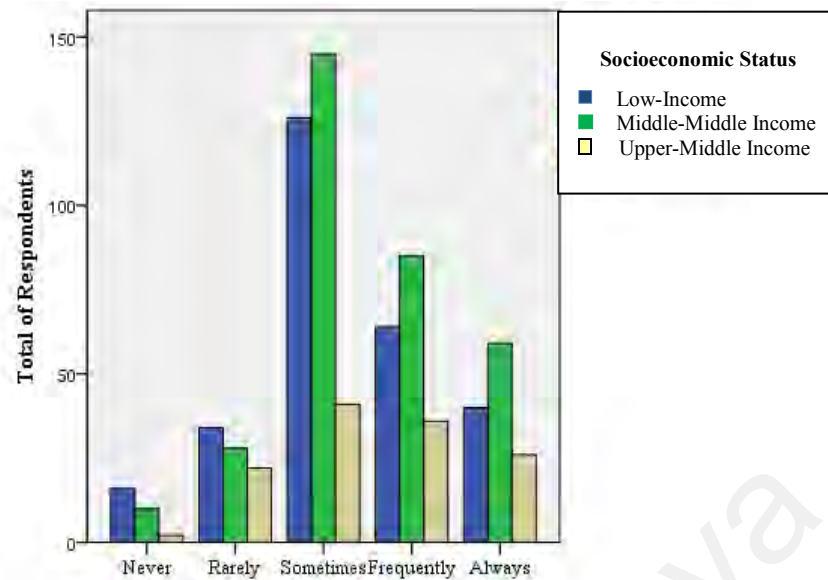


Figure 6.3: Respondents' Frequency on the Attendance in *Surau* or Mosques

Figure 6.3 illustrates the respondents' frequency on the *surau* or mosques attendance. No significant difference can be seen between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income respondents in the frequency towards the statement except in a certain level of frequency of the low-income and the middle-middle classes. About 20.5 per cent (26) of the upper- middle income and 18 per cent (59) of the middle-middle income always or at least 3 times per day attend *surau* or mosque, in contrast to 14.3 per cent (40) of the low-income earners who reach the same level of frequency. About 28.3 per cent (36) of the upper-middle income and 26 per cent (85) of the middle-middle income respondents frequently or at least once per day attend the *surau* and mosque, while only 22.9 per cent (64) of the low-income reach the same frequency, but less than the two middle classes.

About 45 per cent (126) of the low-income, 44.3 per cent (145) of the middle-middle income sometimes or at least once per week go to these religious places, compared to 32.3 per cent (41) of the upper-middle income earners. The upper-middle income class and the low-income earners have shown their quite close in percentage of the frequency level of "rarely" or at least twice per month with 17.3 per cent (28) of the upper-middle income class, 12.1 per cent (34) of the low-income, in contrast to 8.6 per

cent (28) of the middle-middle income in the same frequency. However, the low-income is the highest in the statement: never go to the *surau* and mosque with 5.7 per cent (16) compared to 3.1 per cent (10) the middle-middle income and 1.6 per cent (2) of the upper-middle income respondents. Most of the middle-middle and the upper-middle classes who never and rarely go to the *surau* and mosque are female. The female respondents represented 75 per cent of those who never go to the *surau* and mosque and 82.1 per cent of those who rarely go to such holy religious places. However, 72 per cent of male respondents always go to the *surau* and mosque.<sup>1013</sup>

Table 10.22 describes the Mann-Whitney U Test to examine differences between the low-income, the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency of the *surau* or mosque attendance. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 287.5 and 318.2 respectively. The value of means for the two classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 41151,  $z = -2.277$  (2-tailed),  $p = .023 < .05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the frequency of the lower and the middle-middle income respondents towards the attendance of *surau* or mosque.

No significant difference is examined in the frequency of *surau* or mosque attendance between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes by looking at the value of mean ranks of each group, which is 197.42 and 218.51 respectively.<sup>1014</sup> This has been contributed by the female upper-middle income respondents who rarely and never attend *surau* or mosque. There is also no significant difference between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income earners in frequency towards the statement as can be seen in Table 10.22.<sup>1015</sup> The two groups of the middle-income

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<sup>1013</sup> Refer to Table 10.22 in Appendix A.

<sup>1014</sup> The value of means for the two social classes is quite close. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is not significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 15937,  $z = -1.758$  (2-tailed),  $p = .079 > 0.05$ . In other words, there is no significant difference in the frequency of the lower and the upper-middle income respondents towards the attendance of *surau* or mosque.

<sup>1015</sup> The value of means for the two classes is quite close which are 227.02 for the middle-middle income and 228.74 for the upper-middle income respondents. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 20607.500,  $z = -.132$  (2-tailed),  $p = .895 > 0.05$ .

classes are quite similar in the frequency at the highest positive level (always and frequently) towards the attendance of *surau* and mosque.

Pearson Correlation has also shown that *surau* and mosque attendance has relationship with the total score of Islamic practices ( $r = .427, p < .001$ ). Pearson Correlation Coefficient also showed that there is significant correlation between the *surau* and mosque attendance and pray five times daily ( $r = .370, p < .001$ ). The *surau* and mosque attendance and the respondents' self-determination as a pious Muslim are correlated, ( $r = .37, p < .001$ ). The attendance of *surau* and mosque and "I read the Quran even though I am busy" are also correlated, ( $r = .409, p < .001$ ).

### **6.3 The Obligatory Religious Practices**

The respondents of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur were asked to answer the statement dealing with their compulsory obligatory practices of prayers. About 91.7 per cent (300) of the middle-middle income and 89 per cent (113) of the upper-middle income earners always or completely perform five times daily prayers, compare to only 62.9 per cent (176) of the low-income respondents. The low-income score higher in the "frequently and sometimes" level of frequency towards the statement with 18.6 per cent and 15.7 per cent respectively, compared to the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income respondents. 2.9 per cent (8) of the low-income respondents rarely perform five times daily prayers, in contrast to none of the upper-middle income and 0.6 per cent (2) of the middle-middle income respondents.

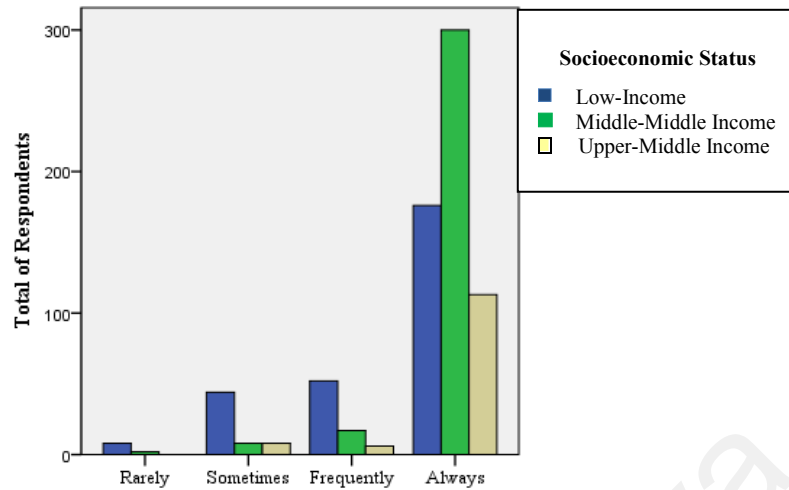


Figure 6.4: Respondents' Frequency on I Perform Five Times Daily Prayers

Table 6.3 describes the result of the Mann-Whitney U test on the differences between social classes in the frequency of praying five times daily. The Mann-Whitney U test has identified a significant difference between the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents in the frequency towards the statement. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 256.2 and 344.96 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is noticeable. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 32386$ ,  $z = -8.660$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < .05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the frequency of the lower income and the middle-middle income respondents towards “I perform five times daily prayers”, as the middle-middle income classes are the highest in the always level of frequency, in contrast to the low-incomes who are the highest in the frequently, sometimes and rarely level of frequency.

The Mann-Whitney U test has also examined the difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents in the frequency towards the statement.<sup>1016</sup> However, no significant differences between the middle-middle income

<sup>1016</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 187.49 and 240.41 respectively. The value of means for the two classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 13156$ ,  $z = -5.269$  (2-tailed) and  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the frequency of the low-income and the upper-middle income classes' respondents towards I perform five times daily prayers.

and the upper-middle income earners in the frequency towards the statement as the two social classes have shown their high commitment in the compulsory prayers.

Table 6.3: Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on the Frequency of I Perform Five Times Daily Prayers

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
I perform five times daily prayer	Low-income (LI)	280	256.16	Mann-Whitney U	32386.000
				Wilcoxon W	71726.000
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	344.96	Z	-8.660
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	Low-income (LI)	280	187.49	Mann-Whitney U	13156.000
				Wilcoxon W	52496.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	240.41	Z	-5.269
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	229.35	Mann-Whitney U	20160.000
				Wilcoxon W	28288.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	222.74	Z	-.969
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.332

Pearson correlation has also shown that there is a significant correlation between the frequency in performing five times daily prayers and I am a pious Muslim, with a coefficient of  $r = .580$ ,  $p = .000 < .001$ . In addition, there is a significant correlation between performing five times daily prayers and total score of practices,  $r = .564$ ,  $p < .001$ , and between respondents' performing five times daily prayers and attending *surau*,  $r = .370$ ,  $p < .001$ . Therefore, performing five times daily prayer would encourage other good deeds, such as attending *surau* and mosque as well as being a pious Muslim.

Some of the low-income respondents missed fasting during the month of *Ramadhān* compared to the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income respondents. About 12.9 per cent (36) of the low-income earners sometimes do not fast during the month of *Ramadhān*, in contrast to 4 per cent (13) of the middle-middle income and 3.9 per cent (5) of the upper-middle income classes. None of the upper-middle income and 1.2 per cent (4) of the middle-middle income always miss fasting in *Ramadhān*, compared to 4.3 per cent of the low-income respondents. Only 61.4 per cent of the low-income earners have never missed fasting, in contrast to 92.9 per cent (118)

of the upper-middle income and 86.9 per cent of the middle-middle income respondents. 2.9 per cent (8) of the low-income frequently do not fast during *Ramadhān*.

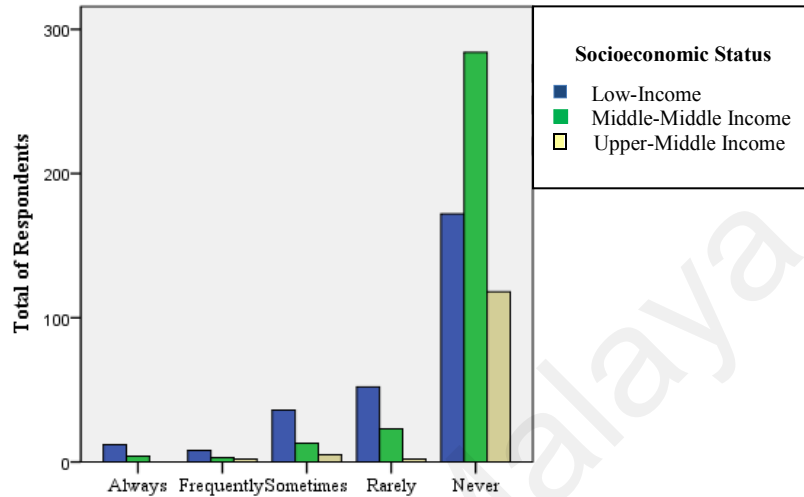


Figure 6.5: Respondents' Frequency on I do not Fast During the Month of *Ramadhan*

The difference between the three social classes in the frequency of fasting during *Ramadhan* is verified in the Mann-Whitney U test. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 261.97 and 339.99 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U= 34012,  $z = -7.214$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < .05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the frequency of the low-income and the middle-middle income classes towards “I do not fast during *Ramadhan*”.

There is also significant difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income in the frequency towards the statement.<sup>1017</sup> On the other hand, no significant difference can be seen between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income earners in the frequency towards the statement as the two social classes strongly committed with fasting in the month of *Ramadhan* as described in Table 6.4.

<sup>1017</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 184.4 and 247.29 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 12282,  $z = -6.275$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the frequency of the low-income and upper-middle income classes' respondents towards fasting during the month of *Ramadhān*.



Table 6.4: Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on the Frequency of “I do not Fast during *Ramadhan*”

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
I do not fast during Ramadhan	Low-income (LI)	280	261.97	Mann-Whitney U	34012.000
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	339.99	Wilcoxon W	73352.000
				Z	-7.214
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	Low-income (LI)	280	184.36	Mann-Whitney U	12282.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	247.29	Wilcoxon W	51622.000
			Z	-6.275	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	223.81	Mann-Whitney U	19557.500
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	237.00	Wilcoxon W	73185.500
			Z	-1.740	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.082	

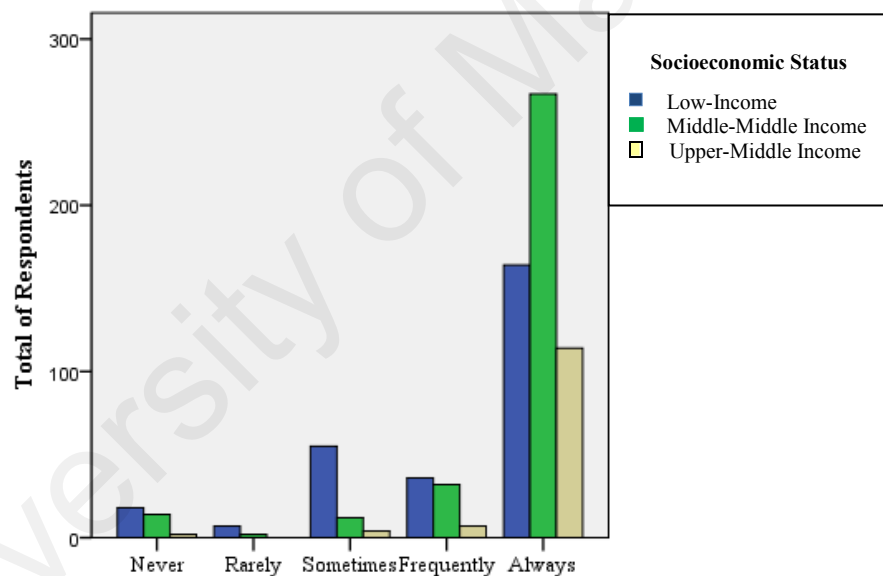


Figure 6.6: Respondents' Frequency on I or My Family pay *Zakat (fitrah)* or Almsgiving Every Year

The Malay Muslim respondents in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur differ according to social income classes in the frequency of paying the individual almsgiving (*zakat fitrah*) every year. This difference can be seen in percentage at all levels of frequency between social income classes. 89.8 per cent (114) of the upper-middle income earners always pay *zakat* every year, while 81.7 per cent (267) of the middle-middle income and 58.6 per cent (164) of the low-incomes have also shown the same level of frequency towards the statement (always pay *zakat*). About 19.6 per cent (55) of the low-income earners

claim that they sometimes pay *zakat* compared to only 3.7 per cent (12) of the middle-middle income earners and 3.1 per cent of the upper-middle income earners who respond to the same level of frequency towards the statement.

About 6.4 per cent (18) of the low-income earners never pay *zakat* compare to only 4.3 per cent (14) of the middle-middle income and 1.6 per cent (2) of the upper-middle income respondents. In other words, the upper-middle classes pay more almsgiving, compare to the middle-middle income class who always and frequently pay *zakat* and the low-income class who sometimes pay *zakat*. This indicated that even though the *fitrah* almsgiving is compulsory to all Muslims, the low-income earners economic position limits their ability and affordability to pay *zakat*.

Table 6.5: Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on the Frequency of I or My Family Pay *Zakat Fitrah* (Alms Giving) Every Year

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
I or my family pay (alms) <i>zakat</i> every year	Low-income (LI)	280	264.64	Mann-Whitney U	34759.000
				Wilcoxon W	74099.000
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	337.70	Z	-6.401
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	Low-income (LI)	280	183.62	Mann-Whitney U	12074.000
				Wilcoxon W	51414.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	248.93	Z	-6.307
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	222.29	Mann-Whitney U	19060.000
				Wilcoxon W	72688.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	240.92	Z	-2.126
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.034

The Mann-Whitney U test has examined significant differences between three income classes in the frequency towards paying individual *zakat (fitrah)* every year. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 264.64 and 337.70 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U= 34759, z= -6.401 (2-tailed), p= .000<.05. In other words, there is a

significant difference in the frequency of the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents towards the statement.<sup>1018</sup>

There are also significant differences in the frequency of paying *zakat* as can be seen in the result of the Mann-Whitney U test between the low-income and the upper-middle income earners and between the middle-middle income and between the upper-middle income earners.<sup>1019</sup> In other words, there is a significant difference in the frequency of the low-income and the upper-middle income and between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income respondents towards paying *zakat* every year.

Selangor consistently increased 22 per cent of *zakat* collection with the total amount of collection about RM91.9 million between January to March 2014 in contrast to RM75.6 million within the same period in 2013.<sup>1020</sup> Compared to the *zakat* of *fitriah*, the wealth *zakat* contributes to the bigger percentage in the overall collection of *zakat* in Selangor.<sup>1021</sup> This has indicated that *zakat* has been paid by the wealthier and richer, compared to the poor who are among the eight categories of the receivers of this fourth pillar of Islam (the eight *asnāf* of *zakat*).<sup>1022</sup>

It has been reported in Centre for Selangor Almsgiving (*Pusat Zakat Selangor-PZS*) annual report that there is increasing in the awareness of Muslims in Selangor to pay obligatory religious duty of *zakat* based on the total number of *zakat* collection and the number of old and new payers every year.<sup>1023</sup> This figure supported the study's

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<sup>1018</sup> Refer to Table 6.5.

<sup>1019</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 183.62 and 248.93 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U= 12074, z= -6.307 (2-tailed), p= .000< .05. The significant difference in the same variable was also identified between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes through the Mann-Whitney test as described in Table 5.5. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U= 19060, z= -2.126 (2-tailed) and p= .034< .05. In other words, there is significant difference in the frequency of the middle-middle and the upper-middle income respondents towards paying *zakat* every year.

<sup>1020</sup> *Info Zakat Lembaga Zakat Selangor (MAIS)*, Edisi 1, 2014, p. 3.

<sup>1021</sup> See, Table 10.23, Table 10.23.2 in Appendix A.

<sup>1022</sup> There are eight categories of people who have rights to receive almsgiving: *al-fuqara'* (the hard core of poor), *al-masākin* (the poor), *amil* (the *zakat* collector), *al-muallaf* (the new converter), *al-riqāb* (servant), *al-ghārimin* (the debtors), *fisabilillah* (those who fight for sake of religion and towards Allah SWT and *Ibn Sabil* (the travellers). These categories of the receiver of the almsgiving are grouped referred to Surah at-Taubah 9: verse 60. "Alms are for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to the truth); for those in bondage and in debt; in the cause of Allah; and for the wayfarer; (Thus is it) ordained by Allah, and Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom." Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Meaning of The Holy Quran*, Maryland, U.S.A.: Amana Corporation, 1992, p. 456. See also, Abdul Rahman bin Talib, 'Konsep Agihan Zakat Kepada *Asnaf* Menurut Perspektif Syarak', *Jurnal Pengurusan JAWHAR*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2013, p. 9, pp. 5-15.

<sup>1023</sup> See also Table 5.6 in the main document and Table 8.23, Table 8.23.2 in Appendix A. There is a significant difference in the percentage of *zakat* collection according to category or types of *zakat* between 2012 and 2013. In 2012, the *zakat* of gold increased

finding that the middle income classes are the main contributors to the *zakat* collection in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur compared to the low-income, where some of them sometimes, rarely and never pay the *fitriah* almsgiving.<sup>1024</sup>

Similar to PZS's achievement in the collection of *zakat*, the religious authority in of Kuala Lumpur has also reported increasing awareness of its residents towards the almsgiving payment.<sup>1025</sup> About 7.27 per cent of the *zakat* collection from the PPZ-MAIWP counters in 2012 came from Putrajaya and Labuan residents, while 92.7 per cent was contributed by Kuala Lumpur population. This figure has indicated that Kuala Lumpur population contributed to the higher collection of *zakat* in Federal Territory.<sup>1026</sup> PPZ-MAIMP reported the remarkable achievement in the collection of the business almsgiving which increased from RM54.87 million in 2011, to **RM97,161,344.30 in 2013 with the number of payers increased significantly every year.**<sup>1027</sup> This achievement could also remark to the increase level of awareness in the payment of *zakat* as an individual religious obligation of Muslims in particularly, Kuala Lumpur.<sup>1028</sup>

According to the Department of *Awqaf* (endowment), *Zakat* (alms) and *Hajj* (pilgrimage) (*Jabatan Wakaf Zakat dan Haji - JAWHAR*), Selangor and Kuala Lumpur are also the highest in the *zakat* collection which reached more than a hundred million ringgit in its annual *zakat* collection.<sup>1029</sup> This figure has clearly proven that the Muslim residents of Selangor and W.P. Kuala Lumpur are consistently aware on their religious obligation towards Islam.

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to 58.8 per cent from a year before but it has increased up to 13.5 per cent in 2013. The collection for *zakat* of animals however, decreased 35.7 per cent from RM30,252 in 2012 to RM19,442 in 2013. *Laporan Pengurusan Zakat Selangor 2012*, Shah Alam: Lembaga Zakat Selangor, 2010, p. 72; *Penyata Prestasi Kutipan dan Agihan Zakat Lembaga Zakat Selangor (MAIS) 31 Disember 2013*, Shah Alam: Lembaga Zakat Selangor, 2013, pp. 1-2.

<sup>1024</sup> Refer to Figure 6.6.

<sup>1025</sup> Centre for the Almsgiving Collection, with the collaboration of the Islamic Religious Council of Federal Territory (PPZ-MAIMP) had collected around RM2.24 billion *zakat* fund since its foundation in 1991 to 2011.

<sup>1026</sup> *Laporan Zakat PPZ – MAIWP 2012: Satu Sumber Maklumat Zakat di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Pusat Pungutan Zakat – MAIWP, 2012, p. 3

<sup>1027</sup> Refer to Table 10.23.4 in Appendix A.

<sup>1028</sup> *Milenia Muslim*, Mac 2012, p. 27.

<sup>1029</sup> *Laporan Tahunan Jabatan Wakaf Zakat dan Haji - JAWHAR 2009*, Putrajaya: Jabatan Wakaf Zakat dan Haji, JAWHAR, Department of the Prime Minister, 2009, p. 45.

Table 6.6 Statistic of *Zakat* Collection by the States and Years

States	The Collection of Zakat (RM)						Total (RM)
	2004	2005	2006	2006	2008	2009	
Selangor	108,826,547.05	133,121,829.00	159,836,252.79	202,193,541.00	244,409,627.00	283,648,720.00	1,132,036,516.84
W. P. K. Lumpur	110,631,584.04	130,141,209.97	147,587,898.48	173,815,154.35	211,364,697.68	245,935,866.21	1,019,476,410.73
Johor	38,052,802.64	49,357,154.03	54,732,942.45	73,321,840.60	100,737,539.76	109,228,126.27	425,430,405.75
Kedah	22,205,222.54	30,185,661.45	35,227,089.74	36,692,723.92	53,202,300.24	71,129,526.90	248,642,524.79
Kelantan	22,440,931.30	29,372,551.46	35,641,537.75	40,199,886.62	58,167,095.10	66,522,450.31	252,344,452.54
Malacca	14,238,492.58	17,692,093.97	19,464,653.26	22,067,022.30	26,905,934.29	30,723,139.52	131,091,335.92
N. Sembilan	19,037,286.24	23,098,180.81	25,821,205.04	29,356,271.66	37,409,710.68	38,569,850.39	173,292,504.82
Penang	23,288,019.00	28,000,426.00	30,589,545.62	37,085,282.33	41,764,273.00	47,952,153.34	208,679,699.29
Pahang	22,917,724.25	31,032,233.57	35,971,733.59	41,487,155.81	57,935,146.89	66,458,126.90	255,802,121.01
Perak	25,724,715.39	27,543,535.48	33,848,479.38	41,276,179.92	56,962,446.06	66,949,439.60	252,304,795.83
Perlis	6,406,109.00	6,564,465.08	11,847,141.66	16,699,600.00	23,134,583.00	29,631,858.00	94,283,756.74
Sabah	7,784,937.74	11,314,073.92	16,648,793.71	17,514,982.50	23,799,155.06	25,388,088.73	102,450,031.66
Sarawak	15,566,982.51	15,299,300.04	20,548,322.81	23,132,088.56	36,099,969.34	36,915,094.91	147,561,758.17
Terengganu	36,147,739.28	40,365,590.96	42,870,576.42	51,442,341.96	66,200,415.14	73,556,668.90	310,583,332.66
<b>Total</b>	<b>473,269,093.56</b>	<b>573,088,305.74</b>	<b>670,636,172.70</b>	<b>806,284,071.53</b>	<b>1,038,092,893.24</b>	<b>1,192,609,109.98</b>	
<b>Improvement</b>	-	<b>99,819,212.18</b>	<b>97,547,866.96</b>	<b>135,647,898.83</b>	<b>231,808,821.71</b>	<b>154,516,216.74</b>	-
<b>%</b>	-	<b>21.09</b>	<b>17.02</b>	<b>20.23</b>	<b>28.75</b>	<b>14.88</b>	-

Source: Laporan Tahunan Jabatan Wakaf Zakat dan Haji - JAWHAR 2009, Putrajaya: Jabatan Wakaf Zakat dan Haji, JAWHAR, Department of The Prime Minister, 2009, p. 45.

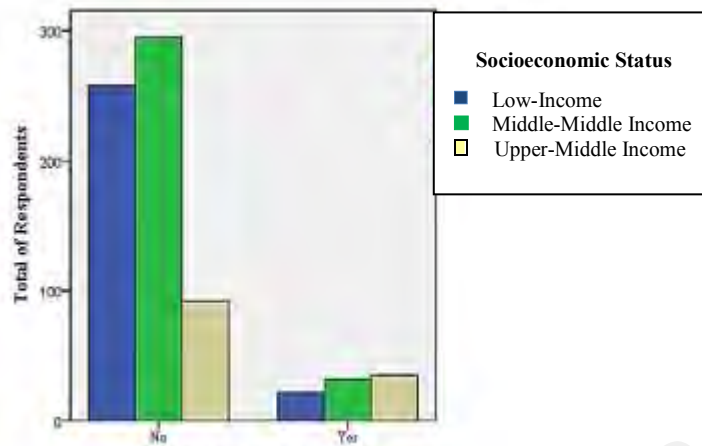


Figure 6.7: Respondents' Frequency on I have Performed *Hajj* to Makkah

Most of the respondents from all levels of social classes say that they have not performed *hajj* to Makkah yet, but have started preparing and made some efforts to go for *hajj* in Makkah.<sup>1030</sup> 27.6 per cent (35) of the upper-middle class have performed *hajj* to Makkah similar to 9.8 per cent (32) of the middle-middle income class and 7.9 per cent (22) of the low-income earners.

The Mann-Whitney U test has verified the difference in the number of those who have performed *hajj* between the low-income and the upper-middle income and between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes.<sup>1031</sup> The significant difference between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes has also been tested through the Mann-Whitney U test. The difference between the two classes is clearly described in the percentage of the upper-middle income earners who have performed *hajj* is higher (27.6 per cent) than the middle-middle income respondents (9.8 per cent).<sup>1032</sup>

Table 6.7: Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on the Frequency of

<sup>1030</sup> See, Figure 6.7 and 6.8. Muslim scholars from Shafi'ites and Hambalites school of thoughts claimed that it is compulsory to all Muslims to perform *Hajj* based on the evidence stated in the Quran: "Perform the pilgrimage and visit (to Makkah) for Allah SWT". (Al Baqarah, 2, verse 196). <http://www.jawhar.gov.my/index.php/en/hajj..>

<sup>1031</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 191.84 and 230.81 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U= 14375.500, z= -5.112 (2-tailed), p<0.05. In other words, there is significant difference in the response of the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards I have performing *hajj* in Makkah.

<sup>1032</sup> The value of mean ranks for the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes are 216.27 and 256.42 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 17091.500, z = -4.764 (2-tailed), p = .000 < .05. In other words, there is a significant difference in the response of the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes' respondents towards I have performing *hajj* to Makkah.

I have performed *Hajj* in Makkah

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
I have performing <i>hajj</i> to Makkah	Low-income (LI)	280	301.50	Mann-Whitney U	45080.500
				Wilcoxon W	84420.500
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	306.14	Z	-.653
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.514
	Low-income (LI)	280	191.84	Mann-Whitney U	14375.500
				Wilcoxon W	53715.500
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	230.81	Z	-5.112
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	216.27	Mann-Whitney U	17091.500
			Wilcoxon W	70719.500	
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	256.42	Z	-4.764
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	

In contrary to the previous findings, there is no significant difference between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes, as both are quite close in percentage of those who have performed *hajj* and not performed it yet. The Mann-Whitney U test has also verified this difference where the p value is  $> 0.05$  as stated in Table 6.7. About 92.1 per cent of the low-income and 90.2 per cent of the middle-middle income have not performed the *hajj* yet as they are still waiting for their turn to go to Makkah following the quota which has been regulated by the Saudi Arabian Government.

Most of the respondents claim that they have started preparing themselves for *hajj*, such as saving money since their early working days. However the level of frequency and their affordability may differ from one social class to another. About 13.9 per cent of the low-income respondents say that they never prepare for *hajj* for the reason that they do not have enough money for the family expenses, but the other 28.2 per cent of this class always prepare for *hajj* while 27.9 per cent of them frequently and 21.8 per cent sometimes prepare to perform the fifth pillar of Islam. In contrast, 79.5 per cent of the upper-middle income and 56.9 per cent of the middle-middle income who have admitted that they always prepare for *hajj*. 27.9 per cent (78) of the low-income also admit they frequently prepare for *hajj* like gradually saving money to perform this religious obligation in Islam at least once in a lifetime. The low-income respondents are

the highest in the frequent, sometimes, rarely and never levels of frequency towards the statement compared to the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes.

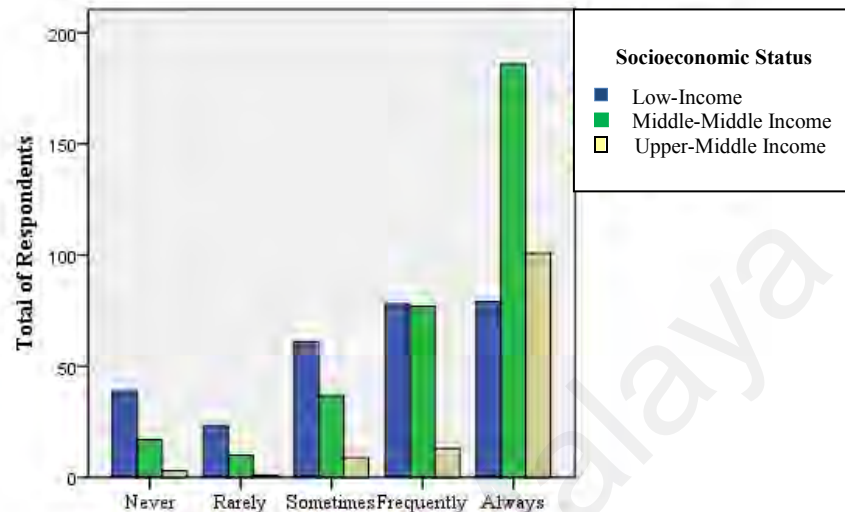


Figure 6.8: Respondents' Frequency on I have started Preparing for *Hajj* to Makkah

Table 10.24 shows the difference between three socioeconomic classes in the preparation to perform *hajj* confirmed by the Mann-Whitney U test result. There are significant differences between the low and the middle-middle income, the low and the upper-middle income and between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes in the response towards “I have started preparing myself for *hajj* in Makkah” where the p value is  $<.05$ . Performing pilgrimage in Makkah and performing *umrah* and visit Makkah and Madinah are positively correlated,  $r = .58$ ,  $p < .01$ .<sup>1033</sup>

The historical development of conducting *hajj* by the Malays can be traced for the reasons behind different situations for those who go to perform *hajj* using the private agency services before and after the establishment of *Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji* (LUTH).<sup>1034</sup> Before the inception of LUTH in 1969, the Malays went to *Hajj*

<sup>1033</sup> Refer to Table 10.24 in Appendix A.

<sup>1034</sup> Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji (LUTH) as a special financial institution which manages Muslims affairs to perform *hajj* to Makkah was established in 1969. It was founded under Act 8 Malaysian Rule, Act 1969 LUTH and Act A168 LUTH (Amendment) 1973. Idea to establish such a body to manage saving account of the pilgrims had been proposed by Royal Professor Ungku Aziz of University of Malaya. In November 1962, Body for the Pilgrims Saving Account (*Perbadanan Wang Simpanan Bakal-Bakal Haji*) was gazetted and started its operation on 30<sup>th</sup> September 1963. This body which has been centralised its activity at Kuala Lumpur was then combined its operation with the Penang *Hajj* Management Office that was founded in 1951. In line with the New



through the service provided by private agencies, following the absence of the government body to manage the Malays journey for *Hajj*.<sup>1035</sup> The establishment of LUTH, nevertheless, has enabled to manage special rental of 707 Boeing flights with cooperation of the Malaysian Airlines (MAS) in 1977.<sup>1036</sup> Statistic also showed that the number of pilgrims dropped drastically to 0.6 per cent in 1969 after the foundation of LUTH and it increased to 11.6 in 1970 and 14.8 in 1971.

Since 1978, LUTH has launched active campaigns to avoid Muslim using the private agencies for the reason that these agencies always neglect the pilgrims' welfare during the conduct of *hajj* and face many problems and difficulties throughout managing pilgrimage services. Act 1969 LUTH has been enforced that those who bring the pilgrims to Makkah without LUTH or Malaysian Government permission will be fined RM30,000 while visa to be issued by the Saudi Arabian Government to allow only the LUTH pilgrims and avoid competition from the private agencies.<sup>1037</sup>

In the late 1960s to early 1980s, most of the Malays used private agencies triggered by political ideology, religious orientation and cheap service provided by these agencies. For those who bound with PAS ideology, in particular the Malays from Kelantan and the followers of Darul Arqam, they tend to believe that the conduct of *hajj* under the federal government is considered as un-Islamic which could affect their rewards in performing *hajj*.<sup>1038</sup> In addition, private agencies also offered cheaper charge of flights ticket compared to LUTH. The cheaper cost for *hajj* was also contributed to their intention to stay in these holy cities for the long period of time up to two months.<sup>1039</sup>

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Economic Policy, LUTH actively moves forwards in many fields of industry, business, property, housing development and plantation. *Menuju Ke Arah Kaabah*, Kuala Lumpur: Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji (LUTH), 1984, p. 7.

<sup>1035</sup> Refer to Table 10.24.2 Statistics of the Pilgrims Under LUTH and Private Agencies, 1965-2012.

<sup>1036</sup> McDonnell, Mary Byrne., 'The Conduct of Hajj from Malaysia and its Socio-Economic Impact on Malay Society: A Descriptive and Analytical Study, 1960-1981', Michigan: UMI Dissertation Services, 2007, pp. 491-493.

<sup>1037</sup> Many problems faced by the pilgrims who went for *hajj* under the private agencies such as, being such along the way to reach the destination of *hajj*, the pilgrims need to manage their journey by themselves, lack of financial preparation to support their *hajj*. Ibid., pp. 491-493.

<sup>1038</sup> Ibid., pp. 491-493, note number 66.

<sup>1039</sup> 'Khidmat Baru untuk Jemaah di Tanah Suci, Tabung Haji gunakan Sistem Ami"', *Berita Harian*, 6 Mac 1984; Aiza Mazlan@Baharudin, *Dari Tabung Buluh Ke Tabung Haji: Sejarah Pengerjaan Haji Orang Melayu, 1850-1984*, Ph.D Thesis, 2009, p. 384.

Starting from 1985, LUTH introduced the *hajj* package whereby all matters regarding to transportation, foods and accommodation during the *hajj* season have been conducted by the agencies approved and selected by LUTH. Recently, the package of *hajj* through the agencies which have been selected by LUTH offers more exclusive service and can only be afforded for the middle-income, upper-middle income and the high income groups. For the middle, the upper-middle and the high income classes, the expensive rate charged in the package does not prevent them to perform *hajj* at least once in their lifetime. They also do not need to wait for a long duration to go for *hajj* compared to those who use the *Muassasah* service by LUTH, because they need to wait for their turn to perform *hajj* following the quota which has been regulated by the Saudi Arabian Government.<sup>1040</sup>

Based on Table 10.24.1 which shows the number of pilgrims by occupation that performed *hajj* from 1980 to 1991, indicated that housewives were the highest group who performed *hajj* in Makkah.<sup>1041</sup> From 1980 to 1984, peasants placed the second highest group of pilgrims, who then replaced by the government servants who were the second highest group for 1986 to 1994 *hajj* season.<sup>1042</sup> Between the period of 1981 to 1994, housewives and government servants remained the first and the second highest in percentage of pilgrims followed by self-employed and peasants who were placed at the third and the fourth highest of the same category. Retirees were the fifth higher in the percentage of pilgrims in similar period of *hajj*. This showed that the Malays from different socioeconomic backgrounds have the same tendency and put their positive attitude and effort towards performing *hajj* that they regarded need to be performed as a compulsory religious duty for affording individuals at least once in a lifetime.

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<sup>1040</sup> See, Tuan Hj Ahmad Hj Rahmat consents on why he chose the private agency to arrange his travel for *hajj* to Makkah.

<sup>1041</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>1042</sup> Affected by the Gulf-War in 1991, number of housewives pilgrims dropped to 3,872 from 10,569 in 1991, contrasted to self-employees jumped to 14,865 and were the highest group who performed *hajj* in 1992.

Since 1994, the Saudi Arabian authority has allocated quota of pilgrims from each Muslim country based on 0.1 per cent of the country population.<sup>1043</sup> In 2012, the national quota of pilgrims was 28,000 Muslims.<sup>1044</sup> Since 2013, the average 22,300 pilgrims went for *hajj* to Makkah, in contrast to 1,508,719 pilgrims have applied to perform *hajj* every year.<sup>1045</sup> The waiting list to perform *hajj* to Makkah in 2014 is 60 years following the quota allocated by the Saudi Arabian authority. This indicated that there is a high demand from Muslims who have registered to perform *hajj* to Makkah in Malaysia.<sup>1046</sup> Thus, the conduct of *hajj* to Makkah has become a spiritual motivation for the Malays to perform this religious obligation.

The Malays' effort to perform *hajj* at least once per their lifetime can be proven through their endeavours by creating the saving account in Tabung Haji as an early preparation for *hajj*.<sup>1047</sup> Depositors' saving increased almost double from RM23.6 billion in 2009 to RM45.7 billion in 2013. The number of depositors also increased by 65 per cent from 5 million in 2009 to 8.3 million people in 2013. Recently, LUTH has 119 branches and more than 6,000 touch-points all over the country.<sup>1048</sup> Selangor was recorded as the highest depositors saving account with RM2,390 million and Wilayah Persekutuan gained RM783 million which placed it at the fifth higher in the similar depositors saving account in 2004.<sup>1049</sup> These data and records indicated that Selangor and Kuala Lumpur residents are preparing themselves through financial initiative to perform the fifth pillars of Islam at least once in a lifetime.<sup>1050</sup>

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<sup>1043</sup> Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji (LUTH), Laporan Tahunan 1998, Kuala Lumpur: Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji (LUTH), 1998, p. 22.

<sup>1044</sup> 'Kouta 28,000 Jemaah Haji Kekal', *Utusan Malaysia*, 20 April 2012.

<sup>1045</sup> Saudi Government had reduced 20 per cent quota of pilgrims from Malaysia in 2013 from 27,900 in 2012 to 22,320 to prevent congestion due to the present active renovation or development activities nearby Masjid al-Haram.

<sup>1046</sup> '1.5 Sudah Berdaftar tetapi Kouta Rasmi Negara Hanya 22,300 Setahun: Tunggu Giliran Tunai Haji 60 Tahun', *Utusan Malaysia*, 29 August 2014.

<sup>1047</sup> Refer to Table 8.24.2 Statistic of the Pilgrims Under LUTH and Private Agencies, 1965-2014 in Appendix A.

<sup>1048</sup> Laporan Tahunan 2013, Kuala Lumpur: Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji (LUTH), 2013; Statistik Lima Tahun, Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji, Laman Rasmi Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji, Accessed on 30 Disember 2014. <http://www.tabunghaji.gov.my/web/guest/fakta-ringkas>.

<sup>1049</sup> In 2004, 21,849 of new depositors in Selangor saved their money in the LUTH saving account followed by 21,573 residents of Johor and 18,854 depositors of Wilayah Persekutuan. See, Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji (LUTH), Laporan Tahunan 2004, Kuala Lumpur: Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji (LUTH), 2004, pp. 8-9.

<sup>1050</sup> Fatwa gazetted by Malaysian Department of Islamic Development (JAKIM) on the 2nd Fatwa Committee Conference announced that a person who performs pilgrimage more than once would gain great rewards in this world and the hereafter. However, the Fatwa committee added that this ruling depends on an individual capacity because they have to perform the obligatory

#### 6.4 The Optional Religious Practices

There are differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents and between the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents in the frequency of reading the Quran even though they are busy. About 35.4 per cent (45) of the upper-middle income and 34.9 per cent of the middle-middle income respondents always spend time to read the Quran or at least once per day even though they are busy compared to 32.9 per cent of the low-incomes who sometimes read the Quran or at least once per week. 22.1 per cent of the low-income respondents rarely read the holy Quran or at least once per month, whereas the only 4.6 and 8.7 per cent of the middle-middle and the upper-middle income respectively rarely (or at least once per month) to do so. Five per cent (14) of the low-income respondents never read the Quran as they are busy at work.

The result of the Mann-Whitney U test has confirmed these differences. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 247.18 and 352.65 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U= 29871,  $z = -7.659$  (2-tailed),  $p < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference between the lower income and the middle-middle income class respondents in the frequency towards reading the Quran even though they are busy.<sup>1051</sup>

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before complementing it with the commendable one. Fatawa: Performing pilgrimage (*hajj*) more than once. The 2nd Fatwa Committee Conference, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia, 2nd April 1988.

<sup>1051</sup> Refer to Table 10.25 in Appendix A.

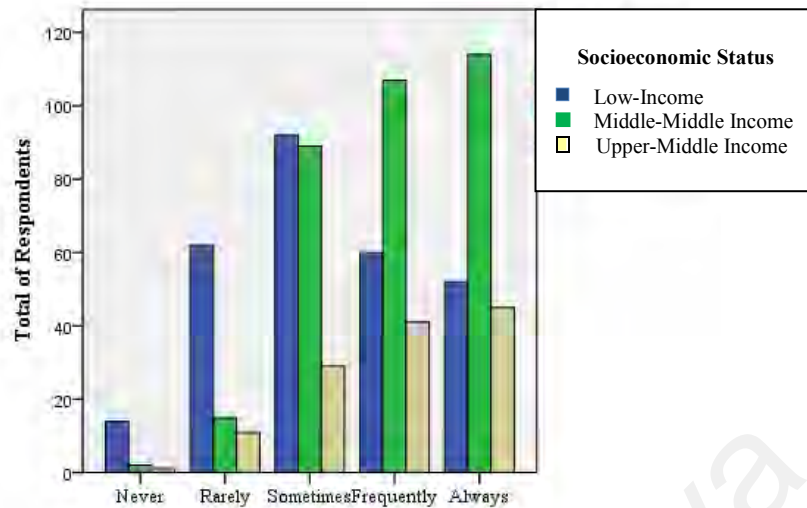


Figure 6.9: Respondents' Frequency on I read the Quran Even Though I am Busy

The result of Mann-Whitney U test has also shown a significant difference in frequency of reading the Quran between the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents.<sup>1052</sup> On the other hand, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income respondents in the frequency of reading the Quran as the two income classes have demonstrated the close value in percentage in the first three high level of commitment in reading the Quran even though they are busy as displayed in Table 10.25 in Appendix A.

There are strong correlations between “I read the Quran even though I am busy” and “I am trying to improve my *Sunnah* (optional) prayers and fasting” ( $r = .655$ ), total score of Islamic practices ( $r = .675$ ), My family and I look for opportunities to give *sadāqah* – charity ( $r = .605$ ), I always attend the religious knowledge gathering (*usrah*, talks, religious classes) ( $r = .604$ ), I make my best efforts to increase my *Ibādah* towards Allah SWT ( $r = .597$ ), I practise the *do'a*, *dhikr* and *ma'thūrāt* to be close to God ( $r = .580$ ), I use Arabic words in my daily conversation ( $r = .567$ ), I am involved in Islamic *da'wah* ( $r = .552$ ) and I begin my works with *Basmallah*, ( $r = .496$ ). These

<sup>1052</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 183.26 and 249.73 respectively. The value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 11972,  $z = -5.451$  (2-tailed) and  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . Therefore, there is significant difference in the frequency of the lower income and the upper-middle income classes towards the statement.

indicate that as the Quranic recitation increases, Muslims efforts to increase other religious practices also increases.

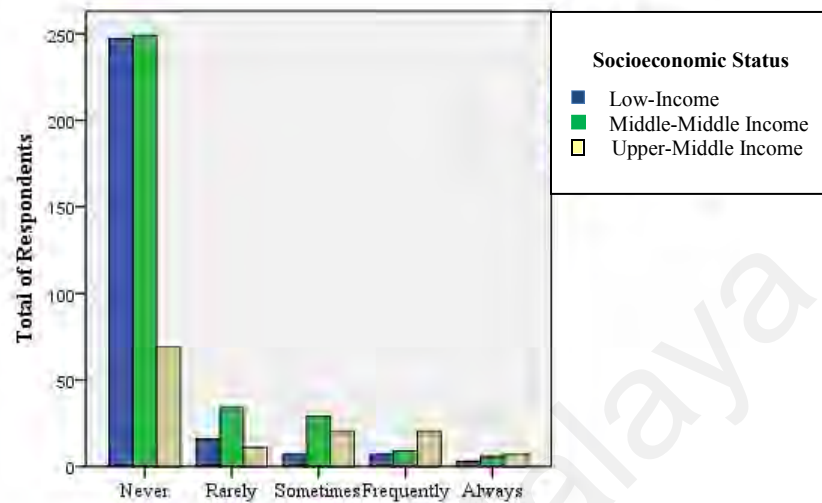


Figure 6.10: Respondents' Frequency on I have performed 'Umrah and visited Makkah and Madinah

The respondents' interest to perform *haji* has significant association with performing 'umrah (visiting Makkah and Madinah) as an optional religious practice. Figure 5.12 illustrates the respondents' frequency on I have performed 'umrah and visit Makkah and Madinah. Most of the respondents never have the chance to perform 'umrah to Makkah and Madinah.<sup>1053</sup> There is significant difference in all levels of frequency between all three social income classes towards performing the 'umrah.<sup>1054</sup>

About 10.4 per cent (34) of the middle-middle income, 8.7 per cent (11) of the upper-middle income and 5.7 per cent rarely or at least once in lifetime go for *umrah*. The upper-middle income respondents score higher in percentage for the sometimes (or at least twice per lifetimes), frequently (three times) and always (four times and above) responses towards the statement compared to the middle-middle and the low-income respondents. 15.7 per cent (20) of the upper-middle income class who sometimes or at

<sup>1053</sup> About 88.2 per cent of the low-income, 76.1 per cent of the middle-middle income and 54.3 per cent of the upper-middle income respondents.

<sup>1054</sup> Refer to Table 10.26 in Appendix A.

least 2 times and frequently (or at least three times) go for *umrah* at Makkah and Madinah.

The same percentage of the upper-middle class (15.7 per cent) also frequently or at least 3 times have visited these holy cities. About 5.5 per cent (7) of the upper-middle income earners have visited Makkah and Madinah and performed *umrah* more than 4 times (always), compared to only 1.8 per cent (6) of the middle-middle income and 1.1 per cent (3) of the low-income respondents. This indicates that *umrah* as an optional practice can be only performed by those who can afford and have advantages in the financial and economy position than the poor.

The Mann-Whitney U test has verified the differences in the frequency between two social income classes alternately, for all three social classes as explained in Table 10.26 in Appendix A. There are significant differences between all three social income classes in frequency towards performing *umrah*, in which the p value for all Mann-Whitney U tests is  $< .05$ .

Most of the middle classes have shown their high commitment in practising and improving their optional religious practices, such as prayers and fasting. About 28.3 per cent (36) of the upper-middle income and 20.5 per cent (67) of the middle-middle income always practise the optional prayers and fasting, compared to only 13.6 per cent (38) of the low-income earners. The two middle income classes is the highest (36.4 per cent of the middle-middle income and 36.2 per cent of the upper-middle income respondents) in the frequently response to the statement, in contrast to the low-income is the highest with 38.9 per cent (109) in the sometimes response towards the statement. The lower income has also scored the highest in the rarely and never responses. About 21.1 per cent (59) of the low-income rarely practise the optional practices like prayers and fasting, while the 5.4 per cent (15) never practices them.

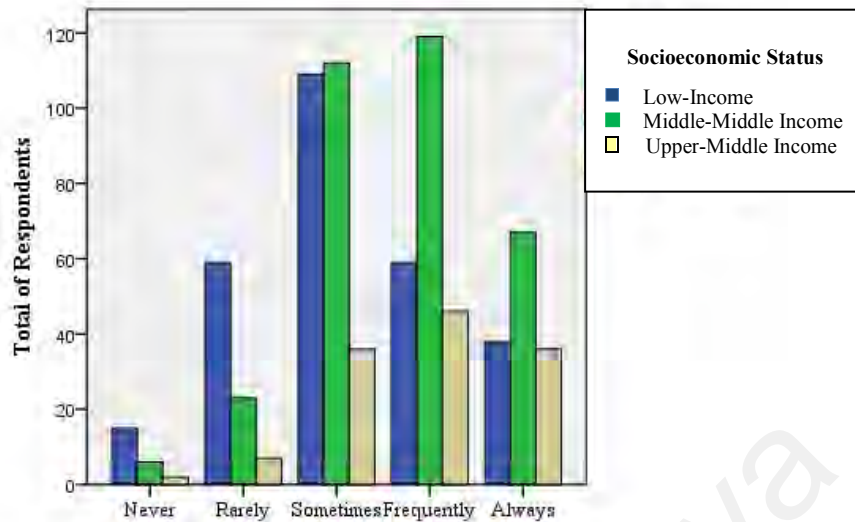


Figure 6.11: Respondents' Frequency on I am Trying to Improve My Optional (the *Sunnah*) Prayers and Fasting

The Mann-Whitney U test has confirmed the difference in frequency between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards the statement as described in Table 10.27 in Appendix A. The p values for all Mann-Whitney U test are  $< .05$ . Thus, there are significant differences in frequency between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards the statement “I am trying to improve my optional prayers and fasting”. In contrary, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes as the two classes have demonstrated their high commitment to improve their optional practices.<sup>1055</sup>

## 6.5 The Practice of Islamic Culture

The Malay Muslim respondents in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur also give positive responses to the daily practice of Islamic culture. The middle-middle and the upper-middle income earners have shown their highest commitment to practise Islam when 53.8 per cent and 55.1 per cent respectively always recite *Basmallah* to begin their

<sup>1055</sup> Refer to Table 10.27 in Appendix A.



works, compared to only 31.1 per cent of the low-income earners in the same level of response. The low-income is the highest with 42.5 per cent (119) who frequently recite *Basmallah* to start their work, in contrast to 37.8 per cent of the upper-middle income and 36.4 per cent of the middle-middle income earners who frequently read the holy sentence. About 23.6 per cent (66) of the low-income sometimes recite the name of Allah SWT, *Basmallah* at the beginning of their work, while the other 2.5 per cent (7) rarely read it.

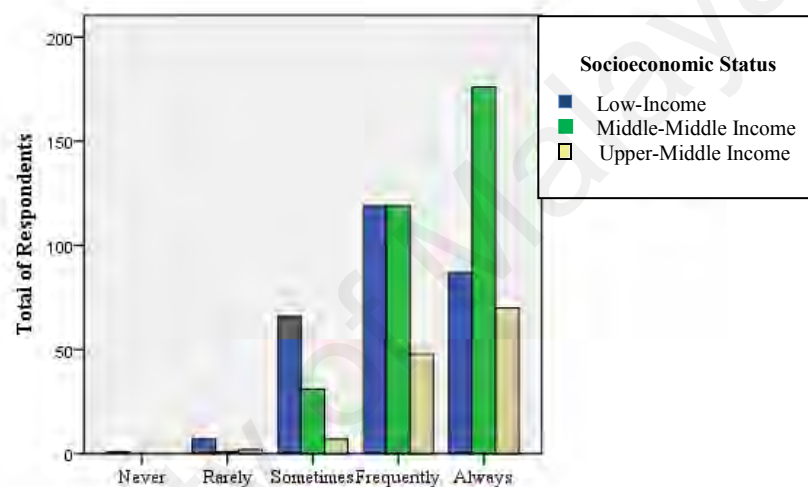


Figure 6.12: Respondents' Frequency on Reciting *Basmallah* at the Beginning of Works

The low-income respondents differ in the frequency towards reciting *Basmallah* at the beginning of work compared to the middle-middle and the upper-middle income earners. These differences have been statistically proven through the Mann-Whitney U test which has indicated the p values in the test of difference between two social classes alternately, for the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes is  $< 0.5$ .<sup>1056</sup>

No significant difference between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income for the reason that the two middle income classes strongly and always practise reciting *Basmallah* at the beginning of their work. The values of mean ranks for the two social classes are quite close and the  $p = .671 > 0.5$ . Therefore, there is no

<sup>1056</sup> Refer to Table 10.28 in Appendix A.

significant difference in the frequency between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income towards reciting *Basmallah* at the beginning of work for the reason that their close percentage at every level of responses.<sup>1057</sup>

Another apparent element of Islamic culture which was practiced in public as a result of Islamic Resurgence is the use of Arabic terms in the daily conversation among Muslims. Most of the middle classes (the middle-middle and the upper-middle income) respondents have shown their regular practice of the Arabic words in their daily conversations compared to the low-income earners. About 36.2 per cent or 46 respondents of the upper-middle income and 29.4 per cent or 96 respondents of the middle-middle income classes always use the Arabic words in the daily conversations.<sup>1058</sup>

The two groups of the middle classes are also the highest that sometimes and rarely use the Arabic words. About 26.8 per cent (34) of the upper-middle income and 25.4 per cent (83) of the middle-middle income earners sometimes use the Arabic words compared to only 13.6 per cent of the low-income respondents in the similar level of frequency. Most of the low-income earners never use Arabic words in their daily communications. They represent 65 per cent or 182 individuals of the low ranking in social income classes.

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<sup>1057</sup> Refer to Table 10.28 in Appendix A.

<sup>1058</sup> The amount of those who always and frequently use the Arabic words is calculated to measure the frequency of those frequently use the words. Therefore, the total number of the upper-middle class is a combination of 11.8 per cent or 15 individuals who always and 24.4 per cent or 31 individuals who always use the Arabic words. In addition, the total number of the middle-middle income group is a combination of 9.8 per cent or 32 individuals who always and 19.6 per cent or 64 individuals who always use the Arabic words.

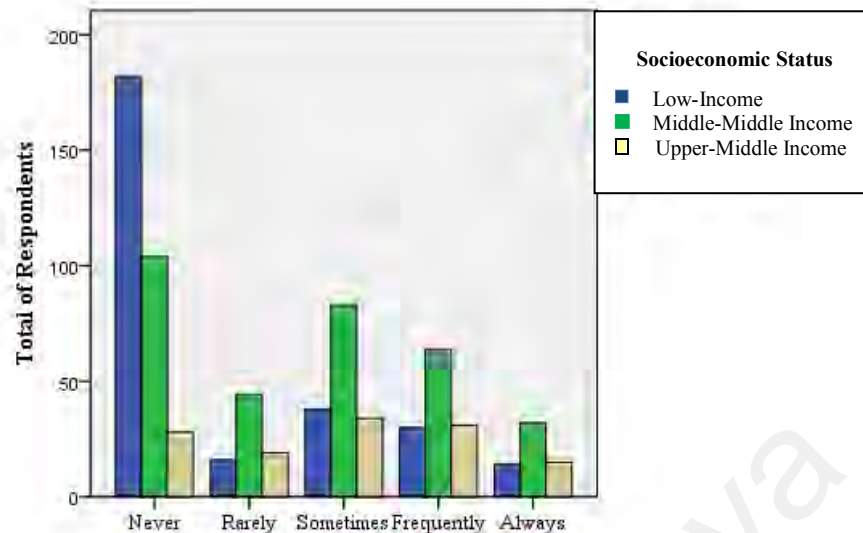


Figure 6.13: Respondents' Frequency on Using the Arabic Words in the Daily Conversations

Table 6.8 The Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on the Frequency of Using the Arabic Words in the Daily Conversations

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
I used Arabic words such as <i>Ummi, Anā, Solat</i> , in my daily conversations	Low-income (LI)	280	250.95	Mann-Whitney U	30925.000
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	349.43	Wilcoxon W	70265.000
				Z	-7.342
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	Low-income (LI)	280	176.74	Mann-Whitney U	10148.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	264.09	Wilcoxon W	49488.000
			Z	-7.516	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	220.32	Mann-Whitney U	18418.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	245.98	Wilcoxon W	72046.000
			Z	-1.923	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.054	

The Mann-Whitney U test has examined the difference in the frequency between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes towards the statement. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 250.95 and 349.43 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 30925,  $z = -7.342$  (2-tailed) and  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the

frequency of the low-income and the middle-middle class respondents towards “I use of the Arabic words such as *Ummi*, *Anā* and etc.’ in the daily conversations”.

The Mann-Whitney U test has also verified that there is also a significant difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in frequency towards the statement as stated in Table 6.8.<sup>1059</sup> However, there is no significant difference in the frequency towards the statement between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes as these two social classes are close in percentage of frequently use the Arabic words in the daily communications and most of these classes are activists of *da’wah* organisations and the Islamists.<sup>1060</sup>

The study has revealed that “I used Arabic words, such as *Ummi*, *Anā*, *solāt* in my daily conversations” and “I involved in *da’wah* works in the Muslim and the non-Muslim community” are strongly correlated,  $r = .633$ ,  $p < .001$ . There is also a significant relationship between “I used Arabic words” and “I am trying to increase of my *sunnah* (optional) practices”,  $r = .5000$ ,  $p < .001$ . These statistical results showed that most of the Islamists and members of Islamic *da’wah* movements used the Arabic terms in their daily conversations compared to the common or ordinary people of the Malays.

Similar tendency of differences in the frequency of attending the religious knowledge gatherings and classes can be seen between three socio-economic classes. These religious knowledge gathering are conducted at their hometown in the form of *usrah*, talks and religious classes. About 56.6 per cent (72) of the upper-middle income and 55.7 per cent (182) of the middle-middle income frequently attend the religious classes or knowledge enhancement programs conducted in their area, in contrast to 33.2 per cent (93) of the low-income respondents. The low-income however, reaches high level in percentage in the sometimes (32.5 per cent - 91 individuals), rarely (27.5 per

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<sup>1059</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income classes are 176.74 and 264.09 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 10148$ ,  $z = -7.516$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is significant difference in the frequency of the lower income and the upper-middle income classes’ respondents towards I use the Arabic words such as *Ummi*, *Anā* and etc. in the daily conversations.

<sup>1060</sup> Refer to Correlation Coefficient results in the next paragraph.

cent - 77 individuals) and never (6.8 per cent – 19 individuals) compared to the middle-high income and the middle-middle income classes.

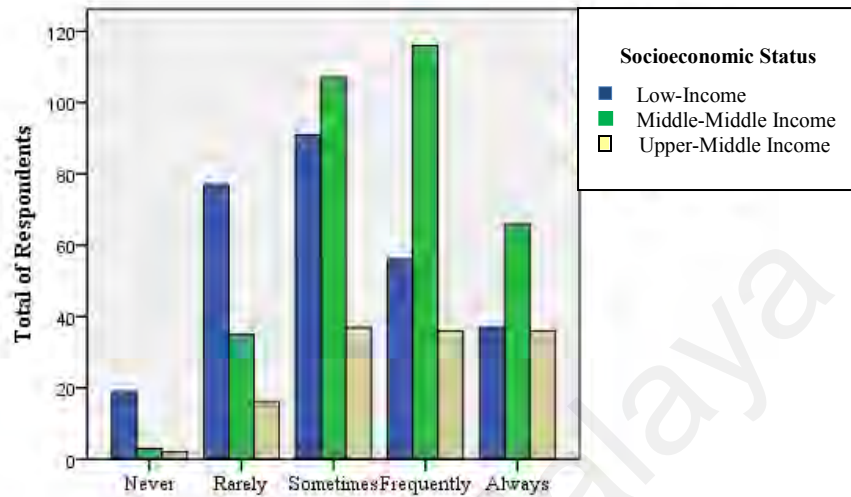


Figure 6.14 Respondents' Frequency on Attending the Religious Knowledge Gathering at the Hometown

The result of the Mann-Whitney U test has confirmed that there are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes towards the statement. The value of mean ranks between these social classes is quite far and the p value of the social classes' difference according to the Mann-Whitney U test is significant and  $p < .05$ . In other words, there are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency of 'I always attend the religious knowledge gathering which has been conducted at my hometown'. On the other hand, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency towards the statement as the two middle classes are close in percentage with their strong commitment and responses towards the religious knowledge enrichment classes.<sup>1061</sup>

<sup>1061</sup> Refer to Table 10.29 in Appendix A.

Pearson Correlation has also shown that regular attendance of religious knowledge gathering has significant relationship with “I read the Quran even though I am busy”,  $r = .604$ ,  $p < .001$ . Pearson Correlation Coefficient has also shown that there are significant correlations between regular attendance of the religious knowledge gathering and “I involved in *da'wah* works” ( $r = .582$ ,  $p < .001$ ), “I used Arabic words in my daily conversations” ( $r = .532$ ,  $p < .001$ ), “I make my best efforts to increase my *Ibādah* (worship) towards Allah SWT” ( $r = .502$ ,  $p < .001$ ), “I am trying to improve my *sunnah* prayers and fastings” ( $r = .528$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and “I and my family look for opportunities to give *sadāqah*” ( $r = .516$ ,  $p < .001$ ). These statistical analyses has shown that regular attendance to religious classes could encourage other optional religious practices, such as reciting the Quran, involving in *da'wah* activities, using Arabic terms, putting in efforts to increase worshipping to Allah SWT, performing optional prayers, fasting and giving *sadāqah*.

Most of the low-income respondents are not involved in the Islamic *da'wah* to Muslim and the non-Muslim as 45.7 per cent (128) of this group never get involved and 13.6 per cent (38) rarely get involved in *da'wah*. On the other hand, 48 per cent (61) of the upper-middle get income and 43.5 per cent (142) the middle-middle income classes always get involved in *da'wah* compared to only 21.4 per cent (60) of the low-income earners. 29.1 per cent (37) of the upper-middle income and 27.5 per cent of the middle-middle income sometimes get involved in *da'wah* to Muslims and the non-Muslims. Most of those who involved in *da'wah* are 105 PAS followers, 44 UMNO supporters, 145 members of the Islamic *da'wah* organisations, 8 members of the welfare NGOs, 20 members of the government Islamic organisations and 147 independent individuals.

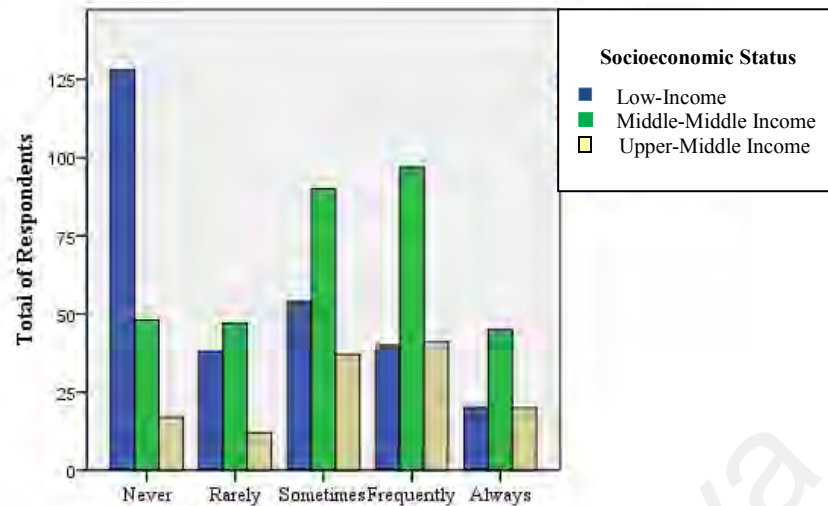


Figure 6.15: Respondents' Frequency on Involving in the Islamic *Da'wah* to the Muslim and the Non-Muslim Community

The result of the Mann-Whitney U test has verified that there are significant differences in the frequency towards involving in the Islamic *da'wah* to the Muslim and the non-Muslim community between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income. The values of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 242.51 and 356.65 respectively. The value of means for the two social classes is quite far. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 28563$ ,  $z = -8.213$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < .05$ . Therefore, there is significant difference in the frequency between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes towards the statement. The significant difference in the frequency between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes towards the statement can be seen as in the value of mean rank for the two classes is quite far.<sup>1062</sup> However, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes as most of them score higher in the three highest levels of frequency towards the statement.<sup>1063</sup>

<sup>1062</sup> The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 10327$ ,  $z = -7.018$  (2-tailed) and  $p = .000 < 0.05$ .

<sup>1063</sup> Refer to Table 10.30 in Appendix A.

Pearson Correlation Coefficient has also shown that there are significant correlations between “I involved in Islamic *da’wah* and using the Arabic words” ( $r = .633, p < .001$ ), total score of Islamic practices ( $r = .591, p < .001$ ), “I always attend the religious knowledge gathering” (*usrah*, talks) ( $r = .582, p < .001$ ) and “I practise the *do’a*, *dhikr* and *ma’thūrāt* to close to Allah” ( $r = .573, p < .001$ ). This has proven that those who are involved in *da’wah* usually use the Arabic terms, increase their effort in Islamic practices, always attend the religious knowledge gathering (*usrah*, talks) and practice the *do’a*, *dhikr* and *ma’thūrāt* to be close to Allah SWT.

Unlike previous findings, the Malay respondents of the study have shown their difference level of frequency in the practice of congregational prayer. There are differences in all level of frequency of the low-income, the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income earners towards “I perform congregational prayers with their family”. About 58.3 per cent (74) of the upper-middle income, 51.4 per cent (168 individuals) of the middle-middle income and 30 per cent of the low-income earners frequently perform congregational prayers with their family.<sup>1064</sup> In addition, 43.6 per cent of the low-income, 33.9 per cent of the upper-middle income and 30.9 per cents of the middle-middle income sometimes perform congregational prayers with their family.

The low-income also scored higher in the rarely and never responses with 18.6 per cent (52) and 7.9 per cent (22) respectively. In contrast, 13.8 per cent (45) of the middle-middle income and 7.1 per cent of the upper-middle income rarely perform congregational prayer with family. The upper-middle income class showed higher percentage in the first two level of frequency (always and frequently responses), followed by the middle-middle income respondents. On the other hand the low-income scored the highest in three lowest positions of frequency towards the statement.

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<sup>1064</sup> The percentage combined the first two higher positions in the level of frequency which are always and frequently. 26 per cent (33) of the upper-middle income, 17.1 per cent (56) of the middle-middle income and 8.2 per cent (23) of the low-income earners always perform congregational prayers with their family.



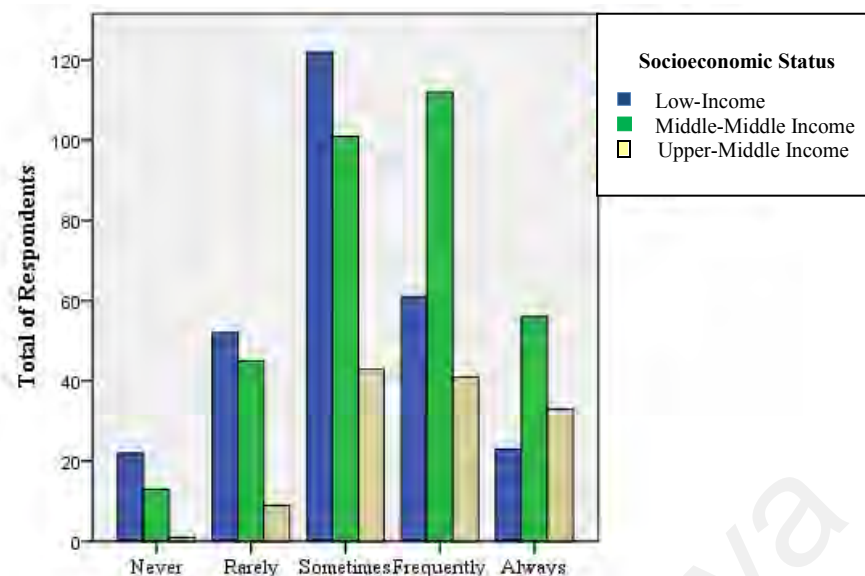


Figure 6.16: Respondents' Frequency on Performing Congregational Prayers with the Family

There are significance differences in the frequency of performing congregational prayer with family between the low-income, the middle-middle and the upper-middle income as explained in Table 6.9. The values of the mean rank for the low-income and the middle-middle income are 266.28 and 336.30 which are quite far in number. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 35218$ ,  $z = 74558$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is a significant difference in the religious practice of the lower income and the middle-middle class respondents towards "I perform congregational prayers with their family".

Moreover, the result of Mann-Whitney  $U$  test is also significant to examine the difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income in the frequency towards the statement.<sup>1065</sup> Additionally, the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes are also differed in the frequency towards the statement as the values of mean ranks for the two social classes are quite far. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 17855.500$ ,  $z = -2.416$  (2-tailed),  $p = .016 < 0.05$ . Therefore, there is

<sup>1065</sup> The values of mean ranks for the two social classes are quite far as 180.38 for the low-income and 256.09 for the upper-middle income. The values of Mann-Whitney  $U = 11165$ ,  $z = -6.301$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is a significant difference in the frequency of the lower income and the upper-middle income class respondents towards "I perform congregational prayers with their family".

significant difference in the frequency of the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income earners towards the statement.

Table 6.9: Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on the Frequency of Performing Congregational Prayers with the Family

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
I perform congregational prayers with my family	Low-income (LI)	280	266.28	Mann-Whitney U	35218.000
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	336.30	Wilcoxon W	74558.000
				Z	-5.110
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	Low-income (LI)	280	180.38	Mann-Whitney U	11165.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	256.09	Wilcoxon W	50505.000
Z				-6.301	
Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	218.60	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
			Mann-Whitney U	17855.500	
			Wilcoxon W	71483.500	
Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	250.41	Z	-2.416	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.016	

Islam also encourages the Muslims' good relation with neighbours, communities and other creatures like the environment. Majority of the respondents at all levels of social classes strongly practice good relations with neighbours and community, but slightly difference in the percentage of the response towards the statement. 92 per cent of the middle-middle income, 91.3 per cent of the upper-middle income and 88.6 per cent of the low-income respondents frequently cares on having a good relation with neighbours and community. The low-income received the highest in the percentage of sometimes that cares for neighbours and community with 10 per cent respondents, in contrast to 8.7 per cent of the upper-middle income and 8 per cent of the middle-middle income respondents.

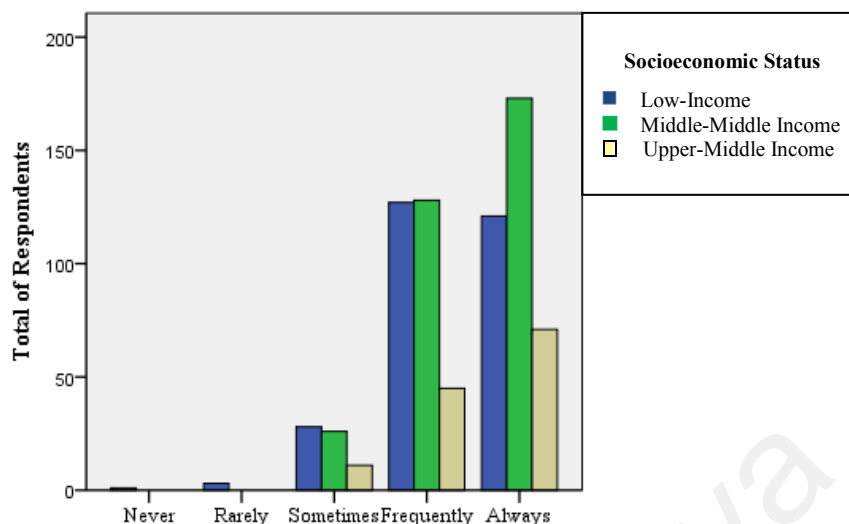


Figure 6.17: Respondents' Frequency on Caring about Having a Good Relation with the Neighbours and Community

The Mann-Whitney U test has been run and proven significant to see the differences in the frequency towards the statement between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income.<sup>1066</sup> The p value for all the Mann-Whitney U test is less than .05. Therefore, there are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income; and between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency towards the statement. There is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes as the two middle classes have demonstrated their high level in communication with their neighbours and community and the p value is  $> .05$ .<sup>1067</sup>

## 6.6 Score of Islamic Practices

The Malay Muslims low and middle classes have demonstrated different level of Islamic practices as can be seen in Figure 6.18. The low-income respondents differed

<sup>1066</sup> The values of mean ranks between these social classes are quite far as stated in Table 10.31 in Appendix A.

<sup>1067</sup> Refer to Table 10.31 in Appendix A.

from the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income earners in the total score of Islamic practices. 79.5 per cent (101) of the upper-middle income and 74 per cent (242) of the middle-middle income scored high level in Islamic practices in contrast to only 36.1 per cent (101) of the low-income respondents who have reached at the same level of Islamic practices. On the other hand, 61.1 per cent of the low-income earners achieved the moderate level in Islamic practices succeeded by 26 per cent of the middle-middle income and 20.5 per cent of the upper-middle income classes. About 2.8 per cent of the low-income respondents have reached at the low level which ranks between 24 to 55 points.

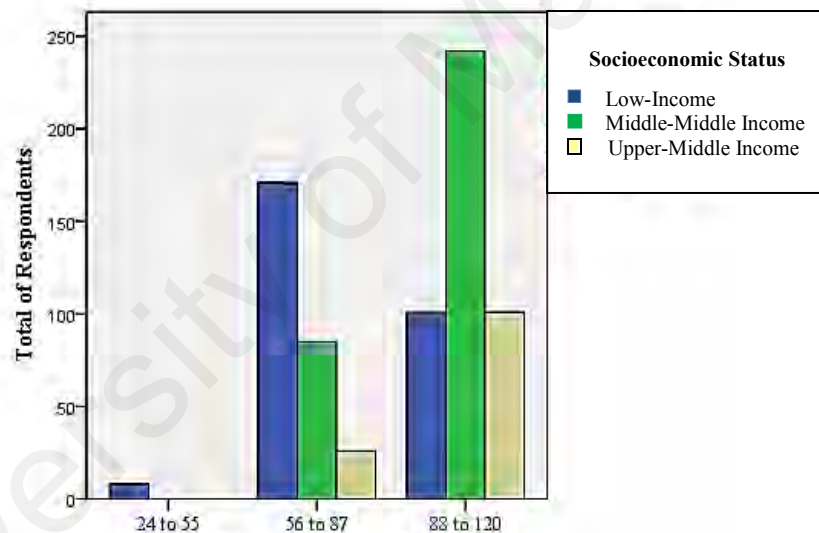


Figure 6.18: Respondents' Score in Islamic Practices

Most of the members of the Islamic non-governmental organisations (88 per cent - 132), the non-government Islamic political party (89.9 per cent - 98) and the government Islamic organisations (71.4 per cent - 20) have scored high level in Islamic practices, compared to 66.7 per cent (62) of pro-government political party, 51.8 per cent (177) of the independent individuals, 50 per cent (6) of the NGO welfare organisation who have scored the moderate level in Islamic practices. Individuals who scored the low level in Islamic practices consisted of five independents and three pro-

government supporters of the low-income classes. The low-income classes who have scored the high level in Islamic practices involved 36.7 per cent (40) members of Islamic political party, 21.4 per cent (6) workers of government Islamic organisations, 14 per cent (21) members of Islamic NGO organisation, 9.4 per cent (32) of the independents, 8.3 per cent (1) is a member of NGO welfare organisations and 3.2 per cent (3) are supporters of the pro-government political party.

As described in Table 5.10, there are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents and between the low-income and the upper-middle income earners in the total score of Islamic practices. The values of mean ranks between these social classes are quite far. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant with the p value is  $<.05$ . In other words, there are significant differences in the total score of the low-income and the middle-middle classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income respondents towards Islamic practices. There is no significant difference can be seen between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes as most of the two social classes have scored higher level of Islamic practices and only few respondents have attained at the moderate level in the score of Islamic practices.

Despite the fact that there are significant differences in the score of Islamic practices between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income earners as verified through the Mann-Whitney U test, this also does not mean that economic differences do prevent the low-income class to reach the high level in Islamic practices. About 36.1 per cent (101) of the low-income respondents can reach the high level in Islamic practices, although their score in Islamic practices and household monthly income are lesser than the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes. Majority of the low-income respondents scored at the moderate level of Islamic practices.

Table 6.10: Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on the Score in Islamic Practices

Item	Social Classes	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
Score in Islamic Practices	Low-income (LI)	280	240.76	Mann-Whitney U	28073.500
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	358.15	Wilcoxon W	67413.500
				Z	-9.527
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	Low-income (LI)	280	176.03	Mann-Whitney U	9949.500
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	265.66	Wilcoxon W	49289.500
			Z	-8.146	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	223.99	Mann-Whitney U	19618.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	236.53	Wilcoxon W	73246.000
			Z	-1.227	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.220	

Pearson Correlation Coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between efforts of various Islamic organisations (agents of Islamic Resurgence) and respondents' score Islamic practices ( $r = .097$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In other words, the increase in the efforts of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia, especially in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur could help to increase Malay Muslims' Islamic practices.

Pearson also found that there are positive relationships between total score of Islamic practices and "I am a pious Muslim", ( $r = .667$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This has indicated that as the characteristics of the pious believer increases, Islamic practices increases. There has been a positive correlation between the score of Islamic practices and "I perceived my work as form of *'Ibādah* (worship)",  $r = .598$ ,  $p < .001$ . This has shown that those who are pious believers would perceive all his works as a form *'Ibādah* or obedience and obligation towards Allah SWT.

The total score of Islamic practices is significantly correlated with positive correlation with social classes ( $r = .367$ ,  $p < .001$ ), household income ( $r = .391$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and educational level ( $r = .375$ ,  $p < .001$ ). There is also strong correlation between total score of Islamic practices and 13 items in Islamic practices, which are "I read the Quran even though I am busy" ( $r = .675$ ,  $p < .001$ ), "I and my family look for opportunities to give *sadāqah* (charity)" ( $r = .627$ ,  $p < .001$ ), "I practice the *do'a* (*dhikir*, prayers), and

*ma'thūrāt* to close to God" ( $r = .622, p < .001$ ), "I make my best efforts to increase my *Ibādah* or worship towards Allah SWT" ( $r = .619, p < .001$ ), "I always attending the religious knowledge gathering (*usrah*, talks, religious classes) which was conducted at my hometown" ( $r = .617, p < .001$ ), "I am trying to improve my *sunnah* prayers and fastings" ( $r = .609, p < .001$ ), Believing in the creeds of Islam (*shahādah*), "I make all efforts to perform religious duty to the best of my ability" ( $r = .603, p < .001$ ), "I involved in the Islamic *da'wah* and welfare works dealing with Muslim and the non-Muslim community" ( $r = .591, p < .001$ ), "I used Arabic words such as *Ummi, Ana, solāt* in my daily conversations" ( $r = .567, p < .001$ ), "I perform five times daily prayers" ( $r = .564, p < .001$ ), "I begin my works with *Basmallah*" ( $r = .545, p < .001$ ), "I have started saving money for hajj since my early working days" ( $r = .520, p < .001$ ), "I perform congregational prayers with my family" ( $r = .502, p < .001$ ). There is a moderate significant relationship between total score of Islamic practices and *surau* and mosques attendance ( $r = .427, p < .001$ ). These have indicated that those who have reached a high level in the total score of Islamic practices had scored high level in most items of the Islamic practices.

## 6.7 Conclusion

Most of the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes demonstrate their high commitment in the practice of Islamic teaching; compared to a moderate and the low level of the low-income classes in Islamic practices. The commitment in the Islamic practices relates with the high commitment in practising the Quran recitation, increasing the worship to Allah SWT, attending the religious knowledge programmes, trying to improve the optional prayers and fastings, perform five times daily prayers,

perform congregational prayers with my family, reciting *Basmallah*, and involving in the Islamic *da'wah* work.

The study has found that the practice in Islam correlates with the educational level, household income and social class though with a weak correlation. However, individual attachment with the Islamic organisation, religious programmes and try at the best efforts to increase worshipping Allah SWT contribute to the major commitment in Islamic practices, regardless of social income classes and household income. This has indicated that involvement in Islamic-based organisations, institutions and programmes may help the Malay Muslims' tendency towards increasing their religious practices and obligations.

University of Malaya



## CHAPTER 7

### THE ISLAMIC RESURGENCE AND RELIGIOUS LIFESTYLES OF THE MALAY MIDDLE AND LOW INCOME CLASSES

#### 7.1 Introduction

The religiosity of the Malay middle and low-income classes can also be measured by looking at their lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism. Lifestyles are always dependent on the life standards of the individual as unit of society. In sociology, lifestyles are closely associated with social class practised in a particular society. As the definition of the Malay according to the Malaysian Constitution consists of Islam as its core religion and culture, thus, lifestyles of the Malay includes Islamic lifestyle and cultures, tendency of adopting Islamic attires and consumerism.

This chapter reveals the lifestyles of the Malay middle and low-income classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. This chapter aims to answer research question 5 and research objective 3 that are to examine the difference between the Malay middle and low-income classes in terms of the Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism attached with Islamic identity in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

#### 7.2 Religious Lifestyles

Lifestyle can be defined as a way of living which reflects attitudes and the values that have been embraced by each person.<sup>1068</sup> According to Crompton, lifestyles have become more significant in class formation. This claim is consistent with Giddens's affirmation that lifestyles are description of the material forms of self-identity.<sup>1069</sup> The lifestyle

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<sup>1068</sup> Robert Kamieneski, Clive M. Brown, Karen M. Perrin, and Karen. Dindial, 'Health benefits achieved through the Seventh-Day Adventist Wellness Challenge Program', *Alternative Therapies in Health and Medicine*, Vol. 6, No. 6, 2000, pp. 65-69; Liv Wergeland Sørbye, Sigrunn Holbe Sørbye, and Øystein Elgen, 'Religious Faith, Lifestyle and Health - An Empirical Study of the People Of Oslo', *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2006, p. 33, pp. 31-47. See also the definition of lifestyles according to Ashoori et.al. Jamal Ashoori, and Mohammad Ashoori., 'The Relationship Between Life Style, Coping Strategies and Religiosity With General Health in Iranian Students', *International Journal of Public Health Science (IJPHS)*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 2013, pp. 123-128.

<sup>1069</sup> See, William C. Cockerham, 'Health Lifestyle Theory and the Convergence of Agency and Structure,' *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol. 46, No. 51, March 2005, p. 52, pp. 51- 67; Rosemary Crompton, *Class and Stratification*, 2d ed., Oxford,

variables included in the study can be categorised as a) lifestyles b) cultivating the Islamic culture, values and identity c) physical appearance d) Islamic consumerism. Sixteen items with the 5-rated or ranks of frequency are included to be calculated in the score of Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism.<sup>1070</sup> Interpretation of the respondents' score in the overall sub-domain of Islamic lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism is calculated according to the scale below.

Table 7.1: Interpretation of Respondents' Response in the Islamic Lifestyles Scale

<b>Mean Value</b>	<b>Total Score in the Islamic Lifestyles</b>	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Interpretation</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Interpretation</b>
<b>3.67 – 5.00</b>	58.7 - 80	High/Good	Positive
<b>2.34 – 3.66</b>	37.3 - 58.6	Moderate	Moderate
<b>1.00 – 2.33</b>	16 - 37.3	Low	Negative

The Malay middle and low-income classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur demonstrated diverse lifestyles as can be seen in the practice of moderation, practice of Islamic values, types of house, social activities, choice of the main newspaper and magazines, tendency to choose primary, secondary and the tertiary levels of education and personal identity.

More than half or 54.4 per cent (178) of the Malay middle-middle income class always practise moderation in life similar to 48 per cent (61) of the upper-middle income class also share the same level of frequency (always) in practising moderation of life. However, about 43.2 per cent (121) of the low-income frequently practise this concept in life. The practice of moderation is applied when they appreciate the needs, necessity and the convenience of living compared to luxury.<sup>1071</sup> Thus, the study has found that no significant differences exist between the upper-middle and the middle-

United Kingdom: Polity Press, 1998; Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

<sup>1070</sup> Thirteen (13) multi-choice items (D17 to D29) are excluded to be calculated in the score of Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism. These items are explained in description analysis.

<sup>1071</sup> See, Figure 10.5, Table 10.32 in Appendix A.

middle income and between the low and the upper-middle income classes towards practicing the moderation in life as the p value is  $>.05$ .<sup>1072</sup>

There is a significant difference between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes in the frequency of practising moderation in life and appreciating the needs, necessity and the convenience of living compared to luxury, as  $p <.05$ .<sup>1073</sup> No significant difference can be found between the upper-middle and the middle-middle income towards the statement as the two classes are similar in the two highest level of frequency (always and frequently). Only a few of the upper-middle income earners who sometimes (11.8 per cent or 15), rarely (4.7 per cent or 6) and never (1.6 per cent or 2) appreciate the needs, necessity and the convenience of living, compared to luxury but these figures have shown that there is no significant difference between the low-income and the upper-middle classes in the frequency towards the statement.

Another aspect of lifestyles that can be seen within the low-income and the two middle income groups is their social activity. About 46.5 per cent of the middle-middle income and 43.3 per cent of the upper-middle income classes are involved in religious classes and *usrah* as their main social activity compared to only 30.7 per cent of the low-income class who participate in similar activity as the two groups of the middle-income classes. It stands that 18.1 per cent of the upper-middle income classes are involved in the mosque and religious organisation committee, similar to 15 per cent of the middle-middle income and 14.6 per cent of the low-income classes. About 14.2 per cent of the upper-middle class participate in the professional body, whereas 16.4 per

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<sup>1072</sup> See, Table 10.32 in Appendix A.

<sup>1073</sup> The Mann-Whitney U test verified these differences in two different statements between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes as described in Figure 10.5, Table 10.32, and Figure 10.6, Table 10.33 in Appendix A. In the statement of “I practice moderation in life”, the value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 284.29 and 320.87 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is clear. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 40262.500,  $z = -2.826$  (2-tailed),  $p = .005 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is a significant difference in the acknowledgment of the lower income and the middle-middle income respondents towards their practice of moderation in life. In the other statement which is saying that, “I appreciate the needs, necessity and the convenience of living compared to luxury”, the value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 287.15 and 318.43 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is clear. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 41063.000,  $z = -2.403$  (2-tailed),  $p = .016 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is a significant difference between the lower income and the middle-middle income respondents in appreciating the needs, necessity and the convenience of living compared to luxury. Refer to Figure 10.5, Table 10.32, and Figure 10.6, Table 10.33 in Appendix A.

cent of the low-income class involved in sports and other 10.7 per cent of the low-income also involved in leisure and entertainment.

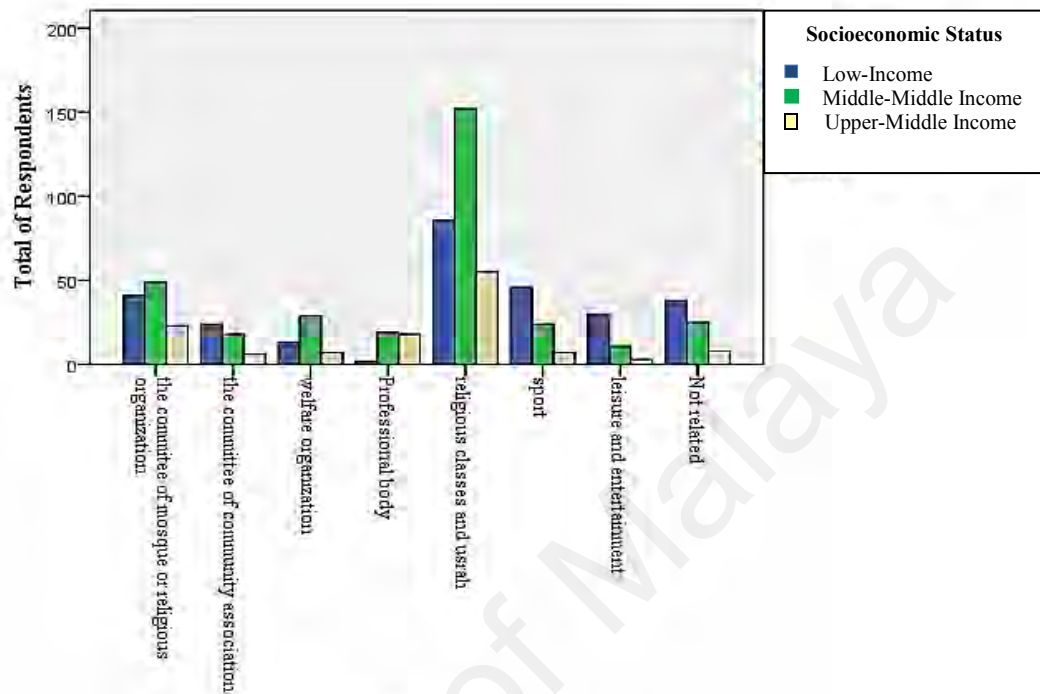


Figure 7.1: Respondents' Social Activity

It can be concluded that there are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in social activities as the p value from the Mann-Whitney U test is  $< .05$  and the value of the mean rank between the selected social classes is quite far.<sup>1074</sup> Otherwise, there is no significant difference in the social activities between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes as the p value is  $> .05$  and most of the two middle-income classes are involved in religious classes and organisations.<sup>1075</sup>

<sup>1074</sup> The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the middle-middle income classes are 332.55 and 279.56 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is clear. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 37787.000,  $z = -3.842$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is a significant difference between the low-income and the middle-middle income respondents in social activity. The Mann-Whitney U test also verified a significant difference between the low-income and the upper middle income classes in the same statement. The value of mean ranks for the low-income and the upper-middle income class are 219.04 and 170.84 respectively. The gap in the value of means for the two classes is clear. The result of Mann-Whitney U test is significant. The values of Mann-Whitney U = 13569.000,  $z = -3.930$  (2-tailed),  $p = .000 < 0.05$ . In other words, there is a significant difference between the lower income and the upper middle income classes in social activity.

<sup>1075</sup> See Table 10.34 in Appendix A.

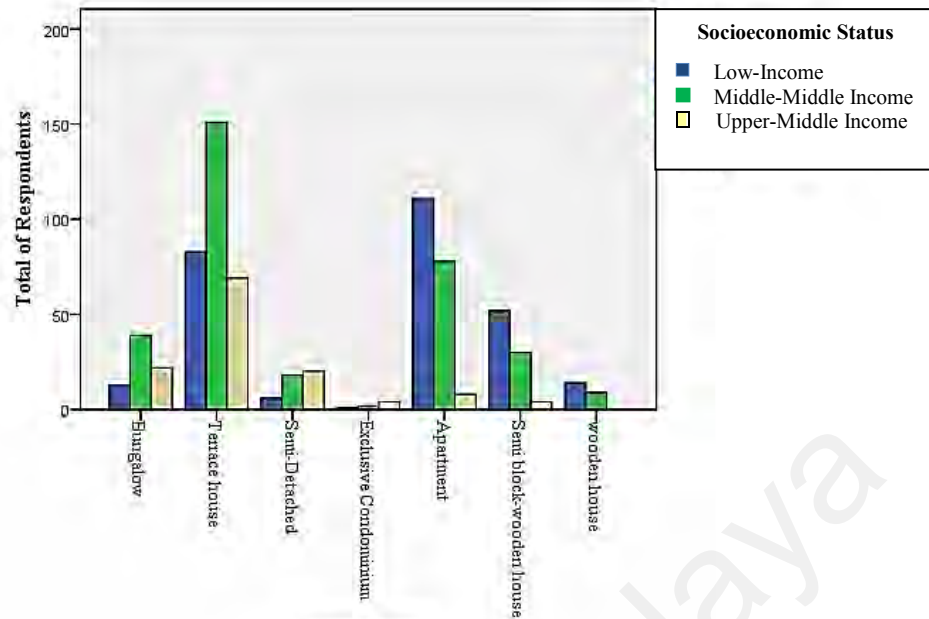


Figure 7.2: Respondents' Type of House

There are significant differences among the three social income classes of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur in the type of houses that they lived in. About 17.3 per cent (22) of the upper-middle income live in a bungalow, as similar to 11.9 per cent (39) of the middle-middle income and 4.6 per cent (1) of the low-income classes. It stands at 15.7 per cent (20) of the upper-middle income class, however, live in semi-detached house, while, 20.6 per cent (151) of the middle-middle income live in a terrace house compared to 11.3 per cent (83) of the low-income and 9.4 per cent of the upper-middle income classes who also live in the same type of house.

Most of the low-income urban citizens in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur live in the apartment. They are represented by 39.6 per cent (112) of the low-income earners. However, a few of the middle-middle income with 23.9 per cent (78) of them and a small number of the upper-middle income classes (6.3 per cent or 8) also live in the apartment. 18.6 per cent (52) of the low-income earners live in the semi block-wooden house, in contrast to 3.1 per cent (4) of the upper-middle income earners who live in exclusive condominium.

The study has shown that there are significant differences in the type of houses between the low-income and the middle-middle income; and between the low-income and the upper-middle income; and between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes in which the gap of the value mean rank is quite far and the p value for all test is  $.000 < .05$ . The Mann-Whitney U test is significant to examine the difference between each two groups of the three social classes in the study.<sup>1076</sup>

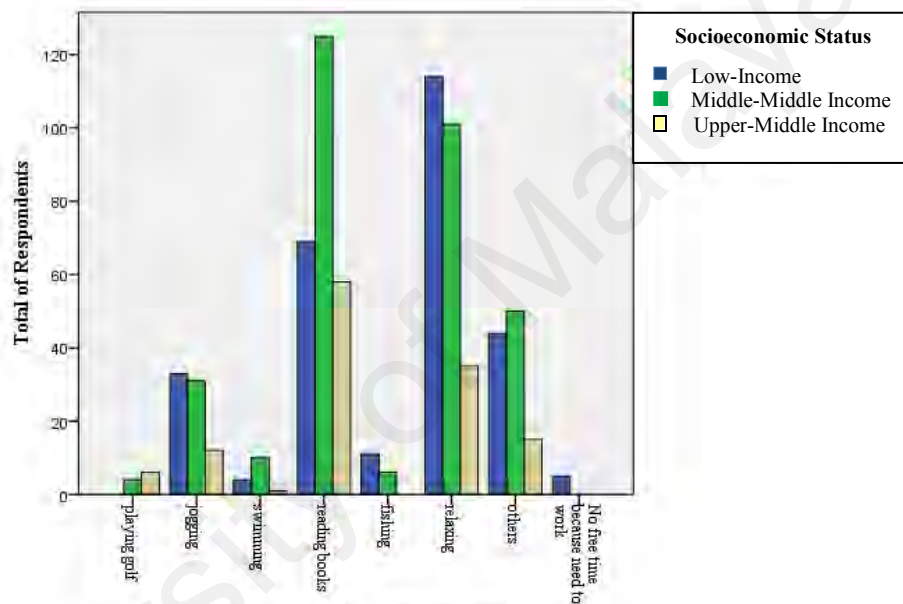


Figure 7.3: Respondents' Main Activity during Free Time

Figure 7.3 points out the respondents' main activity during their free time. Most of the upper-middle and the middle-middle income classes (45.7 per cent and 38.2 per cent respectively) prefer to read books during their free time in contrast to 40.7 per cent (114) of the low-income class who prefer to relax without doing any activity at their leisure time. About 4.7 per cent (6) of the upper-middle and 1.2 per cent (4) prefer playing golf during their free time, compared to 1.8 per cent (5) of the low-income who have no free time because they need to work.

<sup>1076</sup> See Table 10.35 in Appendix A.

The study has indicated that there are significant differences in the main activity during free time between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes as the p value is  $< .05$  based on the Mann-Whitney U test. No significant difference has been found between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes as they are close in the percentage of each activity and the p value is  $.134 > .05$ . Most of the middle-middle and the upper-middle prefer to read books, relax, jogging, playing golf and doing other activities, in contrast to the low-income earners who prefer to relax, do some activities, like fishing. Some of them claim that they have no free time because they need to work.<sup>1077</sup>

### **7.3 Islamic Culture, Values and Identity**

Most of the low-income earners rarely inculcate Islamic environment like hanging the Islamic features and identity at home compared to the two groups of the middle classes, namely the upper-middle and the middle-middle income classes. The upper-middle and the middle-middle income classes are the highest in the two highest level of frequency, “always” and “frequently”. About 48 per cent (61) of the upper-middle income always inculcate Islamic environment at home, and 41.9 per cent of the middle-middle income frequently practice such Islamic-based surroundings compared to 29.9 per cent, 4.3 per cent and 4.6 per cent of the low-income who sometimes, rarely and never respectively inculcate Islamic environment or identity at home.

The Mann-Whitney U test is proven significant to test differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency towards the statement. The p value in these differences are  $.000 < .05$ .<sup>1078</sup> No significant differences between the middle-middle and

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<sup>1077</sup> Refer to Table 10.36 in Appendix A.

<sup>1078</sup> See, Table 10.37 in the Appendix A.

the upper-middle income classes exist towards the statement as the two classes have shown high tendency in Islamic culture like hanging Islamic calligraphy and frame.

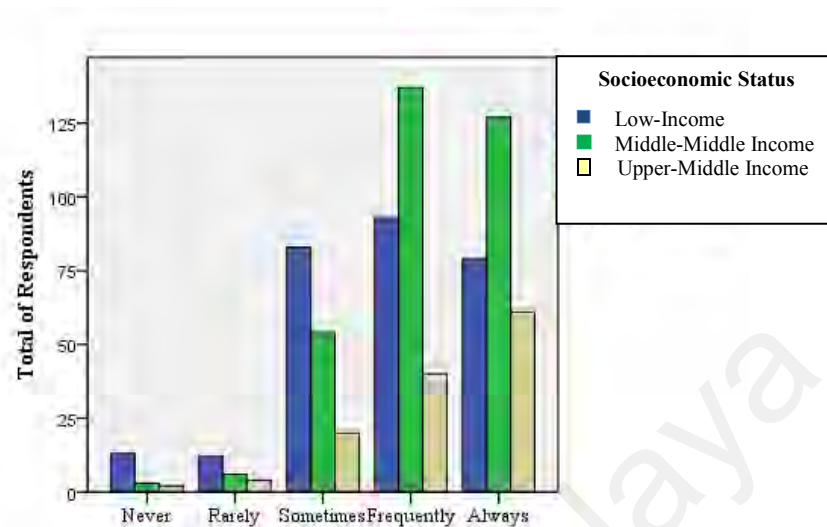


Figure 7.4: Respondents' Frequency on I or My Family Inculcates Islamic Environment (like Hanging Islamic Features Frame) at Home

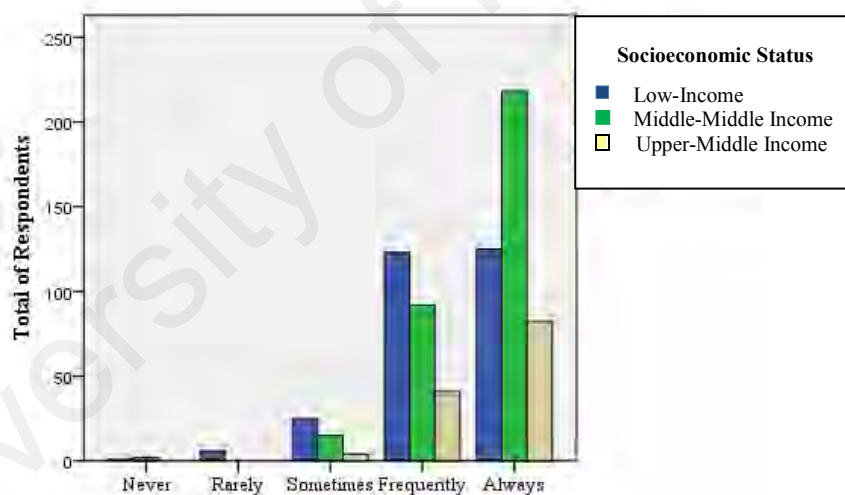


Figure 7.5: Respondents' Frequency on I make All Efforts to create an Islamic Culture and Work Ethic, Like Trust, Clean and Efficient at Work

Most of the upper-middle and the middle-middle income classes have shown that they always make all efforts to create an Islamic culture and work ethics, like trust, clean and efficient at work.<sup>1079</sup> The low-income however, is the highest that frequently; sometimes, rarely and never make all efforts to create an Islamic culture like trust, clean and efficient at work with 43.9 per cent, 8.9 per cent, 2.1 per cent and 0.4 per cent

<sup>1079</sup> 64.5 per cent (82) of the upper-middle and 66.7 per cent (218) of the middle-middle income classes showed that they always make all efforts to create an Islamic culture like trust, clean and efficient at work.



respectively. There are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency towards the statement as can be seen in the Mann-Whitney U Test result, in Table 10.38 of Appendix A. The p value in these differences is  $< .05$ .

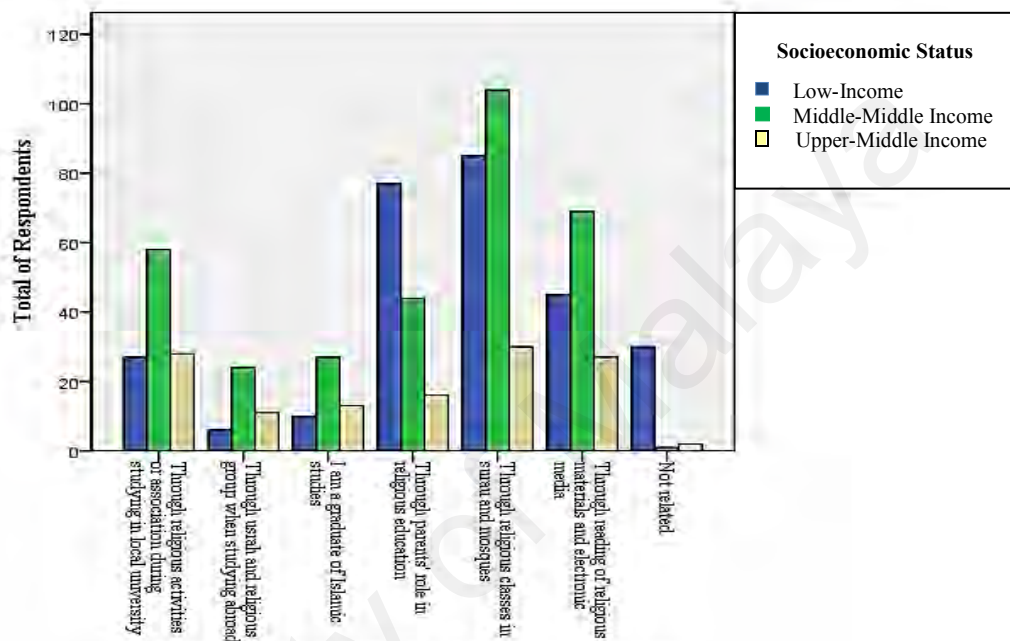


Figure 7.6: Method used by the Respondents to learn and understand Islam More Deeply

Islam encourages its adherents to practise knowledge seeking culture and behaviours, search for either the revealed or the acquired knowledge, as mentioned in the first verse revealed to the Prophet SAW, “Proclaim! (or Read!). In the name of thy Lord and Cherisher who created.”<sup>1080</sup> The Malay respondents have also shown their keenness to study Islam through many methods of learning as can be seen in Figure 7.6.

There are many ways used by the respondents to learn and understand Islam more deeply. About 30.4 per cent (85) of the low-income, 31.8 per cent (104) of the middle-middle income and 23.6 per cent (30) of the upper-middle income classes use religious classes in *surau* and mosques to understand Islam more deeply. Most of the low-income

<sup>1080</sup> Surah al ‘Alaq , 96:1. See, Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Meaning of The Holy Quran*, Maryland, U.S.A.: Amana Corporation, 1992, p. 1672.

earners claim that they understand Islam through parents' role in religious education with 27.5 per cent (77) agree with this method, compared to 13.5 per cent (44) of the middle-middle income and 12.6 per cent (16) of the upper-middle income classes also agree with this method to understand Islam.

As described in Figure 7.6, about 21.1 per cent (69) of the middle-middle income, 21.3 per cent (27) of the upper-middle income and 16.1 per cent (45) of the low-income classes understand Islam through reading of religious materials and electronic media. 22 per cent (28) of the upper-middle income, 17.7 per cent (58) of the middle-middle income and 9.6 per cent of the low-income (27) have claimed that they understand Islam through religious activities or association during studying in the local university.<sup>1081</sup>

A few respondents of the upper-middle income (8.7 per cent or 11), the middle-middle income (7.3 per cent or 24) and the low-income (2.1 per cent or 6) earners understand Islam through *usrah* and religious group when studying abroad. 10.2 per cent (13) of the upper-middle income, 8.3 per cent (27) of the middle-middle income and 3.6 per cent (10) of the low-income classes admits that they understand Islam because they are graduates of Islamic studies. 10.7 per cent (30) of the low-income class claim that they are not involved in studying Islam any more, in contrast to 1.6 per cent (2) of the upper-middle income and 0.3 per cent (1) of the middle-middle income classes who do not participate in the same learning process.

The above findings have shown that there are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the way used to understand Islam, where the gap in the value of the mean rank between the groups is quite clear and the p value for all two Mann-Whitney U tests are  $.001 < .05$ . There is no significant difference between the upper-middle and the middle-middle income classes in the way used to understand Islam as

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<sup>1081</sup> Refer to Figure 7.6.

the two classes are close in the percentage of each way used to understand Islam and the p value is  $>.05$ .<sup>1082</sup>

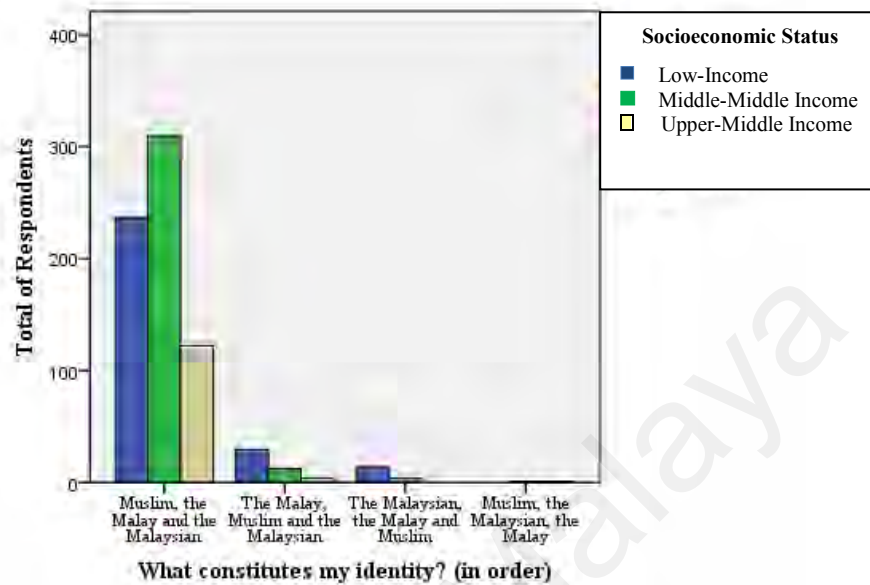


Figure 7.7: Respondents' Personal Identity

Most of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur have regarded themselves as Muslim first, then as Malay and then as Malaysian. They represent 96.1 per cent (122) of the upper-middle income, 94.8 per cent (310) of the middle-middle income and 84.6 per cent (237) of the low-income classes. However, 10.4 per cent (29) of the low-income class has regarded themselves as Malay (ethnic) first, followed by a Muslim (religion) and then a Malaysian (nationality) at the last position. Conversely, one respondent of the upper-middle and the middle-middle income classes respectively regarded themselves as Muslim (religion) first, and then followed by being Malaysian (nationality) and Malay or ethnic group as the last position to reflect their identity.

There are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the percentage towards personal identity. The gap of the value mean rank between the two groups is quite far and the p value for all two Mann-Whitney U tests are  $<.05$ . On the

<sup>1082</sup> See Table 10.39 in Appendix A.

other hand, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes in the percentage towards the statement as the two classes have shown their high dedication to the first statement that deals with religion, ethnic and nationality in order. The p value between the two classes is  $.572 > .05$ .<sup>1083</sup> Thus, the study has revealed that the Malays, in particular the two groups of the Malay middle-income classes and the low-income regarded themselves by their faith first than other identities, such as ethnic and nationality. A few of the Malay low-income respondents (10.4 per cent) still put their ethnic and nationality beyond the religious identity.

#### **7.4 Physical Appearance**

Among an obvious physical appearance which differentiates Muslim believers and the non-believers is the wearing of *hijāb* or headscarf. Most of the upper-middle (92.1 per cent or 117) and the middle-middle income classes (89.6 per cent or 293) or their wives always wear headscarf when going out of the house, compared to 73.2 per cent (205) who have shown similar tendency of wearing the headscarf. The low-income earners are the highest who frequently, sometimes, rarely and never wear headscarf when going out of the home with 16.1, 5.4, 1.8 and 3.6 per cents respectively, in the four low rates of frequencies towards the statement.

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<sup>1083</sup> Refer to Table 10.40 in Appendix A.

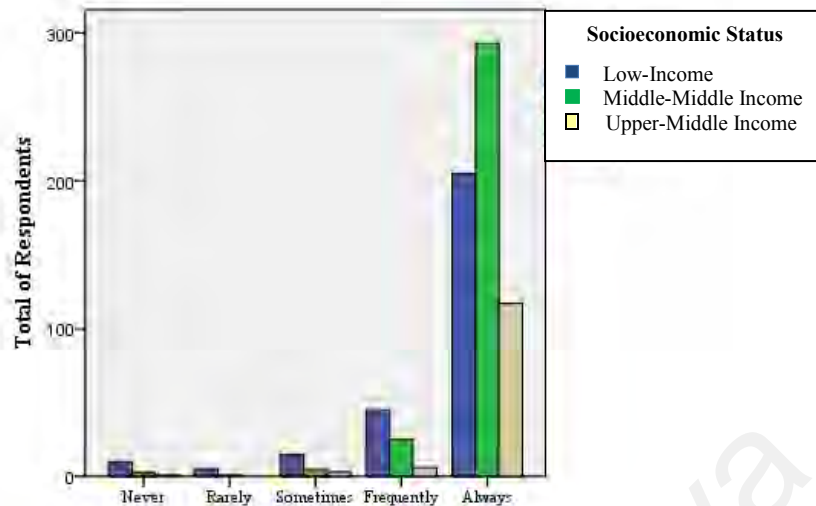


Figure 7.8: Respondents' Frequency on I or My Wife always wear Headscarf When going out of the House

The Mann-Whitney U test has verified the significance to examine the differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency towards respondents' or their wives on the statement of wearing the headscarf. The gap of the value mean rank between the two groups alternately is quite far and the p value is  $<.05$  as can be seen in Table 10.41 in Appendix A. However, there is no significant difference between the upper-middle and the middle-middle income classes as the two middle income classes are quite close in the value of mean ranks and the p value is  $>.05$ . The two middle-income classes or their wives have also showed their high commitment in practising the wearing of headscarf as most of them always put it when going out of the home.

The study has shown that most of the upper-middle and the middle-middle income or their wife always put their headscarf, whereas some of the low-income earners never, rarely and sometimes wear veil to reflect their commitment in the practice of Islamic teaching. Even though there are differences in the frequency between the low-income and the two middle-income classes, nevertheless wearing headscarf is an obvious culture and common trends in dressing among the Malay women in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

Since 1970s, the progress of Islamic Resurgence has changed the Malays culture to practise the wearing of headscarf. Media has also reported that more than 40 Malay female artists have transformed themselves and started to wear veil to show their new identity as a devoted Muslim and believer. Amongst the Malay female artists who have transformed themselves to this new image of Muslim female adherents (*Muslimah*) are Fauziah Ahmad Daud (Ogy), Noor Kumalasari, the late Sharifah Aini, Wardina Saffiyah, Irma Hasmie Ibrahim, Hayati (Yatt) Hamzah, Catriona Noorhayati Ross Bahrin Ross, Liza Hanim, and many others.<sup>1084</sup>

Wearing the headscarf or veil is not just a symbol of Islamic religiosity as well as a physical and visible tangible outcome of the Islamic Resurgence, but also a reflection of the Muslim's commitment to practise the teaching of Islam. The impact of the various efforts by actors of the Islamic Resurgence has changed the Malay Muslim's character from the ignorance adherent into the pious believer.

Wearing the headscarf is a part of attires which symbolise Islamic identity. Most of the upper-middle (61.4 per cent or 78) and the middle-middle income classes (57.2 per cent or 187) always prefer to choose attires which symbolise Islamic identity, such as Muslim *busana*, *kopiah* or *turban*, compared to only 35 per cent (98) of the low-income classes in the same frequency towards the statement. However, the low-income is the highest in the four levels of frequencies which are frequently, sometimes, rarely and never. The upper-middle and the middle-middle income are quite close in the percentage at all levels of frequencies and the two groups of middle classes have also shown the high commitment in choosing attires which symbolise Islamic identity.

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<sup>1084</sup> Akmaliah Razak, 'Dilema Artis berhijrah', *Sinar Harian*, 7 May 2014.

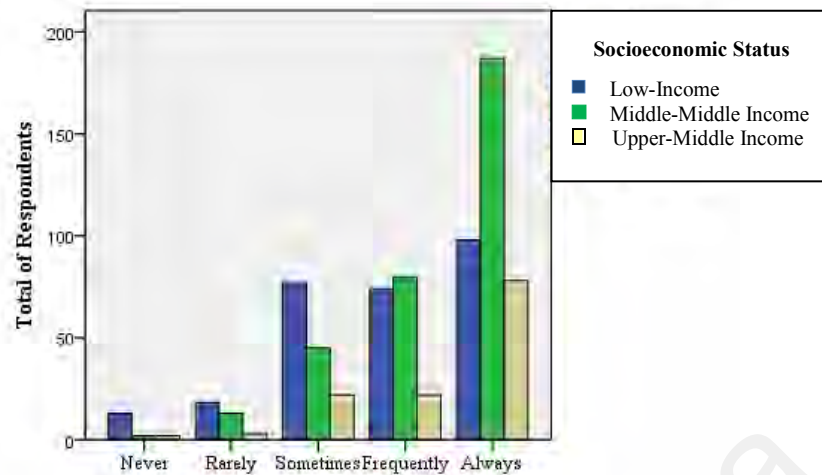


Figure 7.9: Respondents' Frequency on Choosing Attires which Symbolise Islamic Identity

The difference in the frequency between the social classes is tested by using the Mann-Whitney U test. There are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency of choosing attires which symbolise Islamic identity, as the p value is  $<.05$ . There is no significant difference between upper-middle and the middle-middle income classes as the two middle income classes have shown the high tendency in adopting the Muslim attires.<sup>1085</sup>

## 7.5 Consumerism

Most of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur buy Islamic products. The Malays middle and low-income classes in these urban states still differ in the frequency towards many statements of consumerism. The Malay upper-middle and the middle-middle classes residing in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur has demonstrated their high tendency in the choice of *IKIM Radio*, *TV9*, *Astro Oasis* and *TV Hijrah* Islamic channels, compared to moderate tendency of the low-income towards these Islamic channels. 45.7 per cent (58) of the upper-middle income and 42.8 per cent (140) of the middle-middle income respondents always choose *IKIM Radio*, *TV9*, *Astro Oasis* and *TV Hijrah* channels,

<sup>1085</sup> See Table 10.42 in Appendix A.

compared to only 26.4 per cent (74) of the low-income always choose the same channels. The two middle-income classes have also shown similar percentage in the second highest frequency (frequently level) towards the statement, but the low-income score highest in the moderate (sometimes) level of frequency.<sup>1086</sup> Five and 3.6 per cent of the low-income class respectively, rarely and never choose these channels as their preferable television programmes.

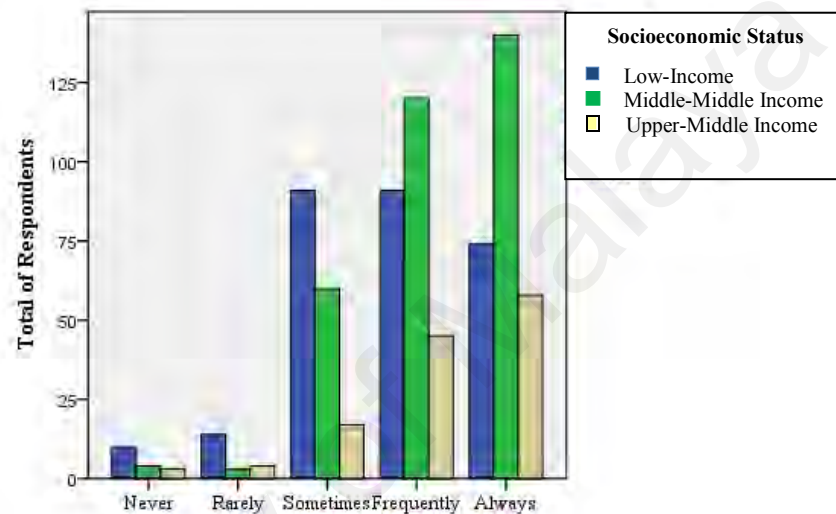


Figure 7.10: Respondents' Frequency on Choosing IKIM Radio, TV9, Astro Oasis and TV Hijrah Channels

The study has shown that there are significant differences in the frequency between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes towards the statement as the p value is  $<.05$ . The middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes, however demonstrated similar responses towards the statement as they have shown their high tendency in the choice of *IKIM Radio*, *TV9*, *Astro Oasis* and *TV Hijrah* channels. The p value in the Mann-Whitney U test between the two classes is  $.660 > .05$ . No significant differences the two groups of the middle-income towards the statement.<sup>1087</sup>

<sup>1086</sup> About 36.7 per cent (120) of the middle-middle income and 35.4 per cent (45) of the upper-middle income classes frequently choose *IKIM Radio*, *TV9*, *Astro Oasis*, and *TV Hijrah* as their preferable channels compare to 32.5 per cent or 91 respondents of the low-income class who frequently and sometimes choose these channels.

<sup>1087</sup> See Table 10.43 in Appendix A.



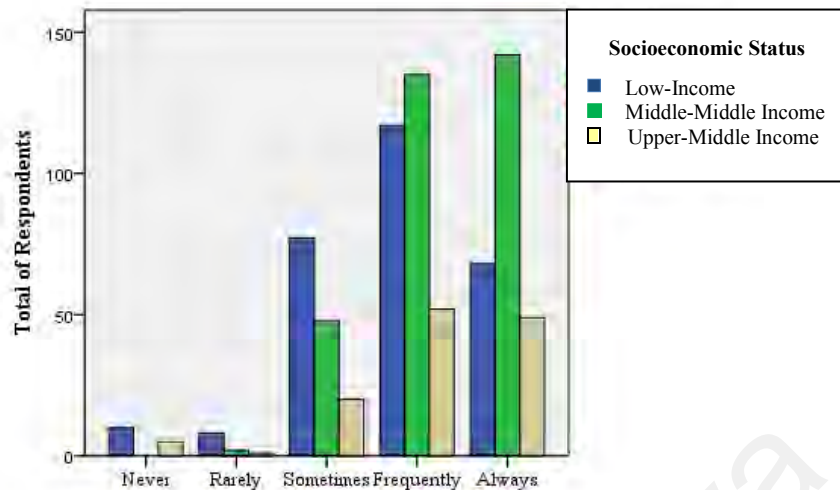


Figure 7.11: Respondents' Frequency on Preferring Dramas and Films which characterised with Elements of Advice, *Da'wah* and Islamic Education

Figure 7.11 illustrates the respondents' tendency to choose dramas and films with elements of advice, *da'wah* and education. About 84.7 per cent (277) of the middle-middle income and 79.5 per cent (101) of the upper-middle income classes prefer to watch dramas and films with elements of advice, *da'wah* and education, in contrast to only 66.1 per cent (185) of the low-income earners who choose such religious dramas and films. Conversely, 27.5 (77) of the low-income class sometimes select these type of dramas and films, in contrast to 14.7 per cent (48) of the middle-middle income and 15.7 per cent (20) of the upper-middle income classes who sometimes choose such dramas and films.

There are significant differences in the frequency of the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes towards the statement. The values of the mean rank between the social classes above are quite far. The Mann-Whitney U test has verified significant differences between the two social income classes alternately, and the p value is  $<.05$ . The middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes however, are similar and close in the frequency towards the statement. The Mann-Whitney U test has verified not significant and the p value between the two social classes is  $.170 > .05$ . In other words,

there is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency towards choosing dramas and films with elements of advice, *da'wah* and education as the two middle income classes most likely to choose them.<sup>1088</sup>

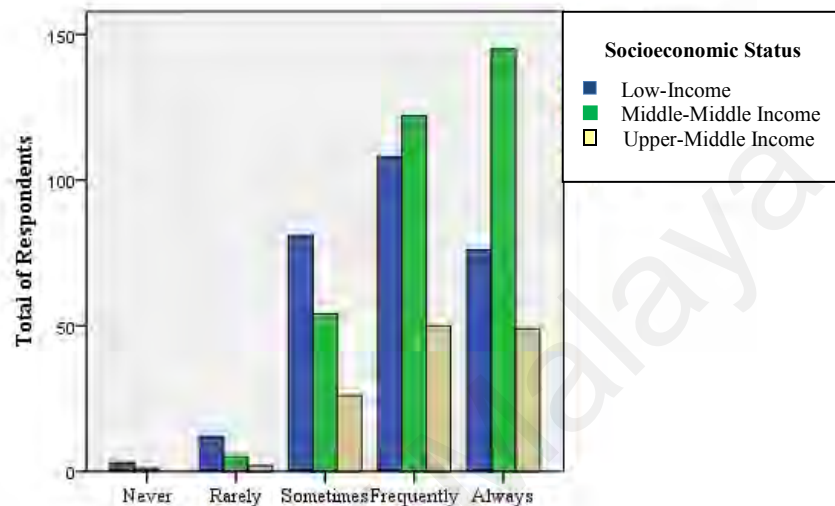


Figure 7.12: Respondents' Frequency on Preferring Islamic and Spiritual Rhythms

Most of the upper-middle income (88 per cent or 99) and the middle-middle income classes (81.6 per cent or 267) prefer Islamic and spiritual rhythms, compared to 64.4 per cent of the low-income classes who prefer such types of rhythms. The low-income earners have shown their moderate and negative level of frequency when most of them sometimes, rarely and never choose such type of religious and spiritual songs.<sup>1089</sup> There are significant differences in the frequency towards the statement between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes as the Mann-Whitney U test confirmed significant with the p value is <.05. Conversely, no significant differences between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency towards the statement as both two

<sup>1088</sup> Refer to Table 10.44 in Appendix A.

<sup>1089</sup> About 28.9 per cent (81) of the low-income respondents sometimes choose Islamic and spiritual rhythms, while the other 4.3 per cent and 1.1 per cent of the same class respectively rarely and never choose such types of rhythms.

classes showed the similar high tendency towards Islamic and spiritual rhythms and the p value between the two classes is  $.237 > .05$ .<sup>1090</sup>

*Nasyīd* is a noticeable musical component of the emergence of civil Islam in urban city of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. The term *nasyīd* derives from the Arabic root word, *nasyīd* (singular) and *Anāsyīd* (plural) which means spiritual chant or religious song.<sup>1091</sup> The trend of Islamic rhythm or *nasyīd* has increased its popularity in Malaysia and Indonesia. As a kind of spiritual musical rhythm, *nasyīd* has become a cultural phenomenon which plays a significant role in the Muslims' life in particular in the early 1990s when a *nasyīd* group, Raihan which consisted of five talented young men was formed under the patronage of Warner Music (M) Sdn. Bhd. Raihan's initial album entitled *Puji-pujian* (the Greatest Praise) emerged as the best-selling album with local gross sales exceeding 750,000 units. Malaysia Book of Records also recognised *Puji-pujian* as the best-selling album when it sold more than 200,000 in two months after its launching, and 3,500,000 units have been sold worldwide. The album makes Raihan the most successful Malaysian artist in terms of album sales and gained 12 times Platinum status and Double Platinum in Singapore.<sup>1092</sup>

For the first time in the history of *nasyīd* in Malaysia, Raihan shocked the Malaysian music industry when they won four awards of the Malaysian Music Industry Awards (MMIS or *Anugerah Industri Muzik Malaysia* - AIM) under the category of the Best New Group Awards, Best *Nasyīd* Album, Best Album and Kembara Award in 1998, surpassed all popular Western-style music to top the charts in Malaysia.<sup>1093</sup> The emergence and the success of Raihan in promoting *nasyīd* songs have encouraged more groups to be formed, such as Rabbani, Hijjaz, Saujana, Brothers, Diwani, Jauhari,

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<sup>1090</sup> Refer to Table 10.45 in Appendix A.

<sup>1091</sup> Bert Berendregt, 'The Art of No-Seduction: Muslim Boy-Band Music in Southeast Asia and the Fear of the Female Voice', *IJAS Newsletter*, No. 40, Spring 2006, p. 10.

<sup>1092</sup> Raihan is a Malaysian *nasyīd* group which means fragrance of the paradise. The group was formed by Farihin Abdul Fattah in 1996. The original members of this group are Azhari Ahmad (the late), Nazrey Johani, Abu Bakar Mohd Yatim, Che Amran Idris and Amran Ibrahim. Raihan emergence in the late 90s shaken Malaysia when songs like *Puji-Pujian*, *Iman Mutiara*, *Syukur* have brought its popularity to the highest achievement and recorded in the highest album sales in Malaysia. Raihan's successful was a triumph for a commercial *nasyīd* industry. Abd. Aziz Itar, 'Raihan - Masih Nombor Satu', *Utusan Malaysia*, 20 May 2005.

<sup>1093</sup> 'AIM 98 Sinar Baru Lagu *Nasyid*', *Utusan Malaysia*, 14 April 1998; Zulkiple Abd. Ghani, 'Islamic Popular Culture: Emerging of *Nasyīd* Groups in Malaysia', *Ulum Islamiyyah*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2006, p. 54.

Nowseeheart, In-Team, Firdaus, Saff One, Al-Anwar, Qathrunnada, UNIC, Mirwana and female group Solehah; and children's group, Aeman.<sup>1094</sup>

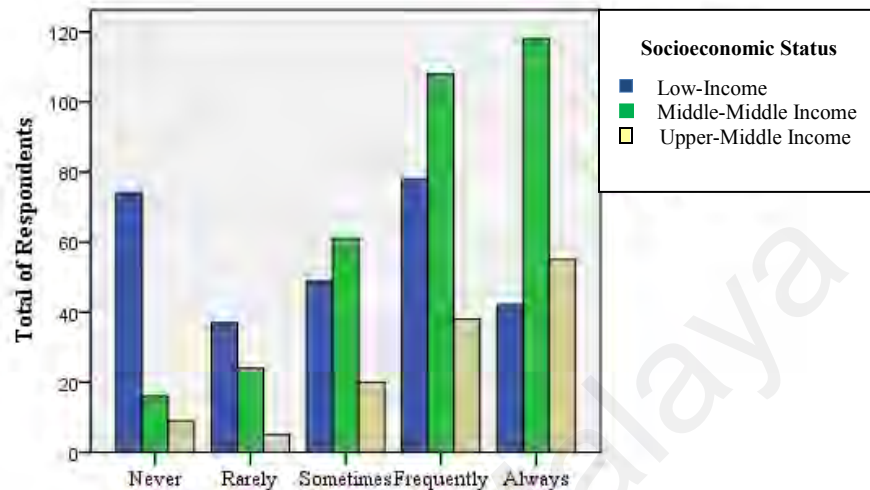


Figure 7.13: Respondents' Frequency on Choosing Beneficial and Religious Forms of Reading Materials

The two middle income classes in the study have shown their high tendency to choose beneficial and religious forms of reading materials than the low-income class. About 73.2 per cent (93) of the upper-middle income and 69.1 per cent (226) of the middle-middle income classes prefer beneficial and religious forms of reading materials in contrast to only 42.9 per cent (120) of the low-income class who choose similar type of reading materials. About 26.4 per cent of the low-income earners have never chosen beneficial and religious reading materials and the other 13.4 per cent of the similar social class also rarely select such reading materials.

There are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency towards the choice of beneficial and religious forms of reading materials, as the p value in the Mann-Whitney U test is  $<.05$ . There is no significant difference

<sup>1094</sup> See Table 10.45.1 in Appendix A, 'Irama Nasyid Dipinggir', *Utusan Malaysia*, 17 December 2000; 'Jauhari Tidak Anggap Nasyid Bermusim', *Utusan Malaysia*, 8 January 1999; 'Ae.Man Nasyid Kanak-Kanak', *Utusan Malaysia*, 16 December 1999; Zulkiple Abd. Ghani, 'Entertainment In Muslim Media: Unsettled Problem?', *Jurnal Hadhari*, No. 2, 2009, pp. 59, 53-63.

between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency towards the statement as the value of means rank between the two classes is quite close and the p value is  $>.05$ .<sup>1095</sup>

The finding above has been supported by the current trends in reading the religious materials reported by the mass media. The popular Malay newspapers, *Berita Harian* and *Sinar Harian* reported that a popular religious speaker and preacher, Ustaz Azhar Idrus won the “2013 *Berita Harian*’s Popular Choice of Reader Award” which was presented at Kuala Lumpur Convention Centre (KLCC). The BH-Popular Choice of Reader Award is contested in conjunction with the Bookfest@Malaysia held in KLCC that started from 13 August 2013.<sup>1096</sup>

Amongst popular reading materials which can be subscribed or purchased is a magazine. Magazine is normally a periodical publication enclosing articles, stories and pictures of interest which can be subscribed and purchased based on public demand.<sup>1097</sup> Most of the Malay middle-middle (59.3 per cent or 194) and the upper-middle income classes (58.3 per cent or 74) prefer to choose religious magazine as their main choice of magazine compared to low-income earners who choose health, family and entertainment magazines as their first choice.

About 21.1 per cent (59) of the low-income earners do not read magazine, while 10.2 per cent (13) of the upper-middle income and 4 per cent (13) of the middle-middle income classes read English magazines. Therefore, there are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes towards the choice of magazine. Table 10.47 in Appendix A illustrates that the p value in the differences is  $.000 < .05$ . There is no significant difference between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle

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<sup>1095</sup> Refer to Table 10.46 in Appendix A.

<sup>1096</sup> *Sinar Harian*, 6 August 2013, *Berita Harian*, 6 August 2013.

<sup>1097</sup> <http://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/magazine>.

income classes towards the statement as the two classes have shown their high tendency to read religious magazine.<sup>1098</sup>

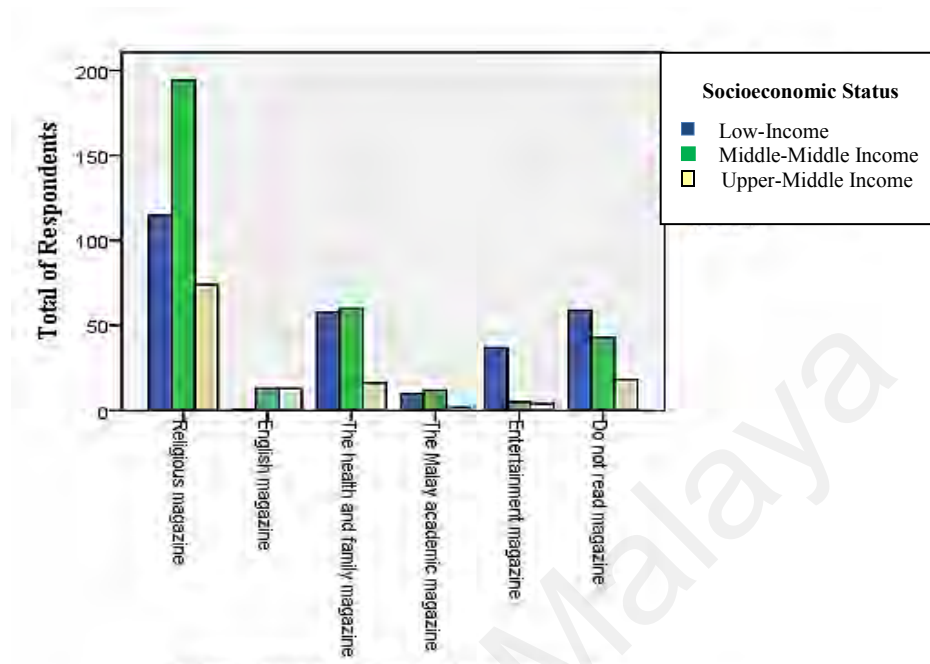


Figure 7.14: Respondents' Choice of Main Magazine

Most of the Malays from three different social classes choose the Malay newspaper as their main daily newspaper. Some of the low (23.2 per cent or 65) and the two groups of middle income classes (23.9 per cent of the middle-middle income and 20.5 per cent of the upper-middle income classes) choose political newspaper as their main reading of newspaper. However 21.3 per cent (27) of the upper-middle and 9.5 per cent (31) of the middle-middle income choose to read English newspaper, in contrast to 30.7 per cent (86) of the low-income earners who choose the tabloid newspapers, like *Harian Metro* and *Kosmo*.

<sup>1098</sup> Refer to Table 10.47 in Appendix A.

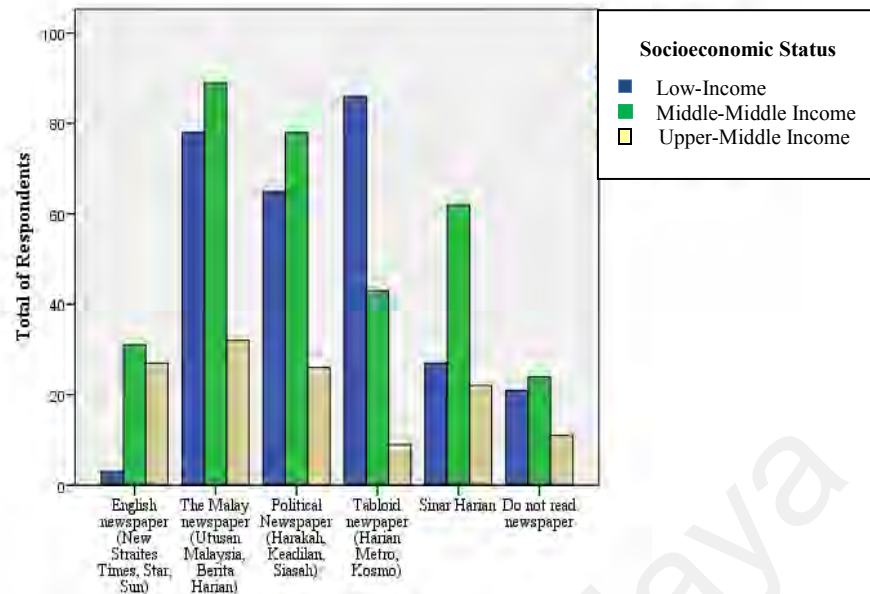


Figure 7.15: Respondents' Choice of Main Newspaper

There is no significant difference in the selection of the main newspaper between the low-income and middle-middle income and between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income earners, as they show quite similar percentage in the major selection of the main newspaper, in particular the Malay newspapers, like *Utusan Malaysia* and *Berita Harian* with 27.9 per cent, 27.2 and 25.2 per cent respectively for the Malay low-income, the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes. Similar trends in reading the political newspapers (*Harakah*, *Keadilan* and *Siasah*) can also be seen where 23.2 per cent of the low-income and 23.9 per cent of the middle income and 20.5 per cent of the upper-middle income classes selected this type of newspaper. In other words, there is no significant difference in the choice of the newspaper between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes towards the statement.

However, the study has revealed that there is a significant difference in the choice of main newspaper between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes as the value of mean ranks of the two groups is quite far and the p value is  $.002 < .05$ .<sup>1099</sup> About 30.7 per cent of the low-income respondents prefer to read tabloid newspapers,

<sup>1099</sup> See Table 10.48 in Appendix A.

like *Harian Metro*, *Kosmo*, naming a few, in contrast to 17.3 per cent of the upper-middle income who prefer to read moderate Malay newspaper, *Sinar Harian*, while the other 21.3 per cent of this upper-middle income also choose to read English newspaper.

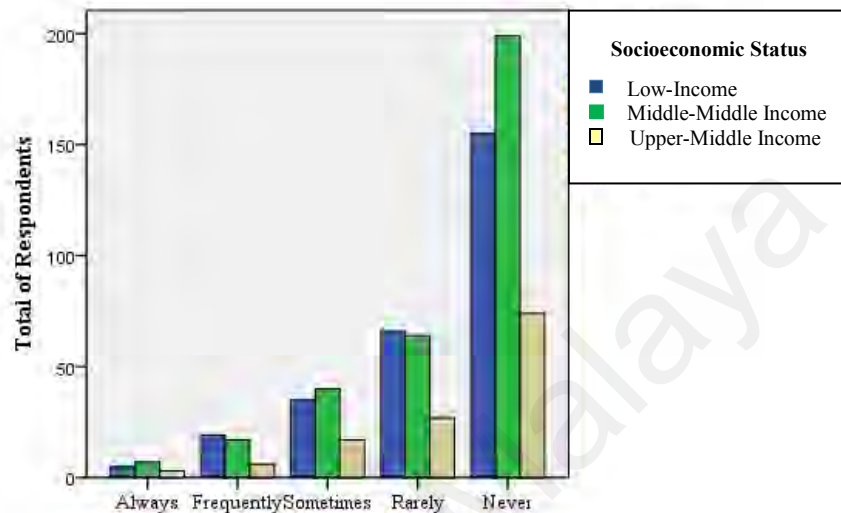


Figure 7.16: Respondents' Frequency on Using *Riba'* or Usury Products

The Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur has demonstrated their concern in the use of *riba'* or usury products and services related to their daily affairs. More 50 per cent of the upper-middle (58.3 per cent or 74), the middle-middle (60.9 per cent or 199) and the low-income classes (55.4 per cent or 155) never use *riba'* products and services in their daily affairs. The Malays at all level of social classes have shown quite similar percentage in all levels of frequency towards the statement. Therefore, there is no significant difference in the frequency between all social income classes of the Malays towards the use of *riba'* products and services related to their daily affairs as the p value is  $>.05$ .<sup>1100</sup>

<sup>1100</sup> Refer to Table 10.49 in Appendix A.



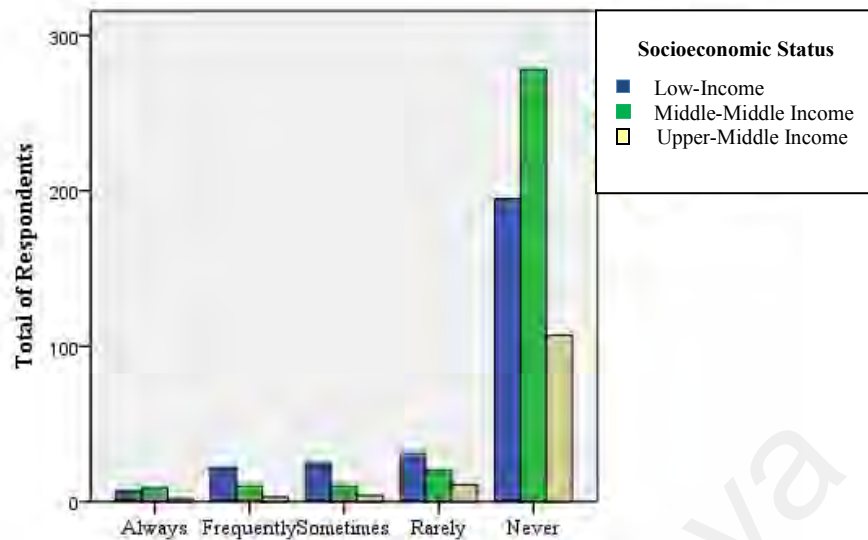


Figure 7.17: Respondents' Frequency on I do not mind of *Halāl* Status

Most of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur have shown their concern in the *Halāl* status recognised by JAKIM in foods and daily products. 85 per cent (278) of the middle-middle income, 83.3 per cent (107) of the upper-middle income and 69.6 per cent of the low-income classes do not mind on the *halāl* status recognised by JAKIM in foods and daily products. The low-income class however, differs to the middle-middle and the upper-middle at all levels of frequency even though they show high concern in the *halāl* status issues in foods and daily products. The low-income class is the highest in the “rarely”, “sometimes”, “frequently” and “always” frequency towards the statement compared to the two groups of the middle-income classes. Therefore, there are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the frequency towards the statement, as the p value in the Mann-Whitney U test is  $<.05$ . There is no significant difference between the two groups of middle-income classes in the frequency towards the statement as the value of means rank between the two classes is quite close and the p value is  $>.05$ .<sup>1101</sup>

<sup>1101</sup> Refer to Table 10.50 in Appendix A.

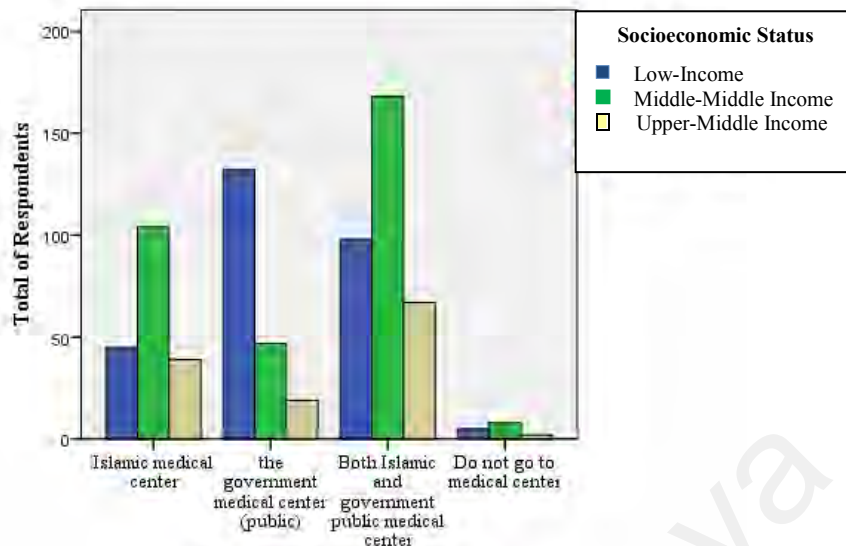


Figure 7.18: Respondents' Choice of Health Centre

Figure 7.18 indicates the respondents' choice of health centre. Most of the middle-income classes (51.4 per cent of the middle-middle and 52.8 per cent of the upper-middle income classes) choose both Islamic and government public medical centres compared to only 35 per cent (98) of the low-income class who chooses similar types of medical centres. 31.8 per cent (104) of the middle-middle income and 30.7 per cent (39) of the upper-middle income classes choose Islamic medical centre in contrast to 47.1 per cent (132) or near to half of the low-income class chooses the government medical centre as it provides reasonable and free fees to the public which is affordable for them.<sup>1102</sup>

There are significant differences between the Malays of all levels of social classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur in the choice of insurance. About 78.1 per cent (100) of the upper-middle income class choose the Islamic Takaful, compared to 68.2 per cent (223) of the middle-middle and 31.4 per cent (88) of the low-income classes who also choose the Islamic Takaful. 14.1 per cent (46) of the middle-middle income class choose both Islamic and conventional insurance in contrast to 10.2 per cent (13) of

<sup>1102</sup> Even though there is a difference in the choice of health centre between the low-income and the two groups of middle income classes as can be seen in the graph, the Mann-Whitney U test showed that there is no significant difference between the low, the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes as stated in Table 10.51 in Appendix A.

the upper-middle and 7.1 per cent (20) of the low-income class who has selected the same types of insurance as the middle-middle classes.

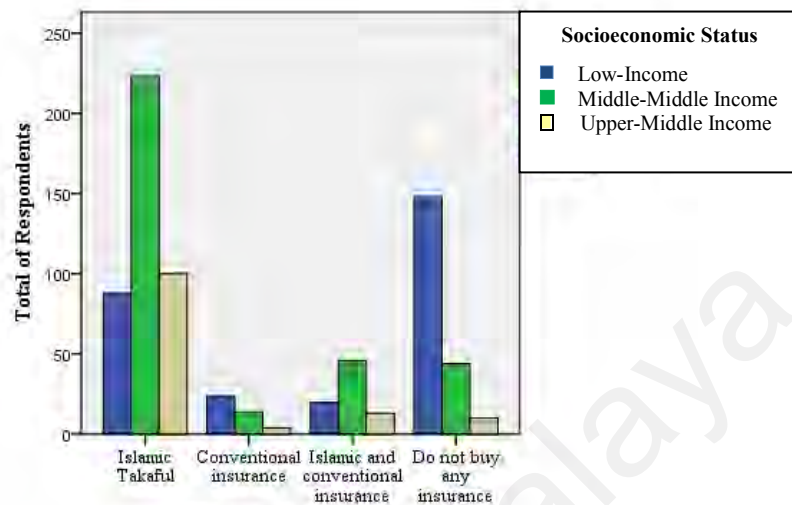


Figure 7.19: Respondents' Choice of Insurance

The low-income class is the highest who choose the conventional insurance compared to the two groups of the middle classes. The low-income too is the highest in the percentage (52.9 per cent or 148) that do not buy any insurance compared to 13.5 per cent (44) of the middle-middle income and 7.9 per cent (10) of the upper-middle income classes who do not buy any insurance. Thus, there are significant differences between all social income classes, the low-income, the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income classes in the choice of insurance. The gap in the value of mean ranks between the two groups alternately of three different social classes is clear and the p value is  $<.05$ .<sup>1103</sup> The upper-middle are the highest group who choose Islamic *Takāful*, the middle income earners are the highest to select both Islamic and conventional insurances and the low-income are the highest of who do not buy any insurance.

<sup>1103</sup> See Table 10.52 in Appendix A.

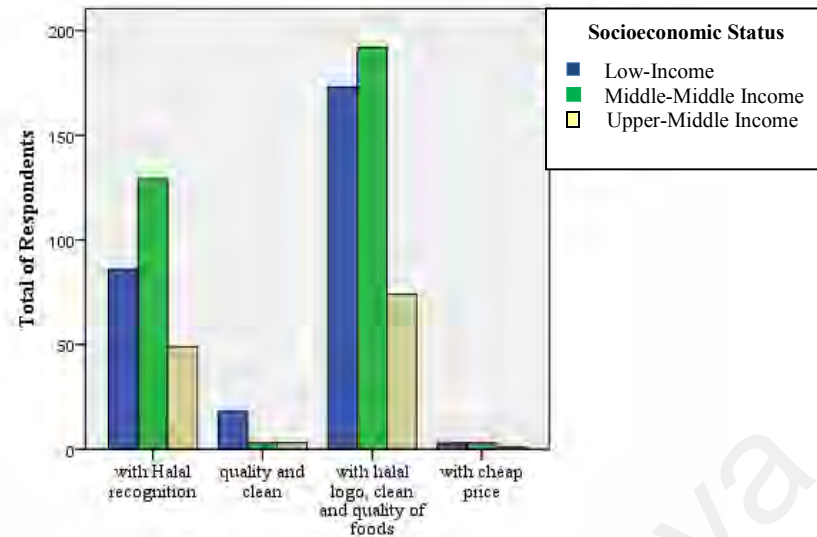


Figure 7.20: Respondents' Choice of Food Court

The study has also found that most of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur are concerned on the selection of food court. About 61.8 per cent (173) of the low-income, 58.7 per cent (192) the middle-middle income and 58.3 per cent (74) of the upper-middle income classes choose the food court with the *halāl* logo, clean and quality foods. In addition, about 39.4 per cent (129) of the middle-middle income, 38.6 per cent (49) of the upper-middle income and 30.7 per cent (86) of low-income classes prefer the food court with the *halāl* recognition by JAKIM. There is no significant difference in the choice of food premises between all social income classes of the Malays who preferred to choose food premises with the *halāl* logo as the pre-requisite of in the selection of their food place.<sup>1104</sup>

<sup>1104</sup> Refer to 10.53 in Appendix A.

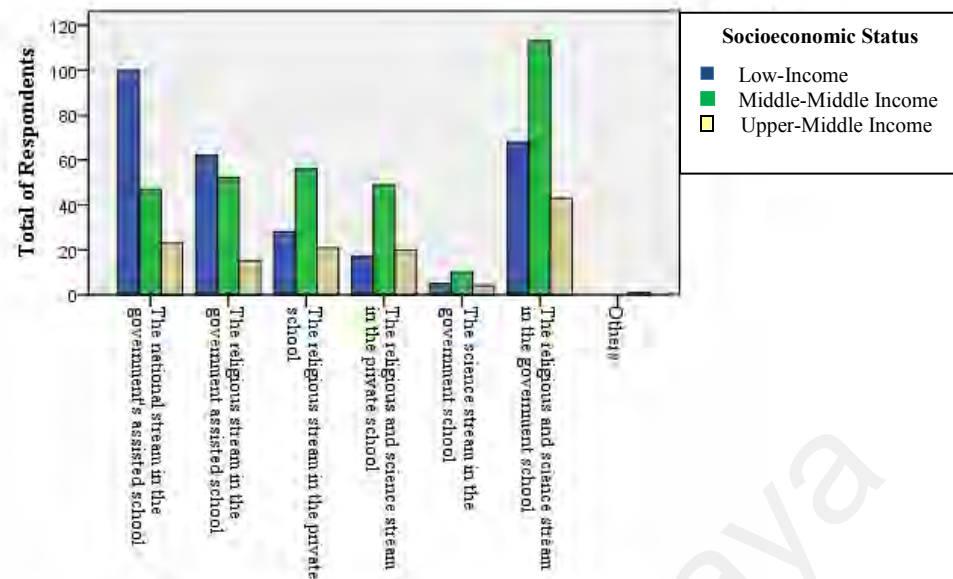


Figure 7.21: Respondents' Tendency to choose Their Children's Primary and Secondary Schools

Figure 7.21 illustrates the respondents' tendency to choose their children's primary and secondary schools. 34.6 per cent (113) of the middle-middle income and 33.9 per cent (43) of the upper-middle income classes have sent their children in the religious and science educational streams in the government school, in contrast to 35.7 per cent (100) of the low-income class who has sent their children in the government-assisted school. About 17.1 per cent (56) of the middle-middle income and 16.5 per cent (21) of the upper-middle income classes have sent their children at the private religious school, in contrast to 22.1 per cent (62) of the low-income who sent their children in the religious educational stream at the government school which is affordable for them due to free and low fees charged. For the middle classes, who have advantages in terms of economic status, they also prefer to send their children to religious and science educational streams at the private schools. They represent 15.7 per cent of the upper-middle income and 15 per cent of the middle-middle income classes.

There are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the percentage towards the tendency to choose the children's primary and secondary

schools. The value mean rank between the two groups alternately of three classes is quite far and the p value is  $<.05$ . On the other hand, there is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes in the percentage towards the statement as the two classes have shown their high dedicated to choose religious schools as well as the integrated religious-science educational streams in the government and the private schools for the best primary and secondary level of education for their children. The value of the mean ranks between the two classes is quite close and the  $p >.05$ .<sup>1105</sup>

The study has shown that there is a high tendency of the middle income classes to choose the religious-based type of schools as their main choice to educate their children besides their tendency to send their children in the integrated religious-science programmes offered by the state and federal governments or private agencies. Some of the middle classes choose *Ma'had Tahfiz*, a special school which offers integrated curriculum which combines modern curriculum, science and technology and memorisation of the Quran.

According to an official report of JAKIM, Selangor has the highest number of *tahfiz* institutions with 66 institutes of *tahfiz* compared to other states, such as, Perak (22 institutes), Kedah (17 institutes) and Kelantan (10 institutes) in 2014.<sup>1106</sup> Abd Rahman Abd Ghani and colleagues have also reported that approximately 150 private *tahfiz* institutes were established in Selangor in 2012. About 107 private *tahfiz* institutes registered under the Association of Selangor Institute of *Tahfiz* Al-Quran (*Persatuan Institusi Tahfiz Selangor* - PITAS), whereas 24 institutes were registered with the Selangor State Religious Department (JAIS).<sup>1107</sup>

Table 7.2: *Tahfiz* Institutions in Malaysia

<sup>1105</sup> Refer to Table 10.54 in Appendix A.

<sup>1106</sup> Darul Quran, Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia, Kuala Kubu Bharu, Selangor Darul Ehsan, 2014.

<sup>1107</sup> Abd Rahman Abd Ghani, Mohd Khafidz Soroni, Noorhafizah Mohd Haridi, Zainora Daud, Azmil Hashim, Wan Sabariah Wan Yusoff, 'Pengurusan Institusi Tahfiz Persendirian Di Negeri Selangor', *Jurnal Penyelidikan Pendidikan dan Pengajian Islam*, Vol. 1, No. 9, 2012, pp. 241-161.

States	Number of <i>Tahfīz</i> Institutions	
	Recorded by JAKIM	Recorded by Council of <i>Huffūz</i> Malaysia
Selangor	66	42
Terengganu	4	2
Kuala Lumpur	3	4
Johor	9	17
Kedah	17	6
Kelantan	10	9
Malacca	8	1
Negeri Sembilan	2	1
Pahang	8	8
Perak	22	2
Perlis	3	2
Pulau Pinang	9	1
Sabah	5	1
Sarawak	1	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>96</b>

Source: Darul Quran, Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia, Kuala Kubu Bharu, Selangor Darul Ehsan, 2014.

The *tahfīz* or memorisation of the Quran curriculum or known as the *Ulul al-Bāb Programme* has been introduced at three MARA Junior Science Colleges (MJSC) since 2008 at MJSC Kota Putra (Terengganu), Gemencheh (Negeri Sembilan) and Kepala Batas (Penang). *Ulul al-Bāb* programme is an integrated educational programme between the existing academic programmes (Natural Sciences) with religious studies stream, including the *Tahfīz* Al-Quran. The original idea came from MARA Chairman, YB Dato' Seri Idris Jusoh who initiated to form the Quranic memorisation syllabus when he founded the first *Imtiaz* School in Terengganu in 1999. The programme aims at producing professionals, technocrats, entrepreneurs who have skills in the field of religious-based education of the Quran and al-Sunnah as the *Ulul al-Bāb* generation.<sup>1108</sup>

The concept of *Ulul al-Bāb* integrated *Quranik*, *Ijtihadik*, and *Ensiklopedik* approaches to produce a faith-bound, knowledgeable, high moral, scientific-high tech-religious person through the Quranic culture.<sup>1109</sup> The concept also hopes to produce Muslim scientists and technocrats who can master the revealed (*naqli*) and acquired

<sup>1108</sup> *Berita Pendidik*, Edisi Khas Sempena Sambutan Hari Pendidik MARA 2011, 2011, p. 4

<sup>1109</sup> Idris Jusoh, 'Ulul Al-Bab: Implementasi Kemahiran Berfikir Aras Tinggi', *Berita Harian*, 9 July 2014, p. 27.

(‘*aqli* or scientific) knowledge, memorise thirty chapters of the Quran and able to comprehend and interpret its verses properly.<sup>1110</sup> It would be great if more integrative curriculum can be structured, so that the essence of the Quran is connected with science, and the integrated learning of science is introduced in parallel with the main theme of the Quran.<sup>1111</sup>

The *Ulul al-Bāb* model is now being introduced to the National Religious Secondary School (SMKA) and the Full Residential School (*Sekolah Berasrama Penuh* – SBP). Recently, three SMKA and three MRSM have implemented this model and will be expanded to other types of schools in the future.<sup>1112</sup> According to YB Dato’ Seri Idris Jusoh, this model will be implemented in at least one SBP for each state of Malaysia.<sup>1113</sup> The former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, who is also former Minister of Education, Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin, announced to outspread the *Ulul al-Bāb* tradition to the public higher learning institutions and University College of the Quran, Malaysia was proposed as a continuation of *tahfiz* tradition which is growing in the country organised by the government and the private institutions.<sup>1114</sup>

The researcher's observation on the *Ulul al-Bāb* system at MRSM has found that the approaches used in this programme are very interesting. Educating children with memorisation of the Quran and at the same time studying science and technology subjects has proven to succeed through their academic achievement and they can memorise the whole Quran in minimum years. This has indicated that memorisation of the Quran can also help students to excel in academics.<sup>1115</sup> The researcher has also found that most of the middle classes tend to send their children in this *Ulul al-Bāb* programme and types of school. As observed by the researcher, majority of MRSM

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<sup>1110</sup> ‘Program Ulul Albab MRSM Lahirkan Sarjana Islam’, *Mingguan Malaysia*, 1 May 2011, p. 13.

<sup>1111</sup> Sidek Baba, ‘Memperkasa Pendidikan Islam’, *Berita Harian*, 13 October 2014.

<sup>1112</sup> *Berita Harian*, 13 October 2014.

<sup>1113</sup> Refer to Idris Jusoh, ‘Ulul al-Bab: Implementasi Kemahiran Berfikir Aras Tinggi’, *Berita Harian*, 9 July 2014, p. 26.

<sup>1114</sup> Sidek Baba, ‘Perluas Ulul Albab ke IPT Suatu Langkah Bijak’, *Utusan Malaysia*, 18 July 2014.

<sup>1115</sup> About 114 students of MRSM Gemencheh had memorized 30 chapters of Quran until January 2014. Four MRSM Kota Putra students received Al-Huffaz Award of Ulul Albab Program due to their excellent achievement in SPM with minimum years in the memorisation of the Quran. See, Mesyuarat Agung Muafakat Kali Kelapan 2014, Cawangan Maktab Rendah Sains MARA Gemencheh, Negeri Sembilan Darul Khusus, 21 March 2014, p. 27-28; ‘Program Ulul Albab MRSM Lahirkan Sarjana Islam’, *Mingguan Malaysia*, 1 May 2011, p. 13.



Gemencheh parents have sent their children with *Mercedes Benz*, *BMW*, *Toyota Alphard-Vellfire*, *Toyota Innova*, *Toyota Wish*, *Estima*, *Unser*, or at least any other types of the four-wheel drive vehicle and most of the parents are professionals, government servants, workers of the private agencies, corporate and businessmen.<sup>1116</sup> The researcher's observation has been supported by quantitative data of the middle classes respondents in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur which can be seen in Figure 7.21 and Table 10.54.

There is a high demand and request from the parents to send their children to Selangor state religious schools. In a personal letter sent by Mohd Jaafar Komari, Assistant Senior Director of Islamic Education Division, JAIS to Nabihatul Huda Mohd Nazir, a Selangor religious school student who scored 5As in the Primary School Assessment (UPSR) and *Mumtaz* (Excellent) in the Religious Primary School Assessment (*Penilaian Sekolah Rendah Agama – PSRA*), the department explained about 3,129 students applied to enter Form One in Sekolah Menengah Agama Bestari, Subang Jaya, Selangor (SAMBES), but it only offered 144 seats. Even though the religious state department is determined that the requirement to enter SAMBES are for those who have achieved *Mumtāz* in PSRA with the minimum of 4A 1B in UPSR, but not all applications which achieved the above requirement can be accepted as the number of seats offered are very limited.<sup>1117</sup> This has indicated that the religious schools in Selangor have received very high demand of application due to its function to educate student with the spiritual and religious consciousness, without ignoring the importance of academic and physical development.

Table 7.3: Enrolment at MOE Secondary Level by Type of Schools (2011-2013)<sup>1118</sup>

<sup>1116</sup> Minute Meeting of General Annual Meeting Badan Muafakat, MRSM Gemencheh, 22 March 2013 in Mesyuarat Agung Muafakat Kali Kelapan 2014, Cawangan Maktab Rendah Sains MARA Gemencheh, Negeri Sembilan Darul Khusus, 21 March 2014, p. 7.

<sup>1117</sup> A letter from Mohd. Jaafar Bin Komari, Assistant Senior Director of Islamic Education Division, JAIS to Nabihatul Huda Mohd Nazir, entitled, "Permohonan/Rayuan Kemasukan Murid Ke Tingkatan Satu (1) Sekolah Agama Menengah Bestari, Subang Jaya Sesi Persekolahan 2014", JAI.SelBPI/03/01/078/12 Jld. 2, 28 January 2014.

<sup>1118</sup> Educational Planning and Research Division (EMIS), 31 January 2013, p.1-4; *Quick Facts 2013 Malaysia Educational Statistics*, p. 14.

<b>Type of Schools</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>
Regular	2,104,273	2,087,689	2,100,737
Fully Residential	34,031	37,202	39,069
Religious	38,161	39,088	39,283
Technical	21,627	10,777	9,862
Vocational	31,213	38,756	31,055
Special Education	674	644	701
Special Model	11,761	11,709	11,868
Sports	931	850	1,028
Arts	602	533	535
Special Model (K9)	121	121	233
Government Aided Religious School (GARS)	52,640	53,855	61,818
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,296,034</b>	<b>2,281,224</b>	<b>2,296,189</b>

Table 7.4: Enrolment at Secondary Level in Institutions Under Other Government Agencies 2013<sup>1119</sup>

<b>Type of Schools</b>	<b>2013</b>		
	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
People Religious Secondary School (SMAR)	13,753	10,798	24,551
State Religious Secondary School (SMAN)	25,032	30,815	55,847
MARA Junior Science College (MJSC)	9,134	11,209	20,343
Royal Military College (RMC)	485	0	485
<b>Total</b>	<b>48,404</b>	<b>52,822</b>	<b>101,226</b>

At national level, there are increasing in the number of students' enrolment at the Government Aided Religious Schools (GARS) from 52,640 students in 2011 to 61,818 students, similar to the students' enrolment in the religious schools which has increased from 38,161 students (2011) to 39,283 students in 2013.<sup>1120</sup> The statistics have also shown that the number of students in the religious schools is bigger than the fully residential schools with 39,283 students in 2013. The data above have proven that the enrolment to enter the religious schools is competitive similar to the enrolment to the fully residential schools (SBP) under Ministry of Education.

Similar to the previous data, the enrolment of the students at the secondary level in private institution as well as in institutions under other government agencies have shown that there is a high demand from the public to send their children to the religious schools as described in Table 7.3 and Table 7.4. Private religious secondary schools

<sup>1119</sup> *Quick Facts 2013 Malaysia Educational Statistics*, p. 21.

<sup>1120</sup> See, Table 7.3.

including ABIM and IKRAM schools integrate religious and academics streams and are organised under its own educational department. Even though these institutions have their own curriculum, they still follow the main stream educational system.<sup>1121</sup> Religious education at the secondary level has received a warm positive responds in terms of students' enrolment from the Muslims in 2013, in contrast to special orientation offered by MARA Junior Science College (MJSC) and Royal Military College (RMC).<sup>1122</sup>

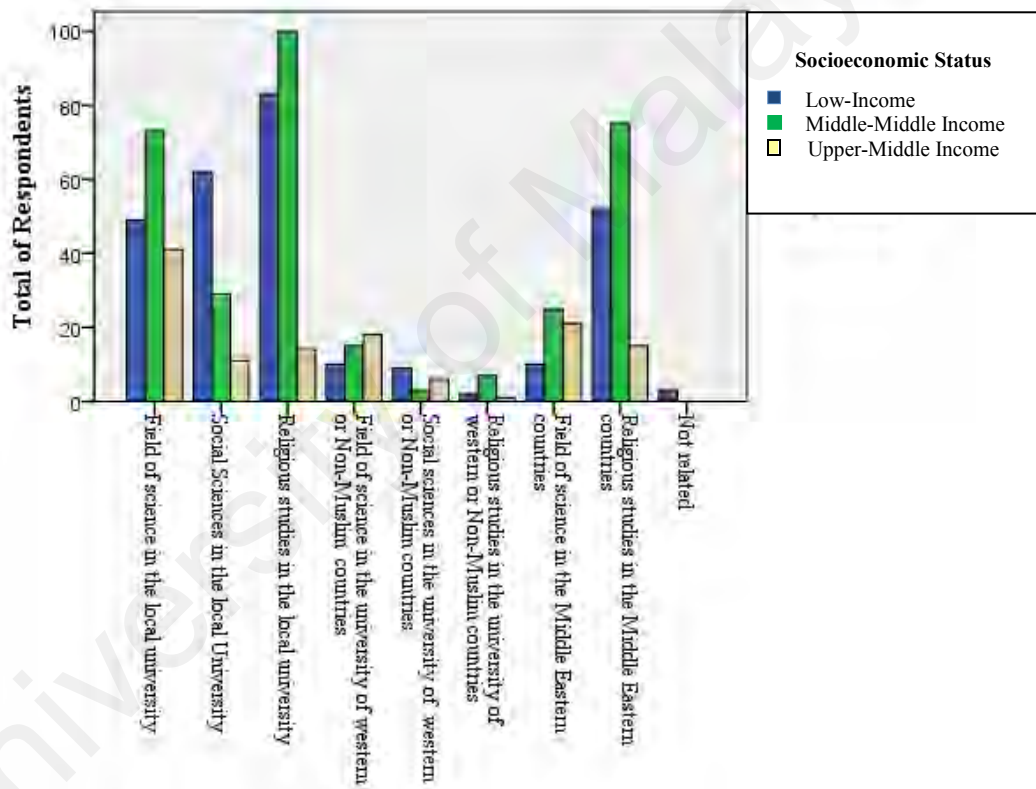


Figure 7.22: Respondents' Tendency to choose Children's Tertiary Level of Education

Figure 7.22 describes the tendency to choose children's tertiary level of education. There is no significant difference between three social income classes in the choice of the tertiary education for their children as described in the Mann-Whitney U Test in Table 10.55 in Appendix A.<sup>1123</sup> The study has traced the tendency of each social class in

<sup>1121</sup> See, Table 10.54.1 in Appendix A.

<sup>1122</sup> See, Table 7.4.

<sup>1123</sup> There is no significant difference in the choice of the tertiary education between the social classes which has been examined through the Mann-Whitney U test, where the p value between the groups is > .05. See Table 10.55 in Appendix A.

terms of the area of study for their children in the tertiary level of education. The upper-middle income class earners have achieved at the highest position who have chosen the field of science in the local university (with 32.3 per cent or 41), in the Middle Eastern countries (with 16.5 per cent or 21) and also in the field of science in the Western or the non-Muslim countries (with 14.2 per cent or 18).

About 30.6 per cent (100) of the middle-middle income and 29.6 per cent (83) of the low-income classes have sent their children to the religious studies in the local universities compared to 11 per cent (14) of the upper-middle income earners who choose the same area of study. In contrast to the two middle-income classes, 22.1 per cent (62) of the low-income, however, have sent their children to study social sciences at local universities.

The study has indicated that most of the middle classes prefer to send their children in the science field of study at the tertiary level, as they have already educated their children with both integrated religious-based and science streams at the primary and secondary levels of education. These middle classes prefer that their children would become Muslim technocrats and scientists, who always bind with the Islamic teaching.

## **7.6 Score of Islamic Lifestyle**

There are significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in the total score of lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism. The p value between the two classes in each group to test these differences is  $.000 < .05$  and the Mann-Whitney U test is proven significant.<sup>1124</sup> About 92.7 per cent (303) of the middle-middle income and 92.1 per cent (117) of the upper-middle income classes scored the high level towards religious lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism, compared to 66.4 per cent

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<sup>1124</sup> Refer to Table 7.5.

(186) of the low-income class who has achieved at the same level towards the similar variable.

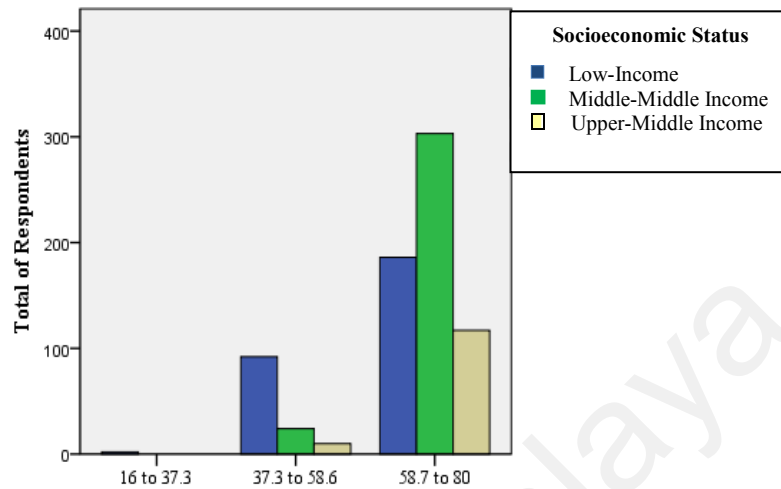


Figure 7.23: Respondents' Total Score of Lifestyle, Physical Appearance and Consumerism

Table 7.5: The Mann-Whitney U Test between Difference Social Classes on the Total Score of Lifestyle, Physical Appearance and Consumerism

Item	Groups	N	Mean Rank	Statistical Test	
Total Score of Lifestyle, Physical Appearance and Consumerism	Low-income (LI)	280	261.02	Mann-Whitney U	33747.000
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	340.80	Wilcoxon W	73087.000
				Z	-8.147
				Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000
	Low-income (LI)	280	187.65	Mann-Whitney U	13201.000
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	240.06	Wilcoxon W	52541.000
			Z	-5.508	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	Middle-middle income (MMI)	327	227.84	Mann-Whitney U	20653.500
	Upper-middle income (UMI)	127	226.63	Wilcoxon W	28781.500
			Z	-.194	
			Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.846	

About 32.9 per cent (92) of the low-income class has scored the moderate level in the total score of lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism, while 0.7 per cent (2) of the low-income class has achieved the low level in the same variable. There is no significant difference between the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes as the two classes have shown similar trends in the high tendency towards Islamic lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism as described in Table 7.5. The study has

revealed statistically that there are differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income and between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes in Islamic lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism for the reason that 32.9 per cent of the low-income earners have scored a moderate level in these physical and tangible aspects of Islamic Resurgence. However, there are still more than half or 66.4 per cent (186) of the low-income class could attain the high level in adopting these Islamic features of the resurgence. Even though the low-income earners differ to the two classes of the middle-income (the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes) in terms of income, type of house, but a few of them can still enjoy their life without ignoring the importance to preserve Islamic identity in their pronouncement (they regard themselves as Muslims, Malays and Malaysians), dressing, inculcating Islamic culture and showing their tendency in Islam-based consumerism.

The cross-tabulation of the data found that the low-income earners who have scored high level in Islamic lifestyles are represented by 57 per cent (106) of independent individuals, 18 per cent (33) of PAS supporters, 8 per cent (15) of Jamaat Tabligh or the Salafi members, 7 per cent (13) members of the Islamic NGOs, 5.3 per cent (10) officers in the government Islamic organisations and 4.7 per cent (9) supporters of the pro-government political party. These low-income class earners have studied Islam through many ways such as, through religious classes in *surau* and mosques (65), the parents' role in religious education (43), reading of religious materials and electronic media (33), through religious activities or association during studying in local university (25) and as well as the respondents themselves are graduates of Islamic studies (8).

The study has also discovered that the score in Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism; and the score of Islamic practices are significantly correlated,  $r = .575$ ,  $p < .001$ . This has indicated that those who score highest in the Islamic practices would also score highest in Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and

consumerism. In other words, Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism rise as the Islamic practices increase.

Pearson Correlation also found that there are positive relationships between efforts of various Islamic organisations (agents of Islamic Resurgence) and respondents' score in Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism ( $r = .126$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In other words, the increase in the efforts of Islamic awareness in Malaysia could help to increase Malay Muslims' lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism.<sup>1125</sup> There is also a positive correlation between the score in Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism and the score of Islamic thought,  $r = .346$ ,  $p < .001$ . This study has proven that Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism have positive relationship with Islamic practices, thought, attending religious programmes and attachment with *da'wah* activities.<sup>1126</sup>

## 7.7 Conclusion

The Malay middle and low-income classes have shown their differences in their personal lifestyles which can be seen through their type of house, application of the moderation in life, adopting of Islamic culture and work ethics, physical appearance, wearing the headscarf and practising Islamic consumerism. The study has shown that the lower-income differs from two groups of the middle-income classes in 18 items of Islamic lifestyles: social activity, the main activity during free time, inculcating Islamic environment, taking other's cultures; making all efforts to create an Islamic culture and work ethics, choosing the way used to understand Islam, the personal identity, wearing the headscarf, preserving Islamic code of dress, choosing Islamic attires, practising the Prophet's SAW *sunnah* in dressing, choosing Islamic media, preferring Islamic dramas

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<sup>1125</sup> These statistical tests aim to answer objective 4 of the study. This statistical finding has shown that Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism are influenced by efforts of Islamic organisations and the respondents' thought on Islam, but the correlation between these variables is considered low.

<sup>1126</sup> The scores in lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism are also correlated with "I always attending the religious knowledge gathering (*usrah*, talks, religious classes) which was proposed at my hometowns", ( $r = .405$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and "I involved in the Islamic *da'wah* and welfare works in the Muslim and the Non-Muslim community", ( $r = .437$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

and films, preferring Islamic rhythms, choosing religious reading materials, picking the choice of main magazine, having concern of *halāl* status in foods and daily products, the tendency to choose children's primary and secondary schools and the total score of Islamic lifestyle.

For the low and the middle-middle income classes on the other hand, these two income classes only differ in the practice of moderation in life; appreciate the needs compared to luxury, and buying products which are compliance with *syarī'ah*. The low and the upper-middle income only differ in the choice of main newspaper. There are differences between all social classes in the type of house, the choice of insurance and the tendency to choose children's tertiary level of education. However, no significant differences between all social classes can be seen in the residential area, using *riba'* or usury products and services, the choice of health centre and food court.

Even though the study has statistically revealed that there are differences between the low-income and two groups of the middle-income classes in Islamic lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism, still more than half of the low-income class respondents could attain the high level in adopting these Islamic lifestyles which reflect their tangible outcome of the manifestations of Islamic Resurgence.



**CHAPTER 8**  
**THE DYNAMICS OF ISLAMIC RESURGENCE AND RELIGIOSITY**  
**IN SELANGOR AND KUALA LUMPUR**

**8.1 Introduction**

Islamic Resurgence and religiosity are interrelated phenomena which emerge as a result of Muslim's tendency and endeavour to restore the past glory of Islamic history and civilisation in a creative and innovative way that suits the current changes and challenges of the time. As the Islamic Resurgence reflects its manifestations through various levels of individual, social and international expressions of Islam, the tangible observances of Muslim behaviours and lifestyle are so apparent in the public spheres. This religious appeal espoused by Muslims has been instrumental in energising the Malay Muslims identity through their spiritual and religious bound with Islam.

The Malays in the urban areas of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor have demonstrated their Islamic awareness through tangible and intangible expressions individually, physically and spiritually which is reflected through their Islamic beliefs and thoughts, religious practices and lifestyles. Combination of qualitative interviews and quantitative survey data has resulted in a comprehensive picture on the difference between the Malay low-income, the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes in these three different variables. Triangulation of data from the fieldwork observations, documents and official statistics from selected organisations, interviews and surveys have strengthened the overall findings on the progress of the Islamic Resurgence and its relation to the religiosity of the Malay middle and low-income classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

## 8.2 The Dynamics of Islamic Resurgence

Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia is a continuing and gradual process of social religious phenomenon which makes Islam to be a relevant faith, surviving for the challenges of times. The rise and fall of Islamic awareness do relate to Muslims' efforts and responses to practise Islam in the society. The phenomenon of Islamic Resurgence has proven on how the essence of Islam was translated into a practical institution of thoughts, rebuilt mechanism for implementing Islam through a comprehensive system in economic, social and politics.

Since the emergence of the Islamic Resurgence which began its initial call for *da'wah* among the university students in University of Malaya, the appeal for the Muslims to return to the fundamental teaching of Islam has been extended to other universities nearby Klang Valley. Primary and secondary sources also recorded the occurrence of Islamic Resurgence in Kuala Lumpur and how the ideals of Islamic awareness are extended to the nearest universities.<sup>1127</sup>

Many *da'wah* organisations have started to emerge since the early 1970s. ABIM was founded in 1971, while UMNO as the ruling party which leads the government took three different approaches, namely co-option, accommodation, and confrontation in handling the rising tide of Islamic Resurgence among the young generation. Findings of the study are also in line with Shamsul Amri's and many observers' analysis which have revealed that UMNO in its attempt to co-opt moderate Islamic Resurgence activist, Anwar Ibrahim, a former leader of an Islamic youth movement, had subsequently adopted Islamic political agenda, thus giving the Malay and Islamic criteria equal important. As a former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Anwar played a significant

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<sup>1127</sup> The resurgence did impact the students at the National University of Malaysia (UKM), Bangi; The National Technology Institute or Institut Teknologi Kebangsaan (ITK) recently known as Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (UTM) and MARA Institute of Technology, Shah Alam, Selangor.

role in Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia and the one responsible for UMNO Islamisation programmes.<sup>1128</sup>

Shamsul has also found that the Islamisation efforts by UMNO have had an immediate impact upon the Malay middle classes and in the corporate world. A top-down concept of *Melayu Baru* was introduced, moulded with creating a new moral paradigm of “moral, responsible, trustworthy and honest”, among Malay middle classes as an attempt by UMNO to redefine Malayness.<sup>1129</sup> In addition, Nagata, Hussin Mutalib, Chandra Muzaffar, Zainah Anwar and Wan Kamal Mujani have also explained the role played by the Malay Muslim middle class in the formation of systematic religious organisations to upsurge Islamic Resurgence in 1980’s as well as their significant contributions to determine factor for social and political changes.<sup>1130</sup>

Many factors contribute to Islamic Resurgence in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. Islamic Resurgence was primarily influenced by internal factors, and at the same time it was triggered by external factors in response to Muslim’s progress in the Islamic world. The resurgence in Malaysia is more domestic by its cause, deeply triggered by the urban Malay Muslims’ inclination to comprehend the holistic framework of Islam, the paradigm shift for Muslim identity and solutions, the political will of the state for Islamisation, the emergence of charismatic leadership in the university and at the national level, and the centralisation of *da’wah* activities in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor.

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<sup>1128</sup> Shamsul Amri B., ‘Bureaucratic Management of Identity in a Modern State: “Malayness” in Postwar Malaysia’, in Dru Gladney, *Making Majorities*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998, pp. 146-147; Abaza, Mona., ‘Intellectuals, Power and Islam in Malaysia : S.N. al-Attas or the Beacon on the Crest of a Hill’, *Archipel*, Volume 58, 1999. pp. 189-217.

<sup>1129</sup> Shamsul Amri B., ‘Bureaucratic Management of Identity’, pp. 146-147, 135-150.

<sup>1130</sup> Refer to Judith Nagata, *The Reflowering of Malaysian Islam: Modern Religious Radicals and Their Roots*, Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1984; Hussin Mutalib, *Islam and Ethnicity in Malay Politics*, Singapore: Oxford University Press Pte. Ltd, 1990; Hussin Mutalib, *Islam in Malaysia: from Revivalism to Islamic State*, Singapore: Singapore University Press, National University of Singapore, 1993; Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti, 1987; Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia: Dakwah among the Students*, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1987; Nurul Asma Mazlam, Wan Kamal Mujani & Noor Inayah Ya’akub, ‘Kelas Menengah Melayu di Malaysia di Aspek Arena Politik dan Sosial’, dalam Wan Kamal Mujani, *Kelas Menengah Muslim di Malaysia: Merintis Sebuah Penerokaan*, Bangi: Institut Kajian Rantau Asia Barat (IKRAB), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2012, p. 112. See also Wan Arifin Wan Ahmad, ‘Hubungan antara Sosialisasi dengan Budaya Politik Kelas Menengah Melayu di Shah Alam, Selangor Darul Ehsan’, PhD Thesis, Fakulti Ekologi Manusia, Universiti Putra Malaysia, 2005.

In contrast to Ahmad Sunawari study which claims that external factors are major contributors to the resurgence,<sup>1131</sup> many researchers<sup>1132</sup> also view that the Malay Muslims' interest to the subject of Islam, individual physical change to Islamic-attire (wearing the headscarf) and the state project of Islamisation as the main causes of local phenomenon of Islamic Resurgence, even though they have not denied the influences of international progress in the Muslim counterparts. Khurshid Ahmad in his writing describes Islamic Resurgence as a multidimensional phenomenon "based on primarily internal indigenous factors."<sup>1133</sup>

Selangor and Kuala Lumpur have become centres of Islamic discourse, Islamic cultural activities, besides its function as a centre for the state and federal administration in which there are many Muslim intellectuals, *ulama*, Islamic organisations and *da'wah* movements centralised their main activities at these urban cities.<sup>1134</sup> The strategic location of these metropolises may contribute to the centralisation of religious activities at the urban localities. Moreover, Kuala Lumpur and Selangor are located in the circle of the Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC) and close to Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA) which becomes the exit door for international access. Thus, it makes communication with local and foreign visitors easier.<sup>1135</sup>

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<sup>1131</sup> See Ahmad Sunawari Long, 'Impak Kebangkitan Semula Islam Terhadap Pengamalan dan Penghayatan Agama Kelas Menengah Melayu Muslim Malaysia: Kajian Kes di Lembah Klang', Ph.D Thesis, Akademi Pengajian Islam, University of Malaya, 2010, p. 354.

<sup>1132</sup> The researchers are such as, Mohamad Abu Bakar, Zainah Anwar, Chandra Muzaffar, Jomo Kwame and Ahmed Shabery Cheek, John L. Esposito, Samuel P. Huntington, Khurshid Ahmad and many others.

<sup>1133</sup> Khurshid explained that Islamic Resurgence as follow: "It is a multidimensional phenomenon. It is an historical expression of the concerns as well as the aspirations of the people, based on primarily upon internal indigenous factors. On the other hand, it is also a response to an external challenge, the challenge of post-colonial impacts on Muslim society". Khurshid Ahmad, 'The Nature of Islamic Resurgence', In Esposito, John L. (editors), *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 226.

<sup>1134</sup> Jam'iyah Dakwatul Islamiyah or *Persekutuan Seruan Islam Selangor dan Wilayah Persekutuan*, Al-Rahmaniah, UMNO, PAS, ABIM, IKRAM, Jamaat Tabligh, PERKIM, YADIM, IKIM and JAKIM centralise their activities in the metropolitan city of Kuala Lumpur, On the other hand, the headquarters Muslim Scholar Association of Malaysia or *Persatuan Ulama Malaysia* (PUM), is located at Shah Alam, Selangor. Some remnants of Islamic groups such as Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia (ISMA) and *Pertubuhan Himpunan Lepas Institut Pendidikan* (HALUAN) are placed at Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor Darul Ehsan. Jamaat Tabligh has its own headquarter at Masjid Bandar Baru Sri Petaling, Kuala Lumpur, in contrast the general office of PUM which previously located in Jalan Universiti, Petaling Jaya, Selangor is now relocated at 14B, Jalan Plumbum P7/P, Pusat Komersial Seksyen 7, 40000 Shah Alam, Selangor Darul Ehsan. *Official Facebook of Muslim Scholar Association of Malaysia* or *Persatuan Ulama Malaysia* (PUM), 12 September 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/pumpusat/info?tab=overview>. ISMA is located at No 25-1-1 & 27-1-1, Jalan Medan Pusat Bandar 1A, Medan Pusat Bandar 1, Seksyen 9, 43650 Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor while the headquarters of HALUAN is located at A-03-1, Medan Pusat Bandar 5, Seksyen 9, 43650 Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor Darul Ehsan. See, *Ikatan Muslimin Malaysia Official Website*, 12 June 2014, <http://isma.org.my/hubungi-kami/>; *Pertubuhan Himpunan Lepas Institut Pendidikan* or HALUAN's official Website at <http://www.haluan.org.my/v5/index.php/modified-pages/ibu-pejabat-haluan>. Refer also to keynote address was delivered by the President of HALUAN, Dr Abdullah Sudin Ab Rahman on 2nd of May 2014 at Convention Hall, Kolej Universiti Islam Antarabangsa Selangor (KUIS), p. 1-13.

<sup>1135</sup> Interview with Dato' Dr. Haron Din, *Mursyidul Am* of PAS, at No. 3, Bandar Baru Bangi, 3 December 2012.

The characteristic of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor as centre of Islamic Resurgence and cultures in Malaysia can be described as similar as what was enlightened by Ibnu Khaldun's philosophy of social changes. Changes in the government, institution or the *daulah*<sup>1136</sup> could be taken place when the spirit of "assabiyah" or *esprit de corps*<sup>1137</sup> is reinforced by religion. Religion for him can influence the historical transformation and reinforce the cohesion of an established state and the civil society institutions.<sup>1138</sup> Ibnu Khaldun has also explained that the purpose of city's development in Islam is not just for settlement and residence, but also for the place of submission to Allah SWT because man is created as a vicegerent or 'khalifah' to prosper the earth, develop the city and obey Allah's command. Ibnu Khaldun has also mentioned on the role of three mosques of Makkah, Madinah and Baitulmuqaddis as the holy cities in Islamic civilisation.<sup>1139</sup> Though the role of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam might not reach to the level of these holy places but the function of these cities as the developing centres of Islamic culture in Malaysia is recognised by Muslim world and significantly by the Western countries.<sup>1140</sup>

Historical evidence of the early period of Islamic Resurgence has also proved that university plays significant role to inculcate religious awareness among students, besides the role played by educated middle classes, intellectuals, professionals, technocrats and businessmen. The role of young people or students and the middle classes at the early stage of Islamic Resurgence until its recent development cannot be denied. Unlike the rural Malay peasant society who practises inherited practices of Islam with limited understanding on its rituals (e.g. prayer, fasting and marriage), the

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<sup>1136</sup> It means state or dynasty.

<sup>1137</sup> It is the feeling of social loyalty and devotion that can unite the members of a group. A.P. Cowie, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, of Current English*, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 408.

<sup>1138</sup> Baharudin Ahmad, 'Ibnu Khaldun and The Metaphysics of History', Proceedings International Conference Ibn Khaldun's Legacy and Its Significance', 2009, p. 45.

<sup>1139</sup> *Mukadimah Ibnu Khaldun*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2002, pp. 395-405.

<sup>1140</sup> See, Minderjeet Kaur, 'Malaysia on IS hit list as we represent moderate Islam, *New Straits Times*, 16 November 2015.

urban educated Malays in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor however, are exposed to the ideals and the Islamic movements.<sup>1141</sup>

Most scholars have also agreed that Islamic Resurgence involved the educated middle and the lower-middle classes who were originally derived from the low-income sector rather than the poor income class in the rural area.<sup>1142</sup> Huntington describes major characteristics of Islamists in Islamic countries and these features has also visualised background of the activists and actors of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia.<sup>1143</sup>

Chandra Muzaffar also states that the Malay middle class proactive response on the state's Islamisation programmes and their active role to inculcate Islamic values and to establish various Islamic institutions expand the strength of Islamic Resurgence in the country.<sup>1144</sup> The government internal policy and support towards Islamisation in the early 1980s manage to upsurge the role of Islam in the public spheres. This effort which has been initiated by the ruling party besides criticism from the opposition camp must be appreciated as it opens the door of many opportunities and attempts to strengthen Muslims and the Malay identity as well. The state sincerity in the development of Islam in Malaysia must not be argued because as a result of the state's political will, Islam has emerged as a progressive religion in the country. This view has been supported by Mohamad Abu Bakar's opinion on the impact of Islamisation programmes on Muslims in Malaysia.<sup>1145</sup>

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<sup>1141</sup> Refer to Chapter 1, 2, 3 and 4.

<sup>1142</sup> See for example, Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996, p. 113; Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, Petaling Jaya: Fajar Bakti, 1987, p. 6.

<sup>1143</sup> Huntington in his book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* said: "They were young, overwhelmingly in their twenties and thirties. Eighty per cent were university students or university graduates. Over half came from elite colleges or from the intellectually most demanding fields of technical specialisation such as medicine and engineering. Over 70 per cent were from lower-middle class, 'modest, but not poor backgrounds,'" and were the first generation in their family to get higher education. They spent their childhoods in small towns or rural areas but had become residents of large cities." Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, p. 113.

<sup>1144</sup> Chandra in his book said that "In 1982, the Islamic tone of the Government has become more pronounced. Essentially a response to the ever expanding strength of Islamic Resurgence within the Malay middle class, the programme seeks to inculcate Islamic values in Muslims and to establish various Islamic institutions." See, Chandra Muzaffar, *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*, p. 6.

<sup>1145</sup> Prof. Datuk Paduka Mohamad in the interview session with the researcher explained that "Even bringing Anwar into UMNO may be one way to curb the Islamic movements' activism, but what is more important is the impact of all actions [by the government] which have led to the progressive development of Islam in Malaysia. Insertion and absorption of the Islamist faction in the government during the Mahathir era can be seen as the party attempts to use the space and opportunities. When Mahathir gave entrance to Anwar Ibrahim for instance, what is more important, in a short period of time, is that many programmes, such as inculcating Islamic values in the government agencies, the establishment of Islamic banks and International Islamic University (IIUM) and etc. All of these are the boosted programmes that would be exploited by those involved in the Islamic movement within the government. The Malaysian government effort in these development should not be seen [the changes to the Islamisation] as

Malaysia has been recognised as “a moderate Muslim country” together with Turkey, due to its moderate approach in the development of Islam. Renowned Egyptian Islamic scholar, Yusuf al-Qaradawi has acknowledged Malaysia and Turkey’s contribution as models of moderate Muslim countries and he also hopes that the two countries should be emulated by other Muslim countries.<sup>1146</sup>

The dynamic of Islam in Malaysia, in particular the urban states of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur continue to be a strong element to determine the Malay Muslim identity until it has now relied upon by the eight key features. First, the stream of consciousness to return to Islam involves three middle class educated backgrounds; the social sciences, the Western science-technology and Islamic studies upbringing. Second, the struggle in revitalising Islam in the society covers various aspects of Muslims’ life. This is in line with the holistic nature of Islam which comprises the religious practices and blended with the world view of Islam in all spectrums of Muslim life.

Third, there is a strong momentum addressed by the early *da’wah* activists direct and indirectly towards the state authority to change the structural mind of the Malays about the role of religion; as it is not just for ritual purposes which give concentration on prayer, fasting, marriage and official ceremony. However, Islam has been described as a comprehensive system of life. This system of life regulates all human activities which emphasise physical and spiritual qualities. The awareness on the true teaching of Islam has nurtured the Muslims’ tendency to create a practical Islamic life at the epitome. This encourages the emergence of Muslim attire (*busana*), Islamic halāl foods, Islamic village, Islamic schools, Islamic health centres, and the Islamic banking and *takāful* and various Islamic institutions which tag the “Islamic” title.<sup>1147</sup>

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something detrimental, especially in the economic field when the economic growth in the form of [the establishment of] Islamic banking and Islamic *takāful* [for example] have also been able to maintain the government and strengthen its own position”. Interview with Prof. Datuk Paduka Mohamad Bin Abu Bakar, Dataran Sastera, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, 14 September 2012.

<sup>1146</sup> ‘Najib’s Efforts for Muslim Unity Lauded’, *New Straits Times*, 13 February 2014.

<sup>1147</sup> Siddiq Fadzil, *Islam dan Melayu: Martabat Umat dan Daulat Rakyat*, Kajang: Akademi Kajian Ketamadunan, Kolej Dar al-Hikmah, 2012, p. 120.

Fourth, since four decades after 1970s, Islamic Resurgence involves not only the student societies, but also participation of youth organisations, NGOs, political parties, traditional *da'wah* movements and the Muslim middle class community. Fifth, there are increasing efforts to create such 'Islamic' public atmosphere which has been stimulating extensively the public interests in the subject of Islam and to study a unique concept of life under the Islamic worldview. Such physical attitudes can be seen in the mosque and *surau* attendances, the organisation of Islamic and spiritual programmes by local community and authority, the NGOs and corporate agencies as well as the printed and electronic mass media. All the above have been led by a group of Muslims who also contribute to the massive revival of religious awareness which fuelled to more progressive Islam in Malaysia.

Sixth, there is a dynamic role between the government and the opposition Islamic political party; between the Malay political Islam and the Islamic NGOs; as well as the government political will and the emergence of the moderate Muslim intellectuals. These counter back pattern of responses by the Islamic-based organisations help to enrich the function of Islam in its comprehensive form at the national and international levels. Seventh, the role of printed, electronic and virtual channels of mass media and communications accelerates the spread of Islam, but not least also its impact on positive and negative outcomes to the Malays. Eighth, the content and the coverage of Islamic discussions in the current age is all-encompassing, which is extending from the question of personally obligatory (*fardu 'ain*) to the communally obligatory (*fardu kifāyah*),<sup>1148</sup> which covers all aspects of life.<sup>1149</sup>

The structural tendency for Islamisation process in Malaysia after 1970s, in general, and Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, in particular has been designing in a

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<sup>1148</sup> *Fardu 'ain* is the act that is required by Allah SWT from each and every morally responsible person, while *fardu kifāyah* is the act that Allah SWT requires from the collectively of those morally responsible, not from each of individuals. If someone able through himself and his property to perform the *fardu kifāyah* act which are obliged to Muslims, all Muslims are cleared of the sins, if neglected all the guilty of serious sins.

<sup>1149</sup> This includes Islamic transaction or *Muā'malāt*, jurisprudence, laws, economics, social, education and ethics and any issues that are related to the state and politics



systematic framework and process: as it was a bottom-up approach at the beginning of the Islamic Resurgence era (1970s-1981), turned to a top-down approach in the expansion age of Islamisation (1982-1998), directed to an integrated approach in the progressive era of the Islamic Resurgence (1998-2003) and transformed to a dynamic approach in the pragmatic period of the Islamic Resurgence (2004-the present). Each period of the resurgence can be described as the following stages:

The early formation of the Islamic Resurgence (1970s-1981) began its initial call for *da'wah* at urban university campus aligned with a global wake up call for Islamic Resurgence in the Muslim countries. *Da'wah* phenomenon began to replace socialist disintegration ideology in the urban area with the ideal concept of Islam as a comprehensive system of life (*ad-dīn*) which struggles to purify Muslim towards the total submission towards Allah and Islamisation of the entire society. University of Malaya was one of the significant campuses for students' activism that has changed its function from a centre for socialism to a centre for Islamic culture and resurgence which has brought the middle class into the wave of religious consciousness. By 1980, it was estimated that about 15 per cent of the undergraduates and graduates of local universities "worked to purify the practice of Islam" through Muslim student societies.<sup>1150</sup>

Zainah Anwar who studied the resurgence phenomenon among students also estimated that "at least 60 to 70 per cent" of the Malay students participated in Islamist movements and committed to *da'wah* activities.<sup>1151</sup> Islamic Resurgence on campus during this period can be distinguished into two phases. The first phase demonstrated the dominance influence of ABIM as a moderate Islamic movement and the champion of the Islamic cause and social issues in campus and at the national level. After its president, Anwar Ibrahim joined UMNO in 1982; the influence of ABIM in campus

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<sup>1150</sup> Mohamad Abu Bakar, 'Islamic Revivalism and the Political Process in Malaysia', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 21, No. 10, October 1981, p. 1041.

<sup>1151</sup> Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia: Dakwah Among The Students*, Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 1987, p. 33.

politics has declined and it causes ABIM to be less vocal on social issues and considerably less critical towards the government.<sup>1152</sup> From lobbying efforts, vocal and critical of the regime in politic for the cause of Islam, ABIM then took a positive stance to cooperate with the government in its partnership for nation building approach.<sup>1153</sup>

The Islamic Republic group on the other hand took over the control of PMIUM, the most influential Islamic student organisation which rendered the second wave of Islamic Resurgence on campus. The Islamic Republic group spread the ultra-conservative perspective of Islamic Representative Council which originated in the United Kingdom. This group inclined to establish an Islamic Republic in Malaysia, and publicised campaign on un-Islamic social activities and entertainment on campus. They also believed that the secular government of Malaysia is “illegitimate” and “infidel” as it is based on a man-made constitution. Other than ABIM and Islamic Republic group, a few *da'wah* movements emerged in University of Malaya and other universities that were Darul Arqam, Jamaat Tabligh and PAS.<sup>1154</sup>

The expansion era of Islamisation in the Islamic Resurgence of Malaysia was intensified in the period of 1982 to 1998. Under the rule of Tun Mahathir, Malaysia had witnessed the rapid growth of Islamic development in many areas of education, social, administration and economic. During this period, the top-down approach was applied witnessing various Islamic institutions were established in many forms. For example, the International Islamic University and Islamic Bank were established while the Islamic civilisation subject was introduced at the tertiary level to instil the local

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<sup>1152</sup> Helen Ting, 'Interethnic Relations in Malaysian Campuses: A Historical Review', *Malaysian Journal of Chinese Studies*, No. 1, 2012, p. 70.

<sup>1153</sup> Azyumardi Azra, 'Islamic Thought: Theory, Concepts and Doctrines in the Context of Southeast Asian Islam', in K. S. Nathan & Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Strategic Challenges for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Pasir Panjang, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005, p. 16, pp. 3-21; M. G. Peletz, "Ordinary Muslim" and Muslim Resurgents in Contemporary Malaysia: Notes on an Ambivalent Relationship', In R. W. Hefner and P. Horvatic, (editors), *Islam in an Era of Nation-States*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997, p. 235; Shamsul A. B., 'Identity Construction, Nation Formation, and Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia', In R. W. Hefner and P. Horvatic, (editors), *Islam in an Era of Nation-States*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997, pp. 212-219.

<sup>1154</sup> Interview with Ustaz Alias Othman, at 59, Jalan Dato Keramat 3, Dato Keramat, K. Lumpur, 25 June 2013. (Committee of Disciplinary Council of Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM) - *Lembaga Timbang Tara*) and former Vice President of Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM); Zainah Anwar, *Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia: Dakwah among The Students*, pp. 34-35.

Muslims the spirit of appreciation of the past glory of Islamic civilisation.<sup>1155</sup> The development of Islamic economic was consolidated with inculcation of Islamic virtues into the working culture of the administration of the government through the Inculcation of Islamic Values Policy. Some of the Islamists and the educated Malay middle class joined and assisted the government to give inputs in the Islamisation projects. Islam has been endorsed in the form of establishing institutions, and Islamic projects were then boosted up with the establishment of IKIM in 1991, as a think-tank of the ruling party.<sup>1156</sup>

In the 1990s, *nasyīd* emerged as an alternative entertainment genre in Malaysia. Many famous religious independent preachers emerged after RTM published on air *Forum Perdana Ehwāl Islam* on TV1. More creative and innovative products of Islam appeared as a response to fulfil the Muslims demand on the Islamic-based products such as, magazine, newspaper, foods, education, health services, drama, films and entertainment programmes.

An integrated approach to the Islamic Resurgence was apparent in the reformation era (1998 – 2003) started from the early era of *Reformasi* to the end of Tun Abdullah legacy. Following the sacking of Anwar Ibrahim from all his government positions, as the Deputy Prime Minister and party posts in early September 1998 by incumbent Prime Minister Mahathir, middle-class Islamists went out in street protests and demonstrations against the injustice headed for Anwar Ibrahim who was accused for allegedly engaging in corruption and immoral sexual relations.

After the detention of Anwar under the ISA in 1998, for the first time in the history of Islamic movement in Malaysia, most of the Islamic movements, namely ABIM, JIM and PAS enthusiastically united and participated in Pro-Anwar turbulences.

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<sup>1155</sup> See, Mahathir's speech in the 1982 UMNO's General Assembly, in Abdul Rahman Abdul Aziz, Mustapa Kassim (editors), *Amanah Presiden: Demi Agama, Bangsa dan Negara, 1981-2002, Tun Mahathir Mohammad*, Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Sdn. Bhd., 2009, p. 31.

<sup>1156</sup> Interview with Prof. Dato' Dr Ismail Ibrahim, at Majlis Universiti Islam Malaysia, Bangi Selangor, 13 September 2013. He is Chairman of the Baitulmal's Professional Institute and the first Director of IKIM.

Two main civil society associations, namely the People's Democratic Organisation (*Gagasan Demokrasi Rakyat- GAGASAN*) which was led by Tian Chua and the Movement of Justice for Malaysians (*Gerakan Keadilan Rakyat Malaysia- GERAK*) which was led by PAS, were formed to coordinate the movements.<sup>1157</sup> JIM and ABIM led the NGOs and moved the reformation uprising in 1999, which caused the detention of its president, Shaari Sungip twice under the ISA together with ABIM President, Ahmad Azam Abdul Rahman and other ABIM's front-runners.<sup>1158</sup>

In this period of political turmoil, many *da'wah* activists from ABIM and JIM decided to explicit their political activism in accordance with *da'wah* renewal, choosing to join either PAS or the newly founded National Justice Party or *Parti Keadilan Nasional* led by Wan Azizah Wan Ismail who later formed the Alternative Front (BA), alliance of the opposition jointly with PAS, DAP and the Malaysian People's Party (*Parti Rakyat Malaysia - PRM*).<sup>1159</sup> Political orientation of ABIM and JIM and the Malay Muslim support allowed PAS to score some success in the 1999 General Election, in particular winning a major support of the middle class segment in the urban area of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.<sup>1160</sup> PAS also led the opposition front after the 1999 General Election before it was headed by PKR leadership.<sup>1161</sup>

A dynamic approach in the pragmatic period of the Islamic Resurgence began in 2004 to the present. Islamic movements have made readjustment to a situation when dealing with the state and UMNO leadership after Abdullah Ahmad Badawi came to power on 31 October 2003. Abdullah's clean reputation and nice image with his Islamic

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<sup>1157</sup> PAS founded Gerakan Keadilan rakyat Malaysia (GERAK) in 1998 which involved the Non-Malays organizations including, Democratic Action party (DAP), Suara Rakyat Malaysia (SUARAM), Burma Solidarity Group of Malaysia, (BSGM), international Movement for a Just World (JUST), Consumer Association of Penang (CAP), and Aliran other Islamic organizations, such as Persatuan Kebangsaan Pelajar-Pelajar Islam Malaysia (PKPIM), Persatuan Ulama' Malaysia (PUM), Persatuan Pengguna Islam Malaysia (PPIM), ISMA, TERAS, YATIM and URUS. See, Mohd Fadli Ghani, 'Dewan Pemuda PAS: Suatu Kajian Terhadap Tahap-Tahap Perkembangan Organisasi dalam Era Bertindak, 1975-2003', M.A. Thesis, Pusat Pengajian Sejarah, Politik dan Strategi, Fakulti Sains Sosial dan Kemanusiaan, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2003, p. 2.

<sup>1158</sup> Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, 'Islamist Realignment and the Rebranding of the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 2008, p. 219, pp. 215-240.

<sup>1159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>1160</sup> PAS won 27 Parliamentary seats and 98 State seats in the 1999 general election more than triple seats it's won in the previous election. The party succeed to take over Terengganu and remained Kelantan in the election compared to 7 and 33 seats for parliament and State constituencies in the 1995 election. In contrast to the PAS previous electoral performance when the party only received 5 parliamentary seats and 18 state seats in the 1982 General Election.

<sup>1161</sup> 'Ustaz Fadzil dalam Kenangan', *Harakah*, 23 June 2014.

studies background, reputable lineage – being the son and grandson of the prominent *ulama*' and clear mission of good governance, and Islam Hadhari mellowed down Islamists and reformation campaign over the Malay-Muslims vote in the 2004 General Election.

The tendency of Islamic politics of PAS and Islamists is to focus on obtaining the political power from the current government led by UMNO. PAS has changed its political orientations which were previously rigid to non-Muslims relations to a mutual political cooperation with DAP and opens the party's acceptance to the non-Muslim supporters through the formation of the Council of PAS Supporters (DHPP). As the prominent *da'wah* organisation, ABIM leaves behind its non-partisan attitude to participate in PKR and PAS in the 2008 General Election, but return to its non-partisan stance as previously, in its recent progress. IKRAM as the re-established JIM is actively involved in the civil society activism and has declared its support to the Alternative-Front (BA) in the 2013 General Election, but then turn to its non-partisan attitude after the election and allowed its leader to join PAN to participate in the mainstream politics.

UMNO under the leadership of Datuk Seri Najib, persistently places Islamic agenda in its administration and continues the preceding party leaderships. He has introduced the concept of *wasatīyyah* (moderation in Islam) to represent his outline on Islam. Malaysia Institute of *Wasatīyyah* which was established in 2012 and YADIM, are the two official institutes that disseminate Najib's idea of *wasatīyyah* as an attempt to promote the global movement of moderation against extremism. Even though the *wasatīyyah* slogan which was launched by the state leadership is nothing much than a rhetoric to tackle the rise of radical Islamic groups and as counter reactions to the rise of Islamic political party, PAS, the assertion however, has successfully developed positive thinking about the holistic nature of Islam which stands based on justice, excellence and balance as well as enhanced the wide-spread of Islam in the country. This originated

concept of moderation in Islam also boosted Malaysia role in the subject of Islamic equability at the global arena.<sup>1162</sup>

UMNO prominent figures also has tended to manifest their “piety” and has invited the *Hadrami* Arab-Javanese Sufi popular *salāwāt*<sup>1163</sup> performance, orchestrated by Habib Syech bin Abulkadir Assegaf (Habib Syech) in promoting Love the Prophet Night, which then fostered the Islamic popular culture in Malaysia, in particular in the urban states of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

### 8.3 From Exclusive to Inclusive Approach to Islamic *Da’wah* in Politics

The two main Malay political parties which place Islam as their basis of struggle and principle are UMNO and PAS. Even though UMNO and PAS, both Malay-Islamic based parties differ in their approach to Islam and political ideology and have been involved in bitter struggles in their efforts to dominate the meaning and interpretation of Islam among the Malays, each party has emerged representing the Malay struggle for Islam.

Through the establishment of YADIM and PERKIM with the role played by the Religious Bureau of UMNO, this nationalist-based party has begun to initiate active participation in *da’wah* according to the viewpoints embraced by the party’s leadership.<sup>1164</sup> UMNO new policies towards Islam started when PAS entered the coalition of Malaysian Government in January 1973. UMNO as the leader of BN agreed in the 13 Point Coalition Agreement, in which the ruling party needs to give more

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<sup>1162</sup> See, Mohammad Redzuan Othman, Mashitah Sulaiman, ‘Inculcating the Essence of ‘Wasatiyyah’ in Muslim Society: The State Promotion and Muslim Intelligentsia Responses in Malaysia’, *Al-Shajarah*, Volume 19, No. 2, 2014, pp. 210-211, pp. 173-213.

<sup>1163</sup> It means the devotion prayer to the Prophet Muhammad SAW and his family.

<sup>1164</sup> Many agencies were founded by the government, for instance the National Council for Islamic Affair (*Majlis Kebangsaan bagi Hal Ehwal Ugama Islam- MKI*) with the formation of Center of Islamic Research (*Pusat Penyelidikan Islam*) was established in 1971, the Institute of Da’wah and Islamic Training (*Institut Dakwah dan Latihan Islam – INDAH*) was formed in 1974 under the monitoring of Islamic Center (*Pusat Islam*), The Foundation of Islamic Da’wah (Preaching) of Malaysia (*YADIM - Yayasan Dakwah Islamiah Malaysia*) was also established in 1974 and the establishment of the Board of Islamic Learning Moderator and Education (*LEPAI - Lembaga Penyelaras Pelajaran dan Pendidikan Agama Islam*). See, *JAKIM 35 Tahun: Sambutan 35 Tahun (1968-2003)* JAKIM, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia, 2003, pp. 23-24; Fealy, Greg and Hooker, Virginia (editors), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006, pp. xxiv- xxix.

recognition to enforce Islamic values.<sup>1165</sup> After the defeat of PAS in 1978 election and the withdrawal of this party from BN coalition, PAS received the “blood infusion” from ABIM. A few leaders of ABIM joined PAS and started to rejuvenate the party’s visions in *da’wah*. In the midst of a global Islamic Resurgence, ABIM and PAS used the opportunity that they have to offer an alternative rejecting Malay identity moulded by Malay nationalism, and accept Islam as a strong dynamic source of change.<sup>1166</sup>

In the announcement of Mahathir Mohammad, as UMNO President in 2001, he declared that Malaysia is an Islamic state and conversed to what has been determined by Tunku Abdul Rahman to be state’s ideology of Malaysia, after its formation as a nation state. Under the leadership of Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, special attention was given to Islamic development in his internal and foreign policy. During his rule, the Malaysian government has introduced its national policy for strengthening the nation building in the name of Civilisational Islam “*Islam Hadhari*” and this remarks the reaffirmation stage of Islam in public life which allows a widespread expansion and the creation of “Islamic space” in the national policy. His next successor, the Sixth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato’ Seri Najib Tun Razak then continued showing government’s commitment on the development of moderate Islam in the country through his concept of ‘*wasatīyyah*’.

The quantitative findings of this study have revealed that most of the Malay respondents, regardless of income disparity and political affiliation have agreed with the role of the government and its agencies through JAKIM, IKIM, naming a few, to expand the role of Islam in the public spheres. Although they agreed with the government agencies efforts to increase Islamic understanding in the society, the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, however are quite sensitive with the statement

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<sup>1165</sup> On 28 December 1972 Tun Razak and Datuk Asri Haji Muda of PAS signed an agreement “*Perjanjian 13 Perkara*” to form a coalition government of the Alliance. PAS by origin is a member in the formation of the National Front or Barisan Nasional. See, Alias Mohammad, *Sejarah Perjuangan Parti PAS*, pp. 187-191. See also, Ahmad Fawzi Mohd. Basri, ‘The United Malays National Organization (UMNO) 1981-1991: A Study of the Mechanic of a Changing Political Culture’, PhD Thesis, Centre for South East Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1992, pp. 166-167.

<sup>1166</sup> Ahmad Fawzi Mohd. Basri, ‘The United Malays National Organization (UMNO) 1981-1991’, p. 375.

dealing with politics. The Malays are divided into various groups; some attached themselves with politics and some of them are exempted individuals.<sup>1167</sup>

PAS considers UMNO as a 'secular' nationalist Muslim party; however UMNO leaders always put its political agenda that associates Islam with economic development and modernisation of the Muslim people. UMNO emphasises Islam as a social force for economic, scientific and technological advancement. PAS's Islamic strategy and objective, conversely, is more concerned with traditional religious goals which have predominantly targeted at making Malaysia an Islamic state, by which they mean a state must enforce and implement Islamic law and *Hudūd* in its entirety.<sup>1168</sup>

UMNO and PAS have evolved over the decades and both parties have always appeared in the contest to become more 'Islamic' in their outlooks, strategies and policies as they know that the Malay Muslims in particular, will be affected with their Islamic sentiments over the issue of Islamic identity and this will be transformed into the electoral voting box.<sup>1169</sup> Both parties often counter-reply in response to issues related to religion in order to champion the interests of Islam and Malay Muslims in the country.

Despite the fact that the two parties differ in many aspects in terms of their approach and prominence on the subject of Islam and always seem to have a deep rift between each other, they could be united in defending Islam as the state religion and protecting the Malay-Muslim identity.<sup>1170</sup> PAS has turned to become more pragmatic and less vocal on the issues of Islamic state and displayed moderate stand on the issue of using the word Allah since its participation in the opposition coalition, BA and PR.

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<sup>1167</sup> This is proven when the statement "the UMNO's struggle which is proven successful in upholding the position of Islam in the country", 84.4 per cent (92 respondents) of the PAS supporters have disagreed with the statement; whereas 66.2 per cent (147 respondents) of those who are do belong to any groups said that they are not sure with the statement. 147 individuals who are the undecided respondents are workers of the public and private sectors, professionals and administrators, workers of sales, service and clerical work, students, corporate and businessmen. Most of the Malay respondents would not declare and give their stand dealing with politics, but do support the government role and efforts in the development of Islam in Malaysia. Refer to Chapter 4, Graph 4.2, 4.6 and 4.9.

<sup>1168</sup> Osman Bakar, 'Islam and Muslim Identity in Malaysia: Trends and Transformations', In Approaches to 'Moderate' Islam in Asia: The Dynamics among Islam, Muslim Identity, Politics, and Society, NBR Panel at The International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) 5: Approaches to 'Moderate' Islam in Asia, Kuala Lumpur, August 3, 2007, p. 38.

<sup>1169</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>1170</sup> Ibid.



Similar to UMNO, PAS's non-Muslim supporters and members are going to increase after its BA coalition in the 1999 General Election and PR in the 2004 General Election. The party is progressing to recruit more non-Malay Muslims members from the non-Muslim supporters' club, DHPP to create a new image to be more acceptable to the non-Muslims.<sup>1171</sup>

The slogan "PAS for All" could explain PAS transformation in its strategy and approach from the exclusive Malay Muslim Islamic party to the inclusive party for all Muslims and non-Muslims, and the Malays and non-Malays alike.<sup>1172</sup> The entrance of more moderate professionals and intellectuals into the party has changed its leadership brand from the more conservative type of *ulama'* to an intellectual and professional style in leadership. Three terms of PAS elections (2009, 2011 and 2013) has proven the existence of these two groups at the high ranking position of the party.<sup>1173</sup>

PAS also received an encouraging support from the Malay Muslim voters in the urban area when the party won eight seats in the 2008 Selangor State Assembly Election, and gained four and one seats respectively for Selangor and Kuala Lumpur parliamentary election in the same year. In 2013 General Election, PAS increased its vote at the urban states from 8 seats in 2008 to 15 seats in Selangor State Assembly Election and maintained 4 seats in the parliamentary election for Selangor constituency. PAS won a total of 85 seats in the State Assembly and 21 seats in the Parliament in the 2013 Malaysian General Election.<sup>1174</sup>

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<sup>1171</sup> PAS Supporters Club consists of over 20,000 members of the Indian, Chinese, Thai and Iban and was established in 2004. The name of the club is changed to *Dewan Himpunan Penyokong PAS* (DHPP) in February 2010 was seen to be a part of the party's follow-up effort to attract the support of non-Muslim supporters even it is "still seen with limited powers". Zainuddin Hasyim, 'DHPP - Dewan Himpunan Penyokong PAS Lulus - Dr Mujahid', December 19, 2009, <http://www.ibnuhasyim.com/2009/12/dhpp-dewan-himpunan-penyokong-pas-lulus.html>.

<sup>1172</sup> See Dr Dzulkifley Ahmad critical synthesis on PAS's transformation in "Tentang Transformasi PAS, dan Kelompangannya", *Roketkini.com*, 31 August 2014. <http://www.roketkini.com/2014/08/31/tentang-transformasi-pas-dan-kelompangannya/>

<sup>1173</sup> See, list of PAS Central Committees for the 2013-2015, 2011-2013 and 2009-2011 sessions in Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) Official Website, <http://pas.org>; Osman Bakar, 'Islam and Muslim Identity in Malaysia', p. 43.

<sup>1174</sup> Keputusan Pilihan Raya 2013, *Suruhan Jaya Pilihan Raya Malaysia*, Accessed on 13 December 2014. <http://keputusan.spr.gov.my>.

#### **8.4 From Revolutionary to Pragmatic Activism of the Non-Governmental *Da'wah* Organisations**

The role played by the non-governmental organisations is significant to magnify the extensive call of *da'wah* in the Malaysian society. As a mediated groups or organisations between the government and the public, the existence of the NGO *da'wah* organisations could bridge the gap between many sections of the society and ideological stands in order to create religious awareness with the non-partisan attitude in social and political issues within the society.

ABIM and IRC-JIM-IKRAM have emerged as prominent Islamic NGOs in *da'wah* activities in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. Both organisations are primarily participated by the well-educated middle classes, professionals and intellectuals. Unlike previously, ABIM and IKRAM have made mutual cooperation in many areas of civil-society, human rights and socio-politics, *da'wah* and the youth development.

ABIM's Islamic activism has impacted many aspects of Malaysian Muslims today. It introduces the Islamic veil culture among Muslim women, emphasises on Islamisation of knowledge, strengthening Islamic education in the intellectual discourses, conferences and seminars through its holistic approach. From personal and vocal approach of *da'wah*, it has moved towards problem solving, nation building, and pragmatic approaches to Islamic Resurgence. Until August 18, 2013, it had 90 branches out of 124 districts in Peninsula Malaysia. With 63,418 registered members it had managed a nationwide network of pre-schools, primary and secondary schools, colleges, co-operation Islamic financial services, medical clinics and hospital with a worldwide relief task force.<sup>1175</sup> Even though IKRAM is similar to ABIM in many facets, in some areas of specialisation IKRAM seems to be more advance than ABIM. Osman Bakar in his comment about the performance of ABIM and JIM-IKRAM says that:

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<sup>1175</sup> Laporan Tahunan ABIM 2012/2013, Muktamar Sanawi Ke-42, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (ABIM) & World Conference on Islamic Resurgence: Challenges, Prospects and The Way Forward, 6-8 September 2013, Auditorium Jubli Perak, Bangunan Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah, Shah Alam, p. 33.

As an Islamic organisation, it (JIM-IKRAM) shares many traits with ABIM. In a number of areas of Islamic activities and concerns, the two groups seem to be cooperating well. Today, in many areas of social, educational and welfare work, JIM (or currently IKRAM) seems to be better organised and more successful than ABIM.<sup>1176</sup>

Other *da'wah* groups which contribute to the development of religious consciousness among the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur is Jamaat Tabligh. Though Jamaah Tabligh and Sufism groups have its own style and method of delivering *da'wah*, these groups' efforts help to build Muslims' character and have received a warm support from the Malay respondents in the study when more than half of them agree with their call for personal religious personality. Some of the urban Malay low-income classes acknowledge the contribution of ABIM as a voluntary *da'wah* organisation as it has already been established since 1971, and familiar with its TASKI, SRI and SMI. However, they know very little on the existence of IKRAM,<sup>1177</sup> except the contribution of its agencies, e.g. *Aqsa As-Syarif* (recently known as MyCARE) in their effort regarding the issues of Palestine.<sup>1178</sup> The urban middle classes, however, are quite common with IKRAM's personalities, such as Dr. Harlina Haliza Siraj, who previously was Chief of Woman of JIM and Central Committee of IKRAM, Dr. Mazlee Malik and Dr. Daniel Zainal Abidin, but they do not know that they represent which group or organisation.

The role and efforts of the voluntary *da'wah* organisations in the expansion of Islamic *da'wah* at the national level has been greatly recognised by the state. For instance, Chairman of Hidayah Centre Foundation, Nicholas Sylvester @Muhammad Abdullah, who is also Chairman of *Da'wah* Bureau of IKRAM was awarded as receiver

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<sup>1176</sup> Osman Bakar, 'Islam and Muslim Identity in Malaysia', p. 42.

<sup>1177</sup> Even though the Islamic NGOs have claimed that they attempt to boost their efforts of *da'wah* to the mass and public, such efforts need to be publicised for at least the public to know their presence and contribution in the Malaysian society.

<sup>1178</sup> Interview with Ustaz Ishak Malek, at Kg Ginching, Sepang, Selangor on 19 August 2013. Second interview was conducted on 31 August 2013; Interview with Mrs. Norazilah Yahya, 1.46pm at Kg Ginching, Sepang, Selangor on 19 August 2013; Interview with Mr. Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, at Sekolah Kebangsaan Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor on 16 June 2013; Interview with Mrs. Aida Binti Md Zin, at Sekolah Menengah Seri Sepang, Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor, 23 June 2013; Interview with Mr. Mohd Bakri Che Mat, at Taman Desa Semarak, Nilai, Negeri Sembilan on 24 June 2013. He is a small food seller, a Gombak resident of Selangor; Interview with Mohammad Nazli Zakaria, at Sekolah Rendah Integrasi Salak Tinggi, Sepang Selangor on 26 June 2013; Interview with Mr. Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, at Lot 2052, Jalan Belimbing Meru, Klang, Selangor, 20 July 2013; Interview with Mrs. Hayati Jusoh, at Lot 2796, Batu 8, Bukit Kapar, Klang, Selangor 20 July 2013.

of Special Award in the conjunction of Maal Hijrah 2013.<sup>1179</sup> In addition, Jufitri Joha, ABIM activist was receiver of the National Youth Award 2014, for his efforts as activist of youth development and humanitarian activities. He has also established the Youth State Council (*Dewan Undangan Negeri Belia*), besides being a Vice Speaker of Youth Negeri Sembilan.<sup>1180</sup> The late, Ahmad Ammar Ahmad Azam, ABIM-GPTD correspondent of Turkey also received the 2014 *Maulidur Rasul* Award by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong, Tuanku Abdul Halim Mu'adzam Shah.<sup>1181</sup> Ahmad Ammar was a Malaysian student who was actively involved in *da'wah* and humanitarian mission; received a special privilege and recognition from Turkey Government when his body was buried at the Cemetery Centre of Eyub Sultan, the companion of the Prophet SAW, in Istanbul, Turkey.<sup>1182</sup> He also received the *Maulidur Rasul* Award at the Selangor state level (Saidina Ali Award) for 1435H/2014.<sup>1183</sup>

A few Islamic scholars, the NGO activists and independent preachers also received the Selangor State Maulidur Rasul 1436H/2015 Award, including Associate Prof. Dr. Sharifah Hayati Syed Ismail, Chairman of Humanitarian Care Malaysia Berhad (MyCARE) and Chairman of IKRAM Global Care Committee, Associate Prof. Dr. Hafidzi Mohd. Noor, Datuk Saleh Mad and Datuk Mahamud Abdul, nasyīd singer, Nazrey Johari; and independent preacher, Muhammad Abdullah.<sup>1184</sup> Furthermore, Malaysian Government also recognised international Muslim scholars and preachers for their great contribution in the promotion of Islamic *da'wah* at the international level

<sup>1179</sup> Known as *Anugerah Khas Maal Hijrah Peringkat Wilayah Persekutuan 1435H*. 'Pengerusi Hidayah Centre Foundation Terima Anugerah Khas Maal Hijra', *Hidayah Center*, Posted on November 27, 2013. <https://hidayahcentreikrambtr.wordpress.com/page/3/>.

<sup>1180</sup> He has actively involved in the World Civilization Discovery Group (*Kumpulan Penjejak Tamadun Dunia*) and the Natural Society Group. 'Pengiktirafan untuk Belia', *Majlis Belia Malaysia*, 15 May 2014, Retrieved at <http://belia.org.my/wp/?p=3626>.

<sup>1181</sup> Mohd Husni Mohd Noor, 'Allahyarham Ammar Terima Anugerah', *Harian Metro*, 14 January 2014.

<sup>1182</sup> The death and life of Ahmad Ammar blew up the national and international phenomenon due to the way of his death and appreciation that he received from Turkish Government upon his death. *YouTube* video "GPTD: Ahmad Ammar Dalam Kenangan" which depicted his life journey has also received about 1.6 million viewers until January 2014. See, 'Mohd. Daud Tokoh Perdana Anugerah Maulidur Rasul', *Utusan Malaysia*, 15 January 2014; Mohd Husni Mohd Noor, "Allahyarham Ammar Terima Anugerah", *Harian Metro*, 14 January 2014.

<sup>1183</sup> Press Conference of 'Pelancaran Cerita Cinta Ahmad Ammar', Kumpulan Media Karang kraf, Seksyen 15, Shah Alam, Selangor, 16 Feb 2014.

<sup>1184</sup> 'Imam Masjid Negara Tokoh Perdana Maulidur Rasul', *Utusan Malaysia*, 3 January 2015.

including, Dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi as the 2009 Maal Hijrah Figure,<sup>1185</sup> Dr. Zakir Abdul Karim Naik from India as a receiver of the 2013 Maal Hijrah Figure.<sup>1186</sup>

### **Religiosity of the Malay Middle and Low Income Classes**

#### *The Malay Middle and Low Income Classes' Religious Thoughts*

Since the emergence of Islamic Resurgence in 1970s most of *da'wah* programmes and activities have been centralised around Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. This religious resurgence has impacted on the Malay middle and low-income classes who reside and work within the adjacent areas. The degree of impact of the Islamic Resurgence on these two different socioeconomic status depends on their exposure to *da'wah* organisations and participation in any agents of Islamic Resurgence; either in the *da'wah* movements or Islamic organisations; their self-awareness on the religious obligation, family background and economic stability. The tendency of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur to show their identity as devoted believers can be seen from the individuals' religious thoughts, practices and physical appearances.

Pearson Correlation also found that there are positive relationships between efforts of various Islamic organisations (agents of Islamic Resurgence) and respondents' score in Islamic thoughts ( $r = .151$ ,  $p < .001$ ), Islamic practices ( $r = .097$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism ( $r = .126$ ,  $p < .001$ ), public spheres in Malaysia ( $r = .191$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and factors of individual religiosity ( $r = .295$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In other words, the increase in the efforts to revival Islamic awareness in Malaysian society especially in the urban areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur could help to increase Malay Muslims' Islamic thoughts, practices and lifestyles. These efforts

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<sup>1185</sup> 'Tindakan Interpol Penganiayaan terhadap Ulama', *Sinar Harian*, 24 December 2014; Nizam Zain, 'Malaysia digesa Guna Kedudukan dalam PBB, OIC', *Sinar Harian*, 23 December 2014.

<sup>1186</sup> Raziatul Hanum A.Rajak, 'Abdul Hamid, Dr Zakir Tokoh Maal Hijrah', *Sinar Harian*, 5 November 2013.

also could enlarge the function of Islam in the public spheres and increase individual's religiosity.<sup>1187</sup>

There are also significant relationships between household income and Islamic thoughts ( $r = .209$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and Islamic practices ( $r = .391$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and Islamic lifestyles ( $r = .306$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The study also revealed a strong significant relationship between household income and social economic status ( $r = .928$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and education level ( $r = .544$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This indicated that the increase in household income could contribute to the rise of Islamic religiosity. Household income also has significant relation with socio-economic status and the education level.<sup>1188</sup>

This study has revealed that most of the Malay respondents in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, regardless of their economic and social status, have scored higher in the pillars of *Imān*, Islamic thoughts, their perception on many issues related to Islam in Malaysia. The low-income class however, has scored less than the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes, which has made them different in six items of Islamic belief and all seven items in the Islamic thoughts, in particular the statement related to the role of Islam in politics.<sup>1189</sup> The two groups of middle classes in contrast, strongly believe and score higher in all items of the pillars of *Imān* and Islamic thoughts.

In terms of many issues concerning Islam which have been highlighted in Malaysia, there are significant differences between the low-income and the two groups of the middle-income classes in the statement related to the Qadariyyah's thought or ideal,<sup>1190</sup> all companions of the Prophet are just and trusted people,<sup>1191</sup> characteristic of

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<sup>1187</sup> These statistical tests aim to answer the fourth objective of the study.

<sup>1188</sup> These statistical tests aim to answer the fourth objective of the study.

<sup>1189</sup> The items are "Religion needs to be separated from the state's political life" -secularism and "Democracy can be used as mechanism or tool to uphold the position of Islam". The low-income scored considerable near to moderate level (with the mean value, 3.7) in the first statement and moderate level (the mean value, 3.5) in the second statement. Almost majority of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur are not really confident with the use of democracy as the means to upholding the role of Islam (the mean of 3.7).

<sup>1190</sup> Table 4.31- all my successes are only products of my endeavours.

<sup>1191</sup> About 23 per cent (65 respondents) of the low-income have somewhat shared similar way of thinking with the *Qadariyyah* school of thought and minority of low-income (2.8 per cent - 8 respondents), the middle-middle (0.9 per cent - 9.6 per cent (3 respondents) and the upper-middle income (9.6 per cent - 3 respondents) distrust the companions (similar thought to *syiah*).

*amar ma'ruf nahī munkār* in the Islamic state, efforts towards the Islamic state,<sup>1192</sup> terrorism, liberalism, apostasy and the implementation of the *hudūd* law in which the low-income earners score lower in these items. Only minority of the respondents has involved in Jamaat Tabligh.<sup>1193</sup>

The study found that the effort to develop the state which upholds Islamic *syarī'ah* was supported by majority of the respondents regardless of their social income class.<sup>1194</sup> This finding is paralleled with the Pew Research Centre's study which showed that in 2013, 86 per cent of Malaysian respondents did favour making *syarī'ah* law (Islamic law), the official law of the land in the country.<sup>1195</sup> About 79.6 per cent of the upper-middle income, 80.4 per cent of the middle-middle income and 53.5 per cent of the low-income earners also supported the implementation of *hudūd* law in Malaysia to form a well-being society.<sup>1196</sup>

Most of the respondents reject terrorism, but still a few Malay respondents agreed that Islam allows bombing public areas when the ruler does not practice Islam.<sup>1197</sup> Generally, about 11 per cent of the Malay respondents believe in the freedom of choice in religion, which is demonstrated by this type of thinking must be curbed to prevent serious problem of Islamic faith among Malay Muslims in the modern age.

The study has also revealed that there are no significant differences between the Malays at all level of socio-economic classes in the issue related to the use of the word Allah. Most of them strongly support that the word "Allah" should not be distorted by the non-Muslims to cause confusion in the Malaysian society. This is indicated that this

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<sup>1192</sup> A few of the low-income earners are not sure with characteristic of *amar ma'ruf nahī munkār* and the effort to develop the Islamic state compare to the two groups of the Malay middle classes.

<sup>1193</sup> This consists of 18 per cent of the low-income, 31 per cent respectively of the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes.

<sup>1194</sup> About 97.9 per cent of middle-middle income class, 97.6 per cent of the upper-middle and 91 per cent of the low-income class.  
<sup>1195</sup> 'The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society', *Pew Research Center*, The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, April 30, 2013, p. 201.

<sup>1196</sup> See, Figure 5.21 in Chapter 5 and Table 10.20 in Appendix A.

<sup>1197</sup> They represented by 4.3 per cent of the low-income (12 respondents), 4 per cent of the upper-middle income (5 respondents) and 2.7 per cent of the middle-middle income (9 respondents) earners. This is indicated that a minority or around 4.3 to 2.7 per cent of the Malay in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur believe in terrorist action and activities. Cross tabulation of the data between the statement and the respondents' group affiliation or organisation that they contribute in, showed that those who agreed with the statement<sup>1197</sup> represented by 3.3 per cent (13 from 393 respondents) of independent Malays, 6 per cent (2 from 30 respondents) of the government Islamic organisations, 3.4 per cent (3 of 88 respondents) of the Islamic opposition party, 4.2 per cent (5 of 118 respondents) of the Islamic *da'wah* NGOs, 2.7 per cent (1 of 37 respondents) and 2.9 per cent (2 of 68 respondents) of the pro-government party.

issue does not disintegrate the Malay Muslims in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, but they can unite to protect the Muslim rights and the sanctity of Islam which crosses beyond the political boundary. However, when the statement about unity is forwarded, their responses are segregated into various levels of agreement in the statement which says “disunity among Muslims should be avoided because it is detrimental to Islam and Muslims”. Majority of the Malay respondents agree with this statement.<sup>1198</sup>

The study has indicated that the level of education has strong relationship with socio-economic status and the household income; and at the same time a weak correlation with score in Islamic thoughts. Findings have shown that the respondents of the three social classes who have low level in education have scored low and moderate level in Islamic thoughts.<sup>1199</sup> The score of Islamic thoughts are also associated with the respondents’ frequency in attending the religious knowledge gathering (*usrah*, talks, religious classes) ( $r=.192$ ,  $p<0.01$ ). This has proven that the level of education and tendency to attend religious classes, endeavours to attach with Islamic programmes and institutions can have an effect on the score of Islamic thoughts. This has indicated that education plays an important role to shape one’s belief in religion and his understanding in accordance with the principles of the Islamic faith. The importance of knowledge in Islam mentioned in the Quran in Surah Yusuf, 12: verse 76: “We raise to degrees (of wisdom) whom We please but overall endowed with knowledge is One, the all-knowing.”<sup>1200</sup>

Even though the statistical result has verified significant differences in the score of Islamic thoughts between the low-income and the two groups of the middle-income respondents, this also does not mean that the economic disparity discourages the low-income class to reach the high level in Islamic thought. The study has clearly proven

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<sup>1198</sup> They represented by 95.2 per cent (121) of the upper-middle income, 93.6 per cent (306) of the middle-middle and 87.5 per cent (245) of the low-income classes.

<sup>1199</sup> The low level in education refers to those do not finish the primary school, UPSR, SRP/PMR, SPM.

<sup>1200</sup> Fadillah Mansor and Sarina Aini Kassim, ‘Pembangunan Modal Insan dari Perspektif Pengurusan Islam’, *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, 3, 2008, pp. 85-109.



that 86.8 per cent (243 respondents) of the low-income class has reached the high level in Islamic thoughts, although their score in Islamic thought and household income are lesser than the middle-middle and the upper-middle income classes.<sup>1201</sup>

Based on the interview sessions with the Malay middle and low-income classes and the current study has also found that whatever condition and situation faced by the Malays, Islam is always believed to be the best solution for their life. Similar to middle-income classes, the low-income classes has also found that religion of Islam is the best return when they deal with problems and challenges of life. The study has also indicated that religiosity must be collaborated with the religious cognitive component (thoughts), behaviours (practices) and lifestyle.

#### *The Malay Middle and Low Income Classes' Religious Practices*

Through physical observation and survey, the study has revealed that most of the upper-middle income and the middle-middle income classes demonstrate their high commitment in practising the teaching of Islam. The low-income classes however, have gained a moderate and low level of Islamic practices.<sup>1202</sup>

The two groups of middle classes have extra advantages compared to the low-income class to perform religious worships related to financial and economic qualities. Although economic factor is not a major requirement which places a Muslim's position in Islam, the economic stability and advantages can help someone looking for opportunities to increase his worships towards Allah SWT and strengthen his or her faith. Qualitative interviews with 17 middle class informants proved that their economic stability has helped them to improve their responsibility towards religious obligations through many ways. Again, economic stability can help individual to spend his money to help the needy, pay *zakat*, give *sadāqah*, perform *hajj* and *umrah* and spend free time

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<sup>1201</sup> See, Figure 4.22 in Chapter 4.

<sup>1202</sup> Majority of the low-income respondents have scored the moderate level of Islamic practices. Only 36.1 per cent (101 respondents) of the low-income respondents reached at the high level in Islamic practices, while the other 61.1 per cent and 2.8 per cent of this social class respectively has achieved the moderate and the low level in the same variable.

to attend religious class in order to comprehend Islam as well as to perform other optional practices, like performing prayer at the *surau* and the mosques, fasting and reciting the Quran.<sup>1203</sup>

The study has also found that most of the upper-middle and some of middle-middle income classes are the main contributors to *zakat* in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur compared to the low-income earners, where some of them only sometimes, rarely and never pay the *fitrah* almsgiving which is an obligatory individual religious responsibility for all Muslims.<sup>1204</sup> Most of the middle-middle income and the upper-middle income respondents also expressed their high commitment to practice giving *sadāqah* when they and their family have opportunities to do so. The findings have shown that two groups of the middle classes score higher in performing *zakat*, giving *sadāqah* (charity), and performing *hajj* and *umrah* at an early adult age, compared to the low-income classes who do not have this opportunity which can help them to increase their worship in these aspects. The low-income class, however, still has the chance to practise Islam in other ways, because the wealth is not the only pre-requisite for '*amal salih*'.<sup>1205</sup>

Qualitative and quantitative findings have also shown that the Malay regardless of their income status have demonstrated similar attitude and chance in performing *hajj* to Makkah. The average between 5 to 20 per cent of the middle-income classes used private and package services to perform *hajj* in 1980 to 1998, whilst housewife, the government servants, self-employees, peasants and retirees were the first top higher groups in the sequence who performed *hajj* in the same period. The Saudi Government also imposed the *hajj* quota of pilgrims from each Muslim country based on 0.1 per cent

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<sup>1203</sup> Refer to Chapter 3 on the Malay middle class's commitments in Islamic practices.

<sup>1204</sup> The records from JAWHAR, Prime Minister's Department, PZS and PPZ-MAWIP also proved that Selangor and Wilayah Persekutuan Kuala Lumpur are the highest states which systematically managed the collection and distribution of *zakat* in Malaysia and the highest states in the collection of *zakat*. Refer to Table 5.5 and Table 5.6 in Chapter 5.

<sup>1205</sup> It means good religious practices and behaviours.

of the country population.<sup>1206</sup> Thus, the conduct of *hajj* to Makkah has become a spiritual motivation for the Malays regardless of socioeconomic status for affordable individuals at least once in a lifetime.

The study has also found that higher involvement in *da'wah* increases the daily use of the Arabic terms, efforts in Islamic practices, the frequency of attending the religious knowledge gathering (*usrah*, talks) and the practice of *doa'*, *dhikr* and *ma'thurat* be to close to Allah. These religious practices are amongst a common training (*tarbiyyah*) practised by the Islamists in Malaysia. In spite of the fact that there are significant differences in the score of Islamic practices between the low-income and two groups of the middle classes, as tested through the statistical analysis, nevertheless this also does not mean that economic differences deter the low-income class to reach the high level in Islamic practices. This is proven when 36.1 per cent (101) of the low-income respondents can reach the high level in Islamic practices, although their scores in Islamic practices and household income are smaller than two groups of the middle classes. The qualitative interview has also proven that a few low-income informants (five of eight informants) regularly perform prayers and do increase their optional religious duties.

Many factors contribute to the less commitment of the low-income to practise Islam as revealed in the qualitative data. Most of them face difficulty when dealing with the nature of work which does not allow them to perform prayer, due to a tight schedule at the work place. Some of these low-income earners have also given reason that they have no time to perform religious duty, even though each worker has been allocated with rest and prayer times. Their economic and financial problems have pushed them to do extra work to fulfil daily expenses and basic needs. They say that they have no time and even no leave throughout the year, but need to work and struggle for survival of

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<sup>1206</sup> Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji (LUTH), Laporan Tahunan 1998, Kuala Lumpur: Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji (LUTH), 1998, p. 22.

life. Some of the low-income earners have also given an excuse for their absence from performing religious duties at their work place. They explain that they need to work, and cannot allocate time to pray for the reason, that money is important to survive rather than other matters including religious obligation.<sup>1207</sup>

Reasons given by a small number of low-income classes' individuals contradict with the other five informants of the same groups who can still perform religious obligations, even though they are busy with their daily activity. From the point of views of these five low-income informants, prayer is an obligatory religious responsibility for all Muslims, without excuse unless there is leniency and special circumstances (*rukhsah*) in Islam for the sick and traveller in the situation that it must be performed according to certain conditions.

Indeed, these five low-income informants have also experienced the same family conditions, economic problems and nature of work similar to these three "excused" low-income individuals, but they still can accommodate with their task and at the same time can allocate specific time in order to perform their religious obligation and to pray on time. These five low-income classes can still spend their time and will not compromise with any other responsibility, except to put prayer and Allah SWT as their priority according to their ability. Thus, self-awareness and involvement in religious institutions and programmes contribute to a major dedication and commitment in religious duty. Family background and education are also important elements which bind Muslims with religion, in particular the ritual practices and duties. Kruskal-Wallis test also proved that there are significant differences between three social income classes of the Malay in self-responsibility, confident in Islamic perfect way of life, support of the electronic

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<sup>1207</sup> Refer to Chapter 3 on the Malay low-income classes' religious practices.

media, peers influence, the role of family, the NGOs, government organisations and the overall factors of individual religiosity.,  $\chi^2(2, N = 734) = p < .05$ .<sup>1208</sup>

Family concern on the religious education is traced to be a main contributing factor of the Malay Muslims' commitment in religion. The statistical analysis showed that regular attendance to religious classes could encourage others optional religious practices, e.g. reciting the Quran, involving in *da'wah* activities, efforts to increase worshipping to Allah SWT, optional prayers, fasting and giving *sadāqah*. Therefore, parental role is importance to provide a foundation to religious education, to nurture good values and educate them with the Islamic conducive environment and culture.

Many scholars and researchers have also agreed on the importance of the role played by family members, in particular parents in the development of Islamic religiosity. As the primary socialisation agent of religiosity, parents provide their children with a basic worldview of religion, guide for religious deeds and behaviours, as well as prepare religious education and involvement in the religious activities and programmes.<sup>1209</sup> Many scholars have also agreed that the role of parents is more important in the development of an individual's religiosity than any other social agents, like peers and schools.<sup>1210</sup> Findings of the study have also showed that overall; the Malay middle and low-income classes' religious practices are substantially influenced by the family background and practices. These findings are matched with the studies on

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<sup>1208</sup> The Kruskal-Wallis test is used to test possible differences between two or more groups. It is equitable to the one-way between-groups analysis of variance (ANOVA). Sheridan J. Coakes and Clara Ong, *SPSS Analysis without Anguish Version 18.0 for Windows*, Milton: John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd., 2011, p. 175. See, Table 10.56, in Appendix A.

<sup>1209</sup> Wan-Ning Bao, Whitbeck Les B, Danny R. Hoyt, and Rand D. Conger, 'Perceived parental acceptance as a moderator of religious transmission among adolescent boys and girls', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 61, No. 2, 1999, p. 362–374; Mark D. Regnerus, Christian Smith, and Brad Smith, 'Social Context in the Development of Adolescent Religiosity', *Applied Developmental Science*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2004, p. 27–38; Ruiter, Stijn, and Frank van Tubergen, 'Religious Attendance in Cross-National Perspective: A Multilevel Analysis of 60 Countries', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 115, No. 3, 2009, p. 863–895.

<sup>1210</sup> Darren E. Sherkat, 'Counterculture or Continuity? Competing Influences on Baby Boomers' Religious Orientations and Participation', *Social Forces*, Vol. 76, No. 3, 1998, pp. 1087–1114; Scott M. Myers, 'An Interactive Model of Religiosity Inheritance: The Importance of Family Context', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 61, No. 5, 1996, pp. 858–866; Bernadette C. Hayes, and Yvonne Pittelkow, 'Religious Belief, Transmission and the Family: An Australian Study', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 1993, pp. 755–766; Bruce Hunsberger, and Laurence B. Brown, 'Religious Socialization, Apostasy and the Impact of Family Background', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 1984, pp. 239–251.

religiosity and religious inheritance among immigrant Muslims in a secular society, non-immigrant families and general residents.<sup>1211</sup>

Although statistical test has proven that Islamic practices correlated with education level, household income and social classes, these relationships are weak.<sup>1212</sup> However, the study has found five aspects which are retrieved from 13 items in Islamic practices that can help to increase religious practices of the Malay Muslims.<sup>1213</sup> The findings have indicated that personal 1) belief in the creeds of Islam (*shahadah*), 2) awareness, efforts and attitude towards religious obligations, 3) attachment with in Islamic-based organisations (mosque, *surau*, involvement in *da'wah* and Islamic movements) 4) efforts to study Islam and 5) adoption of Islamic culture and environment at home and everywhere (congregational prayer, read *bismillah*, *do'a* and and regularly use Arabic terms) can help to increase the Malay Muslims' tendency towards increasing their religious practices and obligations. All these aspects are related to the respondents' self-determination as a pious Muslim until they have reached the level of *taqwa* or "God Consciousness". Findings have also indicated significantly higher level of Islamic practices for those who regard themselves as a pious Muslim and always perceive their work as *Ibadah* (worship to God). The characteristics of a pious

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<sup>1211</sup> Jasper van de Pol, and Frank van Tubergen, 'Inheritance of Religiosity Among Muslim Immigrants in a Secular Society', *Review of Religious Research*, Vol. 56, No. 1, 2014, pp. 87–106; Todd F. Martin, James M. White, and Daniel Perlman, 'Religious Socialization: A Test of the Channelling Hypothesis of Parental Influence on Adolescent Faith Maturity', *Journal of Adolescent Research*, No. 18, 2003, pp. 169–187; Scott M. Myers, 'An Interactive Model of Religiosity Inheritance: The Importance of Family Context', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 61, No. 5, 1996, pp. 858–866.

<sup>1212</sup>  $r =$  between .367 to .391,  $p < .001$ .

<sup>1213</sup> All these 13 items are proven significantly to correlate with the score in the religious practices. There are strong correlations between total score of Islamic practices and 13 items in Islamic practices, which are "I read the Quran even though I am busy ( $r = .675$ ,  $p < .001$ ), I and my family look for opportunities to give *sadaqah* (charity) ( $r = .627$ ,  $p < .001$ ), I practice the *doa'* (*zikir*, prayers), and ma'thurat to close to God ( $r = .622$ ,  $p < .001$ ), I make my best efforts to increase my *Ibadah* or worship towards Allah SWT ( $r = .619$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (1 doing optional practices), I always attending the religious knowledge gathering (*usrah*, talks, religious classes) which was conducted at my hometown ( $r = .617$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (2 attending religious classes or programmes), I am trying to improve my *sunnah* prayers and fastings ( $r = .609$ ,  $p < .001$ ), Believing in the creeds of Islam (*Shahadah*), I make all efforts to perform religious duty to the best of my ability ( $r = .603$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (3 belief in the creeds of Islam (*Shahadah*), I involved in the Islamic *da'wah* and welfare works dealing with Muslim and the non-Muslim community ( $r = .591$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (4 involve in *da'wah*), I used Arabic words such as *Ummi*, *Ana*, *Solat*, in my daily conversations ( $r = .567$ ,  $p < .001$ ), I perform five times daily prayers ( $r = .564$ ,  $p < .001$ ), I begin my works with *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* ( $r = .545$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (5 adopt Islamic culture), I have started saving money for hajj since my early working days ( $r = .520$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (6 intention and efforts to perform *hajj*), I perform congregational prayers with my family ( $r = .502$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Total score of Islamic practices has a moderate relation with *surau* and mosques attendance ( $r = .427$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (7 mosques and *surau* attendance). These indicated that those who reached a high level in the total score of Islamic practices had scored high level in most items of the Islamic practices.

Muslim who has reached the level of *taqwa*<sup>1214</sup> are mentioned in the Quran in Surah al-Mukminun, 23: 1-11.<sup>1215</sup>

Mosque and *surau* as religious social institutions have played an important role as the two are the heart and the nerve centre of the Muslim society. These two institutions are significant as the fundamental unit of Islamic social order as well as to nurture and inculcate the spirit of religious consciousness. Besides their function as the places of worship, mosques and *surau* also are one stop centres for social unity among Muslims.<sup>1216</sup> In Malaysia, the management of mosque and *surau* is administered under the state religious council patronised by the sultan and the ruler of the state.

To inculcate the Muslim awareness on Islamic teaching, many religious classes have been conducted by the mosque and *surau* and the local authority. With the support received from the local community, the television stations and electronic media, most of mosques and *surau* which are located at urban area of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur actively conduct daily religious *kuliah*, classes for children, adolescents and adults. Some of these urban mosques actively function as community hubs or one stop centres which provide social, health, education, training, recreation, religious, welfare and accommodation services for Muslims. Some of the mosques have placed KAFA schools, kindergarten, nursery, health service centre, community hall, bazaar, cafeteria, hotels and accommodations for the local Muslims and travellers at the best and comfortable services.<sup>1217</sup>

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<sup>1214</sup> A part of these characteristics are beliefs, religious practices (such as *solat*, fasting, *zakat*, *hajj*), *sadaqah*, justice, repentance (*taubah*), truthfulness, patience, forgiveness, emotional control, integrity, sincerity, fulfilment of covenant, love of family and guarding chastity.<sup>1214</sup> The characteristic of *taqwa* involves religious commitment, responsibility and consistency to be fulfilled by Muslims. *Taqwa* also promotes continues fear and God consciousness in Muslims' mind which guide them in their thought, behaviours, feelings (hearts) to promote the goodness (*makruf*) and prevent committing the forbidden (*haram*). Husni Mohd Radzi, Lilie Zahara Ramly, Sapora Sipon, and Khatijah Othman, 'The Influence of God Consciousness and Religiosity in Coping with Anxiety at Workplace among Malaysian Muslim Professionals', *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, Vol. 4, No. 4, July 2014, pp. 318, 316-320.

<sup>1215</sup> Allah SWT said: "The believers must (eventually) win through. Those who humble themselves in their prayers, who avoid vain talk, who are active in deeds of charity, who abstain from sex. Except with those joined to them in the marriage bond, or (the captives) whom their right hands possess for (in their case) they are free from blame. But those whose desires exceed those limits are transgressors. Those who faithfully observe their trust and covenants, and who (strictly) guard their prayers, these will be the heirs who will inherit paradise, they will dwell therein (forever). See, Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Meaning of The Holy Quran*, USA: Amana Corporation, 1991, p. 884.

<sup>1216</sup> Mufti M. Zafiruddin, 'Mosque in Islam', n.y., p. 142, Accessed on 12 October 2014. <http://www.iosworld.org/ebk40.htm>.

<sup>1217</sup> The researcher's observation on the mosques and *surau* activities at Selangor and Kuala Lumpur from August 2012 to December 2014.

Dramatic changes can be seen significantly in the Malay sensitivity to the practice of Islam, such as prayer is an obligatory pillar of Islam. The mosques and *surau* can be easily found everywhere. In shopping complexes, the petrol stations, the rest areas of highways, schools and housing areas, Muslims are facilitated with the mosque or at least the small prayer room (*surau or musolla*). For some business premises, providing with a *surau* is an attraction to ease customers to perform their prayers. *Surau* at the grand shopping complex of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam are almost full with the Malay Muslim visitors, when it comes for the prayer time especially, during the weekend and the peak school holidays.<sup>1218</sup>

Mosque attendance is very encouraging at urban city centres of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam, Bangi, Kajang, Klang, Gombak and Sepang; the locations where the Malay middle classes work and reside, but it is considered fairly less satisfied at the suburban areas (village) of Kuala Selangor, Sabak Bernam and Hulu Selangor. The mosque attendees in the urban areas are obviously among young adults, adults, the middle-aged and older adults, besides encouraging attendance of adolescents (teenagers) and children. In the suburban area and small village, the middle-aged and older adults' attendance is noticeable than young adults which depend on the frequency of the religious classes which have been conducted and the mosque and *surau* proactive management. Children have been educated to pray in the mosque and *surau* at the very young age.<sup>1219</sup>

Having small babies and children does not stop the young mother to perform the *tarāwih* prayer at the mosque, during the fasting month of *Ramadhan*. By placing a new born baby approximately around three to eleven months age besides her prayers mat, a young mother of Malay Muslim can still enjoy *tarāwih* and daily prayer at the mosque

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<sup>1218</sup> Based on the researcher's observation on the mosques and *surau* activities in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur from August 2012 to January 2015. See also, Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Islam dan Proses Politik Dalam Peradaban Malaysia', in A. Aziz Deraman dan Rohani Zainal Abidin, *Globalisasi Dan Peradaban Di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2003, pp. 123-145.

<sup>1219</sup> Based on the researcher's observation from August 2012 to December 2014.



without missing this memorable spiritual time to meet Allah, the Almighty. The old Malay men and women can also enjoy prayer at the mosque or *musolla* to perform prayer in the congregation, even though they need to carry the walking stick or using chair while performing the prayer. At least they try at their best effort to attend the mosque and *surau* realising the best rewards that they may gain while performing it in the congregation.<sup>1220</sup>

The Malays are also concern on other optional practices in Islam. The practice of *sadāqah* among the Malay Muslims in particular, the weekly *Jumaat* and mosque collections are overwhelming at the urban area and are encouraging at the suburban areas. This situation has been contributed by the income size of the household and residents, the mosque systematic and strategic management and the confidence level of the donators to the mosque management on how their money is managed into activities which could benefit the Muslims.<sup>1221</sup>

A popular private television station, TV9, for example, has used its brand *Raudhah* to introduce mosque as a community hub for teenagers and local community. More Islamic programmes under this brand like, *Tanyalah Ustaz*, *Tanyalah Ustazah*, *Halaqah*, *Semanis Kurma*, *Usrah* dan *Safiyya* have been broadcast and several activities with the local community have been organised.<sup>1222</sup> Series of *Raudhah* journeys to mosques nearby Selangor and Kuala Lumpur has been on annual programme by TV9 to fulfil its community religious responsibility and services. According to Programme Publisher for Documentary and Magazine, Primeworks Studios Sdn. Bhd., Ahmad Noor Sulaiman, the *Raudhah* programme indirectly has changed the public's perception,

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<sup>1220</sup> Based on the researcher's observation the mosques and *surau* in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur from August 2012 to December 2014.

<sup>1221</sup> Interview with Dato' Seri Hj Syed Zainal Abidin Bin Syed Mohamed Tahir, Chairman (or *Nazir*) of Masjid al-Falah, USJ 9, USJ 9/5 47620 Subang Jaya, Selangor, at *Raudah Di Hatiku* TV9 located at Masjid al-Falah, USJ 9, Subang Jaya on 16 November 2013. Interview with Tuan Hj Ahmad bin Rahmat, 9.15 pm at 50, Jalan Rahim Kajai, Taman Tun Dr. Ismail, 60000 Kuala Lumpur, 16 November 2013. Based on the researcher's observation the mosques and *surau* in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur from August 2012 to January 2015.

<sup>1222</sup> The programmes involved four urban mosques began with Masjid Darul Ehsan, SS15 Subang Jaya, Selangor on 24 September 2011, followed by Masjid Al-Hidayah, Taman Melawati, Kuala Lumpur (1 October 2011), Masjid Al-Falah, Jalan USJ 9, Subang Jaya, Selangor (22 October 2011) and Masjid At-Taqwa, Taman Tun Dr. Ismail, K.L. (29 October 2011). 'TV9 Ubah Persepsi Masjid', *Harian Metro*, 23 September 2011, 'Raudhah Bawa Belia ke Masjid', *Kosmo*, 24 September 2011.

especially the non-Muslim on the importance of mosque as a universal unity hub for Muslims. Therefore, it can remove general perception on the function of the mosque from the only place of worship to unity community hub for Muslims.<sup>1223</sup>

#### *The Malay Middle and Low Income Classes' Religious Lifestyle*

The study has shown that there are significant differences between the low-income and two groups of the middle-income classes in the score of Islamic lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism.<sup>1224</sup> There is no significant difference between two groups of middle-income classes as they have shown the high tendency towards Islamic lifestyles.

Five patterns of the respondents' tendency in the Islamic lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism have been found in the quantitative data of the study: the difference between the low-income and two groups of the middle-income classes, no difference between all social classes, significant differences between all social classes, significant differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income classes and significant differences between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes.

The differences between the low-income and two groups of the middle classes have been found in 18 items of lifestyles that have included the social activity; main activity during free time; inculcating Islamic environment; taking other cultures; effort to practise Islamic values; method of studying Islam; Islamic identity; wearing headscarves; covering '*aurah* and preserving Islamic dress code; choosing Muslim attires; practising the Prophet's SAW *Sunnah* in dressing; choosing Islamic channels; Islamic-based dramas and films; Islamic rhythms and *nasyīd*; choosing religious reading

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<sup>1223</sup> Khairul Amri Hassan, 'Raudhah Di Hatiku Kembali', *Kosmo*, 8 September 2012.

<sup>1224</sup> Compare to 32.9 per cent (92) of the low-income classes who scored the moderate level in the total score of Islamic lifestyle, physical appearance and consumerism, 92.7 per cent (303) of the middle-middle income and 92.1 per cent (117) of the upper-middle income classes in contrast scored the high level of the similar variables. About 0.7 per cent (2) of the low-income class achieved the low level in the same variables.

materials; the choice of main magazine; consuming *halāl* foods; and tendency to schools for children.

There is no difference between the three social classes in four items: residential location; use of *riba*' products and services; the choice of health centre and the choice of food court. However, there are significant differences between all three social classes in the type of house, the choice of insurance and choosing tertiary education for children. The study also indicated that there are significance differences between the low-income and the middle-middle income in three items: practicing moderation; appreciating the needs and convenience living contrast to luxury, and consuming the *syarī'ah*-compliance products; while there is significant difference between the low-income and the upper-middle income classes only in an item: the choice of main newspaper.

Besides the differences in the Islamic lifestyles discovered in the study, it can also be concluded that the economic disparity does not halt a Muslim to exhibit his faith identity through physical attire, Islamic daily culture, lifestyles and consumerism as these could reflect his inner thought of religious consciousness. This is proven when more than half or 66.4 per cent (186) of the low-income class earners could attain the high level in Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism; even though they differ to the two groups of the middle-income classes in terms of income, type of houses and level of education. Some of them can still enjoy their life without ignoring the importance to preserve Islamic identity in their assertion, as they regard themselves as Muslims, Malays and Malaysians; adopting Islamic clothing in dressing, inculcating Islamic culture and showing their tendency in Islam-based consumerism. Similar to what have been demonstrated by five informants in the qualitative interviews, they tend to show their Islamic identity Muslims through simple Islamic lifestyles and consumerism, suitable to their capability in accordance to their household monthly income.

The study has found that such attitudes and behaviours in adopting religious lifestyle by some of the low-income earners can be nurtured, because Islamic way of life is all about Muslims' actions, behaviours and attitudes as Islam is manifest itself in every spectrum of life. The Islamic way of life, the term first coined by Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi (1903-1979), one of the most prominent Muslim thinkers of the twentieth century of the Islamic Resurgence in the Muslim world, emerges when a Muslim is willing to accept "Allah's sovereignty and His guidance is *ad-din*". Islam as *ad-din* means it is a comprehensive way of life and a complete system which covers the entire spheres of human activity be it individual, economic, social and political.<sup>1225</sup>

This study has also proven that Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism have positive relationship with Islamic practices ( $r = .575, p < .001$ ), Islamic thought ( $r = .346, p < .001$ ), attending religious programmes ( $r = .405, p < .001$ ) and attachment with *da'wah* activities ( $r = .437, p < .001$ ). In other words, Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism rise as the Islamic practices, thought, attending in the religious programmes and involving in *da'wah* activities increase. Kruskal-Wallis test also verified that there are significant differences between three social income classes of the Malay in the score of Islamic thoughts, Islamic practices and Islamic lifestyles,  $\chi^2(2, N = 734) = p < .05$ .<sup>1226</sup>

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<sup>1225</sup> See, for example Marty and Appleby writing on Abul Ala Maududi's views about Islamic way of life in Martin E. Marty, and R. Scott Appleby, *Fundamentalisms Observed*, Chicago: The American Academy of Arts and Sciences & The University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 6-8.

<sup>1226</sup> This test aims at answering research question 3, 4, and 5. See, Table 10.57 Kruskal-Wallis Test between Three Social Income Classes of the Malay in Islamic Religiosity in Appendix A, p. 547.

## 8.5 From Personal Expression to Communal Culture of Islamic Awareness

The Malays middle-income classes in the study have shown good and high commitment in religion which can be seen through their participation in the religious and *da'wah* movements. Their commitment in religion which can be perceived through their views about the role of religion in their life and the current issues pertaining Islam in the modern age. Most of the Malays middle classes regard themselves as not only as a devout Muslim, but also a faithful believer.

Based upon the combination of qualitative and quantitative data, the study has shown that the Malays middle classes have demonstrated their enthusiasm and commitment in religious practices and obligations. They do complete the compulsory religious obligation, such as performing five times daily prayers, improving their optional practices, trying their best efforts to practise Islam and having determination for themselves to be pious Muslim. The Malays middle classes in the study do practise moderate, simple and modern lifestyle, but strongly bind themselves with Islamic teaching. They show their high tendency to consume the Islamic-compliance products, e.g. the *halāl* products and any products which demonstrate Islamic identity.

The Malay middle classes have also demonstrated their commitment and religious identity through their physical appearance, wearing Islamic attire covering their '*aurah*. Even though they are dressed with modern western coat, they still wear the headscarf for women and *kopiah* or *songkok* for man. They are also proud to put the sticker of *Lailāhā illa Allah Muhammad Rasūlullah, Dah Solat Ke, I Love Al-Quran and You?, Bacalah Al-Quran Hidupmu Tenang, Daulatkan Islam, Kami Sokong Hudūd, We Are Khalīfah of Allah, Bismillah arRahmān arRahīm, the name of Allah and His Messenger Muhammad SAW and I Love Rasulullah SAW* at windows of their car.<sup>1227</sup>

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<sup>1227</sup> See, for example, several pictures which demonstrated the middle classes' tendency to show their religious identity when they hang Islamic-features stickers at their car. Refer to Appendix G.

From personal experience of the mass population of the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, the tendency towards spiritual life amongst the middle classes is noticeable. Many urban middle class professionals have made their public assertions on the experience of their return to become a devoted Muslim. Prof. Dr. Muhd Kamil Ibrahim and Prof. Dr. Muhaya Mohamed's story of conversion to the true meaning of Muslim life can be taken as examples of the religious awareness phenomenon among the urban Malay middle classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.

Prof. Dr. Muhd Kamil Ibrahim, a well-known former professor of Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), Shah Alam, Selangor and College of Business, University of Taibah, Madinah, Saudi Arabia and is currently serving as Professor of Accountancy at Universiti Kuala Lumpur (UNIKL) since September 2014. He received the title of professor at a young age of 38 years old. As an excellent student and academician, he realises that he always neglects the religious duty especially five times daily prayers or *solāt* but turn to be a true believer and is committed in *da'wah* after performing *haji* in Makkah in 2006.<sup>1228</sup>

While sharing his personal life journey as a Muslim, Prof. Dr. Muhd Kamil always cries when reflecting his ignorance on the subject of Islam. Previously, he did not know how to read the Quran, except a few short *surah* which have been memorised since he was a child. He does not know how to pray and recite *do'a* to Allah in Arabic language, less comprehend on the religious knowledge and always leave prayers without feeling guilty, although he was an excellent person in academic and his profession. He has gained everything in his life, but keeps an empty soul. Subsequently, everything was changed when Allah SWT accepted his wife *do'a* for him to get the post of professorship and he received RM80,000 as a adjourned payment for this title. He has then decided that he wants to perform *haji*, a gratitude to Allah for His mercy.<sup>1229</sup>

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<sup>1228</sup> Norhashimah Abd. Rahman and Noor Hajidah Hassan, 'Keajaiban Doa Isteri', *Anis*, September 2012, pp. 33-34.

<sup>1229</sup> 'Impian menetap di Madinah tercapai', *Kosmo*, 15 November 2012.

Prof. Muhd Kamil's great desire to perform *haji* has moved him to ask for repentance from Allah SWT as performing this fifth pillar of Islam requires dedicated and sincere practice of religious obligations, either the compulsory or optional practices. He slowly learned to read the Quran and improved his religious practices. Finally, he succeeded to finish reading the Quran in Masjidil al-Haram of Makkah at the age of 42. He really felt a great pleasure when he did repent to Allah for the sins that he committed before, until unconsciously tears were streaming down his cheeks. He says that he dreams of entering paradise without Allah's judgement and almost every night he prays that all Muslims would enter heaven. He tried not to leave the congregational prayers five times daily at the Prophet Mosque (the Mosque of *An-Nabawi*) when he was in Madinah.<sup>1230</sup>

Prof. Muhd Kamil also shared his personal experience as a migrated believer in three books.<sup>1231</sup> He is actively involved in *da'wah* and has been elected an advisory board of *Pertubuhan Kembara Ilahi Malaysia* with other Malay middle classes, such as Dato' Hj Ambak Ismail, Dato' Mohd Daud Che Ngah, Ustaz Engku Ali Engku Endut Al Idrus and Prof. Dr. Mohd Kamil Majid from University of Malaya.<sup>1232</sup>

Another middle class professional who also shows high commitment as a devoted Muslim professional is Prof Dr. Muhaya Muhammad. From being an ophthalmologist specialist she turns to be a stimulus of spiritual inspiration and religious motivator who inspires millions of the Malay Muslims in Malaysia to reset their mind towards positive thinking and attitudes. She strongly believes the power of *doa* as it is the main weapon for Muslims. She believes that when a person is close to Allah SWT, Allah will be close to him or her.<sup>1233</sup> Although she has faced many obstacles and challenges throughout her life, nevertheless, she has improved in achieving excellence as a student, doctor,

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<sup>1230</sup> *Kosmo*, 15 November 2012.

<sup>1231</sup> These books entitled "*Travelog Haji: Mengubah Sempadan Iman*", "*Travelog Dakwah: Meniti Hari Esok*" and "*Bersyukur Saat Diuji*".

<sup>1232</sup> See, Malaysia Religious Journey Association, or Pertubuhan Kembara Ilahi Malaysia's Official Website at <http://kembarailahi.com/v4/?p=51>. Retrieved on 25 January 2014.

<sup>1233</sup> Rozninah Abd. Azib, *Biografi Inspirasi: Prof Muhaya, Sejernih Sinar Matamu*, Kajang: As-Sohwah Sdn Bhd., 2013, p. 90.

lecturer, ophthalmologist specialist, a wife as well as spiritual- religious motivator. Prof. Muhaya's famous inspirational words are "reset the mind" which means when viewing on the event or subject, it is not only viewing through "the eye of the mind", but also must be viewed through "the eyes of the heart", with faith towards Allah SWT.<sup>1234</sup>

Prof. Muhaya also adds that her success in life has been influenced by her attitudes that always put the prayer as the first priority and preserving *solāt* in its actual and early time. She always manages to deal with all personal matters related to human being and make them easy, always give *sadāqah* (charity). Moreover, she always practises *do'a*, puts aside and ignores on what people say about her. She tries to avoid human recognition, but she fears of what Allah says about her. Her success has given inspiration to many people. She always appears on television programmes, radio, seminars and conventions and always receives warm response from audience and participants.<sup>1235</sup> As an expert in spiritual motivation and inspiration, Prof. Muhaya has written more than ten books related to these areas.<sup>1236</sup> As recognition for her efforts and contribution in *da'wah* in Malaysia, Prof. Dr. Muhaya was awarded as *the Women National Da'wah Award* receiver and the *da'wah* icon by YADIM.<sup>1237</sup>

Some television programmes also published personal experience of the middle classes who have transformed themselves from a neglected Muslim to a dedicated Muslim. A series of 13 episodes of a television programme, *Halaqah Sentuhan Qalbu* (HSQ) at TV9<sup>1238</sup> with the invitation of Indonesian popular spiritual motivation consultant, ESQ had touched the Muslim audience's awareness on the importance of religion in life. This spiritual-religious programme received high rating with 4.3 million

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<sup>1234</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>1235</sup> Ibid., pp. 322-324, 19.

<sup>1236</sup> The books are *How to become A Good & Successful Medical Student: A Holistic Approach*, *Pelajar Bertanya Prof. Dr. Muhaya Menjawab Berkenaan Dahsyatnya Cabaran Pelajar, Bagaimana Menjadi Seorang Pelajar yang Baik dan Berjaya, Bahagia Membahagiakan Kaedah Transformasi Minda, Celik Mata dan Celik Jiwa, Celik Mata Reset Minda, Mata Akal Dan Mata Hati*, and *Peliharalah Matamu*, Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>1237</sup> These awards were presented by the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Datuk Seri Najib Tun Razak, at Dewan Merak Kayangan Felda, Kuala Lumpur to exhibit the public icons of *da'wah* in Malaysia. Others receivers are the middle classes, Datuk Dr. Abdul Razak Kechik awarded as *the National Preacher Award 2015*, Muhammad Asyraf Mohd. Ridzuan as *the Young Preacher Award*, Shah Kirit Kalkulal Govindji as *the Muslim Preacher Award*, Raihan nasyid group as a receiver for *the Entertainment Preacher Award*, and PERKIM as receiver for *the Da'wah Award* under the category of Non-Governmental Organisation. 'Senarai Pemenang Anugerah Da'wah Negara 2015 Anjuran Yayasan Dakwah Islamiah Malaysia (YADIM)', *Utusan Malaysia*, 7 March 2015, p. 4.

<sup>1238</sup> The station was owned by Media Prima Sdn. Bhd.



viewers in its initial session.<sup>1239</sup> The effectiveness of such spiritual-religious programme also was verified by the statement of Perak State Mufti, Tan Sri Dr. Harussani Zakaria.<sup>1240</sup>

The nature of the current new middle classes' lifestyle has to some extent contradicted with 102 Malayan Civil Service (MCS) British administrative officers (the British-created Malay middle class) described in Nordin Selat's study. About 66.7 per cent (70 respondents) of these middle class had a bachelor's degree, 21.9 per cent (23 respondents) had at least Cambridge certificate, and 8.6 per cent had Master in Public Administration and a respondent had a doctorate (Ph.D).<sup>1241</sup>

The Malay British administrative middle class at that time were exposed not to live the western lifestyle, but also to preserve colonial image and prestige in contrast to an ordinary Malay people in the rural area. Living in a luxury lifestyle, with a big house and car, have had house maid, and most of the time to wear bush jacket or coat and tie. They admired colonial theatre, ballet, classical music, Picasso and drinking alcohol as universal arts. English newspaper and magazine were their first choice of reading materials. As an elite group in the Malay society, they hoped to replace the colonial administrators after the independence of Malaya, spent holidays at Cameron Highlands and Fraser's Hill, played golf and horse racing. Although they lived according to the western norms and culture, but pretend to be interested and obedient to the Malay culture, like singing a traditional song, "*dondang sayang*", reciting prayers and wear *batik* clothing. Their traditional values remained to be preserved, such as putting Islamic

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<sup>1239</sup> 'Di Sebalik Kontroversi ESQ', *Utusan Malaysia*, 5 July 2011; 'Musim Baru Halaqah Bertemakan Sentuhan Qalbu', *Berita Harian*, 7 June 2010; 'Halaqah: Akar Tradisi Ilmu Lebih Dekat Di Hati Penonton', *Berita Harian*, 22 September 2010.

<sup>1240</sup> The daily newspaper, *Kosmo* reported the statement of the Perak State Mufti, Tan Sri Dr. Harussani Zakaria: that can be translated into English "For me, the *Halaqah* programme is going on a revolution and it is good for the audiences. Throughout 20 years of my experience as a religious speaker was impractical when I attended the ESQ course. Previously I had never seen all audiences cried including myself, caused by religious touch [which has been introduced by the programme]. I felt that ESQ abled to contribute in the programme". Haryati Karim, 'Tarikan Baru Halaqah TV9', *Kosmo*, 11 June 2010.

<sup>1241</sup> Nordin Selat, *Kelas Menengah Pentadbiran Melayu (The Malay Administrative Middle Class)*, Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Melayu, 1976, pp. 166-167.

identity in the name of their children which was regarded as a local community culture than private values.<sup>1242</sup>

Nordin described the MSC middle class as socially unattached, have no core principle of life and lived in sophisticated luxurious lifestyle, but isolated and empty life. They felt superior than the ordinary lower Malay peasants and sometimes felt insecure and anxious with their status-quo, tend to strengthen and preserve their middle class status, but had empty soul and way of life.<sup>1243</sup> The nature of the Malay middle class's lifestyle in 1970s was totally contradicted to the emergence of middle class after the era of Islamisation in the government policy subsequently led to the growth of the Islamic Resurgence in 1980s.

The low-income classes' commitment in religion on the other hand, has been determined by self-awareness, their personal attachment in the religious activities and organisations, family background and support; educational background, nature of work and economic stability. Even though all these factors do contribute to religious commitment, nevertheless the first two factors;<sup>1244</sup> contribute to the major commitment in religious thoughts, practices and lifestyles. For those who attach themselves with religious activities, *da'wah* movements and Islamic-based institutions, and have efforts to improve their religious duty and commitment, they are inclined to show either strong or moderate commitment in Islamic thoughts, practices and lifestyle. The low-income groups live in a very simple lifestyle which is affordable to them.

The culture of wearing the headscarf is a common phenomenon among the Malay middle and low-income classes nowadays. For those who are not covering their head and body, however, seems to be seen as a weird person compared to majority of the female Malay women who put on the veil. Based on the researcher's observation at the public shopping complexes, the government offices and the annual gathering of the

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<sup>1242</sup> Ibid., pp. 344-350.

<sup>1243</sup> Ibid., pp. 249-350.

<sup>1244</sup> These factors are self-awareness and personal attachment in the religious activities and organisations.

nationalist party of UMNO, it can be seen that almost 98 per cent of the Malay Muslims put the headscarf. The trends of wearing the veil are so apparent in the public areas, the institutions related to Islam, such as, the NGOs of ABIM and IKRAM and in the annual gathering of PAS.<sup>1245</sup>

Compared to the scenario of the Malay female Muslims 40 years ago, we can see the difference in the physical appearance on the awareness of wearing the veil amongst the urban Malay women whereby the veil culture is recently so apparent in the public. The previous records consisted of archive pictures and documents have shown the development of the headscarf culture before and after 1970s, until the recent development of this trend which can be seen in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.<sup>1246</sup> The headscarf culture and trends introduced in Malaysia in the early 1970s was growing popular in Indonesia around 1980s. Indonesia is now well-known as the triumph in the contemporary Muslim fashion industry and the Indonesian veil trend is highly recognised in this region.<sup>1247</sup>

Among the noticeable phenomena in the public spheres of the urban city of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor are the increase number of migrated artists and celebrities; and the emergence of “the instant *ustaz* or *ustazah*”. Most of these middle class migrated (*hijrah*) artists and celebrities always appear as role model for Muslim teenagers. Their migration received a positive perception from the Muslim society, in particular the Malays in the urban area until they always appear and are being invited as speakers in spiritual activities organised by Islamic organisations, local communities and political parties. Such programmes aim to attract Muslims participants, in particular the Malays, as to share their experience after transforming into a new Islamic lifestyle.

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<sup>1245</sup> Observations and field works during UMNO’s annual general gathering 2013, 3-6 December 2013 at Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC), Kuala Lumpur, PAS’s Annual General Muktamar 2013, 22-25 November 2013, ABIM’s Muktamar Sanawi 2013, 6-8 September 2013 at Auditorium Jubli Perak, Bangunan Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah, Shah Alam, Selangor and IKRAM’s Annual Gathering 2013, Universiti Putra Malaysia.

<sup>1246</sup> Refer to Figure 3 and Figure 4 Appendix B on Tan Sri Fatimah Hashim’s picture in 1971 and 2013. The two pictures described Tan Sri Fatimah’s transformation in term of her physical appearance when she started wearing the head scarf. See also Figure 1-8 “The Migrated Artist” in Appendix F.

<sup>1247</sup> Mashitah Sulaiman and Mohammad Redzuan Othman, ‘Islamisasi dan Kaitannya Dengan Hubungan Serantau Malaysia-Indonesia’, *Sejarah*, No. 23, Bil. 1, 2014, pp. 203- 215.

Some of the migrated artists are actively involved in *da'wah*, being a motivator to any commercial religious activities by the broadcasting media and television channels and various organisations. Some artists for example, Yat Hamzah, has been elected as a “*da'wah* celebrity” or icon representing the government agency, YADIM,<sup>1248</sup> while Irma Hasmie, Wardina, Heliza Misbun, Diana Amir have always been invited to host television programmes either by the government and the private broadcasting channels and media groups. Though these migrated artists have received lukewarm response of acting offer, they could find an alternative to their career.<sup>1249</sup>

As a result of this change, some of these artists have appeared with their new image and product which resembled their Islamic identity. Rahimah Rahim, Siti Norhaliza, Wan Norafizah Ariffin or Nora, Ramli Sharif, M. Nasir, Mawi and many others have comprised Islamic-spiritual songs matched to their current religious tendency and personality. Religious and spiritual tendency and migration of these artists can be sketched out through lyrics of their songs.<sup>1250</sup> Spiritual songs by these migrated artists also received positive and encouraging feedbacks from Malaysian music industry. It is so impressive when the spiritual songs entitled “*Pedoman Vou*” and “*Doa*” which are presented by, Nora (a migrated artist) won “the Best Nasyīd Song” in the Musical Industry Awards (*Anugerah Industri Muzik - AIM*) continuously in two years of 2010/2011 and 2011/2012 in the national musical contests.<sup>1251</sup>

Some television TV3 celebrities and personalities such as, Nurul Syuhada, Azizah Ariffin, Habsah Omar or Abby Fana, and the news readers, like Ezzah Aziz Fawzi, Hamidah and Hajjah Wan Chik Daud have also changed towards reverting to *Muslimah*

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<sup>1248</sup> Akmaliah Razak, ‘Dilema Artis berhijrah’, *Sinar Harian*, 7 May 2014.

<sup>1249</sup> The channels are TV1, TV2 and TV Al Hijrah, or the private television media groups, like Media Prima Sdn Bhd TV3, TV9 and Astro, *Sinar Harian*, 7 May 2014.

<sup>1250</sup> See some lyrics of Islamic-spiritual song by Ramli Sarip entitled “Keliru” and Rahimah Rahim’s song entitled “Doa” in Appendix F. See also, Luqmanul Hakim as top poster club listed 51 songs which composed spiritual-God consciousness elements posted in 21 November 2012, at 01:11 AM. See Luqmanul Hakim, ‘Koleksi Lagu Rock/Metal Berunsurkan Ketuhanan, Dakwah dan Keagamaan Beserta Lirik’, Retrieved on 15 November 2014. <http://www.carigold.com/portal/forums/showthread.php?t=383263>.

<sup>1251</sup> *Pedoman VOU* was sung by Nora Ariffin feat Voice of Ummi, composed by Johan Nawawi and lyric written by Ito Lara, whilst “Doa” was also presented by Nora, composed and lyric by Wayne Gideon. See, ‘Rezeki Berganda Nora’, *Utusan Malaysia*, 19 December 2012.

lifestyles and wearing the headscarf.<sup>1252</sup> The well-known TV1 news reader, Hamidah Hamzah also thanked the Information Minister, Datuk Shabery Chik who has allowed headscarf women in headscarf to appear on air to read the news on *Radio Television Malaysia* (RTM), the government mainstream channel. She was the first female news reader who has been permitted to wear headscarf while reading the world news, *Dunia Hari Ini* and has broken traditional practice in the 62 years of the history of RTM which previously did not allow Hajjah Wan Chik Hashim@ Daud to appear on air after her return from *hajj* in 1984.<sup>1253</sup> For the last 40 years, no headscarf image appeared on air of the broadcasting stations, but now the veiled Muslim women image can appear on air and become a common culture and phenomenon in the private and government television programmes.

Some of *da'wah* reality television shows, such as *Imam Muda* (IM) and *Pencetus Ummah* (PU) have also become a major hit, won widespread interest locally and globally on Malaysian religious phenomenon when these programmes emerge in a very versatile, sophisticated and dynamic approach of *da'wah* for searching the ideal and practical personality of the young Imam and *da'ī*. *Imam Muda* for instance, has received wider coverage by the international media, including *the British Broadcasting Corporation* (BBC), *Cable News Network* (CNN), *Al Jazeera*, *Agence France-Presse* (AFP), *Reuters*, *Associated Press* (AP), *ARD Germany* TC, *The Wall Street Journal* and *Indian Times* which have viewed the programme as very attractive and unique reality show. It is the first of its kind and has apparently exploded new enthusiasm for Islam among Muslim youth in Malaysia. Western media and press closely observed the programmes which debut was on May 28, 2010 from the beginning till the end with full interest.<sup>1254</sup> Aini Maznina A. Manaf and colleagues' research has also found that the

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<sup>1252</sup> See, 'Sorotan 2012 - Penghijrahan: Artis & Hijrah', *Sinar Harian* 31 December 2012.

<sup>1253</sup> Roslah Othman, 'Hamidah Akhiri Zaman Bujang', *Utusan Malaysia*, 16 July 2008.

<sup>1254</sup> See for example, Zaidi Mohamad, 'Media Antarabangsa Teruja Imam Muda', *Berita Harian*, 18 July 2010; Pak, Jennifer., 'Malaysian TV Show to pick Imam with Youth Appeal', *BBC News*, 17 July 2010; 'Malaysia hits Show picks 'Imam Muda'', *AlJazeera*, 31 July 2010; 'Malaysia's "Young Imam" Reality TV Show Widens Reach', *Reuters*, 19 April 2011, Abe, Nicola., 'A Reality Show's Search for a Muslim Role Model', *Spiegel*, 8 June 2010; Liz. Gooch, 'A Reality Show Where Islam is The Biggest

Islamic reality show; *Imam Muda* put impact on the Malay community, especially on their Islamic knowledge, belief, practices, skills and spirituality. The study has also shown that there is a positive relationship between exposure, perception, attitude and satisfaction with *Imam Muda* programme in relation to Islamic impact change on the Malay community.<sup>1255</sup>

Although various medium have been created to produce numbers of contemporary Islamic preachers, including reality television shows or the rise of migrated celebrities, nevertheless, such great efforts to generate more preachers in Islamic teaching need to be supported and persisted by all organisations. As disclosed by Executive Advisor of *Astro Oasis*, Izelan Basar, there is no issue of dumping or abandoning for instant preacher in this country; even these efforts should always be improved from time to time in order to make Muslims more obedient to Islam. There should be diversity in the organisation of reality programme, so that it may give a dramatic impact on the participants and audience.<sup>1256</sup> *Adik-Adikku*, *Solehah*, *Imam Muda*, *Pencetus Ummah*, *Da'i-Pendakwah Milenia*, *Ustazah Pilihan* and *Hijabku Gayaku* are products of reality programmes which are purposefully created to produce numbers of contemporary Muslim preachers and personalities.<sup>1257</sup>

The Malay Muslim tendency to wear dressing and attire which are in compliance with the *syarī'ah*, has contributed to the rapid growth of the *Muslimah* boutiques, designing of Islamic dressing fashion and promoting the publication of Islamic fashion in the printed and electronic media. The emergence of several brands of Muslim

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Star', *The New York Times*, 28 July 2010; James Hookway, 'Young Imam is the Reality Show Creating All the Buz in Malaysia', *The Wall Street Journal*, 24 June 2010; 'Malaysia to pick Top Young Imam as Talent Show enters Finals', *The Independent*, 30 July 2010; Bazuki Muhammad, 'Religious Imam, Reality TV Star and Dream Son-in-law', *Reuters*, 31 August 2010.

<sup>1255</sup> Although the study found that perception, attitude and satisfaction contribute to the Islamic impact change in the Malay community, the best predictor to the Islamic impact change is the satisfaction toward the programme. Hence, the study concluded that *Imam Muda* programme is able to inculcate some Islamic aspects on the Malay community. This showed that to a certain extent Cultivation Theory holds true for the *Imam Muda* programme, the most popular Islamic reality show in Malaysia. Aini Maznina A. Manaf, Saodah Wok, Rizalawati Ismail, and Siti Sakinah Abdul Latif, 'Exposure and impact of TV Islamic reality show among Malay community', In the 1st World Congress on Integration and Islamisation of Acquired Human Knowledge (FWCII 2013), 23-25 August 2013, Prince Hotel & Residence, Kuala Lumpur, pp. 1115-1130.

<sup>1256</sup> Interview with Tuan Hj Izelan Basar, *Astro Oasis*, on 29 August 2013, at Measat Broadcast Network Systems, All Asia Broadcast Centre, Technology Park Malaysia, Lebuhraya Puchong-Sg. Besi, Bukit Jalil, 57000 Kuala Lumpur (General Manager of *Astro Oasis*).

<sup>1257</sup> See Table 8.3 which listed the reality television shows which produce Muslim preachers and personalities in Appendix F.

fashions and boutiques in the major cities, especially in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur has made both states the hub of Muslim fashion.

There are many shops which provide many options of Islamic clothing that can be found in the outlets which offer goods at an affordable price to low-income, medium or high-income earners. For low-income and lower-middle income earners, small shops and night markets around Bangi, Shah Alam, Klang, Selangor, and Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Jalan Masjid India and Lorong Haji Taib, Kuala Lumpur are preferred. But for those who are in middle and high-income, exclusive boutiques and clothing collections around the urban city of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam have become their best choice for shopping.

The growth of the *Muslimah* clothing industry has clearly involved the Malay Muslim middle classes who play significant role to boost up Islamic-lifestyles fashion business. Among the famous Muslim clothing boutiques around Selangor and Kuala Lumpur are Modest Culture Sdn. Bhd. inspired and owned by Prof. Muhaya Mohammad,<sup>1258</sup> Women of Jannah (WOJ),<sup>1259</sup> Hajaba Fashionable Muslim Clothing owned by Mona Din,<sup>1260</sup> CT Husna Collection,<sup>1261</sup> and Muslimah4U Collection owned by Ummu Habibah Abd Rahman.<sup>1262</sup>

*Munawwarah Design* owned by Dato' Tuan Hasnah Tuan Yusoff has six outlets, all of which are located in Taman Tun Dr Ismail, Kuala Lumpur.<sup>1263</sup> Other Muslim clothing brands, like *First Lady*,<sup>1264</sup> *Turkuaz*,<sup>1265</sup> *Najjah*,<sup>1266</sup> *Adi Juma* owned by Datin

<sup>1258</sup> Modest Culture is located at located at 28 G, Jalan Putra 2, Taman Putra Kajang, 43000 Kajang, Selangor.

<sup>1259</sup> Women of Jannah premises are located at Tingkat 1, Plaza Masalam, No.2, Jalan Tengku Ampuan Zabedah E 9/E, Seksyen 9, 40551 Shah Alam, Selangor and at Level 2, The Curve Mutiara Damansara. See, Rabiatul Adawiyah Koh Abdullah, 'Pusat Sehati Busana Muslimah', *Utusan Malaysia*, 13 September 2013; '5 Usahawan Satu Bumbung', *Harian Metro*, 15 October 2013; Individual Field Work Observation at Modest Culture Sdn Bhd., 28 G, Jalan Putra 2, Taman Putra Kajang, 43000 Kajang, Selangor, 18 May 2014.

<sup>1260</sup> The outlet is placed at L-EFFE Corporation Sdn Bhd (HQ), 403A, Block 1, No. 7, Persiaran Sukan, Laman Seri Business Park, 40100 Shah Alam, Selangor.

<sup>1261</sup> The main outlet is located at No. 27, Jalan Plumbum P7/P, Seksyen 7, Shah Alam while its branch is placed at Lot 502, Lorong Kelapa Muda, Segambut Bahagia, 51200 Kuala Lumpur.

<sup>1262</sup> It is located at No.36A & 38A Jln Sg 3/2, Pusat Bandar Seri Gombak, 68100 Batu Caves, Selangor. *Muslimah4u: Pengeluar Pakaian dan Tshirt Muslimah*, <http://www.muslimah4u.com/>

<sup>1263</sup> The outlets are located at 31 & 33 Jln Tun Mohd Fuad 3, 14 & 16 Persiaran Zaaba, Taman Tun Dr Ismail, 60000 Kuala Lumpur.

<sup>1264</sup> The outlets are located at Lot 132 Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman, 50100 Kuala Lumpur and Lot 1-80 – 1-82, Ground Floor, Jalan Ampang, Ampang Park Shopping Centre, 50450 Kuala Lumpur.

<sup>1265</sup> It is located at Jalan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kuala Lumpur.

<sup>1266</sup> It is located at The Strand, Kota Damansara, Petaling Jaya, Selangor.

Norjuma Habib, *The Oldblossom Box Store*, *Rina Salleh Collections*, *Ammara*, *Pastelina*, *Allya Mysara*, *Yanti*, *Calaqisya* and *Nurul Wonder Wardrobe* which are located at Azya' Bazaar, The Strand Encorp, Kota Damansara, are among the famous Muslim collections among the Malay middle classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.<sup>1267</sup>

Most of these Muslim fashion boutiques market local products and some quality materials imported from Korea, Japan, Middle East and the neighboring country, Indonesia. Muslim fashion phenomenon has changed the general views about wearing of robe which is usually worn by elderly people who have returned from Makkah to a robe trend as very popular fashion of contemporary dressing style which is suitable for all ages. Realising their religious responsibility to create the *syarī'ah*-compliance Muslim attire, the Malay Muslim middle class businessmen and women have taken the initiative to design dresses that are made easy to perform prayer, *wudu'* friendly, along with the standard features of Islamic attires. Modest Culture for example, provided "readily for *solat*" dress, *hijāb* with chin cover and *solāt* ready comfy cuffs, so one can perform *solāt* on time, wherever she is.<sup>1268</sup>

With the rapid advancement of science and technology, most of Muslim clothing designs are available and can be purchased online or through *WhatsApp*, *Instagram*, *Twitter* and *Facebook*. *Sweet Muslimah*, *Muslimah Clothing*, *Glory Collection*, *Zalora*, *Muslimah4U*, *Busana Syafia*, *Muslimah Qaseh*, *Busana Muslimah Neny*, *Amy Hakim Contemporary*, *Jumana* and *Medinaa Hijāb* are the online *Muslimah* products which normally offer Islamic fashion designs at an affordable price to the low-income and the middle-income classes nearby Klang Valley and all over the country.<sup>1269</sup>

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<sup>1267</sup> 'Kelainan 5 butik Muslimah', *Harian Metro*, 14 June 2012; 'Azya' Bazaar Himpun Fesyen Muslimah', *Harian Metro*, 31 May 2012.

<sup>1268</sup> Solay Ready "Your partner in Modesty", Modest Culture inspired by Prof Muhaya, *Brochure*, 2014.

<sup>1269</sup> 'Teduhan Medinaa Hijab', *Berita Harian*, 25 July 2013, p. 10. See also these Muslimah fashion and online boutiques website, [www.sweetmuslimah.com](http://www.sweetmuslimah.com), <http://www.muslimahclothing.com/>, <http://www.glorycollection.com.my/>, [www.zalora.com.my/](http://www.zalora.com.my/), <http://www.muslimah4u.com>, <https://www.facebook.com/Busana>; <http://www.medinaahijab.com/>. Syafia or Butik Aryna Empayar Dyana Sdn Bhd., is located at G23 & G23A Ground Floor, Bangunan Kenanga Wholesale city, No. 2, Jalan Gelugor, 55200, Kuala Lumpur. No. Tel: 03-9221 8463, <http://muslimahqaseh.com/>, <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Busana-Muslimah-NENY/468536269883875>, <https://www.facebook.com/amyhakimcontemporary>.



The *Muslimah* fashion rises in parallel with the *hijāb* fashion. It always receives a high demand from the Malay Muslim women. Among famous *hijāb* products which are available at its own outlets are *Fareeda*, *Ariani*, *Hajra*, *Pearl Haya*, *El-Zahraa*, *Radiusite*, *Al-Humaira*, *Cloverush*, *Anggun Zara*, *Butik Ustazah*, *Qaseh IRIS*, *Z and Z Collection* and *Chenta Qaseh*.<sup>1270</sup> Many printed publications of magazines, newspapers and television programmes also reported the current trends in the Muslim fashions and Muslim tendency towards religious and spiritual lifestyles. The headscarved women, specifically, the migrated *hijāb*-wearing celebrities and artists always appear as cover story on front pages of mainstream magazines and represented as ambassadors of the beauty products and consumer goods that are sold in the national and international markets.<sup>1271</sup>

The *hijāb* and *Muslimah* fashion industry now emerges as the most demanding attire and elegant Muslim lifestyles following the rapid expansion of religious activities and knowledge. As reported by *Sinar Harian*, September 21, 2014, that many Muslims prefer to cover their ‘*aurah* and fashioned in accordance with the *syarī’ah*. The Muslims are also aware of the importance and the command of covering ‘*aurah* in Islam.<sup>1272</sup>

The rapid growth of *Muslimah* fashion in Malaysia has also brought Islamic fashion not only to reach its own prestige in the national market, but also has extended to the international level. Islamic Fashion Festival (IFF) was initially launched at Kuala Lumpur in 2006, continued to be presented in many Muslim countries such as, Jakarta-Kuala Lumpur (2007), Dubai (2008), Jakarta (2009), Kuala Lumpur (2010-2013) and Kuala Lumpur-Jakarta-Dubai VI (2014). The objective of IFF is to establish Kuala

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<sup>1270</sup> *Nur*, September 2012, p. 20-59; *Nur*, November 2011, pp. 60-77; ‘Galeri Muslimah, Ariani Skaf & Selendang’, *Utusan Malaysia*, 11 May 2012, p. 3; ‘Galeri Muslimah, Ariani Skaf & Selendang’, *Sinar Harian*, 30 May 2014, p. 3; ‘Galeri Tudung dan Selendang Hajra Gaya Muslimah Moden’, *Sinar Harian*, 30 May 2014, p. 7; ‘Usahawan Tudung Kasmima Perlu Kejar Trend Hijab’, *Mingguan Wanita*, 13-19 July 2012, pp. 32-33.

<sup>1271</sup> See for example, *Nur*, September 2012, November 2011.

<sup>1272</sup> ‘Transformasi Busana Muslimah: Leanen, Inspirasi Sunnah Kontemporari’, *Sinar Harian*, 21 September 2014.

Lumpur as the Islamic fashion hub similar to what Paris, London, Mila and New York are to European labels.<sup>1273</sup>

Islamic Fashion Festival was held in number of big cities, such as Kuala Lumpur, New York, Monte Carlo and Milan, with the aim to promote Islamic moderation following September 11 incident which caused “Islamophobia”. IFF founder and chairman, Datuk Raja Rezza Shah, possesses the mettle and drive to bring IFF to major fashion capitals of the world, including London, Singapore, Dubai, New York and now, Paris, the fashion centre of the world.<sup>1274</sup> Throughout its showcases in three metropolitan capital cities of Kuala Lumpur-Jakarta-Dubai, IFF is able to create more than 50 famous designers of the Muslims world and other countries that transcended cultural, race and religion differences who contributed to promote Islamic fashion.<sup>1275</sup>

The endeavours towards making Kuala Lumpur the Islamic fashion capital of the world has been preceded with the launching of 2011 Islamic Fashion Festival that was held at JW Marriott Hotel, Kuala Lumpur. In addition, the 2011 showcase of Islamic fashion was initiated by Association of Muslim *Apparel Entrepreneurs and Designers* (AMAED) led by IFF founder, Dato’ Raja Rezza Shah.<sup>1276</sup> In 2014, the debut of *Sheikhahub World Islamic Fashion Forum* (SWIFF) was held in Kuala Lumpur and in the last event, held in London in November 2015. Initiative to form this forum is an attempt by local designers and businessmen to penetrate the world Islamic fashion

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<sup>1273</sup> ‘Changing Perceptions on Islamic Fashion’, *New Straits Times*, 1 November 2007.

<sup>1274</sup> The tagline of the festival is “discover the beauty of modesty”. Wan Hua Chapouthier, ‘Paris Applauds Islamic Fashion Fest’, *The Star*, October 10, 2013; ‘Islamic Fashion’, *New Straits Times*, 21 March 2012.

<sup>1275</sup> These famous designers include Dato’ Raja Rezza Shah, Datuk Tom Abang Saufi, Dato’ Radzuan Radziwill, Rizman Ruzaini, Datuk Bernard Chandran, Mona Din, Sharifah Kirana, Hajjah Tuan Hasnah, Tengku Marina, Noraini Mohd Sharif, Salikin Sidek, Melinda Looi, Albert King, Micheal Ong, Carven Ong, Calvin Thoo and Jovian Mandagie (Malaysia), Ghea Panggabean, Itang Yunasz, Denny Wirawan, Jeny Tjahyawati, Ramly, Ida Royani, Herman Nuari, Iva Lativah, Ernie Kosasih, Merry Promono, Bryan, Samuel Wattimena, Ronald Gaghana (Indonesia), Mantra and Fatimah Mohsin (Singapore), Jun Escario (Philippines), Hodda Haddad (Morocco), Ameera Amer and Shabana Asif (Dubai), Deepak Perwani (Pakistan), Sohail Abbasi (Iran), Roxana Mariam (Bangladesh) and Gimmo Etro (Italy). ‘Resplendent, as Always’, *New Straits Times*, 22 November 2007; ‘Beauty in Modesty’, *New Sunday Times*, 7 January 2007.

<sup>1276</sup> ‘AMAED Festival Fesyen Islam 2011’, *Muslimah*, No. 1, December 2011, p. 8; Meran Abu Bakar, ‘AMAED ke Pentas IFF’, *Utusan Malaysia*, 12 December 2013.

market. It is also a platform to educate young designers to enhance publicising of their products at global market.<sup>1277</sup>

Again, the 2014 Islamic Fashion Festival was organised at JW Marriott Hotel, Kuala Lumpur as a persistent effort to feature Islamic fashion as medium to create awareness of varied styles of Islamic attire for Muslims and provide non-Muslims with a better understanding of how trendy and stylish Islamic attire can be, without neglecting Islamic dress code guided by the *syarī'ah*.<sup>1278</sup> After 13 years of its establishment with 31 fashion showcases, Islamic Fashion Festival achievement has brought Kuala Lumpur into the mainstream of Islamic fashion capital in the map of the global fashion.<sup>1279</sup>

Islam can be learned and studied through many ways and methods. Unlike fifty years ago whereby the teaching of Islam was studied in the form of informal educational process and traditional method of opening the *kitab* by students in front of the teacher at *pondok* and *madrasah* was applied. However, Islam in the modern times is learned, spread and delivered through many ways and methods, such as attending seminars, conferences, *usrah*, *kuliyah* and classes; reading books, magazines, newspaper, booklet and brochures; listening to cassettes, watching videotape, video, and television; open access to information which can be retrieved from the internet, *YouTube*, *Facebook*, *Instagram* and *WhatsApp*.

The growth of Islamic content in the publication of books and magazines has given more religious information to the readers in the creative ways of presentation.<sup>1280</sup>

These Islamic-based magazines have received considerable good demand from the local

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<sup>1277</sup> The 2014 IFF was organised at JW Marriott Hotel, Kuala Lumpur from 18 to 20 November 2014. 'KL as the Next Milan?', *New Straits Times*, 14 March 2007; 'IFF Popularkan Malaysia sebagai Destinasi Busana Muslim', *Utusan Malaysia*, 27 August 2014; 'Fesyen Islam Tembusi Pasaran Antarabangsa', *Berita Harian*, 17 September 2014.

<sup>1278</sup> Siti Zarinah Sahib, 'Bergaya Anggun di Pentas Peragaan', *Harian Metro*, 22 November 2014; 'Showcasing Islamic Fashion', *New Straits Times*, 23 November 2014.

<sup>1279</sup> 'Busana Islam, Melayu Bersatu', *Utusan Malaysia*, 26 November 2014.

<sup>1280</sup> Among the well-known magazines which are available in the market are namely, *Sinaran Islam*, *Ruhaniyyat*, *Cahaya*, *Pendidik* (JAKIM), *Pengasuh* (Kelantan Islamic Religious Council), *Islamic Herald* (PERKIM), *Al-Islam* (Utusan Karya Sdn. Bhd.), *Muslimah* (al-Muslimah Enterprise), *Ummi* and *Adik* (Ummah Media Sdn. Bhd.), *OK*, *Anis*, *YES* and *Asuh* (Galeri Ilmu Sdn. Bhd.), *Fardu Ain* (Kalimat Cinta Sdn Bhd.), *Al-Ustaz* (Telaga Biru Sd. Bhd), *Solusi* (Telaga Biru Sd. Bhd), *Dakwah* (YADIM), *Aniqah*, *Milenia Muslim* (MMP Communication Sdn Bhd.), *Jom* (Deen Prints), *Majalah Aulad*, *Majalah Asuh*, *Sayang Muslim*, *Adik Muslim*, *Ana Muslim* (Ana Muslim Sdn Bhd), *Iman*, *Hijabista*, *Aqilah*, *I magazine* (Karangkraf Group Sdn. Bhd.), *Q&A* (Galeri Ilmu Sdn. Bhd.), *Dewan Agama dan Falsafah*, *Tamadun* (Muttataqin Publisher), *Nur* and *Muslim Teens* (Blue T Communication).

Muslim readers. Even most of the women and family magazines, such as *Wanita*, *Keluarga Harmoni* and *Mingguan Wanita* have started to change its coverage from the free hair sexy women to the headscarved Muslim women and their success story besides covering new trend in the veil and in *Muslimah* fashion. The headscarved Malay woman has been depicted as a sophisticated modern woman with a stronger success character that bound her lifestyles with solid faith and identity.<sup>1281</sup>

With the increasing number of reading materials including books and magazines, they also contribute to upsurge a number of the publishing house which published and marketed the religious reading materials. Some of these publishing houses are renowned in the religious publication industry: for instance, Hizbi, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Aman Press, Abdul Majid Press, Pustaka Salam, Pustaka Nasional, PTS Publications, Thinker's Library, University Malaya Press, International Islamic University Press, the National University Press, Must Read Sdn. Bhd., Telaga Biru Sdn. Bhd., Galeri Ilmu Sdn. Bhd., and many others.<sup>1282</sup>

Karya Bestari, a publisher under the Karangkrak Media Group has also announced that the sale of *da'wah* story book, "Cerita Cinta Ahmad Ammar" had reached 30,000 with the first 10,000 books sold out in less than a week after the launching of its first publication.<sup>1283</sup> The 400-page book and a story of Ahmad Ammar's life has created a phenomenon among youth and Malaysian Muslim when he passed away on 2 November 2013, in an accident with an ambulance while crossing the road in Istanbul, Turkey.<sup>1284</sup>

The role of the mass media in the current development of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia, especially the urban city of Selangor, Shah Alam and Kuala Lumpur cannot

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<sup>1281</sup> See for example, *Wanita*, August 2014, pp. 20-83, *Keluarga Harmoni*, 1-15 October 2014,

<sup>1282</sup> Ab. Aziz Mohd Zin et al., *Dakwah Islam di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 2006, pp. 106-107.

<sup>1283</sup> Robiatuladawiyah Abd Rashad, 'Cerita Cinta Ahmad Ammar: Bukan Hanya Soal Untung', *Sinar Harian*, 22 February 2014.

<sup>1284</sup> As an ordinary Malaysian student, Ahmad Ammar received a special privilege when his body was buried at the Eyub Sultan Cemetery which placed more than 60 bodies of the prophet's companions, the pious Muslims, the warriors of Ottoman caliphate and the prominent leaders of Turkey. Ammar's death has been related to the migration of the prophet's companion, Abu Ayyub al-Ansari who migrated from Madinah to Constantinople (Istanbul) and then *syahid* as warrior in this capital. Similar to the life of Ammar who migrated from Malaysia to Istanbul and was said to be regarded as *syahid* in the accident in his way to teach the religious book, *Risalah An-Nur* written by Said Nursi to the new students from Malaysia, Thailand and Cambodia. 'Buku Cerita Cinta Ahmad Ammar Cetus Fenomena', *Sinar Harian*, 8 February 2014.

be repudiated. Statistical test has proven a significant relationship between choosing the Islamic channels and the respondents' tendency to watch Islamic-featured dramas and films; listen to Islamic rhythms and *nasyīd*, score of Islamic practices and score of lifestyle and physical appearance. This has indicated that Islamic-based programmes in television and broadcasting media have helped to increase Malay Muslims' Islamic practices, tendency to watch Islamic-featured dramas and films; listen to Islamic rhythms and *nasyīd*, and improve religious lifestyle and physical appearance.<sup>1285</sup> As a result, watching Islamic-featured dramas and films rises, as choosing the Islamic-based channels increase. The study also has proved that the rises in the frequency of watching religious dramas and films, consuming Islamic-based media and channels' and listening to *nasyīd*, would influence respondents' information about Islam, increase Islamic practices, as well as improve respondents' tendency towards religious lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism.<sup>1286</sup>

A few religious programmes organised by the government channel, TV1 such as, *Forum Perdana Ehwat Islam*, *FIKRAH*, the reality television show *Adik-adikku* and *Anda Musykil*; and television channel, TV Al-Hijrah, which broadcast *30 Minit Bersama Ustaz Don* has remained to be among the highest rating of audiences under the religious programmes. *Forum Perdana Ehwat Islam* continued to being among top five of the best TV1 RTM's religious forum with the rating of more than 500,000 audiences, while the reality television, *Adik-adikku* has succeeded to reach accumulative average

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<sup>1285</sup> Statistical test proved a significant relationship between choosing IKIM radio, TV9, Astro Oasis and TV Hijrah channels; and respondents' tendency to watch Islamic-featured dramas and films, ( $r = .636, p < .01$ ). There are also significant correlation between choosing IKIM radio, TV9, Astro Oasis and TV Hijrah channels; and respondents' tendency to hear Islamic rhythms and *Nasyīd*, ( $r = .592, p < .01$ ), score of Islamic practices ( $r = .466, p < .01$ ), score of lifestyle, physical appearance, ( $r = .481, p < .01$ ). The study has also shown significant relationship between respondents' tendency to watch Islamic-featured dramas and films and respondents' tendency to listen to Islamic spiritual rhythms and *nasyīd*, ( $r = .607, p < .001$ ).

<sup>1286</sup> There are correlations between the score of Islamic practices and watching religious dramas and film ("I like dramas and films with elements of advice, *dakwah* and Islamic education",  $r = .443, p < .001$ ), and between the score of Islamic practices and respondents' tendency to listen to Islamic rhythms or *nasyīd* ("I like an Islamic and spiritual rhythms,  $r = .468, p < .001$ ). There is also a positive correlation between choosing IKIM radio, TV9, Astro Oasis and TV Hijrah channels; and "electronic media gave me more information on Islam", ( $r = .185, p < .001$ ).

audience more than a million people in three sessions continuously, since its initial launching in 2010.<sup>1287</sup>

For the private television channels, TV3 and TV9, which are owned by Media Prima Sdn Bhd., religious programmes for example, *Halaqah*, *Halaqah Sentuhan Qalbu*, *Al-Kulliyah*, *Tanyalah Ustaz*, *Tanyalah Ustazah*, *Adik Tanya Ustaz* have always received the highest rating of audience. Similar to TV3 and TV9, most of religious programmes which are published on air by the paid television channel, *Astro Oasis* have also received warm responses from the audiences.<sup>1288</sup> According to Mr. Izelan Basar, the Manager of *Astro Oasis* (AO) channel, *Tanah Kubur*, the religious-based drama has received the highest number of audience compared to other *Astro* channels with 4.5 million people that have watched this drama in the first two sessions on air. Based on a research conducted by *Astro*, the loyal viewers of this drama are housewives, students and retirees. The Malay middle class housewives who live in Bangi and Shah Alam, Selangor are the highest loyal viewers of *Astro Oasis*'s religious programmes.<sup>1289</sup> Mr. Izelan also informed that the religious programme, *Kemah Keming Ustaz Azhar Idrus* was rated as the popular programme in *Astro Oasis* with its loyal viewers that have reached to 700 million audiences and its repeated view had reached to 600 million viewers. This programme was placed at the highest rating heading other *Astro* popular programmes, including *Maharaja Lawak*.<sup>1290</sup>

Several religious rituals, such as *dhikir*, *do'a* and the Quranic recitation have been created in its new form in the new media or virtual medium.<sup>1291</sup> Even many forms of such programmes were mediated by Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), like

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<sup>1287</sup> JAKIM Annual Report 2012, Putrajaya: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia, 2012, p. 32; 'Bakat Baru Adik-Adikku', *Kosmo*, 17 December 2010.

<sup>1288</sup> *Astro Oasis* is known as the Muslim lifestyle channel and the progressive lifestyle channel for Muslims that contains Islamic based educational, entertainment and documentary styled programmes. See, <http://www.astro.com.my/whats-on/channel/astro-oasis/81>.

<sup>1289</sup> Nurezzatul Aqmar Mustaza, 'Tanah Kubur: Musim Ketiga Sarat Mesej', *Sinar Harian*, 10 February 2012; Roni Hidayat Ridwan, 'Rekod Rating Tanah Kubur', *Kosmo*, 13 February 2012.

<sup>1290</sup> Interview with Tuan Hj Izelan Basar, on 29 August 2013, 11.10am-11.46am at Measat Broadcast Network Systems, All Asia Broadcast Centre, Technology Park Malaysia, Lebuhraya Puchong-Sg. Besi, Bukit Jalil, 57000 Kuala Lumpur (General Manager of *Astro Oasis*); 'Kemah Keming Ustaz Azhar Idrus Popular Mengalahkan Maharaja Lawak', *Harakah*, 2 January 2013.

<sup>1291</sup> Ismail Hashim Yahaya, 'Ustaz Don dan Cabaran Budaya Agama Popular', *Utusan Malaysia*, 25 January 2012.

*sms*, television and internet. If three or four decades ago, *dhikir* and *doa*' were previously recited in the *surau*, *madrasahs* and mosques, now they are disseminated in the form of advice, spiritual messages, songs, articles, speeches, dramas, films, reminders, scripts, dialogue, religious programmes and documentation in the digital space.<sup>1292</sup>

After numbers of sorrowful incidents related to the mystery of missing Malaysia Aircraft MH370, the attacked upon MH17 and the crash of Air Asia Aircraft QZ8501 and the floods in the east coast of Malaysia which challenged Malaysians and its leadership, there are tendencies to decrease entertainment programmes in the public and broadcasting media and increase the broadcasting of *al-fatihah* recitation and prayers in the mainstream and private television stations due to respect and to show condolences and empathy to the victims and the families.<sup>1293</sup>

The New Year celebration which has normally been celebrated with a great event of entertainment, music and fireworks now changed to prayers, reciting *do'a*, and donation and also invited popular religious preachers to deliver religious speech and motivation. The Merdeka Square in Kuala Lumpur, Shah Alam and Putrajaya have become the spiritual squares for the Malay Muslims who pray for the Malaysian safety and good destiny.<sup>1294</sup> Since 2012, Selangor has also initiated the celebration of the New Year from an Islamic perspective. Many positive features of spiritual-based activities have been arranged to attract youngsters and Selangor citizens, especially the Malay Muslims. The programme started with *Maghrib* and *Isyak* congregational prayers, religious talk by famous speaker, followed by reciting *dhikir* of Allah's Holy Names,

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<sup>1292</sup> Ismail Hashim Yahaya, 'Ustaz Don dan Cabaran Budaya Agama Populer', *Utusan Malaysia*, 25 January 2012; Buyong M, Ismail, R. 'Islamic Programmes in Malaysian free-to-air Television Channels'. Paper presented at International Conference on Islamic Civilization and Malay Identity 2011, 14-15 November 2011, Malacca, Malaysia. 2011.

<sup>1293</sup> Vijenthil Nair, & Oh Ing Yeen, 'Subdued 2015 celebrations', *The Star*, 3 January 2015.

<sup>1294</sup> The 2015 New Year celebration in Putrajaya was cancelled and replaced to religious programme called 'Raudah Carnival National FM' in Masjid Putra in conjunction with the New Year 2015. This programme was organized by NasionalFM in collaboration with the Department of Islamic Development of Malaysia and Putrajaya Corporation began at 2 pm with a variety of activities, including the Maghrib prayer, recitation of *Yasin* and prayers to the floods victims. *Raudah* Carnival invited the prominent speakers Ustaz Mohamad Kazim Elias and Ustaz Mohamad Najmuddin Elias to discuss, the topic entitled, 'Challenges of the New Year in the Context of Defending the Faith of Youth, Family and Community' and 'New Year's Resolutions - Based on the Principles of Islam'.

*Asma' al-Husna* and ended with the *Fajr* prayer.<sup>1295</sup> Aziz M Osman, Diana Amir, Abby Abadi, Kamal Adli and Malek Noor were invited to share their migration experience. The programme was also featured Ustaz Azhar Idrus to deliver his speech related to the rule of Islam in front of more than 120,000 people who flooded the Independent Square of Shah Alam to celebrate “Let Join GeMS Programme” (*Jom Santai Bersama GeMS*) organised by Selangor State Government in conjunction with “2013 New Year Celebration”.<sup>1296</sup>

The study has also revealed that there is increasing tendency of the Malay to send their children to religious schools. Most of the Malay middle classes send their children to an integrated science-religious stream school either at the secondary or the tertiary level. During school holidays, children were sent to attend Islamic motivation programmes, summer camp, *Tahsīn Qirāat* and *Solāt* programme, and the Quranic classes. Findings of the study was in line with Ruzman Md Noor and colleagues; and Marzuki’s study which revealed that most of modern Malay families still put high expectations on the Islamic studies, by choosing to send their children to religious schools and are willing to spend money to send their children to pursue their studies in Islamic stream at the high-ranked public and private institutions of higher learning.<sup>1297</sup>

Recently, about 16 Islamic colleges have offered Islamic studies at diploma and undergraduate programmes which were fully monitored by Ministry of Education. Until 2010, there were twenty (20) public universities in Malaysia are placed under the management of the Ministry of Higher Education. However, not all universities offer courses in Islamic Studies. Five universities have been identified to offer Islamic

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<sup>1295</sup> Janatul Firdaus Yaacob, ‘Sambut Tahun Baharu Cara Islam’, *Sinar Harian*, 31 December 2013; ‘Pas Sokong Ubah Cara Sambut Tahun Baharu’, *Sinar Harian*, 31 December 2013

<sup>1296</sup> Salmiah Druhamad Drahsin, ‘Ambang 2013: ‘Perang’ BN dan Pakatan Tarik Pengundi’, *Sinar Harian*, 3 January 2013.

<sup>1297</sup> Marzuki Haji Mahmood, ‘Keberkesanan Dan Sambutan Masyarakat Terhadap Pengajian Islam di Institusi Pengajian Islam’, in Suzalie Mohamed (ed.), *Memahami Isu-Isu Pendidikan Islam Di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: IKIM, 2003; Ruzman Md Noor, Rahimin Affandi Abd. Rahim, Muhammad Kamil Abd Majid, Abdul Karim Ali, Nor Adina Abdul Kadir, Syed Mohd Jeffri bin Syed Jaafar, Norhidayah Yusoff, ‘Peranan Institut Pengajian Tinggi Islam dalam Pembangunan Modal Insan Di Malaysia: Satu Analisis’, *Jurnal Kemanusiaan*, No. 22, 2014, p. 3, 1-20.



Studies degree programme.<sup>1298</sup> The establishment of many Islamic higher learning institutions, such as International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM), Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia (USIM), Kolej Universiti Islam Antarabangsa Selangor (KUIS), Kolej Universiti Islam Malaysia (KUIM), Kolej Universiti Insaniah Kedah (KUIN), Kolej Islam Sains dan Teknologi (KIST), Kolej Islam Teknologi Antarabangsa Pulau Pinang (KITAB), Kolej Islam Antrabangsa Sultan Ismail Petra (KIAS) and the latest Malaysia Islamic University (UIM) proved the significant of the Islamic studies in the contemporary Muslim society.<sup>1299</sup>

Other than the above, Islamic finance and banking, Islamic *Takāful*, *al-Rahnu*, Islamic health center, *halāl* industry and other Islamic services organised by Islamic organisations and Muslim community have also witnessed a progressive growth. These reflect the contemporary rapid progress of Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia, in particular Selangor and Kuala Lumpur.<sup>1300</sup>

Findings of the study have revealed that Islamic religiosity acts as an important element in consumerism, lifestyle and physical appearance among the Malay Muslim middle and the upper-middle income compared to the lower score of the low-income classes in the similar variables. This study has proven that Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism have positive relationship with Islamic practices, thoughts, attending the religious programmes and attachment with *da'wah* activities.

Findings of the study are in tandem with Syed Shah Alam and colleagues' study on

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<sup>1298</sup> These universities are Universiti Malaya (UM), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM), International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM), Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia (USIM) and Universiti Darul Iman Malaysia (UDM). Jabatan Pengajian Tinggi, Kementerian Pengajian Tinggi, *Hala Tuju Pengajian Islam di Malaysia*, 2010, Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2010, pp. 8-9.

<sup>1299</sup> Aizan Ali @ Mat Zin, Khadijah Ismail, 'Institusi Pengajian Tinggi Islam di Malaysia: Isu dan Cabaran dalam Pembangunan Intelektual Muslim', in *Membongkar Rahsia Pendidikan Islam*, Kuching: KUPUSB and UITM Sarawak, 2012, p. 549, pp. 549-553.

<sup>1300</sup> It was recorded by the National Bank of Malaysia that after the endorsement of Islamic Banking Act 1983 and the establishment of Islamic Bank, 17 banks applied the Islamic banking system, nine banks received Islamic banking scheme, six Direct Foreign Institutions have offered Islamic banking services, four Islamic international banks and 16 International currency business units (ICBUs) had introduced Islamic banking system in their operation in Malaysia. 17 Islamic banks are Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad, Bank Muamalat Malaysia Berhad, RHB Islamic Bank Berhad, EONCAP Islamic Bank Berhad, Affin Islamic Bank Berhad, AmlIslamic Bank Berhad, CIMB Islamic Bank Berhad, Public Islamic Bank Berhad, Hong Leong Islamic Bank Berhad, Al Rajhi Banking & Investment Corporation (Malaysia) Berhad, Maybank Islamic Berhad, Alliance Islamic Bank Berhad, Kuwait Finance House (Malaysia) Berhad, Asian Finance Bank Berhad, HSBC Amanah Malaysia Berhad, OCBC Al-Amin Bank Berhad. See, Suhaimi Mohd Yusof, (Bank Negara Malaysia), Suhaimi Mohd Yusof, 'Isu-isu Perundangan dalam Kewangan Islam: Harapan kepada Institusi Kehakiman Syariah', *Konvensyen Kewangan dan Perbankan Islam 2010, Corporate Power Point Presentation*, Jabatan Perbankan Islam & Takaful, Bank Negara Malaysia, 13 March 2010, p. 4, pp. 1-17.

Islamic religiosity and consumerism amongst 232 middle and upper-income Muslims who work in Shah Alam and Bangi in Selangor. Based on the survey method, the study has shown that pious Muslims regard Islam as their best source of reference. The middle and upper-income Muslims spend moderately, as commanded in Islam. The study supports that religiosity acts as a full mediating role in purchase behaviour of Muslim consumers and the relationship between relative and contextual variables.<sup>1301</sup>

Statistical test has also revealed that there are positive relationships between efforts of various Islamic organisations as agents of Islamic Resurgence and respondents' score in Islamic thoughts, Islamic practices and Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism; the public spheres in Malaysia; and factors of individual religiosity. Therefore, the increase in the efforts to revive Islamic awareness in the urban areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur helps to upsurge Malay Muslims' Islamic thoughts, practices, lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism. These efforts also could expand the role of Islam in the public spheres and increase individual's religiosity as well.<sup>1302</sup>

In general, it can be concluded that as a result of many efforts by many organisations which initiated to revive the Muslims to the fundamental teaching of Islam, then leads to the emergence of the Islamic Resurgence in the urban areas of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor has managed to form three groups of the Malay middle-income classes: the moderate, the isolated individuals and the extremists.

Three groups of the moderate Malay Muslim middle classes have emerged in the process of the Islamic Resurgence are the political centric, the *Ummatic* centric and the spiritual centric individuals. The moderate Malay middle class groups are determined by looking at several perspectives: their approach to practice Islam in the best way based on its fundamental teaching which is harmonised with the Malay custom or

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<sup>1301</sup> Syed Shah Alam, Rohani Mohd, Badrul Hisham, 'Is Religiosity an Important determinant on Muslim Consumer Behaviour in Malaysia?', *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, Vol. 2, Issue. 1, 2011, pp. 83-96.

<sup>1302</sup> These tests aim at achieving objective 4.

traditions and the role played by the middle class who utilise all spaces of public spheres such as, the community religious institutions (mosques and *surau*), the mass media, *da'wah* and Islamic organisations to regenerate the influence of Islam upon the society.

The moderate political centric individuals represent themselves as activists and supporters of either UMNO or PAS as the Malay-Islamic based political parties; or sympathisers of Parti Amanah Negara (PAN), the fragments of PAS and Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) which is representing the multi-racial party in the coalition of *Pakatan Rakyat*. These individuals believed in a political approach to uplift Islam as part of means of their struggle even though they have embarked different on an ideological thought of Islamic politics, but shared similar objective towards upgrading the role and function of Islam in the country's political mainstream. Some minority of the Malay religious-nationalist groups that stand behind the NGOs, such as JATI, PERKASA and ISMA are also sensitive with many issues concerning Islam in the Malay community, for example, in the issues of the apostasy and the use of the word Allah.

The *Ummatic* centric individuals emerged to be the second group of moderate Malay middle classes who are the accommodative - non-partisan believers to a certain extent, but also champion and are actively involved in civil society concerning humanitarian, social, education, welfare, justice, economic and political issues. The ABIM, IKRAM (and former JIM-IRC) activists and some of the independent-non-partisan middle classes can be included in this category. They carry social responsibility and have actively participated in humanitarian services in the Muslim world such as, Palestin, Syria, Aceh and many more. The moderate Malay Muslim middle classes also include the Malay Muslim intelligentsias that consist of professional scholars, professional-*ustaz* (*protaz*), popular *ustazs*, and Islamic motivators or counsellors, independent preachers and the migrated artists who frequently appeared and aired on

television and religious programmes which have embarked spiritual-religious knowledge in the public spheres.

Some moderate middle classes only focus the daily activities on religious and spiritual duties but neglect or show no interest on Islamic politics and current issues related Muslims affairs in the country and abroad (the spiritual centric). Some *tariqat*, Sufism and Jamaat Tabligh movements can be also characterised in this group.

The second group of the Malay middle class are those who are outside the circle of public life (the isolated individuals). The group members only focus on the religious life among members of the group and form and build their own community and social structure, politics and economy of its own. Al-Arqam group, which was later replaced by the existence of *Rufaqa'* and *Global Ikhwan* have shown their existence as a group which is isolated from the public spheres. Although this group was banned by the government, but the remnants of its followers are still believed to be active in order to revive the practice and the existence of their group. Other than Al-Arqam, some members of spiritual or sufism groups also inclined to depart from the worldly life towards spiritual-religious life. The group has been regarded by Muslim scholars as deviant Islamic group and need to be eliminated and penalised by the authority.<sup>1303</sup>

Other minority groups of the Malay Muslim middle class are those who spend their time in leisure and entertainment centres, and are very less concern on religion and the mosque. They would normally join luxury car and big motorbike clubs, and

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<sup>1303</sup> Zulkipli Dahalan for example, in his article described on Muhammad Uthman El-Muhammady who left al-Rahmaniah for the reason that he felt that there are many ways to upsurge the Islamic *da'wah*. *Martabat Tujuh* was led by Uthman El-Muhammady who left the worldly life towards spiritual-religious life. For him giving religious speech is not good enough for the long term of *da'wah* survival as self-construction and purification programmes is needed through religious practices. In 1973, he and his wife, Fathiyah Abdul Kadir and friend, Wan Muhammad Ali return to Kelantan and opened the pondok institution helping the old *ulama'* at that time. Muhammad Uthman also believed that man's association in the many type of programmes cannot change someone's commitment in religion. Therefore, the *da'i* or preacher needs to correct and purify himself first before correct the others. These weaknesses might be caused by al-Rahmaniah's less concern to self-construction and consciousness. Zulkifli Dahalan, 'Al-Rahmaniah: Sejarah dan Peranan yang Pernah Dimainkan dalam Aktiviti-aktiviti Dakwah Islamiah di Malaysia', *ESTEEM*, Vol. 4. No. 2, 2008, pp. 148, 133-150. See the original writing of Uthman El-Muhammady on *Martabat Tujuh* in <http://jalansufi.com/index.php/Hakikat/martabat-tujuh-muhammad-uthman-el-muhammady>. See also, Abdul Rahman Hj. A., 'Falsafah Alam Semesta' in *Sejarah Tauhid Melayu*, P. Jaya: Access Infotech Sdn Bhd., 1995; Abdulfatah Haron I., *Ajaran Sesat*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992. <http://shaharirbmz.blogspot.com/2008/04/kosmologi-islam-melayu-pra-islam-dan.html>; Maruan Mohd Yusoff, 'Nur Muhammad: Satu Kajian Mengenai Kepercayaan Masyarakat Islam di Negeri Kelantan', M.A. Thesis, Akademi Pengajian Islam, University of Malaya, 2003, p. 166.

entertainment or the night club, which leads them far from knowing and approaching the prayer mat, headscarf or *kopiah* and the mosque.<sup>1304</sup>

The third group of the middle class is involved in the extremist action and religious activities. The ostensible terrorist groups which exist in Malaysia are considered fairly small and inactive. However, following the events of September 11, Malaysia was believed to be a centre for global terrorism by the reason of two hijackers who planned the attacks reportedly arranged a meeting in Kuala Lumpur.<sup>1305</sup>

In Malaysia, the involvement of the middle class in Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) which has had extensive ties to Al-Qaeda, and has been responsible in the terrorist attack of the October 2002 bombing in Bali, Indonesia and 2009 bombings of the J.W. Marriot and Ritz-Carlton hotels in Jakarta.<sup>1306</sup> This group believed that their members' actions blew themselves were considered a sacred act and a religious *jihād* in Islam.<sup>1307</sup> Since June 2001, the government has also arrested under the Internal Security Act over 70 alleged extremists related to Malaysian Mujahidin Group or *Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia* (KMM) which has connection with Jemaah Islamiyah (JI).<sup>1308</sup>

Besides KMM and JI, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has identified at least another eleven radical groups that have planned to take over the country's administration and are involved in deviant school of thoughts. A small number of the Malay middle class has been identified to get involved in radical and deviants groups

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<sup>1304</sup> 'Big Motorbike Makers Rev Up in Malaysia and Southeast Asia', *The Star*, 6 October 2014.

<sup>1305</sup> Kartini Aboo Talib @ Khalid, Sakina Shaik Ahmad Yusoff, Rahmah Ismail, Shamsudin Suhor, Azimon AbdulAziz & Muhammad Rizal Razman, 'Terrorist Threats: Measuring the Terms and Approaches', *Asian Social Science*; Vol. 8, No. 15, 2012, p. 291, pp. 288-297.

<sup>1306</sup> Noordin Mohammed Top and Dr. Azhari Hussin were the most wanted terrorist in the Southeast Asia and Indonesia. These two Malaysians, educated middle class received professional education from western country and have been responsible in many bombing incidents targeting Western commercial premises, hotels and centres for entertainment. 'Indonesia 'tidak bebas' Selagi Dua Militan Masih Bebas', *Berita Harian*, 4 December 2003, p. 7; 'Noordin M Top. The fugitive Malaysian terrorists claimed responsibility for the bombings at JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton hotels in Jakarta on July 17', *Jakarta Post*, July 31, 2009; Abuza, Z., *Militant Islam in Southeast Asia: Crucible of Terror*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003, p. 29.

<sup>1307</sup> They also form a minority group to fight against the ignorance (*kufur*) or non-Islamic government who has practised and inherited colonial Western system. Mohd. Khuzairi Ismail, 'Militan di Asia Masih Aktif', *Utusan Malaysia*, 25 July 2009.

<sup>1308</sup> John Funston, 'Malaysia', in Fealy, Grey and Virginia Hooker (editors), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006, p. 58.

for example, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (IS),<sup>1309</sup> *Tentera Sabilullah, Golongan Rohaniah* (The Spiritual Group),<sup>1310</sup> and many others.<sup>1311</sup>

The Malay low-income class can be grouped into three categories: the moderate, the extremist and the individuals who placed free-standing of the mainstream community. The moderate low-income can also be classified into the mosque centric and the political centric. The mosque centric low-income individuals normally serve as clerical assistant or the *surau* and mosque committee who is led by the middle class. They are regarded as good Muslims, concern on the mosque attendance and Islamic faith. The political centric individuals are those who are actively involved in politics as follower or activist at the low-ranking organisational position. As followers to the Malay-Islamic based party, these individuals will support the party's stand in defending Islamic interest for the sake of Muslims in the country.

The isolated individuals on the other hand put themselves outside of the main stream society. These individuals tend to liberate themselves from any religious commitment and obligations, neglect the importance of religion, and entertain leisure and getting busy with their own work without having concern on social communication. These individuals also do not responsive with the societal community life and politics but rather focus on their life and the family.

Similar to the category of the Malay middle classes, some of the Malay low-income earners also get involved in deviant and risky behaviours or activities like gambling, gangsters, drug addiction and illegal sexual activities. Low level of education, family breakdown, dropping out of school also contribute to the tendency

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<sup>1309</sup> Ahmad El-Muhammady, Che Hamdan, 'IS : 'Kitar semula' guna nama Islam', *Utusan Malaysia*, 21 December 2014.

<sup>1310</sup> The group named, *Golongan Rohaniah* was formed by Haji Abdul Talib bin Haji Ahmad @ Haji Abdul Mutalib Naim in Kelang, Selangor in 1971. The group disseminated the Islamic preaching based on his book entitled 'Mengenal Roh' (*Knowing Soul*). After five years of its formation, it was successfully received support from minority part of the society, including government officers and villagers around Kelang Valley.

<sup>1311</sup> The other radical groups are *Koperasi Angkatan Revolusi Islam Malaysia* (KARIM - The Malaysian Islamic Revolutionary Front), *Kumpulan Crypto* (The Crypto Group), Mohd Nasir Ismail Group (*Kumpulan Mohd Nasir Ismail*), Ibrahim Libya Islamic Revolution Group (*Kumpulan Revolusi Islam Ibrahim Libya*), Jundullah Group (*Kumpulan Jundullah*), Kedah Mujahidin Group, (*Kumpulan Mujahidin Kedah*), Perak Islamic Movement Group (KPIP- *Kumpulan Perjuangan Islam Perak*), al-Arqam, *Al-Maunah or Knowledge Brotherhood of Al-Ma'unah* (*Kumpulan Persaudaraan Ilmu dalam Al-Maunah*). Mohd Mizan Aslam, 'The Thirteen Radical Groups: Preliminary Research in Understanding The Evolution of Militancy in Malaysia', *Jati*, Vol. 14, December 2009, pp. 145-161.

and interest of the low-income individuals to participate in the militant and radical group such as, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (IS), the militant groups of *Jabhat al-Nusra* and *Ajnad al-Sham of Syria* with the principle and intention to upgrade Islam into higher level.<sup>1312</sup> The group distrusts democracy as the single mean to achieve social order, political and economic stability, even though most Muslims and Islamists can accommodate with the democratic system to uplift the function of religion in the society.<sup>1313</sup>

Despite the existing categories of the middle and low-income classes, there are also another group of Malays consist both socio-economic classes who are still crying and howling of the rising tide of Islamic Resurgence in the society following the deterioration of Malay traditional heritage and culture due to the progress towards Islamisation. According to the notion of this group, the Malay traditional heritage like *wayang kulit*, *Mak Yong*, *main puteri*, *kuda kepang*, *mandi safar*, *boria*, *joget lambak* and many others have started to be abolished with the rapid growth of Islamic *da'wah* in Malaysia.<sup>1314</sup>

For this group, these religious changes have been seen not as positive outcomes of Islamisation, but rather a narrow-minded perspective of culture and parochial nationalism which is being isolated from the Islamic outlook and values. The physical changes in the visible appearance of Islam in the public spheres and strengthening the Islamic institutions have been considered pessimistic and fruitless by this group.<sup>1315</sup> Therefore, when JAKIM announced the national entertainment guideline, the rule has been rejected by the group. The introduction of the entertainment guideline by JAKIM

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<sup>1312</sup> *Utusan Malaysia* reported in October 13 that the Chief Assistance Terrorism Counter Division, Special Branch of Bukit Aman, SAC Datuk Ayob Khan Mydin Pitchay discovered that IS group has recruited secondary school students at the age of 15 to 30 years old, students of the public and private institutions who normally have family and education problems, the government and private workers and businessmen through Facebook and using the Quranic verses to appeal and invite the victims to join the jihad mission. See, 'Pelajar sekolah direkrut sertai militan berjihad di Syria', *Utusan Malaysia*, 13 October 2014.

<sup>1313</sup> Ahmad El-Muhammady, Che Hamdan, 'IS : 'Kitar semula' guna nama Islam', *Utusan Malaysia*, 21 December 2014.

<sup>1314</sup> Mak Yong was regarded as not to reflect Islamic culture and was banned in Kelantan by the Chief Minister of Kelantan, Dato' Seri Bentara Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat. See, Pudentia MPSS, 'The revitalization of Mak Yong in the Malay World', *Wacana*, Vol. 12, No. 1, April 2010, p. 4, pp. 1-19.

<sup>1315</sup> Refer to Mohammad Redzuan Othman, 'Merentasi Sempadan yang Melewati Zaman: Timur Tengah, Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu, Syarahan Perdana, Dewan Kuliah A, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Universiti Malaya, 25 February 2015, p. 44.

in 2015 has been criticised by the liberal Malay Muslims who claim that such guideline would kill and defeat arts activities especially, the performing arts, the artist appearance and the organisation of arts programmes and concerts.<sup>1316</sup>

The second category of this group is those activists who struggle behind the banner of feminism. They believe that the upsurge of Islamic *da'wah* and the greater concern on Islamic teaching which is strongly dominated by and favoured to the male by its nature and rules can cause an exploitation and discrimination over women. In Malaysia, Sister in Islam was established to help for the struggle of Muslim woman through the legal procedures from being discriminated by the so-called “conservative religious rules”. According to this belief, even though the revelation is God’s command, the Islamic law is believed to be subject to human errors and mistakes when it deals with the woman’s right.<sup>1317</sup>

## 8.6 The Emergence of the Malay Middle Class Intelligentsias

The Malay middle classes have emerged as a result of the state guided-policy and the pro-Malay affirmative action policy by the Malaysian state in 1970, the New Economic Policy (NEP). Implementation of the NEP impacted on the growth of the middle class Malays in the early 1970s. The process of creating the new middle class among Malays was initiated by the government to rejuvenate the economic dimension of the Malay nationalist agenda which then brought tremendous change in Malay politics and culture

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<sup>1316</sup> Among those to object the JAKIM entertainment guideline is the Chief Executive of Malaysian Film Producers, Suhan Pansha who described that such action would contribute to ethnic disunity. The former Minister, Datuk Zaid Ibrahim agreed that this guideline is seen “as the rule” which can give negative effect to business relate to entertainment. He said that when the country faces many problems, why should JAKIM push to the unneeded rule? This does not give any difference because we already exposed to television, *YouTube*, you cannot stop it”. Another comment was given by Executive Director of Sisters in Islam, Ratna Osman, who question on the need of a family to be split in the concert. It caused negative effect on the Muslims and the Non-Muslims. On the other hand, Tan Sri Mohd Sheriff Mohd Kassim, said that JAKIM has to be realistic and realise that life is not all about religion. He also added that “We cannot achieve our National Transformation Programme’s objective of becoming a high-income country by 2020 if we are continually besieged by all these religious restrictions on our personal life”. See, ‘Pegiat Seni Berbeza Pendapat tentang Panduan JAKIM’, *Utusan Malaysia*, 20 April 2015; ‘Garis Panduan Konsert JAKIM Dapat Bantahan’, *MStar*, 20 April 2015; ‘JAKIM’S Guidelines: Not quite moderate Malaysia’, *New Straits Times*, 22 April 2015.

<sup>1317</sup> Sisters in Islam, have strongly opposed the introduction of an apostasy law. They champion freedom of religion for all Malaysians including Muslims, arguing that the constitution should guarantee freedom of religion, including Muslim rights to choose (and leave) their own faith. Refer to Kikue Hamayotsu, ‘Once a Muslim, always a Muslim: the Politics of State Enforcement of *Syariah* in Contemporary Malaysia’, *South East Asia Research*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 2012, p. 404, pp. 399-412. See also, Abdussalam Muhammad Shukri, Musa Yusuf Owoyemi, ‘Sisters In Islam’s Quest for The Reinterpretation of the Qur’an and Hadith: An Analysis of Their Views on Equality, Women Judges, and Polygamy’, *Kajian Malaysia*, Vol. 32, No.1, 2014, 55–80.



as called by Shamsul A.B in the phrase of “Malay economic nationalism”. Apart of this implication is the rise of educated Malay middle class who turn their life from western orientation and lifestyles to religious life, in the context of the influential Islamic Resurgence.<sup>1318</sup>

Participation of the Malay middle class in the *da'wah* movement has significantly increased which then helps to revive Islamic consciousness and the function of Islam as a system of life in the society. The emergence of these groups could be traced through their active participation in the diverse *da'wah* movements, like ABIM, IKRAM and Jamaat Tabligh; and political parties associated with the Malay ethnic dominant role, PAS and UMNO. The Malay Muslim middle class intelligentsias and preachers also emerge as a dominant group who shapes public worldview on Islam in the mass media, as well as the public spheres and their own followers nationwide. They have received popular public acceptance and have always invited in public religious forum, seminars, conferences and talks throughout the country.

In general, there are five main groups of the middle class Muslim intelligentsias and preachers who emerge to upsurge the Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia.

- 1) The Government's Scholars or *Ustazs* are Muslim intellectuals, are elected by the authority either by the state or federal government, or those who represented Islamic government institutions. They tend to emerge as religious group that stand behind the government policies. They stand neutral and tend not to criticise the government's project on Islam but some of them stand behind the pro-ruling party, UMNO, to support the party efforts for Islamic development in Malaysia. Most of them are University of Azhar (Egypt) graduates who tend to support the ruling party struggle for Islam and the Malays as a backbone of the government. Tan Sri Dr. Mohd. Yusof Md. Noor, Dato' Dasuki Ahmad, Dato' Seri Jamil Khir

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<sup>1318</sup> See for example, Shamsul A.B., 'The Economic Dimension of Malay Nationalism: the Socio-Historical Roots of the New Economic Policy and its Contemporary Implications', *The Developing Economies*, XXXV (3), September 1997, pp. 240-241.

Baharom, Dato' Dr. Mashitah Ibrahim, the late Tan Sri Dr. Hamid Othman, the late Tan Sri Wan Mokhtar Ahmad, the late Brig General Tan Sri Abdul Hamid Zainal Abidin are amongst the pro-government Islamic background leaders who can be classified in this category.<sup>1319</sup>

The ruling party is also supported by Malaysian Intellectual Association, (*Pertubuhan Ilmuan Malaysia*- ILMUAN) which is the non-governmental organisation that consists of young scholars in UMNO. Among the most prominent figures, is Ustaz Dr. Fathul Bari Mat Yahya, son of former Perlis Mufti Datuk Mat Hussin Jahaya.<sup>1320</sup> Senator Dato' Dr. Asyraf Wajdi Dusuki is a

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<sup>1319</sup> Tan Sri Dr. Mohd. Yusof Noor was a Phd. holder from Cairo University of Egypt, 1974 and previously a Dean of Islamic Studies faculty, the National University of Malaysia (UKM). His capability in religious study invited him to be elected as Senator in July 1984 and has been elected Deputy Minister of in the Prime Ministry Department before has been assigned to Minister of the Prime Ministry Department (1987-1990) and Minister of Public Industry (1990-1995). Tan Sri Dr. Mohd. Yusof was elected as member of the High Council of UMNO in four period, 1987-1990, 1990-1993, 1993-1996 and 2000-2003. He was Chairman of FELDA and Chairman of Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia (USIM). He is now a member in the Council of Religious UMNO Bureau 2014 and Chairman of Universiti Islam Malaysia (AIM) and AlHijrah Media Corporation (TV AlHijrah). 'Pindaan Fasal 3.3 Perlembagaan UMNO perlu dilaksana', *Utusan Malaysia*, 3 November 2014; 'DPM gives letter of consent to Universiti Islam Malaysia', *New Straits Times*, 24 July 2014; 'List of Administration Members', *TV AlHijrah Official Website*, 1 February 2014. <http://www.tvalhijrah.com/Info-Korporat/Senarai-Pengurus.aspx>.

The late Tan Sri Dr. Abdul Hamid Othman on the other hand, was the first Malaysian scholarship receiver who pursued study in Islamic Law at Al-Azhar University of Egypt in 1961. He was elected as Chief Manager of Islamic Centre, Department of the Prime Minister; as Deputy Minister in the Prime Ministry Department (1990), before being elected to a Minister in the same department (1995-1999, 1999-2004). In 2001, Tan Sri Abdul Hamid Othman was elected as Religious Advisor to the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad and Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi between 2005-2009. 'Perdana Menteri Umumkan Senarai Kabinet Sembilan Menteri Baru', *Utusan Malaysia*, 11 December 1999, 'Abdul Hamid Othman Meninggal Dunia diserang Angin Ahmar', *Utusan Malaysia*, 24 December 2011.

Tan Sri Wan Mokhtar Ahmad was Chief Minister of the [Malaysian](#) state of [Terengganu](#) from 1974 to 1999. His tenure as Chief Minister and a state assemblyman came to an end at the [1999 election](#), when the [Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party](#) (PAS) took over the control of both the state assembly and chief minister's seat in a landslide victory. Wan Mokhtar contested at the Cukai state seat was defeated by PAS candidate awing Jusoh by 436 votes. "Wan Mokhtar says he is not solely to blame for defeat". *New Straits Times*. 4 December 1999, p. 4.

The late Brig General Tan Sri Abdul Hamid Zainal Abidin was born in Bagan Datoh, Perak, on Feb 20, 1944, Abdul Hamid held many post in the civil service. He held the post of Minister in the Prime Minister's Department from 2001 to 2004 before taking over the chairmanship of MARA from 2004 to 2008. He was also the former Director-General of the Malaysian Islamic Development Department (from 1995 to 2001). He was appointed as senator from 2001 to 2004 and was elected as Parit Buntar member of Parliament during the 11th general election. In 2003, Abdul Hamid was crowned as '*Tokoh Ma'al Hijrah*'. Tan Sri Abdul Hamid died at Insitute Jantung Negara on 31 december 2014 due to the heart complication. The Malaysian Insider, "Former minister Tan Sri Abdul Hamid Zainal Abidin dies - Bernama", 31 December 2014, <http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/malaysia/article/former-minister-tan-sri-abdul-hamid-zainal-abidin-dies-bernama#sthash.Qt63ZL68.dpuf>, Fardy Bungga, 'Tan Sri Abdul Hamid Meninggal Dunia', *Harian Metro*, 31 December 2014. Mejar General (R) Datuk Seri Jamil Khir Baharom is the current Minister of the Prime Minister's Department since 9 April 2009. He was also the former Director of (KAGAT), or (Kor Agama, Angkatan Tentera Malaysia) and was ever invited as speaker at "Forum Perdana Ehwal Islam", at TV1, RTM. A speech text of YB Mejar General Dato' Seri Jamil Khir Bin Hj Baharom (R), Menteri Di Jabatan Perdana Menteri, Majlis Perhimpunan Agensi-Agensi Di Bawah YB Menteri Di Jabatan Perdana Menteri At Auditorium Aras 5, Blok D8, Kompleks D, Pusat Pentadbiran Kerajaan Persekutuan, Wilayah Persekutuan Putrajaya, 11 Jan 2011.

<sup>1320</sup> Young scholars of ILMUAN frequently appear in public representing the young scholars' wing of UMNO. He is frequently invited to give talks and speeches on Islam. Even though he is quite flexible in participating in open debates organized by various organizations, he is still seen as devotedly defending the party in matters relate to Islamic issues. Fathul Bari is also well-known as a young Muslim scholar who vocally expresses his opinion on leadership and *wasatiyyah*. Other than Fathul Bari, ILMUAN has included Dr. Fadlan Mohd Othman as its chairman, while its *Syura* members are Ust. Dr. Sulaiman Nordin, Ust. Dr. Azwira Abdul Aziz, Ust. Dr. Fadlan Mohd Othman, Ust. Dr. Fathul Bari Mat Jahya, Ust. Ahmad Fauzan Yahaya, Ust. Idris Sulaiman, Ust. Asrie Sobri, Ust. Rasul Dahri, Ust. Riduan Rajendra, TH. Isemaail Basri and others. 'Identiti', *Pertubuhan ILMUAN Malaysia*, accessed on April 12, 2013, 1. <http://ilmuanmalaysia.com/tentang-kami/>.

potential young scholar of UMNO and was being elected as member of UMNO High Council in 30 November 2013.<sup>1321</sup>

- 2) Professional Muslim Scholars are a group of moderate Muslim scholars with their Western-professional educated background who intensify religious knowledge and try to integrate modern knowledge with Islam. They emerge as a spokesman of professional Islamic scholars. Some of them have always present papers on Islam and have been elected to assist the government in strengthening policies on Islamic development. Amongst them are Tan Sri Prof. Dr. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, Tan Sri Prof. Dr. Mohd Kamal Hassan, Prof. Emeritus Dato' Dr. Osman Bakar (former Professor of UM), Dato' Prof. Dato' Dr. Yusuf Othman (UKM), Prof. Dr. Abd. Rahman Awang (UKM), Prof. Dato' Nik Mustapha (IKIM), Prof. Datin Azizah (IKIM), and Dato' Dr. Siddiq Fadzil and many others.

Some of these professionals frequently emerge in the popular broadcasting media and television programmes to depict that the beauty of Islamic message and its teaching is compatible with the modern sciences. Those professionals who can be clustered in this group are Prof. Dr. Muhaya Muhammad, Prof. Muhammad Kamil, Associate Prof. Dr. Harlina Haliza and Dr. Danial Zainal Abidin.

- 3) Professional *Ustaz* or "*Protaz*" are moderate Muslim scholars. They come from the Islamic studies background, who are experts and prominent in Islam and poses a professional position in public higher institutions, professional consultants and agencies. Their approach to *da'wah* is practically close to the public and uses the down-to-the earth approach. They are Associate Prof. Dato' Mohd Asri Zainal Abidin (USM), Assistant Prof. Dr. Azharuddin Abdul Rahman (International Islamic University of Malaysia - IIUM and Chairman of *Multaqa Asatizah & Dua'at* - MURSHID), Dr. Zulkifli Mohamad al-Bakri (Mufti of the Federal

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<sup>1321</sup> He is now Deputy Minister of Religious Affairs and a former Director of YADIM, an institution used by the government to support the ruling party's policy on Islam and the Prime Minister concept of *Wasatiyyah*. He is a young expert in Islamic economics and a former President of PKPIM, a Muslim students' platform before joining ABIM. Hakimi Ismail, '9 Ahli MT Lantikan Diumum', *Utusan Malaysia*, 30 November 2013; 'Asyraf Wajdi dan Kui Hian dilantik Senator', *Utusan Malaysia*, 27 May 2014.

Territory and a *Mursyid* of MURSHID), Ustaz Dr. Zahazan (*Telaga Biru*), Ustaz Hj Mohammad Nidzam Abdul Kadir (IIUM), Dato' Dr. Mohd Izhar Ariff Mohd Kashim (UKM), Ustaz Dr. Abdul Basit Abdul Rahman, Associate Prof. Dr. Wifaq Ahmad (USIM), Dr. Maslee Malik (IIUM), and Dr. Nik Salida Suhaila Nik Salleh (USIM).

Most of these professional Malay Muslim scholars are members of Muslim Scholars and Preachers Gathering (*Multaqa Asatizah & Dua'at*- MURSHID). They are amongst popular religious personalities, who are actively involved in *da'wah* activities, and often appear in the electronic media, radio and television stations, that show their continuing support for such spiritual programmes lately. This group is also involved on organizing a series of *wasatīy* conferences and seminars on various issues and subjects concerning *fiqh al-wasatīy* (the moderate Islamic jurisprudence) in faith (*Aqīdah*), politics, economics, and social as well as on women.<sup>1322</sup>

- 4) The Popular *Ustaz* or *Ustazah* – They are groups of popular *ustaz* or *ustazah* who emerge in the public as a result of overwhelming public support on the style and approach of delivering Islamic message. The first group became popular after frequently appearing in the religious-based programmes in the electronic and the mass media. Their moderate approach, relax and light or the unheavy style in delivering the message of *da'wah* has convinced the audience to hear their talk, besides being knowledgeable persons in the subject discussed. Ustaz Dato' Mohd Zawawi Yusoh, Ustazah Dato' Siti Norbahiyah Mahamood, Ustaz Don, Ustaz Haslin Baharim or “Ustaz Bollywood”, Imam Muda Asyraf, Ustazah Norhafizah Musa, Ustaz Pahrol Mohd Joi, Ustaz Zamri (Mantop), Ustaz Syed Norhisham Tuan Padang, Ustaz Umar Mohd Noor, Ustazah Isfadiyah, Ustaz Ismail Kamus, the

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<sup>1322</sup> See also, Mohammad Redzuan Othman, Mashitah Sulaiman, ‘Inculcating The Essence of ‘Wasatiyyah’ in Muslim Society: The State Promotion and Muslim Intelligentsia Responses in Malaysia’, *Al-Shajarah*, Volume 19, No. 2, 2014, pp. 210-211, pp. 173-213.

late Dato' Dr. Haron Din, and the late Mufti of Selangor, Dato' Ishak Baharom, Dato' Dr. Mashitah Ibrahim and Mejar General (retired) Dato' Seri Jamil Khir Baharom (before joining politics) are also amongst the popular religious speakers who always appear and being invited in the religious forum, *Forum Perdana Hal Ehwal Islam* by TV1 in 1990s onwards.

The second group of popular *ustaz* or *ustazah* have additional characteristics of those in the first group. They have their own supporters and adherents and to a certain extent, tend to emerge in the public and belong to Islamic-based political ideology. The rise in popularity of Ustaz Azhar Idrus and Ustaz Muhammad Kazim Elias has started when both emerged in special religious speech programme broadcast by *Astro Oasis*, a paid-basis channel. Ustaz Azhar Idrus was publicised under his own name Ustaz Azhar Idrus and Kemah Keming Ustaz Azhar Idrus.<sup>1323</sup> When he seems to criticise the ruling party and tend to give his personal statements which inclined towards the Islamic political party, PAS, he has been withdrawn from appearing on air representing *Astro* channel. His programme was replaced by independent religious speaker, Ustaz Muhammad Kazim, who then was invited to join UMNO and becoming elected to the post of the High Council of UMNO. Ustaz Muhammad Kazim however, refused to accept the post due to his commitment to be an independent religious speaker.<sup>1324</sup>

- 5) Islamic Motivators and Counsellors. They are also a group of Muslim motivators who manage to merge with their Islamic psychological approach as an alternative to Western-based psychological ideology. They are Dato' Dr. Hassan Ali (before he decided to join politics), Dato' Dr. Fadhilah Khamsah, Dr. Robiah Kulup, Dr. Tengku Ismadi and many others.

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<sup>1323</sup> Interview with Tuan Hj Izelan Basar, on 29 August 2013.

<sup>1324</sup> 'Ustaz Kazim Tolak Jadi MT UMNO', *Sinar Harian*, 4 December 2013; 'Ustaz Kazim Tolak Jawatan Sebagai Ahli MT UMNO', *Utusan Malaysia*, 4 December 2013; 'Ustaz Kazim withdraws from Televised Talks', *The Borneo Post*, 21 March 2015.

Some of these popular Muslim preachers and scholars have also been awarded with the prestigious title of Dato', received the government and authority recognition due to their active participation in *da'wah*. Some of these scholars have been involved in business related to Islamic services and products such as, Dato' Ustaz Hj Md Daud Che Ngah as Executive Chairman of Andalusia Travel & Tours Sdn Bhd. ('*umrah*, *hajj* and Muslim travel agency),<sup>1325</sup> Dato' Ustaz Zawawi Yusoh owner of Eiman Travel & Tours Sdn. Bhd and Itqan Marketing & Services ('*umrah* and *hajj* travel agency)<sup>1326</sup> and Ustaz Dr. Zahazan is Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Telaga Biru Sdn. Bhd. (the religious books publishing house and products),<sup>1327</sup> Dato' Dr. Zulkifli Mohamad al-Bakri as Director, Musyrif *Lajnah* (or unit) of Management and Editing of Pustaka Cahaya Kasturi Sdn. Bhd. (the religious books publishing house),<sup>1328</sup> Ustazah Dato' Siti Norbahiyah Mahamood and her husband Ustaz Wan Akashah Bin Wan Abdul Hamid as Executive Chairman of SNB Kasih Training & Consultancy (religious training and motivation).<sup>1329</sup>

Above all, the Malay middle class has played significant role in inculcating the Islamic awareness in the public spheres in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor as centres of Islamic Resurgence. Zainah Anwar, Executive Director of Sisters in Islam, a Muslim woman activist in Malaysia explains on the reality that there is increasingly significant development in the Islamic religiosity among the Malay middle classes.<sup>1330</sup> According to Zainah, the fact that majority of Muslims in Malaysia, regardless of how westernised

<sup>1325</sup> Perutusan Dato' Ustaz Haji Md Daud Che Ngah, *Official Website of Andalusia Travel and Tours Sdn. Bhd.*, 12 April 2014. <http://www.umrah-ziarah.com/perutusan.php#.VSzj5pP1jBg>.

<sup>1326</sup> See, <http://eimantravel.com/> and <http://ustazmohdzawawiyusoh.blogspot.com/p/profail.html>.

<sup>1327</sup> See Telaga Biru Blogspot at <http://telagabiru-tbsb.blogspot.com/2009/10/majlis-pra-pelancaran-stormreaders.html>.

<sup>1328</sup> The publishing house owned by Zulkifli mostly published his writings on various issues on Islam. It is located at No 7248B, Jalan BBN 1/2A, Putra Nilai, Bandar Baru Nilai, 71800, Nilai, Negeri Sembilan Darul Khusus. See, official blogspot of the publishing house at <http://pustakacahayakasturi.blogspot.com/2013/07/kenali-guru-dan-penulis.html>, and Zulkifli Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/drzulkifliabakri>.

<sup>1329</sup> SNB is located at No. 2, Jalan Mesra Niaga, Taman Mesra, 43000 Kajang, Selangor, Malaysia, see official website of SNB Kasih Training & Consultancy at <http://snbkasih.com/>.

<sup>1330</sup> Her description on the Malay middle class' Islamic awareness was recorded in the interview session with Terry Lane, a reporter of the National Radio of Australian Broadcasting Corporation on August 3, 2003. Zainah said that: "What is very interesting in the Muslim world, unlike in the West and in the Christian world, is that there is a theory that as you modernise, as you develop, religion becomes less important, but in the Muslim world that's not so, and in fact what you have seen in the past 20 or 30 years, was the phenomenon of Islamic revivalism, where middle-class Muslims, upwardly mobile middle-class Muslims, were going back to their faith and becoming more rooted in their faith". Virginia Hooker, 'Personal Expressions of Faith', in Grey Frealy and Virginia Hooker, *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia: A Contemporary Sourcebook*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006, pp. 92-93.

they are in their life, actually do practice the fundamental principles or tenets of faith that underpin the teaching of Islam. They also practise prayer, fasting and performing pilgrimage to Makkah. In her observations, the more exposure the Muslim community in Malaysia to the element westernisation and modernisation as proposed by the West, and more westernised people, the closer they are to the religion of Islam, which is seen as the solution in addressing the current problems. The Malay middle class actually are getting more in touch with their faith.<sup>1331</sup>

Zainah also describes the Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia a very unique and eye-catching phenomenon. She also sees that this development is highly a reverse with the nature of Western society, as they are becoming modern and secular, religion becomes less important in their lives. However, in the Muslim world, especially in Malaysia, as a developing country, a less develop world, which has to face the challenges of transformation from a traditional agricultural society into a modern society, which is undergoing a transformation from rural to urban areas.<sup>1332</sup> Zainah's comment on the middle class' religious tendency has been supported by Tan Sooi Beng who describes that Malaysia's Islamic Resurgence is largely urban and middle-class-based. Local university students especially are ardent to *da'wah* followers.<sup>1333</sup>

The study clearly has shown that the religious tendency among the Malay middle classes in practices, thought and lifestyles are increasing prevalent in the urban areas of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam, which in parallel with the Japanese researcher's outcome, Kikue Hamayotsu, in her 2002's study which has summarised the development of religious consciousness in the Malaysian middle classes and the possible reason for this progress. She explained that the most significant impact of the socio-economic development in Malaysia was a cultural transformation of the urban

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<sup>1331</sup> Virginia Hooker, 'Personal Expressions of Faith', p. 93.

<sup>1332</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>1333</sup> Tan Sooi Beng is Professor in the Department of Music, School of Arts at Universiti Sains Malaysia, Tan Sooi Beng, 'Singing Islamic Modernity: Recreating Nasyid in Malaysia', *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, Issue 8, March 2007, pp. 1-3.

middle-class Muslims who “became far more self-consciously Islamic” and God-conscious in the recent decades.<sup>1334</sup>

Findings of the study contradicted with the 2009 Gallup surveys which has indicated that there is a strong negative relationship between a country's socio-economic status and the religiosity of its citizens. The study which involved 114 countries showed that the religiosity is higher in world's poor nations, but lower among the richest countries. Most of the poorest countries, with the average a per-capita income of USD2,000 and lower, say that religion is important in their daily lives with 95 per cent of the median proportions. On the other hand, the median for the richest countries with average per-capita income higher than USD25,000 is 47 per cent.<sup>1335</sup>

The study has also proven contrast to and in opposite to what has been revealed by Win-Gallup International Global Index of Religiosity and Atheism 2012 which discovered that the poor (low-income) countries score higher religiosity (66 per cent) than the rich (high-income) countries (49 per cent). The study indicated that people in bottom-income class are 17 per cent more religious than those in upper-income class. This study has also shown that religiosity declines as worldly prosperity of individuals rises reverse to what has been discovered by the researcher's study.<sup>1336</sup>

Findings of this research also opposite with Scott Schieman's study on socio-economic status (SES) and beliefs about God's influence in everyday life of the American. Schieman's study has shown that SES is associated negatively with beliefs in divine involvement and control, but religious involvement is related with higher level of

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<sup>1334</sup> Hamayotsu said that: “The rapid industrialisation and modernisation primarily initiated by the developmental UMNO government - especially the implementation of the NEP - produced the ascendant Muslim urban middle class, heavily dependent upon the UMNO leadership. The most significant consequence of this socio-economic development was a cultural change among the Muslims. The increasingly prevalent “middle-class” cultures symbolised by consumerist and materialistic lifestyles played a great role in altering an ethnic-based identity to a more global one. Given higher educational and professional backgrounds, the Muslims also grew more confident in themselves, feeling that they could compete successfully with non-Malays. It has to be noted, however, that despite these modernisation tendencies, urban middle-class Muslims became far more self-consciously Islamic during the last couple of decades”. See, Kikue Hamayotsu, ‘Islam and Nation Building in Southeast Asia: Malaysia and Indonesia in Comparative Perspective’, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 3, Autumn 2002, pp. 353-375.

<sup>1335</sup> Steve Crabtree, ‘Religiosity Highest in World's Poorest Nations,’ *Gallup*, August 31, 2010, p. 1.

<http://www.gallup.com/poll/142727/religiosity-highest-world-poorest-nations.aspx?version=print>.

<sup>1336</sup> The study was conducted in 57 countries with a total of 51,927 individuals interviewed globally. ‘Global Index of Religiosity and Atheism 2012,’ *WIN-Gallup International*, 2012, 5, 1-25.



beliefs in the divine involvement and control.<sup>1337</sup> Therefore, it can be concluded that the current study has revealed different perspective of the Malay Muslims in the urban and modern areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, in contrast to the nature of the Western community who tend to disregard religion as the economic grows and prosperity rises. Therefore, economic prosperity is not the only determinant factor to Islamic religiosity; it helps to increase one's tendency to be near Allah and religion as verified in the findings of the study.<sup>1338</sup>

Islamic thoughts, practices and lifestyles are inter-related aspects of Islamic religiosity. As proven in the study, that Islamic thoughts, practices and lifestyles are significantly connected in a positive correlation among each other. The study indicated that Islamic belief and thoughts must be transformed and translated into religious practices and lifestyles to achieved the real meaning of Islam is the way of life. As mentioned by Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi in his book "*The Islamic Way of Life*", explained that Islam makes no distinction between the spiritual and the secular concepts in life. It aims to shape both individual and society as a whole to ensure that the Kingdom of Allah SWT may really be established on earth. As Islam is the complete way of life it places man as His vicegerent in the universe with a very unique task.<sup>1339</sup>

In general, Islamic Resurgence does positively impact the Malays in the urban areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur as described by Mohammad Redzuan Othman. Since the last two decades, Islam has been practised as "*ad-din*" in the Malay community, and apparently expands with healthy competition in implementing Islamic values in the society which has resulted a significant change of the Malays in their thinking and attitude towards Islam. Dramatic changes can be seen significantly in their sensitivity to the practice of Islam, such as prayer is an obligatory pillar of Islam. In almost all schools and housing areas that are now equipped with the Muslim mosque or

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<sup>1337</sup> Scott Schieman, 'Socioeconomic Status and Beliefs about God's Influence in Everyday Life', *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 71, No. 1, 2010, pp. 25-51.

<sup>1338</sup> Refer to Chapter 4, 5 and 6.

<sup>1339</sup> Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi, *The Islamic Way of Life*, Lahore: UKIM Dakwah Centre, 1960, p. 3.

at least the small prayer room. For some business premises, providing a convenience facility of a *surau* is an attraction to ease customers in performing their prayers. The tendency of the young generations towards Islam and religious life is noticeable and very significant, which is manifested via taste, attitude and personality.<sup>1340</sup>

Islamic Resurgence is an attempt to rejuvenate Islamic practices, values, social order, truly Islam in its holistic framework and forms, which are guided by the Quran and *Sunnah* in the heart of every Muslim. The study revealed that Islamic Resurgence has refreshed the Malay Muslim society to the fundamental teaching of Islam in its creative and innovative way. It is proven throughout the history of Islam in the Malay world that Islam is spread in the Malay society in peace and harmony. Since 1970s, there have been incidents of violence, militancy and extremism throughout the period of Islamic Resurgence, but these cases have been curbed by the government and it only involved a minority of the Malay individuals. Thus, the argument which relates Islamic Resurgence with deprivation, frustration, poverty, class conflict and extremism is questionable.

## **8.7 Conclusion**

Since 1970s, Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia which initially emerges in the urban city of Kuala Lumpur has impacted the Malays at every angle of Muslims' life, physically and spiritually, individually and socially. The impact of the Islamic Resurgence has been deep-rooted in the Malays at all levels of the society. The resurgence has significantly transformed the Malay Muslims character from animism and belief in the shaman to totally submit the Oneness of Allah the Almighty, and from the blurred-lost

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<sup>1340</sup> See, Mohammad Redzuan Othman, *Islam dan Proses Politik Dalam Peradaban Malaysia*, in A. Aziz Deraman dan Rohani Zainal Abidin, *Globalisasi Dan Peradaban Di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2003, pp. 123-145.

identity caused by colonialism and westernisation to strongly attach to the Islamic belief and practices.

The signs of Islamic Resurgence in the urban centre of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam can be seen everywhere. The wearing of the veil by the young women which was regarded as controversial at the early formation period of the Islamic Resurgence is now accustomed in the society and being accepted as part of the Malays' attire. The wearing of *kopiah* or *songkok* with a jacket and executive coat is a common Malay male Muslim middle class's style in dressing. With the Malay's resilience which is always being questioned, comparing to the other ethnic groups, Islamic Resurgence in the 1970s has succeeded to rebuild the Malays with the inner strength and new outlooks. With the refreshment in the worldview of Islam as *ad-din*, Islamic Resurgence at least has attempts to minimise the dramatic impact of the 21<sup>st</sup> century globalisation which could deteriorate their identity and personality.

## CHAPTER 9

### CONCLUSION

Since the early 1970s, the upsurge of Islamic Resurgence in this era has rejuvenated the Malays with a new consciousness on the function of Islam in their life. The resurgence has brought a new paradigm in the holistic worldview about Islam. Islam was practised and understood in the form of a ritual belief or symbol of faith before the resurgence, but the new paradigm and ideal of the Islamic Resurgence has changed the Malays' understanding of Islam to be a comprehensive system of life which governs all spectrums of social, economic and politics of the Muslims.

The resurgence has significantly transformed the Malay Muslims character from animism, belief in spirit, shaman and other supernatural entities, practice of black magic and the un-Islamic traditions to totally submit the Oneness of Allah the Almighty, and attachment with the Islamic belief and practices.<sup>1341</sup> The resurgence has also transformed the Malays from the blurred-lost identity caused by colonialism and westernisation to strongly bind themselves with Islam and proudly define their personality as devoted Muslims.

The process of redefinition of Islam in the thought and practice of the Malay religion has taken place in the early period of the resurgence. Islam has been learnt seriously in the *usrah*. The culture to restudy the religion has turned the young educated Malay students' enthusiasm and passion to deeply comprehend the essence of theoretical belief and understanding of Islam from books which were written by the leading ideologues of Islamic Resurgence of Egypt, Middle Eastern and Indian Sub-Continent. The entrance of PAS in BN in 1973 had managed to negotiate with UMNO

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<sup>1341</sup> See, Mohd Taib Osman, *Malay Folk Beliefs: An Integration of Disparate Elements*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1989, p. 75; See also, Raja Iskandar Raja Halid, 'The Nobat of Perak: A Musical Analysis and its Relation to the Ceremonial Structure of the Palace', M.A. Thesis, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, 2009, p. 31. For detail incident of spirit possession among the rural Malays in Peninsula Malaysia, see, p. 31. Based on her ethnographic observations and analysis from different Malay communities, Ong summarized that "in village life, spirit attacks are most likely to occur when women are in transition from one phase of life to another. On such occasions, they are perceived to be the greatest threat to social norms, and taboos enforce some degree of self-control in order to contain that threat". Ong, Aihwa., 'The Production of Possession: Spirits and the Multinational Corporation in Malaysia', *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Medical Anthropology, Feb., 1988, pp. 28-42.

on the matters pertaining to Islamic policies, although this requires the Islamic party to be pleased with its nationalist style. As a result of PAS's appeal, UMNO agreed to give more recognition to enforce Islamic values in the national policy.

During the second phase of the resurgence, through progressive initiative taken by the state ruling party, UMNO, Islam has been translated into a practical institution of thoughts and rebuilt mechanism for implementing Islam through a well-plan and comprehensive systems in economic, financial, education and politics. Institutionalisation of Islam was a great contribution of Tun Mahathir and it has never become a reality without the forcing demands of the Islamists who have then penetrated the government agencies in assisting the state towards the Islamisation process of nation building.

The significant role played by the Malay Muslim middle classes, especially, the educated individuals, students, teachers, university professors, professionals and businessmen in Kuala Lumpur has invigorated "Religious and God Consciousness" in the urban and rural areas of the country. They have also played an important role in determining the initial direction of the *da'wah* movement which then emerged to be confrontational to the state regime. Even though at the early phase of the resurgence, university students extremely acted to mobilise religious consciousness among the campus circle, later it gave significant impact on the active participation in *da'wah* by the Islamic movements through ABIM, PAS, Al-Arqam, Jamaat *Tabligh*, and JIM and the then IKRAM which were steered by well-educated Malay Muslim middle classes.

The Malay middle classes do not only lead and assist to instill the content the Islamic Resurgence in the form of conducting programmes, seminars and Islamic trainings that give space to a broader meaning and understanding of Islam, but also act as a forcing group to the status quo in the implementation and restoration of Islam. According to this belief, Islam needs to be placed at every corner of Muslims' life, as it is not just constituted to be the religion of the state that has been specified according to the Malaysian

Constitution, but also the spirit of religious consciousness need to be regenerated at various levels of individuals, families, communities and nationwide. The role of the middle class continues to be an intelligence brainpower and activists of the current prominent Islamic *da'wah* movements and organisations centred in at Kuala Lumpur and Selangor.

The Malay Muslim middle class who has actively participated in Islamic organisations and activities have shown their dedication to practise Islam. Their involvement in *da'wah* and contribution in their profession which is believed as part of *'Ibādah* has given a very significant impact on their Islamic thoughts, commitment, religious practices and lifestyles. The Malay low-income class conversely has shown a fairly moderate level in their religious activities which would also affected their commitment and practice of the religion. The low-income class commitment in religious duties depends on the atmosphere and surrounding where they live in, self-awareness, attachment with religious institution, family background, economic stability, and the nature of work.

Majority of the Malay respondents regardless of the household income and social classes have acquired a high level of thoughts in the pillars of Islamic belief (the pillars of *Imān*), Islamic thoughts and their perception on many issues related to Islam in Malaysia. The low-income class however, scores lower than the upper-middle and middle-middle income in these aspects. The study has shown that the educational background and the process of knowledge development are very important elements to develop the Malay Muslims' understanding of the Islamic faith and thoughts.

The implementation of *hudūd* law and the protection of the Malay Muslim right in the issue of using the word Allah by the non-Muslim remains to be a major issue which concerned the Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, parallel with the recent Muslim progress and political struggle at the national level. The Malays, regardless of income disparity and political affiliation, agree with the role of the government and its agencies through JAKIM, IKIM, just to name a few, to expand the role of Islam in the public spheres but they are still divided into various groups when it comes to matter that deals

with politics. In brief, Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur can be categorised according to political affiliation, with some attaching themselves to politics while others are excused individuals.

In terms of Islamic practices, five elements have been traced to contribute to the individual's religious practices and obligations. The findings of the study have indicated that individual's 1) belief in *syahādah*, 2) awareness, efforts and attitude towards religious obligations, 3) attachment with Islamic-based organisations 4) efforts to study Islam and 5) adopting Islamic culture and environment at home and everywhere can help to increase the Malay Muslims' tendency towards increasing their religious practices and obligations. All these aspects are positively associated with the Malays' self-determination as a pious Muslim that they believe could reach the level of *taqwā* or "God Consciousness".

Family concern on the religious education and obligation is traced to be a main contributing factor of the Malay Muslims' commitment religion. The study has revealed that regular attendance to religious classes could encourage someone to perform others optional religious practices, e.g. reciting the Quran, efforts to increase worshipping to Allah SWT, optional prayers, fasting and giving *sadāqah*, using Arabic terms and engaging in *da'wah* activities. Therefore, the parental role is significant for the reason that they are the first social agent who can provide a basis for religious education, nurture good values and principles; and educate their children with the Islamic constructive culture and positive atmosphere.

The study has also shown that greater involvement in *da'wah* activities have contributed to the increase efforts in Islamic obligatory practices, the daily use of the Arabic terms, the frequency of attending the religious knowledge gathering (*usrah*, talks) and the practice the *do'a*, *dhikr* and *ma'thurat* to be close to Allah. These religious observations and practices are amongst customary practices which are regarded as a part of training (*tarbiyyah*) in the *da'wah* movements by the Islamists.

This study has also proven that Islamic lifestyles are significantly correlated with positive relationship with Islamic thought and practices, attending the religious programmes and attachment with *da'wah* activities. In other words, Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism rise as the Islamic practices, thoughts, attending in the religious programmes and involving in *da'wah* activities increase. The study has proven that the Malay Muslim's lifestyles is a reflection of what he or she believes, what he or she does as believer and his or her effort to increase religious obligations and knowledge about Islam.

In sum, the study has revealed that the Islamic practices are higher in the Malay middle and upper-middle income classes, but lower among the Malay low-income classes. The low-income however, can still score higher in Islamic thoughts and lifestyles although lesser than the two groups of the Malay middle income earners. For that reason, economic status and household income are not the only determinant factors or indicators which help to increase a Muslim's level in Islamic thought, practices and life styles. Islamic religiosity can also be contributed by self-awareness, belief in Islamic perfect way of life, personal attachment with Islamic *da'wah* organisations and institutions, family background and support, supportive public spheres, the role of the mass media and the dynamic efforts of the government agencies, the NGOs and the Islamic political parties as shown in the study.

Qualitative data and quantitative statistical test of the study clearly indicated that there are positive relationships between efforts of various Islamic organisations as the agents of Islamic Resurgence and respondents' score in Islamic thoughts, Islamic practices and Islamic lifestyles, physical appearance and consumerism; the public spheres in Malaysia and factors of individual religiosity. In other words, the increase in the efforts to revival Islamic awareness in Malaysian society especially in the urban areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur contributes to increase Malay Muslims' Islamic thoughts, practices, and lifestyles. These efforts can also enlarge the function of Islam in



the public spheres and increase religiosity of the individual personally and Muslims at large.

Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia is more domestic by its cause, intensely prompted by the urban Malay Muslims' tendency to comprehend and revert to the holistic framework of Islam, the paradigm shift for Muslim identity and solutions, the political will of the Islamisation in the state policy, the emergence of charismatic leadership and the centralisation of *da'wah* activities in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. The internal factors have also been stimulated by external factors in response to Muslims progress in the Islamic world. These external factors are the spread of Islamic literatures and thoughts from Middle Eastern and Indian Sub-Continent, the role of returning overseas Malay students; the impact of Arab-Israeli War 1967 and the Iranian Revolution; and participation in the international organisations.

Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam, Selangor are centres of Islamic cultural activities and discourse, in addition to its function as the hearts of federal and the state administration in which there are many Muslim scholars or *ulama'*, intelligentsias, professionals, Islamic organisations and *da'wah* movements that centralise their main activities in these densely populated urban cities. Based on the historical progress and development of Islam in the urban city of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor, the study has proven that both cities are capitals of Islamic Resurgence and culture.

At the social level, the signs of the Islamic Resurgence through "the socialisation of Islamic culture" can be clearly seen at the public spheres. Mosque and *surau* actively function as community hubs or one stop centres which provide social, health, education, training, recreation, religious, and welfare and accommodation services for Muslims. With the support received from the local community, the television stations and electronic media, most of the mosques and *surau* which are located in urban areas of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur actively conducted daily religious classes for children, adolescents and adults.

Dramatic changes can be seen significantly in the Malay sensitivity to the practice of Islam, such as; prayer is an obligatory pillar of Islam. The mosques and *surau* can be easily found everywhere in almost every shopping complex, the oil station, the rest area of the highways, school and housing area that are now facilitated with the Muslim mosque or at least the small prayer house. Mosque attendance is very encouraging at major city of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam, but is considered fairly less satisfied at the village sub urban areas of Selangor. The mosque attendees in the urban areas are obviously among young adults, adults, the middle-aged and older adults besides encouraging attendance of adolescents (teenagers) and children. In the suburban area and small village, the middle-aged and older adults' attendance is noticeable than adults and young adults.

The Malays are also concerned on the important of religious education on their children. Children have been educated to pray at the *surau* and the mosque at very young age. Malay children are normally sent by their parent to *tahfīz*, *tahsīn solāt* (improving the quality of prayer), and Quranic or KAFA classes, Islamic summer camp and training during school holiday to closely attach themselves to the religion. The practice of *sadāqah* (donation) among the Malay Muslims in particular, the weekly *Jumaat* and mosque collections are overwhelming in the urban areas and are encouraging at the suburban areas.

Religious activities are now becoming more apparent everywhere in the public spheres of the city centres of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam. The teaching of Islam is being taught not just at the *surau* and the mosques, but also conducted at the government and private offices and open space of public areas. Information on Islam can be accessed and also offered by broadcasting media, television and radio programmes, online services such as internet, *WhatsApp*, *Twitter*, *Facebook* and *YouTube*.

Islamisation of knowledge which has been introduced by the state since 1980s expands the national education system. With the great contribution of the Muslim intellectuals, such as Ismail R. al-Faruqi of International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT of USA), Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, Abdul Hamid A. AbuSulayman, and Ahmad Ibrahim of the International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) and many more are attempts to Islamise various disciplines of knowledge. If not all disciplines are being Islamised through the introduction of KBSR and KBSM, the Philosophy of National Education and the Philosophy of Islamic Education with the initiative taken by the Ministry of Education, at least many of knowledge disciplines have been attached with the noble religious and universal values. The introduction of J-QAF in 2005 would strengthen and enhance the Malay Muslim pupils in particular, with the Quranic recitation, Islamic studies and Arabic language. The progressive development of the private Islamic-oriented kindergartens or pre-schools, schools and colleges in Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam or Klang Valley could also provide an alternative education to the government assisted-religious mainstream education.

The emergence of the Islamic popular cultures in the form of *nasyīd* or Islamic songs, drama and films, the reality television shows have significantly impacted of Malay Muslims in Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam. The growth in the production the reality television shows have won widespread interest locally and globally on Malaysian religious phenomenon when these programmes emerged in a very versatile and dynamic approach of *da'wah* for searching the ideal and practical personality of the preachers or *da'i* and the young Imam. The rise of the migrated artists, television celebrities and personalities, the instant popular *ustaz* and *ustazah* who then involved in *da'wah* and of products of reality television shows is overwhelming too. Many products of *da'wah* emerge in a creative and innovative ways of presentation reflowering the broadcasting stations, the printed and electronic media.

Numerous Islamic organisations and programmes either initiated by the government, NGOs and private agencies have emerged to produce numbers of dedicated preachers in Islamic teaching. Just to mention some of these efforts by JAKIM, IKIM, YADIM, PERKIM, ABIM, IKRAM, Astro Oasis, TV3, TV9, TV Al-Hijrah and TV1 which consistently manage to upsurge numbers of potential devoted preachers (*dai'e*) who sincerely strive and work for the sake of the *ummah* and Islam. Initiative to produce such reality television programmes including, *Imam Muda*, *Pencetus Ummah*, *Ustazah Pilihan*, *Solehah*, *Da'i-Pendakwah Milenia* and *Adik-Adikku* to be a platform to create such “an instant *da'i*” does not devastate the original intention of the Muslim producers to produce a versatile contemporary *da'i* who can espouse with the reality of modern needs in Islamic *da'wah* at all situations, places and times.

The promotion of the *Halāl* Hub, *halāl* products and Muslim attires was greatly encouraged by the state authority with an active participation of the Malay middle class entrepreneurs. Many Muslim products have also emerged which give Muslims in Malaysia a very good reputation as Muslim trademarks among Muslim countries at global market. Islamic banking and finance, Islamic *Takāful*, *al-Rahnu*, Islamic health centres, Islamic universities and colleges, Islamic films and dramas, Islam rhythm, *halāl* products are increasing and receiving a high demand in the national market. Gambling, drinking alcohol and the illegal sexual activities, eating in the fasting month of *Ramadhan* are gazetted prohibited among Muslims by the state government.<sup>1342</sup>

Many symbols of tangible outcomes of the Islamic Resurgence feature the religious commitment at the individual level. The Malays in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur have shown their religious inclinations in individual religious practices, whether in the form of specific worships (in performing prayer, fasting, almsgiving, pilgrimage to Makkah), or even in the broader meaning of worship which is expanded

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<sup>1342</sup> See, *Jasri Jamal, Noryati Anuar*, 'Undang-Undang Kawalan Penjualan Arak Oleh Pihak Berkuasa Tempatan: Kajian Khusus Di Negeri Selangor Darul Ehsan', *Kanun*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2012, p. 213-239; Mohd. Shauki Abd Majid, 'Kerajaan tidak menghalalkan judi dan arak', *Utusan Malaysia*, 24 May 2010.

in the field of education, economic, and social welfare and politics. The Malays are well-known with their dedication, effort and politeness in performing *hajj* to Makkah. Through the establishment of *Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji* (LUTH), Malaysia has also been recognised as the best Muslim country in the management of pilgrims every year.

The practice of Islamic teaching can be seen at the individual level. *Assalamu'alaikum* is a common greeting among Muslims. Recitation of the Quranic verses becomes inaugural opening practice in the official government and organisations ceremony. Recitation of *Basmallah* and *al-Fātihah* befits regular practices of individuals before beginning their work. In brief, the Islamic awareness is so obvious amongst the Malay middle classes and has slightly affected the low-income earners who are attached to the Islamic institutions, *da'wah* activities and religious programmes and possessed a fairly good religious background.

The Malay's awareness to turn to fundamental teaching of religion can also be observed through the visible physical appearance which is so apparent in the public. The visible symbols of Islamic Resurgence in the urban centre of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam can be seen everywhere. The wearing of headscarves and long dresses or *abāyā* by Muslim women, dressing of *songkok* or *kopiah* has clearly demonstrated the level of awareness among the Malay Muslim towards religion in rapidly developing areas of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam.

The wearing of the veil by the young women which has been regarded as controversial during the early formation period of the Islamic Resurgence is now accustomed in the society and being accepted as part of the Malays' attires. If in the 1980s, about 60 to 70 per cent of all Muslim females above adolescence wore such apparel, now the average is about 90 to 95 per cent of Malay Muslim women cover up their hair and the whole body (*'aurah*) and they are considered odd and weird person if they do not cover it. The wearing of *kopiah* or *songkok* with jacket and executive coat is

not strange among Malay male Muslim middle classes in their dressing style. They also feel proud to put Islamic stickers on car window as it may depict Islamic identity and symbols.<sup>1343</sup>

The rapid growth of *Muslimah* fashion in Malaysia has brought Islamic fashion to reach its own prestige and respect at the national, regional and the international levels. Islamic Fashion Festival (IFF) was initially launched at Kuala Lumpur in 2006 continued to be presented in a number of big cities with the aim to promote Islamic moderation and towards making Kuala Lumpur the Islamic fashion capital of the world.

Institutionalisation of Islam and its policy are the major contribution of the government to the Islamic Resurgence the post-1970s at the state level which also supports Malaysia's role in the subject of Islam among Muslim countries at the international level. The establishment of Islamic bank, Islamic financial system and Islamic university manage to foster Islamic policy which grasps the ideal of Islamic way of life in a practical, systematic and effective ways. Islamic institutions and organisations function as the state, government and organisational implementation and monitoring mechanism for Islam which gives the religion an uplift at the social, state and global arena. The Malay middle classes are undeniably active in leading seminars, forums, trainings and discourses on Islam at the national and the global stages. Through their involvement in Islamic movements and political parties the middle classes manage to coordinate close engagement with the prominent leaders and thinkers of Islamic movement within the Muslim world.

The urban religious phenomenon among the Malay middle classes has shown that these prestigious groups have passed through a very dynamic development in the challenging era of globalisation currently. With the challenges of a globalised world, especially western hegemony and domination in different forms of ideologies, cultures and the advancement of

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<sup>1343</sup> Refer to Chapter 8, note 101. See, for example, several pictures which demonstrated the middle classes' tendency to show their religious identity when they hang Islamic-features stickers at their car. Refer to Appendix G.

technology as well as the process of modernisation have caused the psychological impact on the Malays urban community. This urban community tends to see the religion of Islam as the main axis element that reinforces and strengthens their identity and faith in life. The Malay middle classes do not reject western's project of progress and modernisation, but apply and benefit them selectively. For this group, Islam provides the sources of human guidance and alternative to create "a well-balanced sustainable society" in which that concept has failed to be served through the Western's model of development and the modern invention.

Above all reflecting the results of many efforts by the agents of the Islamic Resurgence has dramatically motivated the Malays inclination in the so-called "God-Consciousness" and religious life. The agents of Islamic Resurgence involves the government or the ruling party, UMNO, the Islamic political party, PAS; the Islamic NGOs such as ABIM and IKRAM, private agencies, students, the educated middle classes, professionals and individuals either through their collective or individual efforts do contribute to an attempt to revive the struggle for Islam in the public space of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, in particular and Malaysia, generally.

Islamic Resurgence is a continuous process of social religious development as the Muslims endeavour to revitalise Islamic values, practices and social order, with Islam in its holistic structure and form, guided by the Quran and Sunnah in the life of every Muslim. In the context of Malaysian history, Islamic Resurgence in the post of 1970s refreshes the Malay Muslim society to the fundamental teaching of Islam in its creative and innovative ways. It is also proven throughout the history of Islam in the Malay world, that Islam is spread and presented in the Malay society in peace and harmony.

The rising tendency of the Malay Muslims towards religious life and identity cannot be considered that the level of violence, committing in the risk activities and crime cases has a tendency to decrease. The increase level of crime and violence does involve the multi-dimensional structure of modern society and does relate with other factors such as, security mechanism, economic and social conditions as well as political

stability. Therefore, it is also suggested that the study has to relate Islamic religiosity with the involvement in the risk activities in the future.

As proven through historical data, experts in the study have also agreed that Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia cannot be related with the incident of deprivation, frustration, and poverty; as well as class conflict as the Islamic Resurgence has been facilitated by sincere tendency of Malay Muslim to revert to the fundamental teaching of Islam and other internal and external influences which contribute to the phenomena. Despite the fact that, since 1970s there have been many incidents of militancy and extremism throughout the period of Islamic Resurgence. These cases, however, only involved a minority of the Malay individuals and can be handled under a close observation by the government through confrontational and accommodative approaches even though these actions mostly offended the Islamists. Therefore, the argument that relates Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia with class conflict, deprivation, frustration, poverty, and extremism can be debatable. Esposito's observations on the manifestation and characteristics of the Islamic Resurgence have proven to match what have been revealed in the findings of the study.<sup>1344</sup>

This study has revealed a comparative level of religiosity between the Malays middle and low-income classes in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur. As the Malay middle classes show their high level of religiosity in terms of thoughts and belief, practices and lifestyles, the low-income classes' level of religiosity nevertheless, is depended on their self-awareness, participation in religious activities and the extended factor of family background.

The study has shown that the educational aspect, in particular the knowledge development process is a very important element to improve the Malay Muslims' understanding of the Islamic faith, thoughts and practices. Although the basic tenets of Islam is

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<sup>1344</sup> Esposito described The resurgence is reflected in an increased emphasis on religious observances (mosque attendance, fasting during *Ramadhan*, abstention from alcohol and gambling), a new vitality in Sufism, the proliferation of religious literature, television and radio programmes, and audiocassettes, the growth of new Islamic associations committed to socio-religious reform, and the reassertion of Islam in Muslim politics." John L. Esposito, *The Straight Path*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 156.



already understood by the Malays, because most of them have been exposed to the fundamental teaching of Islam and the Quranic classes since the early ages, the application of such understanding of faith must be refined through the development of human mind in the continuous enhancement programmes of religious knowledge. It is important to comprehend the needs of man towards religion and the objective of human life in this world in particular, the compatibility of Islam with the current context of the modern times, especially when it deals with politics and contemporary dynamic practice of democracy in Muslims politics.

This study has also revealed that economic status does not guarantee a Muslim's position in terms of faith and thoughts, practices and lifestyles in accordance with Islam. However, the economic aspects can help someone looking for opportunities to explore the Islamic teachings and to strengthen his or her faith. Economic stability can help the individual to spend his free time to study Islam, whether in the form of religious enhancement programmes organised by the mosque, the government Islamic organisations, and Islamic *da'wah* organisations, or to study Islam from a qualified religious teacher individually or in group.

In order to boost the low-income classes' participation in the Islamic-based activities and programmes these recommendations are suggested: First, allocate religious class for the low-incomes for free to allow greater participations of these groups in such activity. Door-to-door and face-to-face approaches are preferable. Second, religious programmes should be publicised through practical and systematic approaches, such as announcement at the bill board, during the Friday prayer, newsletter or leaflet publication and the personal face-to-face meeting. If the newsletter or pamphlet is used, it must be placed at the strategic location or can be spread through community's representative.

Third, mosque at each *qariah* or residence must utilise its resources and public funds to generate more religious activities for free for the sake of the local community.

Amongst suggested compulsory programmes are the Quranic and *fardu 'ain* classes for children and adults because these two classes are basic in the Islamic teaching. Other extended sciences of Islam includes *Tafsīr*, *al-Hadith*, Islamic History, Islamic *Fiqh*, *Aqīdah* (faith) and current issues dealing with Muslims and their practices should be included and integrated in the public discourse. These religious classes can be organised on the daily basis and at the weekend to allow vast participation from the publics.

Fourth, the mosque and *surau* organising committees should review procedure of using their services. These services include inviting the mosque and *surau*'s members for prayer, reciting *do'a* and *tahlīl* as well as managing the corpse; renting the mosques' equipment and space or room; and inviting *imām* to solemnise the bride and groom in wedding ceremony. The services must be customer friendly and approachable to attract Muslims joining the religious programmes.

Considering on the importance of strengthening the aspect of *Aqīdah* and Islamic thoughts in the Malay Muslim urban community in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, this study proposes that the practical process of continuing education needs to be made by the federal and local authorities, such as by the mosque committee member at all levels, schools, universities, religious departments of each state and the government Islamic organisations and the *da'wah* NGOs to strengthen the Malay Muslims' faith and Islamic thinking. The authority of Islamic affairs should give their suggestions and encouragement (with firmness and endorsement) that every department of the government or the private agency should promote discussions and talks on religion at least once every two weeks for the purpose of enlightenment about issues pertaining to Islamic faith and thoughts.

This study reveals the efforts of many Islamic organisations towards blossoming Islamic Resurgence in the urban area of Selangor and Kuala Lumpur, and its impact on the religiosity of the Malay middle and low-income classes Islamic thoughts, practices and lifestyles; however few aspects of the resurgence can also take into consideration

for future research. It is suggested that further research on the impact of the Islamic Resurgence on different socioeconomic status and locality such as, urban and rural areas across regional geo-political locations to be conducted. For example, comparative study on the religiosity of the Malays or the Muslims from different social classes, and between the east-coast, the north and the south parts of Peninsular Malaysia as well as Sabah and Sarawak; and between the rural and urban areas can be considered to review different perspectives of the impacts of the resurgence on Muslims in Malaysia.

It is also recommended that the in-depth study on the perception of the low-income class towards the efforts of many Islamic organisations to create the so-called “Islamic awareness” in the public spheres and its relation to their religiosity to be conducted in the future. A comprehensive instrument of Islamic religiosity which integrates religious cognitive, behaviour and lifestyles (experiences) dimensions mixes with positive and negative elements of religiosity is also suggested to the current study on Islamic religiosity.

Islam is believed to be most powerful, deeply touched and influential forces and faith in the Malay community of Malaysia over centuries. Islam has shaped the Malay’s worldview, belief, personality, identity and resilience to be devoted Muslim, besides the practice of the Malay customs which is always in line with the *syarī’ah*. Islam has also moulded the Malay relationship with other Muslim, the non-Muslim, and other creatures, the earth and towards Allah. Whatever condition and situation faced by the Malays, Islam is always believed to be the best solution for their life. Like the middle-income classes, the low-income class also find that religion of Islam is the best return when they deal with problems and challenges of life.

The recent development of Islam with the progressive encouraging support by the state authority helps to boost more Islamic space and opportunity in the public. In short, the progress of Islam nowadays is of the result of endeavours initiated by the energetic role of the Malay Islamic-based organisations such as UMNO, PAS, ABIM and

IKRAM; Islamic organisations, Islamic *da'wah* movements of Jamaat Tabligh and others. The dynamic development of Islam in Malaysia, particularly in the urban cities of Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam has placed Malaysia to be the role model, together with Turkey, among Muslim World attributable to its moderate approach in managing Islamic development, politics and democracy.

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*Buletin Bangi*

*Buletin FATWA*

*Dakwah*

*Fesyen Hijab*

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*Harian Metro*

*Jakarta Post*

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## **Interviews**

### **Experts**

Interview with Tan Sri Professor Dr Mohd Kamal Hassan, at ISTAC, International Islamic University of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, at 4.10 pm-7.10 pm, on 28 May 2013.

Interview with Professor Datuk Paduka Mohammad Bin Abu Bakar, at Dataran Sastera, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, at 4.20 pm, on 14 September 2012.

Interview with Professor Dato' Dr Ismail Ibrahim, at Majlis Universiti Islam Malaysia, Bangi Selangor, at 10.30am, on 13 September 2013. Professor Dato' Dr Ismail is Chairman of the Baitulmal's Professional Institute, the first Director of IKIM.

Interview with Professor Dr. Mohd Noor bin Nawawi, at Centre for Graduates Studies, University of Selangor, Shah Alam, Selangor. Second interview was conducted on 12 July 2013, 10.00am. Professor Dr. Mohd Noor is Dean of Centre for Graduates Studies, University of Selangor (UNISEL).

Interview with Professor Dr Badlihasham Mohd Nasir, at the Department of Da'wah and Leadership, Faculty of Islamic Studies, the National University of Malaysia, at 9.05 am, on 15 January 2013.

Interview with Dato Dr. Siddiq Fadzil, at Kolej Darul Hikmah Kajang, Selangor, at 11.00 am, on 9 October 2012.

## **Leaders**

Interview with YBhg. Tun Dr. Mahathir Bin Mohamad, at Perdana Leadership Foundation, Putrajaya, on 10 April 2013. Tun Dr. Mahathir is a former Prime Minister of Malaysia and President of UMNO.

Interview with Dato' Mohd Nakhaie Ahmad, at PERKIM's Building, KL Chairman of PERKIM for the Federal Territory, on 28 June 2013.

Interview with Senator Dato Dr. Asyraf Wajdi Hj Dusuki, at The Foundation of Islamic Dakwah of Malaysia YADIM (*Yayasan Dakwah Islamiah Malaysia*), Kuala Lumpur, at 10.00am on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2014. Dato Dr. Asyraf is Senator of the House of Senate (*Dewan Negara*), Member of the High Council of UMNO, Deputy Minister in the Department of Prime Minister.

Interview with Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim, at PKR Headquarter, Damansara, Petaling Jaya Selangor, 20 November 2013. Dato Seri Anwar Ibrahim is a former President of ABIM, Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, currently as Leader of the Opposition in Malaysian Parliament.

Interview with Dato Dr. Siddiq Fadzil, at Kolej Darul Hikmah Kajang, Selangor, on 9 October 2012. Dato Dr. Siddiq is a former President of ABIM.

Interview with Dr Abdul Halim Muhammadi, at 13B Lot 2191, Kg Teras Jernang, Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor, at 10.00am on 12 June 2013. (A former Vice President of ABIM).

Interview with Dr Rumaizuddin Ghazali, at Faculty of Leadership and Management, Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia, Bandar Baru Nilai, Negeri Sembilan, on 7 May 2012. Dr Rumaizuddin is a former Vice President of ABIM.

Interview with Prof Dr Razali Nawawi, at Akademi Quran Medik, Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor, on 10 May 2012. Prof Dr Razali is the First President of ABIM.

Interview with Tuan Hj Ahmad Azam Abdul Rahman at Anjung Rahmat, Batu 10, Gombak Selangor, on 26 August 2013. Hj Ahmad Azam is a former President of ABIM.

Interview with Ustaz Dr Farid Sheikh Hj Ahmad, at IKRAM' Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor, on 10 January 2013. Ustaz Dr Farid is President of Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM).

Interview with Ustaz Tajul Ariffin Che Zakaria, at IKRAM' Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor, on 17 June 2013. Ustaz Tajul Ariffin is Tarbiah Committee, Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM).

Interview with Hj Zaid Kamaruddin, at IKRAM's Headquarter, Taman Sungai Besi Indah, Seri Kembangan, Selangor, on 26 Sept 2012. Second Interview was conducted on 10 January 2013. Hj Zaid Kamaruddin is Vice President of Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM), a former the Secretary General of IKRAM, and a former President of Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM).

Interview with Ustaz Alias Othman, at 59, Jalan Dato Keramat 3, Dato Keramat, K. Lumpur, on 25 June 2013. Ustaz Alias is Committee of Disciplinary Council of

Pertubuhan IKRAM Malaysia (IKRAM) (*Lembaga Timbang Tara*) and ex-Vice President of Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM).

Interview with Tuan Hj Saari Sungip, at No. 42, Jalan 6, Taman Sri Ukay, Ampang, Selangor, on 24 June 2013. Tuan Hj Saari is PAS's Selangor State Assemblyman, (Hulu Kelang), First President of Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM) and a former Selangor Chief Information of PAS.

Interview with Tuan Hj Nicholas Sylvester, at Hidayah Centre, Taman Melawati, K. Lumpur, on 18 June 2013. Tuan Hj Nicholas is Da'wah Committee of IKRAM).

Interview with Dato Seri Hj Abdul Hadi Awang, at PAS's Headquarter, Jalan Raja Laut, Kuala Lumpur, on 10 June 2013. Hj Abdul Hadi is President of the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) and a former Chief of ABIM for Terengganu's Branch.

Interview with Dato' Dr. Haron Din, at No. 3, Bandar Baru Bangi, on 3 Disember 2012. Dato' Dr. Haron Din is Spiritual Leader of PAS and a former Vice General Spiritual Leader of PAS (*Timbalan Mursyidul Am PAS*).

Interview with YB Dr Hj Abd Rani Osman, at office of State Assemblyman N-42 Meru, No. 8G, Jalan Limau Kasturi, Taman Kiyai Ridzuan, Batu 7, Jalan Meru, 41050 Klang, Selangor, on 31 July 2013. Dr Hj Abd Rani is PAS's Selangor State Assemblyman for Meru, Klang Selangor and former Selangor PAS's Commissioner.

Interview with Tuan Hj Shafie Ngah, at office of Bangi Selangor State Assemblyman (ADUN), Seksyen 7, 43650 Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor, on 7 November 2013. Hj Shafie is PAS's Selangor State Assemblyman, Bangi 2013-now, Vice Speaker of Selangor State Assembly, Leader and Middle Class.

### **The Malay Middle-Income**

Interview with Tuan Hj Mohd Anwar Tahir, at Coffee Bean, Subang Parade, Subang Jaya, Selangor, on 14 May 2013. Hj Mohd Anwar is a former Secretary General of ABIM and PAS's General Committee.

Interview with Prof. Dr. Azimi Hamzah, at Institute of Social Sciences Studies (IPSAS), Universiti Putra Malaysia, on 13 June 2013. Dr. Azimi is a former Vice Director, Institute of Social Sciences Studies (IPSAS), Universiti Putra Malaysia and member of Jamaah Tablighi.

Interview with Tuan Hj Saari Sungip, at No. 42, Jalan 6, Taman Sri Ukay, Ampang, Selangor, on 24 June 2013. Tuan Hj Saari is PAS's Selangor State Assemblyman, (Hulu Kelang), First President of Pertubuhan Jamaah Islah Malaysia (JIM) and a former Selangor Chief Information of PAS.

Interview with Adjuat Prof. Dato' Dr Ghazali Dato' Yusoff, at Academy of Malay Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, on 2 September 2013. Dato' Dr Ghazali is Executive Chairman Nusatek Sdn Bhd., Malay Middle Class.

Interview with Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor bin Nawawi, at Centre for Graduates Studies, Universiti Selangor, Shah Alam Campus, Jalan Zirkon A 7/A, Seksyen 7, 40000, Shah Alam, Selangor, on 8 July 2013. Second interview was conducted on 12 July

2013. Prof. Dr. Mohd Noor is Dean of Centre for Graduates Studies, UNISEL and Vice President of ABIM (International Relations) - 1995-1997.

Interview with Prof Dato' Dr Mohd Yusof Hj Othman, at Institute of Civilizational Islam, National University of Malaysia, Selangor, on 14 November 2013. Prof Dato' Dr Mohd Yusof is Director, Institute of Civilizational Islam, National University of Malaysia, Government Servant, Middle Class.

Interview with Prof Dato' Ir. Dr Azhari Bin Md. Salleh, at Perdana School of Science, Technology and Innovation Policy, UTM International Campus, Jalan Semarak 54100 Kuala Lumpur, on 20 November 2013. Prof Dato' Ir. Dr Azhari is Professor, Perdana School of Science, Technology and Innovation Policy, UTM, Government Servant, Middle Class.

Interview with Dr. Shafie Abu Bakar, at Sekretariat Bangi Bandar Ilmu, No. 8 Jalan 1/4, 43650 Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor, on 5 July 2013. Dr. Shafie is a former PAS's Selangor State Assemblyman, (Kajang 1999-2004 and Bangi 2008-2013), President of PADAT and Chairman of the Mosque of al-Umm, Bandar Baru Bangi.

Interview with Prof. Dr. Hj. Mujaini bin Tarimin, at Universiti Selangor, Shah Alam Campus, Selangor, on 12 July 2013. Prof. Dr. Hj. Mujaini is Dean of Faculty of Education & Social Sciences, Universiti Selangor, Senior Fellow, Center for Islamic Thoughts and Understanding, UiTM Shah Alam and the Selangor Fatwa member, 2012-2014.

Interview with Dr. Ghazali Basri, at Akademi Kajian Ketamadunan, Kolej Darul Hikmah, Sungai Ramal Dalam, Kajang, Selangor, on 15 July 2013. Dr. Ghazali is Director of Academy of Civilizational Studies, Darul Hikmah College, Kajang, Selangor, a Former Associate Professor, the National University of Malaysia and Universiti Putra Malaysia.

Interview with Tuan Hj Ahmad bin Rahmat, at 50, Jalan Rahim Kajai, Taman Tun Dr. Ismail, 60000 Kuala Lumpur, on 16 November 2013. Tuan Hj Ahmad is a Former-General Manager of Petronas, Sarawak Branch, KLCC, and Malay Middle Class.

Interview with Norazizah Abdul Aziz, at Kolej Darul Hikmah, Sungai Ramal Dalam, Kajang, Selangor, on 25 July 2013. (Lecturer of Psychology, KDH).

Interview with Norasmawati Saad, at Kolej Darul Hikmah, Sungai Ramal Dalam, Kajang, Selangor, on 25 July 2013. (Executive Assistance of Human Resource, KDH).

Interview with Dato' Hamidah Osman, at Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC), Kuala Lumpur, on 3 December 2013. Dato' Hamidah is The Chief Information of Wanita Wing of UMNO 2013 and The Chairperson of the Economic Fund of Entrepreneur Group or *Tabung Ekonomi Kumpulan Usaha Niaga* - TEKUN, Malaysia, The Wanita Wing of UMNO, Gopeng, Perak, A former State Assemblymen of Sg. Rapat, Perak.

Interview with En Jefrizal Bin Mohd Jaafar, at Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC), the Pemuda Wing of UMNO, Kuala Langat, Selangor, on 3 December 2013.

Interview with Azahari Hj Ahmad, at Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC), the Pemuda Wing of UMNO, Kuala Langat, Selangor, on 3 December 2013.

Interview with Mohamad Raori Bin Atan, 64 years old, at Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC), UMNO, Kuala Langat, Selangor, on 3 December 2013.

Interview with Dato' Seri Hj Syed Zainal Abidin Bin Syed Mohamed Tahir, at Raudah Di Hatiku TV9 located at Masjid al-Falah, USJ 9, Subang Jaya on 16 November 2013. Dato' Seri Hj Syed Zainal Abidin is Chairman (or Nazir) of Masjid al-Falah, USJ 9, USJ 9/5 47620 Subang Jaya, Selangor.

### **The Malay Low-Income Class**

Interview with Ustaz Ishak Malek, at Kg Ginching, Sepang, Selangor on 19 August 2013. Second interview was conducted on 31 August 2013. Ustaz Ishak Malek is assistant Imam at Masjid kampung Ginching, Sepang, Selangor - Lower Class Public.

Interview with Mrs. Norazilah Yahya, at Kg Ginching, Sepang, Selangor on 19 August 2013. Mrs. Norazilah is a former PASTI teacher - Lower Class Public.

Interview with Mr. Faizul Kamal Bin Mohd, at Sekolah Kebangsaan Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor on 16 June 2013. Mr. Faizul Kamal is a gardener at Sekolah Kebangsaan Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor.

Interview with Mrs. Aida Binti Md Zin, at Sekolah Menengah Seri Sepang, Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor, on 23 June 2013. Mrs. Aida is a cleaner at Sekolah Menengah Seri Sepang, Bandar Baru Salak Tinggi, Sepang, Selangor.

Interview with Mr. Mohd Bakri Che Mat, at Taman Desa Semarak, Nilai, Negeri Sembilan on 24 June 2013. Mr. Mohd Bakri is a small food seller, a Gombak resident of Selangor.

Interview with Mr. Mohammad Nazli Zakaria, at Sekolah Rendah Integrasi Salak Tinggi, Sepang Selangor on 26 June 2013. Mr. Mohammad Nazli is a security guard at Sekolah Rendah Integrasi Salak Tinggi, Sepang Selangor.

Interview with Mr. Mohd Rofil Mohamed Ali, at Lot 2052, Jalan Belimbing Meru, Klang, Selangor, on 20 July 2013. Mr. Mohd Rofil is a factory worker at Highspeed Sdn Bhd. Meru, Klang, Selangor.

Interview with Mrs. Hayati Jusoh, at Lot 2796, Batu 8, Bukit Kapar, Klang, Selangor on 20 July 2013. Mrs. Hayati Jusoh is a housewife to a lorry driver, Mr Mohd Noor Bin Ahmad.

### **Private Agencies**

Interview with Tuan Hj Izelan Basar, at Measat Broadcast Network Systems, All Asia Broadcast Centre or Astro Oasis Office, Technology Park Malaysia, Lebuhraya Puchong-Sg. Besi, Bukit Jalil, 57000 Kuala Lumpur, on 29 August 2013. Hj Izelan Basar is General Manager of Astro Oasis.

Interview with Mrs. Nurjannah Keman, at Yayasan Takmir Pendidikan ABIM, Sungai Ramal Dalam, Kajang Selangor on 28 August 2013. Mrs. Nurjannah is officer of



Department of Administration and Training, Yayasan Takmir Pendidikan ABIM (Agency).

Interview with Tuan Hj Mahyuddin Ashaari, at Yayasan Takmir Pendidikan ABIM, Sungai Ramal Dalam, Kajang Selangor on 28 August 2013. Tuan Hj Mahyuddin is Chief Director of Yayasan Takmir Pendidikan ABIM (ABIM's Agency).

Interview with Ustaz Amran Abdullah, at PERKIM's Headquarter, PERKIM's Building, Jalan Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur, 28 June 2013. Ustaz Amran is an Indian Muslim who was elected as the Dakwah officer of PERKIM.

### **Observations**

Individual Field Work Observation at Modest Culture Sdn Bhd., 28 G, Jalan Putra 2, Taman Putra Kajang, 43000 Kajang, Selangor, 18 May 2014.

Observation on mosques attendances and religious activities at Masjid as-Sharif, Pekan Meru, Klang, Selangor, Observation and interviews 9.00pm – 10.33pm, 31 July 2013. (Sub-Urban)

Observation on mosques attendances and religious activities at Masjid Sultan Abul Aziz Shah, Section 11, Shah Alam, Selangor on 6-7 September 2013, Observation and interviews (7.05pm-11.00pm)

Observation on surau attendances and religious activities at Surau an-Nur, Bandar Baru Bangi, Selangor on 4 August 2013, attending Program Bicara di Ambang Lailatul Qadar. Observation and interviews (8.00am-1.00pm) (Urban area)

Observation on the mosques, surau and religious activities in Selangor and Kuala Lumpur from August 2012 to January 2015.

Observations and field works during UMNO's annual general gathering 2013, 3-6 December 2013 at Putra World Trade Centre (PWTC), Kuala Lumpur, PAS's Annual General Muktamar 2013, 22-25 November 2013, ABIM's Muktamar Sanawi 2013, 6-8 September 2013 at Auditorium Jubli Perak, Bangunan Sultan Salahuddin Abdul Aziz Shah, Shah Alam, Selangor and IKRAM's Annual Gathering 2013, Universiti Putra Malaysia.

### **Audio Visual**

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